

MS THESIS

**KAUTILYA’S CONCEPT OF UNDECLARED WARFARE
STRATEGY OF INDIA AGAINST PAKISTAN: AN
ANALYSIS- (2008-2023)**



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(October 2024)**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the M.S. Degree in Discipline of Social Sciences with specialization in International Relations at the department of Politics and International Relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences International Islamic University Islamabad.

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October 01, 2024

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has neither as whole nor part thereof been copied from any source. It is further declared that I have prepared this thesis entirely on the basis of my personal efforts, made under the sincere guidance of my respected Supervisor and Colleagues. No portion of the work presented in the thesis has been submitted in support of any degree or qualification of this or any other University or Institute of Learning. Usman Khan, Reg. No. 227-FSS/MSIR/F22 Department of Politics & International Relations, International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Dedication

I dedicate this MS. Thesis to my esteemed Parents for their unwavering support and financial assistance. Respected Maa Ji and Abba Ji, your selflessness will always be remembered. Thank you for enabling me to achieve this feat.

FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis entitled “**Kautilya’s Concept of Undeclared Warfare Strategy of India Against Pakistan: An Analysis- (2008-2023)**”, submitted by Usman Khan is partial fulfillment of MS degree in Social Sciences in International Relations has been completed under my guidance and supervision. I am satisfied with the quality of student’s research work and allow him to submit this thesis for further process as per IIUI rules & regulations.

Date: May 29, 2024

Signature: _____

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First and foremost, I would like to praise Allah, the Almighty, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful for His blessings given to me during my life and in completing this Thesis. I also extend my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Masood Ur Rehman Khattak, for his firm support and insightful critiques throughout my research journey. His deep commitment to academic excellence and meticulous attention to detail has significantly shaped my research work. I must also express my deepest appreciation for my family and friends for their unwavering support and boundless love during this challenging academic pursuit. I owe an immense debt of gratitude to my parents, who nurtured my curiosity and supported my educational endeavors from the very beginning. Their unconditional love and sacrifice have been the foundation of my resilience and success. I am also grateful to all my Professors for their guidance and encouragement.

List of Abbreviation

AWACS Airborne Warning and Control System

BJP Bharatiya Janata Party

BLA Baloch Liberation Army

CJCSC Chairman Joint Chief Staff Committee

CPEC China Pakistan Economic Corridor

CTD Counter Terrorism Department

ETIM Ethical Trading Initiative

GLONASS Global Navigation Satellite System

IHK Indian Held Kashmir

IMU Inertial Measurement Unit

ISI Inter-Services Intelligence

ISKP Islamic State Khorasan Province

JUD Jamat-i-Dawa

LET Lashkar-I-Tayyaba

LOC Line of Control

MBTs Myers-Briggs Type Indicators

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NSA National Security Advisor

PAF Pakistan Air Force

R&AW Research & Analysis Wing

SAARC South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

SIPRI Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

TSD Technical Service Division

TTP Tehrik-I-Taliban Pakistan

UAVs Unmanned Aerial Vehicle

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ABSTRACT

Chanakya Kautilya is considered as the pioneer of the discipline of Political Science and authored the statecraft masterpiece, *The Arthashastra* around 300 BCE. Kautilya's manifestations and ideology has a great influence upon the Indian military and strategic thinking especially after the rise of BJP. This study will be discussing the significance of Chanakya Kautilya's *Arthashastra* in the Indian strategic milieu; exploring Kautilya's approach of undeclared warfare in his Six Fold Policy and its relevance to modern times. The study under investigation is qualitative in nature and relied on secondary sources of data collection. The study concludes that in a nuclear environment direct engagement between India and Pakistan is not possible. However, India's hybrid warfare which focusses on covert operations, surgical strikes, cyber-attacks and diplomatic onslaught is posing a serious threat to Pakistan's security. It is imperative for Pakistan to come up with effective countermeasures to mitigate this existential threat to its security.

Keywords: Chankya Kautilya, India's Undeclared Warfare, Indian Military Strategic Thinking, Hybrid Warfare, and Surgical Strikes.

1 CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The hybrid warfare strategy is not new to the world. Since ages countries have been employing covert operations against their enemies to create subversion, get intelligence, destroy enemy without actually directly engaging in any war. The classical realist, Chankya Kautilya gave the concept of undeclared war in his book *Arthashastra*, in which he advised the king to use the secret agents, religion or superstition, and even women against the enemies. The Indian covert operations against Pakistan are not new. Indian is using hybrid war against Pakistan since the establishment of Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) in 1968. The creation of Mukti Bahini, a terrorist organization, was the first operation of RAW, which played crucial role in the dismemberment of Pakistan. Mukti Bahini was trained, funded and nurtured by the Indian army and RAW. They were involved in heinous crimes against Pakistan army, their families, and even the local people of East Pakistan including Biharis. India has been actively carrying out subversive activities against Pakistan and many of their high- profile agents were captured in Pakistan since 1970s. Most notable were Surjeet Singh, Sarabjit Singh, and Kashmir Singh, Ravinder Kaushak and recently held Kulbushan Yadav and many others. The Indian policy makers after the Mumbai attacks in 2008 launched renewed covert operations against Pakistan to curtail its support for Kashmir cause. India's subversive activities against Pakistan have a long history but after 2008 these gained momentum. The Formation of Technical Service Division (TSD)-2008 The former Indian Army Chief, General (Retired) V.K Singh formed a secret unit in the Indian army called Technical Services Division (TSD), to buy the loyalties of the Kashmiri leaders in the IOK and to carry out terrorist activities inside Pakistan.

This unit had endorsement of the Indian Director General Military Intelligence, Vice Chief and Army Chief. Under TSD, the Indian Army carried out three covert operations in the post 2008 period. Operation Rehbar I-II-III was launched in IOK, Operation Seven Sisters in Northeast of India and Operation Deep Strike was carried out inside Pakistan. Since, these operations were highly secretive in nature, therefore no details are available in the open media but reportedly, the

TSD Unit carried out eight covert Operations. The arrest of Indian Spy Kulbushan Yadav is the evidence of Indian covert operations inside Pakistan. Kulbushan Yadav, in his confession, accepted that he was involved in the subversive activities in Karachi and Baluchistan in which many Pakistanis lost their lives. He was tasked to create uncertainty in Pakistan, disrupt CPEC and target Gwadar port. This is the reason that, Pakistan has witnessed many terrorist attacks in Baluchistan, Karachi and other parts of the country in last few years. However, the overall security situation has improved after the successful military operations in tribal areas and intelligence based operations under operation Radd Ul Fassad in urban centers.

Ajit Doval's Defensive Offense Doctrine Ajit Doval, the National Security Advisor (NSA), while describing his approach in dealing with threats to the Indian National Security said that, "we deal with enemy at three levels". First is defensive mode, in which he said "we improve our defenses at home and deal with it on our own soil". Second mode is defensive-offense, in which "you have to proactively go to the area from where threat is coming and neutralize it there". And third is offensive mode which implies that "you go for offensive out rightly". When it comes to dealing with Pakistan, he was of the view that nuclear weapons prevent India from offensive mode, but it does not cross threshold in defensive-offense approach. He emphasized on defensive-offence strategy which aimed at "exploiting the vulnerabilities of Pakistan, which could be economic, internal security, political, its isolation internationally, proxy war in Afghanistan and making it difficult for Pakistan to manage its internal security". It is worth mentioning that, ever since 9/11, Pakistan suffered economic losses worth \$ 123 billion.

Besides, it lost over 80,000 human beings which include 5,498 military personnel. In addition, Pakistan has deployed 200,000 troops in FATA, to curb terrorist networks, supported, funded and nurtured by India from across the border. Their activities were disclosed by ex-TTP commander Latif Mehsud who was nabbed in Afghanistan by the US forces and later handed over to Pakistan. He was in Afghanistan to collect funds and instructions from RAW and Afghan authorities. Another major achievement in 2017 was the surrender of ex-TTP spokesman Ehsan Ullah Ehsan. In his confession, he revealed that Afghan soil is being used by the TTP and other militant organizations against Pakistan. His claim was verified by Kulbushan Yadav in his confession, that India is sponsoring militancy in Pakistan from its consulates in Afghanistan. Apart from promoting militancy, another Indian policy guideline is to isolate Pakistan globally through

diplomatic coercion. India's boycott of SAARC meeting in 2017 and forcing other countries like; Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Bhutan were part of isolating Pakistan diplomatically. Indeed, Indian policy aims at regional domination while bullying other regional states.

The strategic environment of a state always devises its strategic thinking which emerges from the intangible and tangible aspects of regional and strategic culture. In the modern world, a strong military is the key element in attainment of great power status which inspired India to opt for military buildup. These aspirations are there in the Indian strategic thinking since its independence from British Empire in 1947. The vision of Indian strategic thought is anchored by the Shadguna Sidhanta (six-fold policy) of Chanakya Kautilya treatise, Arthashastra providing a hegemonic intrigue for the Indian strategic culture (Ali, 2022). This six-fold policy revolves around Peace (Sandhi), War (Vigraha), Neutrality (Asana), Marching (Yana), Alliance (Samsrya), and Double Policy (Dwidibhava). These policies have a strong influence upon the Indian political, diplomatic, and strategic policy perspectives. In the contemporary era, these policy aspects are clearly visible from the regional and global inspirations of India especially exhibited through the modernization of its military.

The economic and military might be the key components for the attainment of a global power status and therefore, India has been doing great in strengthening its economy and has been recognized as the fifth largest economy in the world (Armstrong, 2022). On the other hand, billions of dollars have been invested by India in modernizing its military especially for the last two decades. These aspirations got strength after the rise of *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP) under the leadership of Narendra Modi which is the proponent of the *Hindutva* ideology and has played a significant role in the Indian politics since 2014 and contributed in the electoral victory as well. The anti-Pakistan stance and Hindu Nationalistic Identity are the key components of the BJP's manifesto seeking transformation of India following Hindu values and advocating the Hindu supremacy. The anti-Pakistan discourse has become a significant central part of the Indian strategic thinking in the BJP era (Azam, 2022). Therefore, the intrigue and hegemonic aspirations of Indian military and strategic thinkers are manifestations of Kautilyan Mandala of statecraft, *Arthashastra*. Hence, this study will be discussing the significance of Chanakya Kautilya's *Arthashastra* in the Indian strategic milieu; exploring Kautilya's Six Fold Policy's relevance to modern Indian

strategic culture and thought; and examining the challenges posed by Kautilyan Mindset of the modern Indian policy makers over Pakistan.

1.2 Background of the Study

Historically, Nehru brought the idea in the strategic culture of India evolve it as the hegemonic power in the regional arena soon after its independence. Geography was the key concern of Kautilya's political approach for the state's security which Nehru placed as the key aspect in the state's domestic and foreign policies formation. Focusing on it, Nehru kept India in a neutral position by advocating non-alliance during the cold war era while on the other hand gathering international influence for India with the objective to supplement Indian strategic choices and turning it into a hegemonic regional power (Plagemann, 2015). The post-independence princely states' military annexations of Kashmir, Hyderabad Daccan, Manavadar, and Junagarh manifest the same but experienced failure on the Kashmir front against China and Pakistan.

The regional hegemonic aspirations are manifested from the various bilateral agreements of India with its neighbors notably with Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, Burma, and Ceylon in 1949, 1950, 1951, and 1954 respectively by imposing conditions on these states to deliberate upon the Indian concerns regarding its security, strategic and foreign autonomy before inking any bilateral, multilateral and/or international agreement with any regional and international power (Behuria, Pattanaik, & Gupta, 2012). Contrary, India and Pakistan have a fragile and complex relationship since their independence from British Empire and recognize each other as their adversaries due to various political reasons especially Kashmir. Both states have fought three major wars i.e. 1949 war, 1965 war, and 1971 war which disintegrated Pakistan; and Kargil conflict 1999 which is termed as a limited conflict. The fragile relationship, heightened tensions, and unresolved political disputes have triggered an overall shift in the strategic thinking of India vis-à-vis Pakistan since nuclearization of India in 1974 (Ganguly, 2002). The strategic culture transformation, modernization of Indian military and related doctrines is discussed briefly as under.

1.2.1 Chankya's Influence over India's Undeclared Warfare Strategy

Lt Col. Frank G. Hoffman (R) of US Marine Corps introduced the term Hybrid Warfare which incorporate various aspects of warfare involving criminal disorders, terrorist activities especially coercion and indiscriminate violence, irregular formations and tactics, and conventional

capabilities for the achievement of political objectives and strategic interests. The effective nuclear deterrence of Pakistan and unsuccessful military doctrines provide India an alternative option of hybrid warfare to harm Pakistan through adoption of conventional as well as unconventional military means. Since 2008, India has been inflicting unbearable losses in non-contact conflict domains through multi-front arenas like information, space and cyber. On the other hand, the India has fetched various implications for Pakistan by destroying the image of Pakistan at international forums through deceptive foreign policy, propagandas and fake news, disrupting the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), sponsoring the non-state militants against Pakistan, using Afghan's against Pakistan, and targeting the disparities in Pakistan's socioeconomic structures. Following the Kautilya's ideology, India has redesigned its strategic and foreign policies to harm Pakistan through every possible mean and forming international alliances to inflict damages to Pakistan and limit the threats posed by growing influence of China (Mirza & Babar, 2020).

Ajit Doval was an ex-intelligence Bureau Officer who was appointed by Indian Prime Minister N. Modi in 2014 who came up with the intents to subdue Pakistan through effective and efficient long-term plans. Following the Kautilyan Mandala of statecraft, Doval's proposed three approaches i.e. *Defensive Approach*: limiting any attack from Pakistan; *Military Defensive-Offensive Approach*: retaliate the offense at land, air and sea and defend the motherland; *Offensive Mode*: exploiting and attacking on the vulnerabilities of Pakistan in the internal spheres like political, social and economic, as well as in the external spheres like weakening the Afghan Policy of Pakistan, maintaining strategic balance, and forcing international isolation of Pakistan. Thus, this era has brought destructive consequences for Pakistan as the ethnic and separatist movements were fueled by India like Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) and Baluchistan's militant organizations like Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) (Rafique, 2020).

India's military strategy towards Pakistan is heavily influenced by its historical animosity with its neighbor, which has been aggravated by territorial disputes and cross-border terrorism. India has adopted a policy of deterrence against Pakistan, which involves maintaining a strong military presence along the border, enhancing its military capabilities, and developing a credible nuclear deterrence. On the other hand, India has also pursued a policy of isolating Pakistan diplomatically, particularly in international forums such as the United Nations. Additionally, India has been actively seeking to improve its relationships with other countries in the region,

particularly Iran, Afghanistan and the United States, to counterbalance Pakistan's influence in the region.

Overall, Indian military strategic thinking influenced by Chanakya Kautilya is focused on achieving military supremacy through a combination of deterrence, diplomacy, and military prowess with the objective to take decisive military actions against Pakistan which are considered necessary to protect its national and strategic interests. Furthermore, India's military modernization efforts have given it a significant advantage over Pakistan in terms of military capabilities. While Pakistan has sought to counterbalance India's military superiority through its own nuclear capabilities, India's military strategy of deterrence has made it clear that any military adventurism by Pakistan will be met with a strong response. Therefore, India's military strategic thinking influenced by Chanakya Kautilya has significant implications for Pakistan, which has struggled to match India's military and diplomatic prowess. While both countries continue to face significant challenges, India's military strategy has given it a significant advantage in their ongoing conflict.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The undeclared war strategy of India is a serious challenge for Pakistan's security. After the nuclearization of South Asia, total or limited war has become risky and costly. Therefore, India rely more on indirect warfare, in which it uses spies, proxies, fake news and propaganda to undermine Pakistan's internal security. The covert operations by the Indians are getting momentum after 2021. The study would focus on the Indian undeclared warfare strategy under the prism of Chanakya Kautilya's concept of War mentioned in his book *Arthashastra*.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The Kautilya's influence on the Indian political and strategic thinkers has remained latent since its independence but after the rise of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Kautilya's ideological legacy on the political and strategic landscape of India has become explicit with vibrant aims to achieve India's contemporary regional and international objectives. This research aims to provide a deeper understanding of the influence of Chanakya Kautilya's six-fold policy with focus on the concept of *Undeclared Warfare* and its implications for Pakistan.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the significance of Kautilya's Concept of Undeclared Warfare and its relevance to modern Indian strategic thinking
2. To analyze impact of India's Undeclared warfare strategy against Pakistan since 2008.

1.6 Research Questions

1. What is the significance of Indian Hybrid Warfare and Kautilya's concept of undeclared warfare strategy in modern times?
2. How India's undeclared warfare strategy is posing threats to Pakistan's security since 2008?
3. How Pakistan can overcome this strategic impediment?

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

This study is qualitative in nature and will be relying upon primary sources of data collection i.e. Face to Face Interviews, Online Interviews, and Interviews through emails from diplomats, high ranked military officers, scholars having expertise on the subject, and others from India and Pakistan; and secondary sources i.e. books, journals, published and online archived reports related to Indian strategic thinking from India and Pakistan and contacting all of the prospective respondents would be a limitation of this study. Moreover, this study will only focus on the only one aspect of Kautilya's six-fold policy i.e. concept of War to establish relevance of Kautilyan ideology over the Indian undeclared warfare since 2008.

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section will provide a platform for assessing the existing literature on the Kautilyan influence on the Indian strategic culture in the modern times and the impacts posed against Pakistan due to this mindset. It will help in identifying the existing contributions in the literature and also finds out various gaps in this specific arena. An account of literature review has been presented as under.

1.8.1 Review of Related Literature

Chanakya Kautilya's *The Arthashastra* (edited and translated by L. N. Rangarajan, 1992), provides a detailed account of the ancient treatise of Arthashastra by Chanakya Kautilya around 300 BC in Sanskrit dedicated statecraft, military strategy, and economic policy. This text had an influential impact on the politics till the 12th century and with invasions of Muslims, this masterpiece was lost but rediscovered by R. Shamasastri in 1904 and later published in 1909 and in 1915, its English version was published. This book has a significant place among the scholars of international relations as Roger Boesche described it as the political realism art which enlighten us that how political world work, rather telling us about how it should work. The ideology in this book also guide the King to preserve the common good and state through calculated and even brutal measures, if needed. The central focus of this book is to ensure the solid and efficient economy in an autocratic system and provides accounts of duties and responsibilities of a king, ethics of economies, the framework of bureaucracy, administrative and legal for the governance of a kingdom, resource utilization through agriculture, mining, as well as the issue of welfare of the public and ensuring to hold the society through collective efforts.

The book *Hinduism & Its Military Ethos* by Air Marshal RK Nehra (2013) provided an historical account of Hinduism considering it the most ancient and complex timeless religion which is “without beginning (*anadi*)” and “without end (*anant*)”. In this book, author covers Hinduism in three domains: Godhood in Hindu Religion; from ancient to modern Hindu history; and military value system in Hinduism. The author was of the view that mythology is the basic ingredient of Hinduism as there are mystifying stories of Hindu gods in various religious books like Rig Veda, Geeta, Ramayan, etc. While focusing on the Hindu History, he deliberated the rich literature produced by the Hindu civilization stating that the recorded history starts from 6th Century BC and over the period of time; this land has been kept invaded by foreign troops mainly North

West Indian Tribes, Muslims during the 12th century AD and then British in the 18th century AD. The author commented that for 1300 years out of recorded history of 2300 years, this land remained under the jackboots of slavery and thus highlighted the reasons of prolonged Hindu slavery periods mainly stating that living under the sword for such long period has embedded slavery in the minds of Hindus rather in their muscles as the ancient Hindus were martial warriors and knew to live under the swords and over the period of time, the martial spirits lost their way. Another reason for the downfall of Hinduism is the influence of Buddhism which developed the deluded sense of *dharma*.

Michael Liebig (2013) in *Kautilya's Relevance for India Today* pointed out that the classical work of Kautilya has not only neglected in the contemporary strategic and political discourses in the west but also been sidelined in the Indian strategic thinking. He attempted to create the relevance of Kautilya in the Indian political and strategic culture and thus investigated the latent presence of Kautilyan ideas in the strategic and political community from Nehru till the modern political and strategic elites. In the contemporary scenario, the re-use of endogenous political-cultural resources has become active in Indian politics and this trend is helpful in understanding the rise of India in the contemporary multipolar world.

Colonel PK Gautam (2017) pointed out in *Kautilya's Arthashastra and its Relevance to Contemporary Strategic Studies* that Arthashastra is the political heritage of Indian Subcontinent as it manifest two basic realist paradigms: the protection of territory by the ruler by stability, protection and security of the state; and enlargement of territory. The text of Arthashastra is not relevant to the modern state settings rather most of the texts us applicable on the internal and external aspects of Indian strategic culture. He stated Mandala Theory as the major contribution of Kautilya for its dynamic nature to manage the issues of statecraft, diplomacy, politics, and even economy. Thus, emphasized on its universal applicability rather having an Indian-centric approach in the political and strategic arenas.

Shyam Saran (2017), a former Indian Foreign Secretary, exhibited an analytical perspective of the shift and critical events in the Indian foreign policy in his book, *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century* and connected the dots as his experience as diplomat and presented a picture of Indian relations with the world since independence. Saran projected the India's worldview through the prism of Kautilya's Arthashastra in the historical as well as modern context.

He derived fascinating conclusions by looking through the lens of changing dynamics in the neighborhood and changing world order especially the hurtling of world claim of Chinese unipolarity, cyber terror and climate change making borders irrelevant, and thus, a strong Indian position in the region has breath it from resolution of border disputes with China and Pakistan in the near future. This book also presents the backdoor negotiations processes on the Copenhagen Climate Change Summit to the successful inking of US-Indo Nuclear Deal by then US President G.W. Bush and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

From Chanakya to Modi: The Evolution of India's Foreign Policy by Aparna Pande (2017) explained the development of Indian foreign policy in cultural perspectives along with national experiences. The national interests are framed utilizing the civilizational heritage of Indian subcontinent for maximization of power and ensuring an independent foreign policy. This book has highlighted the Indian independence and autonomy of decision making in internal and foreign decision making while interacting with the world nations in two domains i.e. from Kautilyan era (300 BCE) to the era of Narendra Modi. Author has traced four trending ideas mainly realism, messianic idealism, isolation and imperial influences which have been competed over one span of time to another. It is crucial to examine Indian approaches in contact to its tradition and history while evaluating the Indian ambitions to seek modernity and pursue influence in the contemporary world.

“Our Time Has Come: How India is Making Its Place in the World” by Alyssa Ayres (2018) provides a detailed account of the evidence-based arguments for the political and economic rise of India. This book discussed three sections: foreign policy of India till the end of Cold War; transition over the last decade of 20th century and first decade of 21st century; and global ambitions of India with the policy recommendation, “how US should work with rising India”. The author in this book is aimed at highlighting the political discourse of Indian political leadership from Manmohan Singh to Narendra Modi despite having political differences stating that all major global councils must have place for the rising India as it has quickly transformed from an emerging power to the leading power and now with its economic and military rise, confidently claiming a place among the global powers. The main argument of Ayres in this book is to understand India on its own terms considering its history and the elements considered for development must be acknowledged. Therefore, she traced the Indian foreign policy of India since its independence to

its ancient strategic thinkers mainly Chanakya Kautilya which guided the Indian strategic thinking in its modern direction. Contrary, she also highlighted the domestic flaws like deep caste and communal fault-lines, rising urbanized population and more but still, India has the capabilities to rise among the global powers. She also plea the US policymakers to give the credit for the considerable achievements of India and also outlined the opportunities for the US while collaborating with the rising India.

Florin Stafi (2018) in *Strategy and War in Kautilya's Vision: Topicality Reflections* stated that the Arthashastra is a master art which presented a perfect political realistic picture in front of us in the domains of war and diplomacy, the science and art of government, and the state leadership which transcend time and still relevant to date. The state's power in its all aspects is the center of his strategy with the emphasis upon its acquiring, maintenance and maximization by every possible mean. Florin Stafi highlighted that the strategic alliances context is vital for the internal well-being as well as exerting influence at the macro level and ultimately brings you to the pathway for the achievement of your political and strategic goals. Similarly, the logic behind the context of war and peace, it revolves around the science and arts of leadership that not only ensure security from internal and external threats but also serve national politics through the achievement of collective national interests.

Sahukari C. Kumar (2019) in *Glimpse into Historical Perspective of Indian Military Leadership* highlighted the rich historical heritage in the military strategy but unfortunately, society has not given it the importance it deserved. Therefore, this research focused on enlightening the society about the heritage of military strategy given in Kautilya's Arthashastra which are still relevant to date as it was dedicated to statecraft and aimed to manage the power expansion of state, politics, governance, strengthening economic structures, and many more which are path lights for the contemporary strategic thinkers. The rise of Mauryan Empire and Kautilyan ideology is depicted as the relevant example for the modern statesmen and military strategic thinkers.

Zafar Nawaz Jaspal (2019) provided description of elusive peace in South Asia due to the identity politics and ethno-nationalistic elements propagated by the Indian Political regimes since its independence. In his book, *India's Surgical Strike' Stratagem, Brinkmanship and Response*, Jaspal has provided a comprehensive account of evolution of Indian military institutions, Military

doctrines, and adoption of the notion of Surgical strikes for political gains by Indian PM Narendra Modi. Therefore, this book analyzes the perspectives of international law in contact to the Indian claims of surgical strikes particularly in the wake of Pulwama attack. Jaspal highlighted that the adventurist approach of India in the guise of surgical strikes has serious consequences for the South Asian deterrence stability. He also criticized the Indian expansionistic motivations and looked for establishing a link with the covert Indian strategy of 'jaw for a tooth' to penalize Pakistan and its military. These two aspects are drawn from the hyperrealist strategic thought of Kautilyan Arthashastra and thus the Joint Doctrine of Indian Armed Forces (JDIAF) has opted surgical strikes as its salient feature. Jaspal has effectively converse the Indian surgical strikes notion and considered it as a deliberate attempt by the Indian political regime for generation of false effects. The primary concern in this book was the possible nuclear war among both neighboring rivals in case any of them decide to use it against the other.

In *Kautilya's Arthashastra: Philosophy of Strategy* is a significant approach in revealing the traditional intellect in its civilizational history. Medha Bisht (2020) highlighted the significance of the Arthashastra by attempting to bring the Kautilyan text on grans strategy into the framework of Eurocentric and contemporary theory of International relations by developing her argument in three domains: first, introduction of basic concepts, the strategic connotations, and philosophical ideas; second, by establishing a comparative study among the Arthashastra and IR theory by focusing on Power, order and morality; lastly, identifying the non-western statecraft and state vocabularies from Arthashastra. Bisht smartly avoids merging the Arthashastra into the existing IR theory rather provided an impressive picture of Kautilyan ideology in a more traditional manner. This approach doesn't reflect the absence of realistic elements in the Kautilyan ideology but the central objective was to present the Indian strategic culture from ancient times to the modern era with the timeless relevance of Kautilyan ideas in the Indian strategic culture.

Mohan B. Pillai (2020) argued in *Indian Strategic Culture: The Debates in Perspective* that the Indian strategic thought lacked in the national strategy till the end of 20th century mainly due to four aspects: the British Raj, History, Culture, and Geography as expressed by George K. Tanham (1992) in *India's Strategic Thought: An Interpretive Essay*. Contrary to this argument, the Indian national leadership and the strategic community argued that India's strategic culture is reflected in its diplomatic achievements. Therefore, Pillai has provided a well-organized account

of both positions and concluded that the India's strategic culture is derived from the Chanakya Kautilya's ancient text, Arthashastra which manifest the strategic autonomy and has a civilizational history.

Rahul Anand Maslekar (2020) in *India's Military Diplomacy* praised the Indian military progress to ensure its relevance in the international relations through extensive capacity building. Alliances have been considered as the most important and significant aspect in ensuring conflict prevention and their resolution, promoting mutual trust, and strengthening national security. The author argued that there are number of factors that contributed in the steadily expansion in the scale and scope of Indian diplomacy in the defence perspective but political and organizational factors are still impacting the effectiveness and reach of diplomatic measures. Thus, the ideas of power projection and capacity building of Indian military have been exhibited by the bureaucratic and political leadership of India but the intensity of military partnership has been hampered by its strategic ideals of strategic autonomy which makes the national objectives of becoming a regional hegemonic power as an unrealistic approach.

In *National Security in Kautilya's Arthashastra: A Content Analysis*, Saad and Wemxiang (2020) expressed that without understanding Kautilyan Arthashastra, one cannot understand the Indian strategic culture as the national security preferences of India have matching character with the Kautilyan ideology. They examined the significance of the national security aspect in the Arthashastra text and interpreted that two third part of the Arthashastra text is dedicated to the national security and thus considered as the most vital theme in Arthashastra. These aspects are thus considered significant in securing the state's security and national interests through the maximization of real power politics.

Aabid Majeed Sheikh (2020) in *Kautilya, the Indian Machiavelli; on War and Diplomacy in Ancient India* stated that the acts of diplomacy have experienced certain fluctuations due to certain changes in the international system. Therefore, the hard power utilization as a diplomatic tool has been dominated by the emergence of soft power phenomenon in the diplomatic practices. Soft power diplomatic practices have out-fashioned the candy and twig method as conciliatory practices are common as a result of flexible ambassadors. The modern scholarships on understanding the Indian interstate relations have been dominated by the western theorizations and assessments rather reflecting to the long history of Indian political thoughts. Therefore, the author

assesses the Kautilyan thoughts on the agents, spies and interstate relations, and thus concluded that the Kautilyan ideology is still relevant to the Indian strategic culture and its diplomatic relations with the world

Dr. Michael Liebig (2020) in *India's Strategic Culture and its Kautilyan Lineage* highlighted the significance of the key texts throughout the history and relevant cultural settings. Thus, he initially provided a comparison among the Indian strategic thinker Chanakya Kautilya and the Chinese strategic thinker Sun Tzu. He worked on the operationalization of Indian strategic culture and pointed out some interesting facts based on the interviews of selected strategic community members which reflected that most of them not fully read and/or understand the Kautilyan statecraft rather acquainted with their religious ideologies presented in Panchatantra, Ramayana, and Mahabharata. He noted that the contemporary security and foreign policy of India revolves around the Kautilyan realism with the endogenous and exogenous ideational inputs but not confined to the pure power politics rather political normativity is deeply rooted in it. Thus, the Indian strategic culture has been identified as endogenous, and traditional politico-strategic thought having the major ideational ingredient of Kautilyan strategic ideas.

In *Beyond Eurocentrism: Kautilya's Realism and India's Regional Diplomacy*, Arshid Iqbal Dar (2021) has examined Arthashastra and attempted to criticize the Eurocentric approach within the existing international relations discipline. He argued that the Arthashastra provides a toolkit of realism through which the Indian strategic thinking can be effectively analyzed as the DNA of Indian strategic culture has been rooted in the Kautilyan realism. The modern strategic and political leaders especially after the rise of Modi have boldly and openly embraced the Kautilyan ideas in every internal and regional realm.

Rajvir Sharma (2022) in *Political Philosophy of Kautilya: The Arthashastra and After*, draws inspiration to relate the modern politics with the indigenous political knowledge of India. Hence, a comprehensive overview of the world's ancient statecraft treatise Kautilyan Arthashastra and therefore focused on its four aspects mainly state theory, interstate relations, legal theory, and women in society. This book presented a description of Kautilyan influence on the social and political thought during the pre and post Kautilyan eras significantly the Ashoka Empire. Sharma has presented a comprehensive comparative overview of the Kautilyan philosophy with the ancient Greek ideologies and also with the European classical theories and demonstrated the superiority

of Indian classic over the European classics in theoretical domains. On the other hand, Sharma also discussed some interesting domains of Kautilyan Arthashastra in the modern political and global contexts and thus presented Arthashastra's universal relevance and global character.

Olga A. Alekseeva-Karnevali (2022) in *India's Strategic Culture: In Search of a Systematic Element* highlighted that the strategic culture of India has been understudied despite being an emergent global power. He emphasized on the existence of own ancient strategic culture of India with a "Systematic" strategic thinking. The Indian Political Philosophy has been examined along with the determination of the central conceptual elements of peace and war in the Indian political-military system. The non-western approach in constructing, structuring and coding the society, politics, and statehood conceptual space has given an original and systematic perspective to the strategic thinking and culture of India.

Malik and Qayyum (2022) in *Indian Political Doctrines: Understanding Internal Security Dynamics of India Impacting Pakistan* argued that the pro-national ideologies have dominated the Indian strategic culture as regional hegemony is being achieved through creating imbalanced relationship with the neighboring states as the manifestation of Kautilyan discourse while the internal politics remained inclined towards the development of specific class and discriminating against lower classes and religious minorities. The authors highlighted that ensuring the strategic regional dominance is the prime objective of Indian political leadership since its independence and thus the discourse of insurgencies has been effectively planned against its adversaries especially Pakistan. Moreover, the Indian strategic thought and culture has been redefined with a Pakistan-centric approach in order to manage the internal political and security challenges. This research highlighted the Kautilyan inspired Indian strategic culture revolving around Pakistan in respect to blaming Pakistan for the insurgencies in India, launching the insurgencies against Pakistan, defaming Pakistan at global level, and rise of Hindutva as a BJP political manifesto, and impacts for Pakistan and policy options to secure its interests against the Indian offensive approaches.

Kautilya's Arthashastra: Strategic Cultural Roots of India's Contemporary Statecraft by Kajari Kamal (2022) has given a comprehensive outlook to understand the Indian strategic culture and foreign policy choices with the lens of Kautilyan Arthashastra. This book examines the influence of Kautilyan core beliefs and foundational factors in order to understand the Indian behavior at international level for the attainment of national interests as per Indian grand strategic preferences.

She related the Kautilyan ideologies with the foreign policy choices of India and demonstrated its relevance and endurance in the modern times as well. Keeping in view the global ambitions of India, the New Dehli's Grand Strategy has made it a significant diplomatic actor, as well as a major economic power. This book assessed the space and time relevance of Arthashastra in the cultural and realist perspective of statecraft like Political End goal (Yogakshema), Seven State Elements (Saptanga), Six Measures of Foreign Policy (Sadgunyas), Duty of a King (Rajdharma), Circle of Kings (Rajamandala) and Order (Dharma), and evaluated the themes of bilateral relations with Pakistan and China, nonalignment, continuity of strategic cultural traits, and nuclear policy in the perspective of modern Indian strategic culture.

1.8.2 Theoretical Framework

This study focuses on the influence of the Chanakya Kautilya on the modern Indian strategic thinking and challenges for Pakistan. Keeping in view the rivalry and strategic competition among India and Pakistan, the classical concept of power politics is envisioned as theoretical framework. In the historical and modern perspectives of power politics, the classical realism paradigm predominantly holds a significant position. This study has its limitations while broadly explaining the realistic phenomenon of power politics in terms of Modern Indian Strategic Thinking. Though, Chanakya Kautilya, John J. Mearsheimer, and Kenneth N. Waltz are recognized as the pioneers of realistic school of thought but the theoretical foundations of this study will adopt the framework provided by the masterpiece of *Arthashastra* written by Chanakya Kautilya which is divided into fifteen books among which ten were devoted to war and diplomacy (Pillai, 2019).

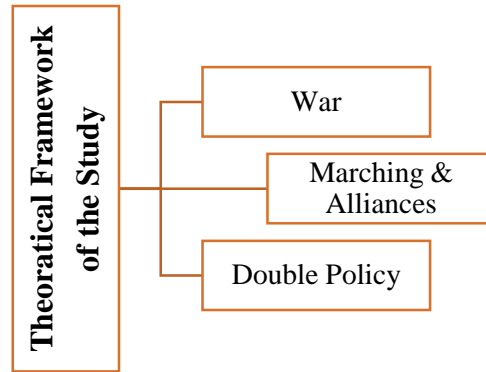


Figure 1.1 Theoretical Framework of the Study

Therefore, research under investigation will utilize *Arthashastra's Shadguna Sidhanta (Six-Fold Policy)* and *Rajamandala (Circle of States)* in understanding its relevance and significance in the modern strategic thinking of India. Thus, the related portions of Kautilyan Theory i.e. *war; marching; alliance; and double policy* will be discussed as parts of theoretical framework.

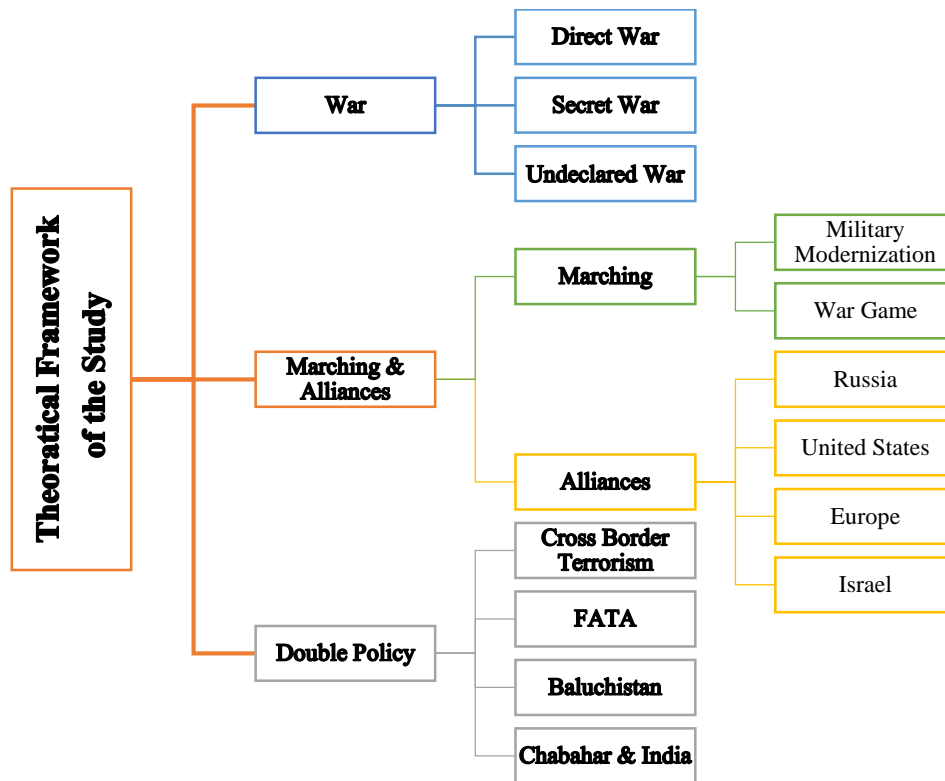


Figure 1.2 Theoretical Framework

1.9 Research Methodology

1.9.1 Research Design

This research is qualitative in nature and will adopt qualitative research design and qualifies in the exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive research methods. In order to elaborate various characteristics of the research, both primary and secondary data will be collected. This study will be relying upon primary sources of data collection methods i.e. Face to Face Interviews, Online Interviews, and Interviews via emails (questionnaire).

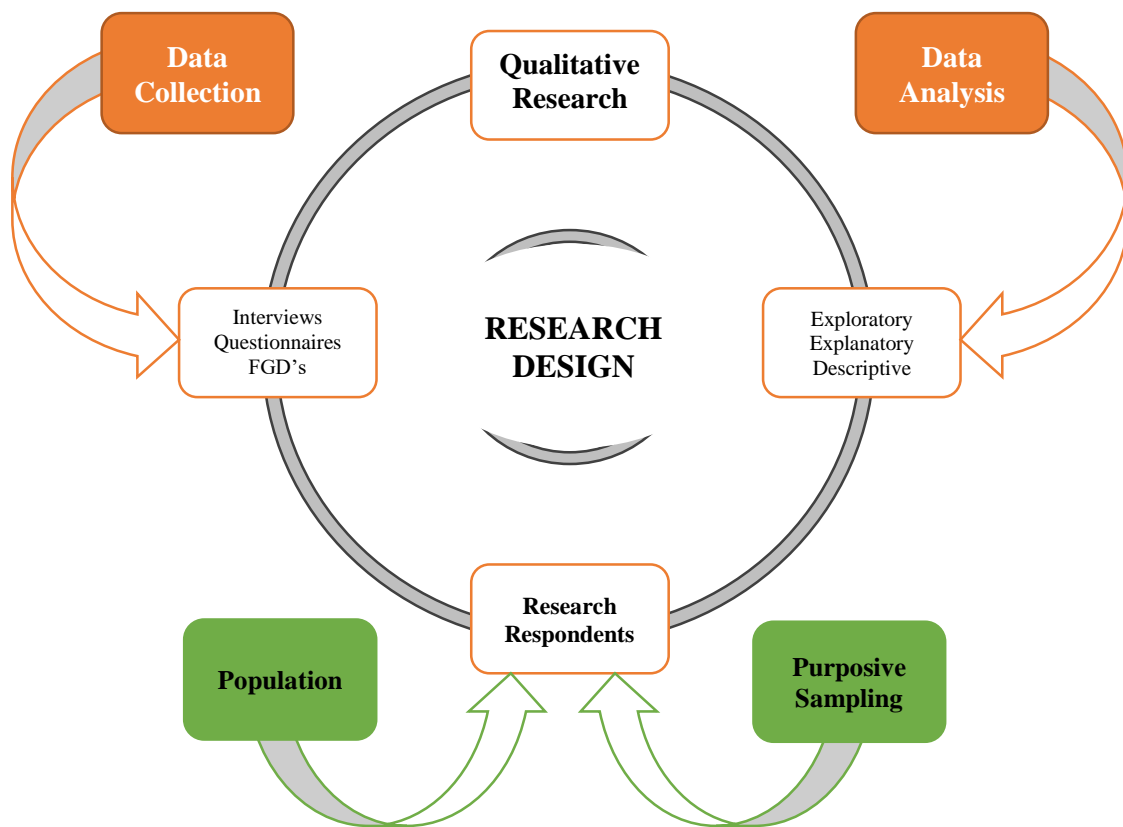


Figure 1.3 Research Design

1.9.2 Population

This research aims to collect primary data from 50 respondents through in-depth interviews from retired military officers, retired diplomats, Professors and scholars from India and Pakistan having expertise on the subject. Various international experts and scholars will also be approached for an alternative and neutral perspective on the issue under consideration.

1.9.3 Sampling and Data Collection Procedure

Purposive sampling method will be utilized for the selection of respondents for face-to-face interviews, online interviews, and emailed interviews/questionnaires. This sampling technique will enable the researcher to select the sample population based upon certain characteristics of the respondents.

1.9.4 Instruments

This study will be relying upon primary sources of data collection methods i.e. Face to Face Interviews, Online Interviews, Interviews through emails (questionnaire) and Focused Group Discussions from diplomats, high ranked military officers, scholars having expertise on the subject, and others from India and Pakistan; and secondary sources i.e. books, journals, published and online archived reports related to Indian strategic culture.

1.9.5 Data Analysis

The qualitative data collected through primary sources will be analyzed through “Discourse Analysis” as it focuses on researching the underlying meanings and developing relationship among the information and its context.

1.9.6 Operational Definition of Major Terms

Surgical Strike: A military operation that targets a legitimate military target with minimal collateral damage to the general public vehicles, buildings or surrounding structure.

Undeclared War: A military conflict between two or more nations without either side issuing a formal declaration of war.

Covert Operation: A type of surveillance that is carried out secretly, without the knowledge of the individuals being observed.

1.9.7 Organization of the Study

This study is comprised of following chapters

- 1. Introduction**
- 2. An Overview of Chankya Kautilya’s Strategic Thinking Approaches**
- 3. The Concept of War in Arthashastra: Post 2008 Undeclared War**

4. **Impacts of Undeclared Warfare for Pakistan**
5. **Conclusion and Recommendations**

2 CHAPTER TWO

An Overview of Chankya Kautilya's Strategic Approaches

2.1 Chankya Kautilya's Six Fold Policy: A Critical Analysis

This chapter describe and critically analysed Chankya Kautilya's strategic approaches and emphasized on his six fold policy.

2.2 War: Open War, Secret War and Undeclared war

The Second concept is a Secret War, a sudden attack, terrorizing from one side and attacking from another side (Black, 2016). Now this concept is also relevant with the Indian Army's CSD or proactive military operations which aims at quick and swift multiple thrusts into Pakistan, which may include surgical strikes, use of Special Forces, making it difficult for Pakistan army to engage India on multiple fronts. India is effectively pursuing this strategy and working hard to operationalize these doctrines against Pakistan. (Rees, 2015). Kautilya advocated the role of Special Forces for cross border raids to carry out assassinations and terrorize the civilians. (Daniel Coetzee and Lee W. Eysturlid, 2013) In addition, the Indian air force introduced the concept of sub-conventional warfare in 2012 which aims at quick and swift operations against suspected militants across the LoC. To operationalize such a concept, the IAF would require highly sophisticated aircraft with modern avionics and lethal firepower to maintain air superiority and to provide close air support to its ground forces for any specialized joint quick and intense military operations.

The Indian military would also need long range air defense capabilities to counter any attack by Pakistani Aircraft F-16s or JF-Thunders, ballistic, cruise missiles or armed Unarmed Aerial Vehicles- (UAVs). To fill this gap the Indian military has inked several defense deals with Israel and Russia for the induction of Barak-8 and S-400 Long range highly advanced air defense systems (Pocock, 2017). All these developments in doctrine and military modernization suggest, that the Indian military is planning to fight a short but intense conflict with Pakistan. These attacks would be under the recently published *Joint Indian Armed Forces Doctrine of 2017*. In which the Indian government has envisaged that the Indian military may carry out surgical strikes or sub-

conventional operations in case of any alleged terrorist incident in India (Joint Indian armed forces doctrine of 2017, 2017).

The Indian military is working on the second approach of Chankya Kautilya's *Secret war* strategy, which involves quick and swift operations to get element of surprise against enemy. These types of operations are risky and carry seeds of instability and turmoil. Such quick operations against a nuclear weapon state would create uncertainty in the region and any response by Pakistan would seriously challenge the delicate nuclear deterrence in the region. c. The third category of war according to Chankya Kautilya is *Undeclared War*. This entails the use of secret agents, religion or superstition, and women against the enemies. (Rangarajan, 1992). India has already waged such type of war against Pakistan since the establishment of Research and Analysis Wing- (R&AW) in 1968. (Stanley A. Kochanek and Robert L. Hardgrave, 2008). The first job for R&AW was to create Mukti Bahini a terrorist organisation that played crucial role in the dismemberment of Pakistan. Mukti Bahini was trained, funded and nurtured by the Indian Army and R&AW. They were involved in heinous crimes against Pakistan Army, their families, and loyal to Pakistan Biharis. (Kasturi, Intelligence Services: Analysis, Organisation and Functions, 1995).

India has been actively carrying out subversive activities against Pakistan and many of their high-profile agents were captured in Pakistan since 1970s. Most notable were Surjeet Singh, Sarabjit Singh, and Kashmir Singh, Ravinder Kaushak and recently held Kulbushan Yadav and many others. (Shah S. , Yadav — one of the many R&AW operatives caught in Pakistan, 2016). The Indian military follows undeclared war as an official policy. In the post 2008 Mumbai attacks and due to the failure of Indian military to operationalize CSD/proactive military Ops against Pakistan the Indian Army's Former Chief V.K Singh formed a special unit with the name Technical Services Division- (TSD) in the Indian Army to carry out terrorist activities in Pakistan, target Hafiz Saeed, Chief of Jamat-u-Dawa- (JUD) and buy the loyalties of Kashmiri leaders in Indian Held Kashmir- (IHK). (Baweja, "Army spook unit carried out covert ops in Pakistan" , 2013). The undeclared war strategy has been effectively operationalized in the recent times. In this study this aspect has been referred as the hybrid warfare strategy of India (which has been discussed in detail in the second chapter of the thesis). India has been using the Afghan soil to flare-up insurgency in Balochistan and terrorism in tribal areas of Pakistan.

The confession of former Tehrik-I-Taliban Pakistan- (TTP) leader Latif Mehsud exposed India. He was nabbed by the US forces in Afghanistan and later on handed over to Pakistan. In his confession he declared that the Indian R&AW is using different militant organisations to create disturbance in Pakistan. (“When terror speaks! Taliban leader confesses”, 2016). Later, the surrender and confession of former TTP spokesman Ehsan Ullah Ehsan – (real name Liaquat Ali) proved that India is funding, training and nurturing militant organizations in Afghanistan to create large scale subversion in Pakistan. (“Ehsanullah Ehsan’s confession”, 2017). All these subversive activities by the Indian intelligence agencies created serious security challenges for Pakistan. Chankya Kautilya in *Arthashastra* emphasized on the use of spies for internal and external surveillance. Kautilya also suggested to use businessman or traders as secret agents for spying in other states. (Daniel Coetzee and Lee W. Eysturlid, 2013).

The pertinent example in the modern times is the Indian Spy Kulbushan Yadav, who disguised himself in Iran and as a businessman for spying in Pakistan. (Gopal, 2017). Though the official Indian narrative is opposite to Pakistan. The Indian government has denied all these allegations by Pakistan. The Indian official narrative is that Kulbushan Yadav is an Indian national ‘son of soil’, (“Sushma warns Pakistan of impact on ties after Kulbhushan Jadhav death sentence”, 2017), he was in Iran for business purposes, he was kidnapped by the Pakistani security forces, and he is long retired from service and has nothing to do with the government of India.

(“Kulbhushan Jadhav death sentence: Pak should keep in mind consequences, says Sushma Swaraj”, 2017). But there are many unanswered questions which could be asked by the Indian government. First, why he was carrying fake passport? Why he was kidnaped from Iran, what makes him so special that other 4,000 Indians living in Iran were unscathed and he was kidnaped? The mystery around Kulbushan Yadav is growing because the Indian government is unable to answer these questions (Thapar, 2017). This is how intelligence games are played, if a spy is caught by the adversary, the government and relevant security agencies show plausible deniability and association with that spy. According to Pakistan’s perspective Kulbushan Yadav is an Indian intelligence high ranking operative. (Shah S. A., 2016). He was involved in the destabilizing activities to create widespread instability and turmoil in Balochistan province to disrupt China Pakistan Economic Corridor- (CPEC) mega project and undermine geo-economic value of Gawadar port, destabilize the economic hub of Pakistan (Karachi) to interrupt economic

growth of the country. In addition, India is actively using the Afghan soil to create instability in Pakistan through large scale terrorist activities, funding, training and providing crucial intelligence support to the militants hiding in Afghanistan. (“Pakistan makes details of Kulbhushan Jadhav trial public, rubbishes Indian allegations” , 2017).

Such activities would create serious fissures between both states. Pakistan would also do the same in IHK and would increase its political, diplomatic and strategic support to the Kashmiri fighters. Both countries would remain indulged in this covert war unless, they come up with amicable solution to all their bilateral disputes. The *undeclared war* strategy of India proven to be more successful than any direct attack by the Indian military under CSD or proactive military operations. Pakistan faced thousands of civil- military casualties and gigantic economic losses (Sabri, 2017). The other relevant approach from Kautilya’s six-fold policy is *marching*, which is discussed in next part of the study.

2.3 Surgical Strikes: Punitive Response

Hybrid Warfare entails direct and indirect attacks against the enemy. Indian hybrid warfare has many shapes and surgical strike are also part of this strategy. Surgical strike is an air force concept in which you go to a certain area, conduct a raid or operation and come back unhurt. In 2016, the Indian army claimed to have carry out surgical strike against Pakistan, (Hindustan times, 2021) which was rejected by Pakistan (Al Jazeera, 2016). There was no evidence to prove that India carried out any operation across the LoC. In 2018, the Indian Army introduced a New Land Warfare Doctrine- (LWD) in which it was reasserted that India would carry out “punitive responses” in other words India will carry out surgical strikes across the LOC or deep inside Pakistan in case of any alleged terrorist attack in the Indian Held Kashmir or elsewhere in India (SSRI, 2018). After Pulwama incident, India blamed Pakistan for complicity and support to JeM. However, there was no proof to establish this propaganda.

Pakistan categorically rejected Indian allegations and offered full support in investigation. However, after a few weeks, Indian Air Force crossed the border and conducted failed surgical strikes inside Pakistan. No loss of life was reported on Pakistani side (Yusuf, 2019). On the next day Pakistani air force conducted successful surgical strike and locked down targets across the LOC but intentionally dropped the payload in nearby deserted place (Dawn, 2019). The idea was to establish conventional deterrence against India. During the raid two Indian aircraft were shot

down and one pilot was captured and later on released by Pakistani authorities. Now the idea of surgical strike is still there in the minds of Indian strategic thinkers. Because total war is not possible because of the nuclear factor. Limited war (Cold Start Doctrine- Pro-active Military Ops) was also checkmated by Pakistan because of the tactical nukes. Now there is only one option left with the Indians to conduct surgical strikes to woo their public and gain political mileage in India.

Indian military is acquiring required capabilities to conduct successful surgical strikes against Pakistan. For a successful surgical strike Indian military must have impeccable air defense which they are in process to acquire from (S-400)- Russia (Walia, 2021) and (Barak-8)- Israel (Tan, 2020). These capabilities would improve India's air defense and give Indian policy makers a sense of invincibility. Such a thinking would allow India to carry out misadventure against Pakistan which may invite quid pro quo response. No doubt these systems would shore up Indian military's air defense but at the same time it cannot guarantee that these systems would cover each and every part of Indian territory. In addition, Indian is also acquiring more Rafael aircraft from France (Sharma, 2022) and may finalise a deal with the US to supply F-16s for IAF and F-18 for the Indian Navy (Tellis, 2017). These aircraft along with Russian SU-30 MKI would improve the Indian Air Force and fill the operational gaps. The IAF will be confident to engage PAF in future. Such a scenario would push the region into an unending arms race.

Obviously Pakistan would do the needful. Pakistan may acquire long range air defense, add more MIRVs, increase the quality and quantity of warheads, add more ALCM and SLCMs and procure fifth generation aircraft with the help of China to offset any Indian air superiority in the region. Another dangerous development is the acquisition of Israeli armed drones by India (MANjeet, 2022). India has already acquired Harpy and Harop UAVs which could be used to take out targets inside Pakistan (Arkin, 2021). However, in recent times India is in negotiation with Israel to acquire Advance Heron TP UAVs which could be used for future surgical strikes against Pakistan (Philip, 2021). It must be noted that any surgical strike by India would meet quid pro quo response because Pakistan has the ability to find the gap and penetrate the Indian defenses. Any Surgical strikes by India in future may invoke a limited war between the two belligerents. Any conflict limited or total would have far reaching implications for regional security. Nuclear south Asia cannot afford any such misadventure. It is imperative for India to avoid any misadventure

and resolve all issues with Pakistan in an amicable way through meaningful dialogue. The next part of the study would analyse the implications of Indian Hybrid warfare strategy against Pakistan.

2.4 Neutrality

If a king feels that his enemy and he are equal and neither can harm the other nor ruin the others undertakings, then he shall choose to do nothing. This is what India did in 1986-87 Brass tuck crisis, 2001-02 border stand off and in 2008 after Mumbai attacks. In which India first tried to coerce Pakistan militarily and politically but when it realized that it cannot win against Pakistan because of the nuclear deterrence, in the end India had to follow its ancestor's advice to observe neutrality.

2.5 Marching: Military Modernization

Chankya Kautilya represented true picture of statehood, military strategy and techniques to win over enemies. By Yana- (Marching) Kautilya meant making preparation for attack without actually declaring a war. (Urmila Sharma and S.K. Sharma, 1996). The relevance of the *marching* is with modernization of the Indian military and operationalization of their offensive doctrines through military exercises on border with Pakistan. The next part of the study would enlist the Indian military's modernization drive and its impact on strategic stability of south Asia. India wants to become a great power keeping in mind its economic pace, population boom and military might. (McKercher, 2012). The Indian military is considered as the third largest force in the world and largest military in south Asia. The total size of the Indian military is close to 1,346,000. ("The Military Balance: Chapter-Six-Asia" Vol 115 Issue,1, 2015).

The Indian Army is the largest branch of Indian military, with about 1,150,900 men whereas Indian Air force- (IAF) and its Navy stands at 127,200 and 58,350 respectively. India is aspirant of global power status but also wants to preserve balance of power with superior China and strategically compatible Pakistan. Since independence the Indian military's strategic thinking and military modernization has been focused on Pakistan. (Blumenthal, 2012). This is the reason that India is pouring billions of dollars to revamp its ageing military machine and fill the gaps in its overall war fighting capabilities. To achieve this goal, the Indian military has launched a massive transformation program. Over the period of time India has increased its defense budget to overcome operational gaps. According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute-

(SIPRI), India has been the largest importer of arms during the period of 2013-2017 which accounted for 12% of the global arms purchases. The Indian arms imports increased by 24% between 2008-2012 and 2013-2017. Major defense imports came from Russia (62%), the arms imports from the US increased 557% making it the second largest arms supplier to India after Russia. (“Asia and the Middle East lead rising trend in arms imports, US exports grow significantly, says SIPRI”, 2018). In addition, the defense budget for the fiscal year 2017-18 also reached to \$53.5 billion.(Behera, 2017).

India is in close strategic partnership with the US, Russia, France and Israel to improve its obsolescent military capabilities, induct force multipliers and fill the operational gaps in its overall war fighting capabilities. The Indian Military is revamping its capabilities with modern T-90S MBTs, APCs, spike and Nag Anti-Tank missiles attack helicopters, long range artillery guns, weapon locating radars, S-400 and Barak-8 Air defense systems. In addition, the IAF is adding Rafale and advance version of Sukhoi aircraft to fill the gaps in their operational capabilities to maintain air superiority and fight along ground forces to achieve synergy and integration. The Indian military’s space program is making headways with designated Spy satellites for Army, Air Force and Navy. The induction of aircraft carriers, nuclear submarines, Anti-submarine warfare aircraft, corvettes, frigates and other warships would enable the Indian navy to dominate the Indian Ocean region and challenge Pakistan’s maritime interests in the Arabian Sea. The Indian military’s overall modernization and its preparation is actually resurrection of Chankya Kautilya’s policy of Marching- Yana. (The details of the Indian military modernization and its operationalization is discussed in detail in the third chapter of the study).

The Indian military’s enormous modernization drive is considered as a threat to the national security of Pakistan and this issue needs an urgent attention and adequate conventional and non-conventional response. The Indian military modernization at rapid scale is a real and pertinent challenge to the deterrence stability of south Asia. The conventional balance of power in south Asia would dangerously tilt in favor of India and seriously challenge the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan. Such a development would compel Pakistan to rely on its nuclear weapons to deny any conventional or technological edge to India. Pakistan must keep nuclear weapons as last option and develop its conventional deterrence vis-à-vis India. Pakistan needs to overhaul its indigenous defense industry to enhance its potential to help its military to overcome operational

gaps in its overall warfighting capabilities. Pakistan needs to incorporate network centric and electronic warfare capabilities to meet challenges imposed by the modern warfare.

It must focus on its surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities, add new long range and long endurance UAVs, AWACS and other radars to maintain perpetual vigilance at the borders to deny element of surprise to the enemy forces without any time barrier in all weather conditions and terrain. These conventional capabilities of Pakistan would make the adventurism by India costly and least effective. In addition, Pakistan army must modernize its infantry, improve the battlefield command and control structure, equip MBTs with greater firepower, range and maneuverability. Pakistan military needs to identify its weak areas in its overall warfighting capabilities and to work on its operational preparedness to meet the emerging threats from India at LoC and regular border. Pakistan must also enhance night vision capabilities in its military because future wars would be limited, intense, quick and swift without any time barrier.

Pakistan military must be ready for prompt response to any misadventure by the Indian forces, for that matter Pakistan must also improve its human intelligence to know about enemy plans in advance and take countermeasures to prevent any surgical strikes or proactive military operations. It is imperative that both states must show restraint and resolve all outstanding issues amicably because, there will be no winner in a nuclear exchange, as emphasized by George Wald in 1969 that, “there is nothing worth having that can be obtained by nuclear war - nothing material or ideological - no tradition that it can defend. It is utterly self-defeating”. (“Generation in search of a future” Volume 155, Issue 32,, 1969). It is necessary that India and Pakistan must learn from their past mistakes and deviate from costly arms race and spend that money on the human resource development of their impoverished population. The next part of the study would discuss the impact of Hindutva ideology on the overall strategic thinking of India.

2.6 Alliances

In contrast to preparing for war, a king may require the help of another to protect his own undertakings. This idea of building an alliance is Kautilya’s fifth method of foreign policy. A king seeking an alliance must ensure that he finds a king more powerful than the neighbouring enemy. India is vigorously working on this dictum. It has strategic alliance with many countries around the world including US, Russia, France, and Israel. It has signed a 10-year nuclear deal with the US in 2008, this deal would open nuclear technology and energy market for India. Its nuclear

programme would undermine Pakistan's nuclear deterrent. In a recent visit by the US President to India, both countries signed deals of almost 10 to 15 billion \$. Most important component of the deal was, purchase of 10 C-17 Globemaster-III military transport aircraft for Indian Air Force. Such aircrafts would help to improve Indian air forces mobility and reach. Other major strategic alliance of India is with Russia. Almost 70% of Indian conventional weapon and equipment comes from Russia. It has signed many arms deals with Russia; including transfer of T-90 MBT and SU-30 MKI multirole aircraft, nuclear submarine, aircraft carrier and other weapon and equipment.

In the recent visit by the Russian President, India signed 30 deals covering a wide spectrum of issues ranging from defense, nuclear energy and trade. Both have also agreed to step up efforts to achieve the target of bilateral trade of \$ 20 billion by 2015. The most important deal was struck in the defence sector for the Fifth Generation Fighter Aircraft (FGFA). It will be based on the Sukhoi T-50 platform with a possible \$35 billion tab for around 250 fighters which are expected to be delivered starting in 2020. The total cost including options and the value of production will make this the biggest defence programme ever in the history of India. Other major breakthrough was in the space sector. Russia and India signed a deal granting India access to Russia's space-based navigation system GLONASS (Global Navigation Satellite System). GLONASS can be used for both civilian and military purposes and allow users to determine their positions to within a few meters. This shows India's pursuance of Kautilya's policy to make alliances to improve its overall capabilities to undermine Pakistan's national security interests in the region.

3 CHAPTER THREE

THE CONCEPT OF WAR IN ARTHASHASTRA: POST 2008 UNDECLARED WAR

3.1 Introduction

The Hybrid warfare strategy is not new to the world, since ages countries have been employing covert operations against their enemies to create subversion, get intelligence, destroy enemy without actually directly engaging in any war. Classical realist, Chankya Kautilya gave the concept of undeclared war or covert operations in his book *Arthshastra*, in which, he advised the king to use the secret agents, religion or superstition, and women against the enemies (Rangarajan, 1992). Chankya Kautilya was great proponent of irregular warfare- (hybrid warfare). In *Arthshastra*, Kautilya has advised the king to execute covert operations or launch psychological warfare to gain advantage over enemy? Kautilya also advised “unjust” techniques a form of irregular warfare to incite troubles in enemy kingdom by bribing officials, initiating intrigues, kidnapping relatives of the enemy rulers, and hiring assassins (Daniel Coetzee and Lee W. Eysturlid, 2013).

3.2 Defining the Concept of Hybrid Warfare

The hybrid warfare strategy is considered as irregular warfare which is blend of many aggressive steps by a state or non-state actors against a country to achieve strategically motivated political goals. This type of warfare pose serious challenge in the modern times, because the adversary has no face, it uses complex stratagems to make its inroads, the targets are not confined to conventional or hardcore military but the ambit of hybrid warfare also includes cultural sensitivities in a particular society, ethno-centrism, propaganda, fake news, covert operations, staged agitations and engineered campaigns to undermine country’s independent stature, global image, territorial integrity, national cohesion and socio-economic progress. Sometimes the perpetrators of hybrid warfare are state actors which may include spy agencies of the particular state to create mayhem and turmoil in the country, fund militants and insurgents to create large scale political subversion, offensive diplomacy to undermine country’s soft image at global forums and effectively employing fake media campaign for propaganda to create confusion in masses of

the country. There is no universally accepted definition for hybrid warfare strategy however in modern literature hybrid warfare is explained as irregular strategies or tactics, and according to some scholars it is mixture of asymmetrical and conventional strategies used in a particular battlespace, however some describe it as a New Generation Warfare doctrine. Most of the western scholars link the hybrid warfare strategy with the Russian covert operations in Ukraine, Georgia.

The aim of such covert operations is to politically influence the respective country (Radin, 2017). The term hybrid warfare was first coined by the US military officers General James Mattis and Frank Hoffman in 2005, “Irregular challengers seek to exploit tactical advantages at a time and place of their own choosing, rather than playing by our rules. They seek to accumulate a series of small tactical effects, magnify them through the media and by information warfare.....” (Sadik, 2017). The International Institute for Strategic Studies- (IISS) consider the “merger of different modes and means of war as hybrid warfare strategy” (Sadik, 2017). In modern times the hybrid warfare has shrank the difference between regular and irregular operations. Now it is blend of both strategies. Though such type of multifaceted covert operations existed in the ancient times. In modern history some analyst believe that Mao Zedong of China is considered as the first to emphasize on the importance of fluctuating between regular and irregular warfare methods. Mao contended that the struggle is mainly a political one and not military, that the first phase of the struggle would always include asymmetrical warfare techniques, but the victory would only be conceivable through regular warfare with conventional forces.

Thus without coining the term the concept of hybrid warfare was born and later used by many. (Julian Lindley-French and Yves Boye, 2012). According to North Atlantic Treaty Organisation- (NATO), the hybrid warfare strategy is not new, it has always been existed in the international system where one state exploit the weaknesses of the other but using irregular methods and techniques. However, the hybrid warfare is widely understood as “blend of conventional/unconventional, regular/irregular, and information and cyber warfare tactic, complex set of interconnected threats and forceful means waged to further political motives”(Puyvelde, 2018). However, the US military defined the hybrid warfare strategy in these words, “Conflict executed by either state and/or non-state threats that employs multiple modes of warfare to include conventional capabilities, irregular tactics, and criminal disorder” is called as hybrid warfare (D'Agostino, 2010). In Addition, another term ‘the hybrid threat’ is also considered as the same

concept. The US Marine Corps officials believe that hybrid warfare is no different from full spectrum warfare. It encompasses over conventional and unconventional warfare. However, the US air force officials believe,

“the hybrid warfare is more complex than regular warfare because of increased tempo, complexity, diversity, and wider orchestration across national borders which are all exacerbated by the ease with which adversaries can communicate, access international sources and funding and acquire more lethal and sophisticated weaponry”.(D'Agostino, 2010)

Another definition of the hybrid warfare explains the concept of hybrid warfare in these words.

“An enemy that concurrently adopt and employ amalgamation of (1) political military, economic, social and information means and (2) conventional irregular terrorism and disruptive/criminal conflict methods. It may include combination of state and non-state actors”.(D'Agostino, 2010)

It could be argued that the superposition of conventional and unconventional sphere has given birth to hybrid warfare. The convergence of regular and irregular tactics poses a multifaceted threat to a state for politically motivated objectives. Therefore, it could be summed up that any threat, which involves multiple tactics and strategies and are not confined by a single dimension of warfare against a particular country is called ‘hybrid warfare (A. Niglia, 2016). In an another definition, the hybrid force could may not involve conventional forces such as main battle tanks, mechanized forces, bombers, warships, etc., but still be hybrid because it contains the irregular forces, guerillas, partisans, convicts and unconventional weapons. The conglomeration of all these irregular actors may also be regarded as a hybrid force (Lovelace, 2016). The distinguishing aspect of the hybrid warfare is that, it is being wrestled in a truly global, practically borderless milieu. Global interface has become easier; it is beyond any border or restriction. The hybrid warfare fighters contain state and non-state actors, multinational organizations to NGOs and even mercenaries (Trenin, 2018). The hybrid warfare is meant to capitalize on the vulnerabilities of a targeted state. The actors involved in this type of warfare open multi-front attack against a state to create direct and indirect effects. (Dr. Patrick J. Cullen and Erik Reichborn-Kjennerud, 2017) The hybrid warfare players coordinate their military, political, economic, civilian, and informational- (MPECI) tools of power to launch series of activities to create an impact which may seriously pose political and strategic threats to a country (Dr. Patrick J. Cullen and Erik Reichborn-Kjennerud, 2017).



Figure 3.1 Elements of Hybrid Warfare

3.3 The Application of Hybrid Warfare on Pakistan

India and Pakistan’s covert operations against each other are not new. Since independence both states viewed each other with suspicion and mistrust. The Indian policy makers believe that Pakistan played a negative role in IHK and Sikh Khalistan insurgencies, whereas Pakistan accused India of meddling in East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh), Balochistan and FATA. Pakistan is facing multiple threats by the India’s hybrid warfare strategy. India has launched political, military, economic, diplomatic and social onslaught against Pakistan and trying to capitalize on the vulnerabilities of the state of Pakistan. Pakistan Army Chief General Bajwa has recently referred to this phenomenon of hybrid warfare in his speech at Kakul. (Syed, “Hybrid war imposed on country to internally weaken it, says Bajwa” , 2018) He was of the view that,

“Our enemies know that they cannot beat us fair and square and have thus subjected us to a cruel, evil and protracted hybrid war. They are trying to weaken our resolve by weakening us from within”(Syed, “Hybrid war imposed on country to internally weaken it, says Bajwa” , 2018).

The Indian military has tried to subdue Pakistan through different military strategies, but after the overt nuclearization conventional military operations are no longer viable option for the

Indian military. The CSD, Proactive military operations or surgical strikes lost their significance because of Pakistan's conventional and nuclear response. However, the execution of hybrid warfare strategy entails no such risks of escalation or nuclear exchange. This is the reason that the Indian policy makers are now focusing more on the application of hybrid warfare strategy instead of direct military engagement with Pakistan. According to Professor Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, "the gist of the fact is that India and its like-minded states make use of conventional/unconventional, regular/irregular, overt/covert tools, and exploit all the dimensions of war to undermine Pakistan's national security" (Jaspal D. Z., 2017).

However, it is noteworthy that the execution of hybrid warfare strategy is not new in south Asian context. Both states have been employing such strategies against each other since independence. As far as India is concerned it has already waged such type of war against Pakistan since the establishment of Research and Analysis Wing- (R&AW) in 1968 (Stanley A. Kochanek and Robert L. Hardgrave, 2008). The first classical example of the successful application of hybrid warfare strategy was to create Mukti Bahini in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) a terrorist organisation that played crucial role in the dismemberment of Pakistan. The Indian decision makers efficaciously exploited on the ethno-political divide/vulnerabilities of Pakistan in 1971. Mukti Bahini was exclusively trained, funded and nurtured by the Indian Army and R&AW and later on unleashed on the Eastern Wing of Pakistan resulted in humiliating defeat for Pakistan military. They were involved in heinous crimes against Pakistan Army, their families, and loyal to Pakistan Bengalis and Biharis (Kasturi, 1995). India has been actively carrying out subversive activities against Pakistan and many of their high-profile agents were captured in Pakistan since 1970s. Most notable were Surjeet Singh, Sarabjit Singh, and Kashmir Singh, Ravinder Kaushak and recently held Kulbushan Yadav and many others (Shah S. , 2016). Former Director General of ISI and Military Intelligence, General (retd) Ehsan Ul Haq explains the Indian covert operations in Pakistan in these words,

The Indians have been trying to destabilize us internally. We have been subjected to an invasion that is something which is being happening since 1947.....those elements of the hybrid warfare have been at work for a very very long time. We saw its manifestation in 1971 in the East Pakistan.....they have accordingly enhanced into all these facets whether it is psychological information, media, cultural, economic, military, diplomatic all these things have been at work against Pakistan and it will continue to be so(Haq, 2018).

The Indian policy makers after the Mumbai attacks in 2008 launched renewed covert operations against Pakistan to curtail its support for Kashmir cause. India's subversive activities against Pakistan have a long history but after 2008, it gained momentum.

3.4 The Establishment of Technical Service Division- (TSD) – 2008

Former Indian Army Chief, General (ret'd) V.K Singh formed a secret unit in the Indian Army called Technical Services Division- (TSD), to buy the loyalties of the Kashmiri leaders in the IHK, target Lashkar-I-Tayyaba-(LET) leadership in Pakistan and to carry out terrorist activities inside Pakistan ("Ex-Indian Army chief admits sponsoring terrorism in Baluchistan" , 2013). An Indian Army official, privy to the TSD's activities said that "Our main task was to combat the rising trend of state-sponsored terrorism by the Inter-Services Intelligence- (ISI) and we had developed contacts across the LoC in a bid to infiltrate Hafiz Saeed's inner circle". (Baweja, 2013) This unit had endorsement of the Indian DG Military Intelligence, Vice Chief and COAS General V.K Singh. (Baweja, 2013) Under TSD, the Indian Army carried out three covert operations in the post 2008 period. Operation Rehbar I-II-III was launched in IHK, Operation Seven Sisters in Northeast of India and Operation Deep Strike was carried out inside Pakistan (Baweja, 2013).

Since, these operations were highly secretive in nature, this is the reason no details are available in the open media but reportedly, the TSD Unit carried out eight covert operations in a foreign country- (probably Pakistan), and paid money from "secret service funds to try and enroll the secessionist chief in a province of a neighbouring country" (Singh S. , 2015). Here it is noteworthy that India and Pakistan have been blaming each other for provoking militancy in their respective countries. The evidence on ground suggest that TSD unit played its role in creating subversion in Pakistani province of Balochistan. The arrest of Indian Spy Kulbushan Yadav is the evidence of Indian covert operations inside Pakistan. According to Pakistan's incumbent Chairman Joint Chief Staff Committee- (CJCSC), General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, "Indian spy agency Research and Analysis Wing- (R&AW) had established a cell in 2015 dedicated to sabotage China-Pakistan Economic Corridor- (CPEC) projects in Pakistan ("RAW running \$500 million cell to sabotage CPEC,' says Gen Zubair Hayat" , 2017).

Kulbushan Yadav, in his confession also accepted that he was involved in the subversive activities in Karachi and Baluchistan in which many Pakistanis lost their lives. ("Indian spy Kulbushan Yadav confesses to spying in Pakistan in video.", 2016) He was tasked to create

uncertainty in Pakistan, disrupt CPEC and target Gawadar port. (“Indian spy Kulbushan Yadav confesses to spying in Pakistan in video.”, 2016) According to former Corps Commander- (XXXI Corps), Lt General (retd) Naeem Khalid Lodhi,

*Kulbushan Yadav and other network which has been caught are a proof that they are actually pursuing this doctrine of **hybrid warfare**. It is not that they have to wage a war, we are already in the middle of a war. They have already waged hybrid war against us. They will undermine us especially in the field of economy that is the reason that they are so much against CPEC(Lodhi, 2017).*

This is one of the reason that, Pakistan has witnessed renewed terrorist attacks in Baluchistan, Karachi and other parts of the country. Later, General (retd) V.K Singh after retirement from the service joined BJP and won election from Ghaziabad with a huge lead (Aradhak, 2014). Such a hawkish individual with anti-Pakistan rhetoric, in the incumbent BJP government would be inconvenient for Pakistan. It is obvious when it comes to strategic issues especially dealing with Pakistan, he would advise the BJP leadership with his pugnacious thinking for some offensive moves against Pakistan, which could be proactive military operations or surgical strikes.

3.5 Ajit Doval - Defensive-Offense Doctrine

The appointment of Ajit Doval as National Security Advisor- (NSA) by the BJP government was another step to deal aggressively with insurgency in Kashmir and curb its support from Pakistan. Former Director General Air Force Strategic Command-PAF and Air Attaché in India, Air Marshal (retd) Muhammad Ashfaq Arain assess the India’s covert operations against Pakistan. He said, “Since India cannot achieve its objectives with military force, covert operations to weaken Pakistan are the best option. While policy of covert operations by India was already in place and functional, Ajit Doval with his RAW background has given it further impetus” (Arain, 2018). Ajit Doval while describing his approach in dealing with threats to the Indian National Security said that ‘we deal with enemy at three levels. First is defensive mode, in which he said ‘we improve our defenses at home and deal with it on our own soil’. Second mode is defensive-offense, in which ‘you have to proactively go to the area from where threat is coming and neutralize it there’. And third is offensive mode which implies that ‘you go for offensive out rightly’. When it comes to dealing with Pakistan, he was of the view that nuclear weapons prevent India from offensive mode but it does not cross threshold in defensive-offense approach. He emphasized on defensive-offence strategy which aims at exploiting the vulnerabilities of Pakistan, which could

be economic, internal security, political, its isolation internationally, proxy war in Afghanistan and making it difficult for Pakistan to manage its internal security” (Nithesh, 2016).

Chankya Kautilya in *Arthshastra* did not urge the ethical deliberations against adversary when it comes to covert operations, but rather prudent and careful calculations. He said.....”if the subjects, harassed by (an enemy’s king) own army or disaffected with him, are easy to entice, being weakened, without energy or divided among themselves.....then he should make war and march” (Boesche, 2002). This is actually true manifestation of hybrid warfare strategy, in which India aims to exploit Pakistan’s political, socio-economic, strategic, ethnic and religious susceptibilities. This is what India did in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and this is what the Indian government is instigating in Balochistan and tribal areas of Pakistan. Another senior official of the Modi government, former defense minister Manohar Parrikar has also openly declared that India will pro-actively deal with Pakistan. He said, "We have to neutralize terrorists through terrorists only.....kaante se kaanta nikalta hai (you remove a thorn with the help of a thorn)" (Singh R. , 2015). However, Pakistan got clean chit in Pathankot terrorist attack in IHK. Initially, the Indian government claimed that Pakistan was involved in the attack, but after the investigation, Director General National Investigation Agency- (NIA) of India, Mr. Sharad Kumar said that, “No evidence to show that Pakistan government or Pakistani government agency was helping Jaish – e –Mohammed- (JeM) or Masood Azhar or his aides carried out the Pathankot attack” (Arunima, 2016). However, it seems that the BJP government has already made up their mind that any alleged terrorist attack in IHK or Indian soil would be orchestrated by Pakistan. Such an approach is threatening for the peace and stability of South Asia. The Indian government’s aggressive thinking to use militants and spies to destabilize Pakistan has already taken place.

Since 9/11, Pakistan has faced serious issue of militancy and terrorism in tribal areas, in which it witnessed \$118 billion economic losses, (“War on terror’ has cost Pakistan \$118bn: SBP” , 2016) casualties of over 80,000 civilians and 5,498 military personnel (“Body Count: Casualty Figures after 10 Years of the “War on Terror” , 2015). In addition, Pakistan has deployed 200,000 troops in FATA, (Gul, 2016) to curb terrorist networks, supported, funded and nurtured by India from across the border. Their activities were disclosed by ex-TTP commander Latif Mehsud who was nabbed in Afghanistan by the US forces and later handed over to Pakistan. He was there in Afghanistan to collect funds and instructions by R&AW and Afghan authorities (“Striking

revelations: Hakimullah Mehsud's top aide in US custody", 2013). Another major achievement in 2017 was the surrender of an ex-TTP Spokesman Ehsan Ullah Ehsan. In his confessionary statement he revealed that Afghan soil is being used by the TTP and other militant organizations against Pakistan. His claim was verified by Kulbushan Yadav in his confession, that India is creating problems for Pakistan from their consulates in Afghanistan (Yousaf, 2017).

India through Afghanistan wants to engage Pakistan internally so it could not raise its voice for Kashmir cause. The incumbent Indian policy makers are making all efforts to isolate Pakistan regionally and globally using diplomatic offensive. Chankya Kautilya in *Arthshastra* has also mentioned that a country must use offensive diplomacy to defeat an enemy. Chankya Kautilya believed diplomacy is a 'subtle act of war, a series of action taken to weaken an enemy and gain advantages for oneself, all with an eye towards eventual conquest' (Keith Hamilton and Prof. Richard Langhorne, 2011). In that context, this is what we have observed in the recent past when India without any concrete evidence blamed Pakistan for alleged terrorist attacks in IJK. India's boycott of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation- (SAARC) meeting along with Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Bhutan was part of their diplomatic offensive to isolate Pakistan regionally (Sansanwal, 2016). However, the Indian leaders categorically declared that they will isolate Pakistan globally. (Bokhari, 2016). Such a thinking is destructive for the regional peace, stability and development. Without Pakistan, it is impossible for south Asia to constructively connect with Central Asia, West Asia or rest of the world.

India through hybrid warfare strategy achieved three main objectives, first they imposed heavy economic losses on Pakistan, secondly, Pakistan army was compelled to deploy major chunk of its forces on the Afghan border and now it is facing two front war dilemma, third, through this strategy Pakistan lost more civil and military casualties than in any direct wars with India since 1947. However, Pakistan has bounced back and achieved phenomenal success in FATA against TTP, Al-Qaeda and other affiliated militant groups. Now they are enjoying sanctuaries in Afghanistan under the patronage of India. Security situation in Balochistan and Karachi is also improving with consistent intelligence based operations, development projects- (CPEC) and reintegration of the disgruntled Baloch rebels.

The doctrinal change and rapid military modernization drive by India would create security dilemma for Pakistan. The conventional asymmetries would create strategic disparity in south

Asia, allowing India to carry out limited ops under the nuclear threshold. Such thinking is aggressive and would plunge the region into further mayhem and turmoil. Pakistan would also speed up work on the induction of modern weapon and equipment to fill the gaps in its conventional deterrence vis-à-vis India to maintain strategic parity in south Asia. The doctrinal transformation in the Indian military suggest that, there is a possibility of limited, intense conflict between India and Pakistan. After the induction of nuclear weapons, the possibility of total war has diminished but now it seems that the Indian military is aiming to fight a sub- conventional warfare or planning to carry out surgical strikes with its special forces, advanced helicopters, UAVs and highly sophisticated aircraft.

All these eventualities would lead to a clash between India and Pakistan, which may escalate into a full fledged conflict. According to Pakistani perspective, there will be a retaliation to any adventurism by India, which may escalate into a full blown war. Pakistan's economic conditions does not support arms race with India. It would try to fill the gaps with its indigenous defense industry but in reality it has to go a long way to achieve capabilities to counter the Indian military's force multipliers i.e. long range air defense systems (S-400 and Barak-8), Long endurance UAVs, P8I Anti-Submarine-Surveillance and Reconnaissance Aircraft, Nuclear Submarines, Fifth Generation aircraft and spy satellites. To counter Indian military's conventional capabilities Pakistan would ultimately rely on its nuclear assets, especially tactical nuclear weapons with small yield and shorter range to deter any advance of the Indian Army's Integrated Battle Groups- (IBGs). Most of the people in the West believe that Pakistan's TNWs are source of instability. According to Ashley J Tellis, "TNWs are unlikely to be effective as nuclear deterrents, except for strategic signaling. Their value operationally is modest, and the risks associated with their deployment are considerable" (Tellis, 2017). Toby Dalton, Co-Director, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, shared the same views that "TNWs may contribute marginally to deterrence stability in some contexts, but at considerable cost and risk of accident and inadvertent escalation" (Dalton, 2017). Another expert of south Asia, Michael Krepon, from Stimson Center discussed the associated risks with the deployment of TNWs, that

Tactical nuclear weapons are the least safe and secure nuclear weapons in any country's arsenal, in large measure because they must be deployed near the battlefield, where they are susceptible to accidents and being overrun, or hit by airpower. Any mushroom cloud is a threat to uncontrolled escalation(Krepon, 2017).

However, Pakistani perspective is different from the Indian or Western perspective. Pakistani policy makers and experts believe that the sole purpose of the TNW is to deter Indian military's limited conventional war strategy- CSD. It has no aggressive intent. The command and control, safety and security issues could be addressed effectively. If Pakistan can develop these weapons, it can also provide foolproof security to these assets. Former Director General of the SPD, Lt General (ret'd) Khalid Kidwai rationalized development and deployment of TNWs in these words,

As far as Pakistan is concerned it is well within our sovereign right to find an answer to the cold start doctrine, so at the conventional level, at the nuclear level we have tried to find answers to how to neutralize the cold start doctrine, which takes care of the mobilization time, the exercises, cutting down of the reaction time etc. it is the kind of a doctrinal game that goes on between any two adversaries. An adversary when develops a new doctrine the other side tries to find answers to that, we have also found the answers to cold start doctrine, because of which I feel confident enough to say that the era of hot wars is over(Kidwai, 2017).

The overwhelming reliance of Pakistan military on nuclear weapons would be a dangerous development in south Asia. It would put the nuclear deterrence at greater risk. The Indian nuclear doctrine does not clearly differentiate between tactical or strategic nuclear warheads. It generally talks about massive retaliation in case of any WMD threat or use against the Indian forces anywhere in the world. Such an ambiguity put a question mark on Pakistan's rationale behind the induction and use of tactical nuclear weapons. What if India respond Pakistan's tactical nuclear weapons with its strategic nuclear warhead. The doctrinal shift, massive Indian military modernization programs and Pakistan's full spectrum deterrence strategy along with the induction of tactical nuclear weapons portrays a bleak picture of deterrence stability in south Asia. It is imperative for both nuclear belligerents in south Asia to show restraint and work together to resolve their issues bilaterally in an amicable way. The road to confrontation would seriously disrupt the progress and development of both nations. Any conflict in south Asia limited or total would have far reaching implications for the regional and global security.

India and Pakistan share the most volatile border in the world, which is marred by continuous rivalry, proxy wars, instability and turmoil. Both nuclear weapon states are up against each other since their inception. On many occasions both nuclear belligerents fought decisive wars and imposed heavy damages on each other. This article is going to focus on India's undeclared

war against Pakistan especially after 2019. The idea is to understand how India brought doctrinal shift in her policy and focused more on hybrid mode of warfare instead of all out wars or direct engagement. Direct confrontation has been costly for both states and entails greater risks of escalation after the nuclearization of south Asia. But indirect approach or hybrid warfare seriously impacted Pakistan's security and helped India to engage Pakistan internally and let India to maintain her strategic dominance in the region. The article will focus on three main elements, first the impact of Chankya Kautilya's concept of undeclared warfare on the Indian strategic thinking in modern times, Secondly, change in the Indian strategic thinking after 2008 and later in 2019 which led to India's policy of global assassinations and thirdly, what are the implications of these this policy for Pakistan's security.

Indian policy makers associate their strategic thinking with Chankya Kautilya and they also considered him as the pioneer of Indian strategic culture. Thorough investigation reveal that there is huge influence of Kautilyan thought on the modern Indian strategic thinking. India is religiously following Chankya Kautilya's dictum of subduing the enemy with undeclared warfare (Photolm, 2010). Chankya Kautilya in his book *Arthashastra* mentioned six-fold policy which emphasized on important points to subdue the enemy. Those six strategic underpinnings are 1- Peace, 2-War, 3-Neutrality, 4-Marching, 5-Alliances, 6- Double Policy (Barua, 1955). The focus of this article is on second approach in six-fold policy, the War- (Vigraha). Kautilya talks about three type of war. The focus on the study is on the 3rd type of war which is undeclared *warfare* strategy, in which the enemy carries out covert operations, use spies, religious, superstitions and women- (honey trap) to maintain strategic edge against the enemy (Rangarajan, 1992).

The Indians policy makers followed Chankya's dictums consistently and employed undeclared warfare against Pakistan since 1947. But the classical example of undeclared warfare strategy was 1971 war against East Pakistan- (Now Bangladesh). Indian Research and Analysis Wing- (R&AW) meticulously planned their covert operations against Pakistan, trained and nurtured over 180,000 Mukti Bahini insurgents and effectively capitalized on Pakistan's political, ethnic, geographic, economic and strategic vulnerabilities (Sinha, 1979). Chankya Kautilya's approach towards War- (Vigraha) was not just confined to traditional aspects of the strategic thinking or physical engagement with the enemy. But he advised that king to subdue the enemy with multifaceted strategies which are explained in the chart below. Kautilya does not limit the

policy of war (Vigraha) to physical conflicts alone. Kautilya classifies war into four categories to subdue the enemy.

3.6 Open War: Total War

Indian government have used this method to malign and pressurize Pakistan. many times over in the recent years the Indian foreign office used offensive diplomacy to create negative image of Pakistan in the global political arena. Indian government reiterated that it will isolate Pakistan diplomatically at regional and global level (Markey, 2020). Indian PM Modi in 2016 and 2019 echoed that India will diplomatically isolate Pakistan (Dawn, 2016). Facts on ground shows that Indian government has already been using this dictum of Chankya conscientiously.

3.7 An Open War at a designated time and place- (Prakasayuddha)

India and Pakistan fought open wars in 1965 and 1971. Both wars were decisive and led to large scale destruction on both sides. Such wars are scant after the nuclearization of South Asia, but previously India and Pakistan both had open wars as well.

ARHASHASTRA
by KAUTILYA
Concept of WAR- (Vigraha) by Kautiliya

Diplomatic Offensive Measures (Mantrayuddha).

An **Open War** at a Designated Time and Place- (Prakasayuddha).

A **Secret War**, i.e., Using **Treachery** and **Psychological Warfare** to **surprise** the enemy- (Kutayuddha).

Undeclared War, i.e., Using **Clandestine Methods**, **Assassinations**, and **Secret Agents**, **covert Ops**- (Gudayuddha).

3.8 Secret War: Quick & Sudden Attack

A Secret War, i.e., using treachery and psychological warfare to surprise the enemy (Kutayuddha). India has already imposed this type of war against. It has used fake news, propaganda and psychological warfare to hurt Pakistan, create divide among people on the basis of religion and ethnicity. Another purpose of India's psychological warfare is to create division among masses and sow hatred and animosity towards armed forces. Today, a critical analysis of the situation would help to understand such a warfare against Pakistan. i.e. in 2020 EU Disinformation Lab a European think tank unearthed hundreds of fake media houses, websites in more than one hundred countries to pump fake news related to Pakistan, China and European countries. A 72-page investigative report "India Chronicles" exposed the Indian propaganda and psychological warfare against Pakistan.

Other aspect of this dictum is 'surprise attack on the enemy'. In this context India has already carried out surgical strike on Pakistan after Pulwama attack in 2019. Though, surgical strike by India failed to achieve their stated objectives, but India crossed the international border, violated article 2/4 of UN Charter which bar member states from threat or use of force against other member states and carried out missile strikes in Balakot, Pakistan. In return, Pakistan launched successful surgical strikes on the strategic assets and installations of India across the LoC. Pakistan intentionally changed the directions of her missiles to avoid any physical damage but conveyed the message that Pakistan is a capable country with adequate striking capability to take out targets at a time and place of its choosing. Pakistan also shot down Indian aircraft SU-30 MKI and MIG-21. One pilot was killed and other was captured alive by Pakistan, which turned out to be an embarrassing situation for the Indian government. India's failure of secret war strategy led to the fourth approach to focus more on undeclared warfare to maintain strategic edge against Pakistan.

3.9 Undeclared War: Hybrid Warfare

An Undeclared War, i.e., using clandestine methods, assassinations, and secret agents (Gudayuddha). The treatise talks about breaking up confederacies and oligarchies by sowing dissension using "undeclared war." Kautilya's principles indicate his clarity of thought for consolidating the capture of territories and creating an enduring victory (Muralidharan,2020). India currently focus on *Undeclared Warfare strategy* because it is risky to engage nuclear

Pakistan in an open war for obvious reasons. India also tried to deal with Pakistan with her secret war strategies through fake media, psychological warfare, proactive military operations- (Cold Start Doctrine) and surgical strikes but with no concrete strategic advantage. The ultimate panacea to Pakistan problem for India is undeclared warfare strategy or use of spies, proxy war, covert operations, assassinations through local criminal gangs.

That is the focus of this study, India is employing the fourth approach with full vigor and zeal and have taken out many Sikh and Kashmiri activists/dissidents in Canada and Pakistan. Kautilya envisage undeclared warfare against enemy, which entails torture, assassination, covert operations and destruction of enemies both foreign and domestic (Photolm, 2010). To achieve these goals, the Indian government is following the same dictum and trying to subdue their enemies through the establishment of secret cells to disrupt CPEC, (Haider, 2016) assassinate their enemies abroad and eliminate internal dissent voices (Ling, 2024). Though India's undeclared warfare strategy or hybrid war is not new against Pakistan but renewed hybrid warfare or undeclared warfare started after 2008. The next part of the study will focus on India's establishment of secret unit for cross border covert operations.

➤ **Technical Support Division- 2008**

India carried out covert operations on many occasions against Pakistan and sent their spies to undermine Pakistan's internal security after 1947. But after the Mumbai attacks in 2008, India, brought huge shift in their strategic thinking and officially focused on covert operations against Pakistan. In 2008, the Indian Army established a secret Unit under the command of General V.K. Singh and conducted three covert operations;

1. Operation Rehber-1-2 in Indian Occupied Kashmir to buy the loyalties of Kashmiri leaders/silence the dissent voices/ assassinate freedom fighters to maintain oppression of Kashmiri population.

2. Operation Seven Sister was launched on the Naxalite insurgents in Eastern parts of India mainly in Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram, Utter Pradesh, Bihar and Chhattisgarh. Main aim of this operation was to neutralize the Naxalite movement, track and eliminate their core leadership.

3. Operation Deep Strike was against Pakistan. In this operation main objectives were to eliminate core leadership of Lashkar-I-Tayyaba- (LET), mainly Hafiz Saeed and his close confidantes allegedly involved in militant attacks on India. India's covert operations under TSD got momentum after 2008 and Pakistan saw some of the most ferocious and highly sophisticated terrorist attacks during this period. Some of the most devastating attacks are mentioned in the below chart.



The level of sophistication, selection of targets, penetration of strategic installations and devastation caused suggests that these attacks were not planned by some ordinary madrassah graduates based in tribal areas but definitely there has been some link of professional trained

intelligence agency, uninterrupted supply of funds and adequate training, planning and meticulous execution which resulted in thousands of civilian and military casualties in Pakistan. The Indian signatures are found on many occasions. For example, in Mehran base attack, the TTP militants traveled all the way from tribal areas, entered Karachi, stayed there for few weeks to plan highly sophisticated terror attack against highly fortified and protected naval installation of Pakistan. Militants entered the Mehran base and located PC-3 Orion Maritime Surveillance Aircraft which had no usage against TTP militants in ex- FATA region. The PC-3 Orion is Maritime Domain Awareness aircraft which is meant to protect Pakistan's maritime boundaries against hostile navies. It is used to detect the Indian submarines, warships, aircraft and other vessels in Pakistani waters. It is obvious that these militants had clear cut directions from their handlers to target and destroy PC-3 Orion aircraft only which had strategic value against the Indian Navy only (Conway, 2011). The picture below shows the founding members of the Secret Unit. Col Hunny Bakshi was commander of this unit and he directly reported to the Army Chief.



The TSD was disbanded due to change in high command and inter services rivalries. Soon after Pulwama attack in 2019 and failure of surgical strike, there was thinking in the Intelligence circles to reestablish another cell in R&AW to carry out global assassinations of anti-India elements linked with Kashmir independence or independent state of Khalistan.

3.10 Ajit Doval's Defensive-Offense Policy: Capitalizing on Pakistan's Vulnerabilities

Ajit Doval is incumbent national security advisor of India since 2014. He is close confidante of Indian PM Modi and also mastermind behind the aggressive counter terror policies towards Pakistan. On June 10, 2024, he got extension as NSA Chief under new Modi government. Which means continuation of his hawkish policies to undermine internal security of Pakistan. Ajit Doval is known for his aggressive stance against Pakistan. In 2014, he gave a speech at local University, in which he outlined his strategy to tackle Pakistan. He was of the view that India must adopt

aggressive policy towards Pakistan and move away from defensive approach. Ajit Doval echoed Chankya Kautilya's approach towards war. He said you meet the enemy at three levels.

1. **Offensive- Offense:** All-out war, open war, envisaged by Chankya Kautilya as well in his book *Arthashastra*. Ajit Doval said that offensive offense in nuclear environment is risky and entails far reaching implications. Nuclear powers avoid wars because of mutual assured destruction.
2. **Defensive- Defensive:** Second approach is defensive as explained by Ajit Doval in his speech, "India's response to Pakistani terror has been defensive, "like chowkidars", just preventive" (Vicky, 2017). Ajit Doval believed that such an approach would bring no fruit and may not deter the terrorist groups. He wanted to change India's approach from defensive to offensive.
3. **Defensive Offense:** This approach basically works under the framework that India must go to the areas from where the threat is originating and eliminate the threat right there before it hits India. Chankya Kautilya gave this strategic thought in his book as *Undeclared War, in which he advised the king to use spies, covert operations, women, religion or superstitions to subdue the enemy* (Chaliand, 1994). Ajit Doval further explained this approach "Unlike a purely chowkidar-like response to engaging with the enemy, and even unlike an all-out offensive response - where nuclear war becomes a possibility - defensive offence is when you go and attack the place where the offense is coming from. There is no nuclear war involved in that. There is no engagement of troops. They know the tricks; we know the tricks better. "Do one (more) Mumbai, you may lose Balochistan" (Acharya, 2023).Ajit Doval further elaborated on his defensive-offense approach and said "Pakistan's vulnerability is many times higher than

(that of) of India(s). Once they know India has shifted to defensive offense they will find it is unaffordable for them. You can do one Mumbai you may lose Balochistan” (Acharya, 2023).

Ajit Doval’s aggressive posture is vivid from his aggressive approach towards Pakistan. He said "Don't buy Pakistan's argument that Pakistanis are well-wishers, they are not. They will continue to bleed us with a thousand cuts.....That Pakistani objective, he said, is: India is the enemy, destroy it. That is indeed Pakistan's objective, let us make no bones about it” (Times of India, 2016). NSA Chief with such an aggressive mindset is no doubt a threat for Pakistan’s security. Since 2014, Pakistan have faced serious challenges to its internal security. Ajit Doval’s method was simple to create instability in Pakistan, capitalize on Pakistan’s vulnerabilities in Balochistan or ex-FATA region. Kulbushan Yadav was also operating from Chabahar during that period and nabbed by Pakistan in 2016 (Dawn, 2016). India’s high ranking R&AW operative Kulbushan Sudhir Yadav was nabbed in Mashakhel area of Balochistan, Pakistan. According to reports, Kulbushan S. Yadav joined the TSD in between 2010-2012 and was deployed in Chabahar, Iran with a fake identity of a businessman as Mubarak Hussain Patel. According to his confession and investigation report, he was tasked to achieve following objectives,

- Attacks on Chinese Citizens/Workers in Pakistan
- Attacks on Pakistan’s Civil/Military installations in Balochistan
- Disrupt economic activity in Karachi which is known as financial capital of Pakistan through instability, turmoil and target killing.
- Fund, nurture and provide intelligence support to terrorist organizations mainly based in Balochistan to undermine Pakistan’s security
- Maritime attacks on Pakistan bound cargo ships/oil tankers and merchant ships to fail Gwadar port
- Disrupt and Delay China Pakistan Economic Corridor- (CPEC).

Apart from Balochistan and Karachi, Ajit Doval also focused on Afghanistan and ex-FATA region. India's aggressive posture intensified after the withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan in 2021. India reopened her consulate in Afghanistan after a deal with the Afghan Taliban. Since then, terrorist attacks by BLA, TTP and ISKP against Pakistan intensified to record level and India effectively exploited Pakistan's strategic, socio-economic, ethno-nationalist and religious vulnerabilities.

3.11 Post 2019 India's Strategy: Global Death Squads

In 2019, India shifted her strategic thinking after failure in direct engagement- (Balakot surgical strike) with Pakistan. After 2019, Indian policy makers realized that instead of direct engagement go for indirect approach or undeclared warfare strategy to achieve her goals. In the post 2019 scenario, Pakistan has witnessed numerous target killings in which the India's sleeper cells managed to kill more than 20 alleged members of banned organizations JeM, LeT and Khalistan movement. "After Pulwama, the approach changed to target the elements outside the country before they are able to launch an attack or create any disturbance," one Indian intelligence operative said. "We could not stop the attacks because ultimately their safe havens were in Pakistan, so we had to get to the source" (Abdullah, 2024). On January 3, 2022, a key commander of the banned terror outfit JeM, Saleem Rehmani was killed in Pakistan. Initially, it was reported that it was robbery incident, which led to shootout (Dawn, 2022). But later investigations suggest that it was work of the Indian intelligence and part of their killing spree strategy in Pakistan.



Such killings in Pakistan would outrage the terrorist outfits and they may launch series of attacks against India in IHK or other parts of the world. This strategy of India may backfire and start a vicious cycle of reprisal attacks which may destabilize the region.

After two months nearly two months on March 09, 2022 Indian sleeper cells orchestrated killing of Zahid Akhund alias Mistry Zahoor Ibrahim. It is alleged that he was one of the hijackers of Indian Airlines flight IC-814 which was hijacked in 1999 and in exchange of hostages the Indian authorities had to release top militant leaders including Maulana Masood Azhar Alvi, Syed Omar Sheikh and Mushtaq Ahmad Zargar from Indian custody in 1999. According to reports Zahid Akhund was killed by two motorcycle shooters (Economic Times, 2022).

Coincidentally, negotiation and transfer of hostages and militants was overseen by the current National Security Advisor of India Mr. Ajit Doval. Ajit Doval at that time was special Director at Intelligence Bureau (Deccan Herald, 2022).Ajit Doval got huge experience in

espionage in enemy territory (specially Pakistan) and he is also vocal & supporter of cross border raids, surgical strikes, assassinations and covert operations inside Pakistan. Such a hawkish person in command is dangerous for regional peace and stability. According to media reports, R&AW handlers paid millions of rupees to Afghan nationals to carry out this assassination and later they fled to Afghanistan but their handlers were caught in Pakistan. Indian R&AW planned Zahid Akhund's killing in Dubai, which is one of the base for India to handle their covert operations in Pakistan. Indian intelligence agencies established their sleeper cells to execute this operation which entailed tactical planning and recruitment of professional shooters. Most of these assassinations were carried out by underprivileged locals or professional target killers for money. Most of the payments were transferred via UAE. It is reported that R&AW handlers who managed and planned these assassinations also met in Maldives, Nepal and Mauritius to avoid detection (Peterson, Hassan and Baloch, 2024).

The year 2023 was bloodiest year for Kashmir based dissidents and Sikh activists in Pakistan. More than six key members of Kashmir focused organizations were killed. On February 20, 2023, the Indian R&AW managed to kill another key commander of proscribed organisation Hizb-ul-Mujahedeen in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. This group is focused on Indian Occupied Kashmir and has been active since many decades. Bashir Ahmed Peer also known as Imtiaz Alam was on India's most wanted list. The modus operandi in his murder was same, shooters came on motorcycles, covered with masks or helmets, shoot the target at point-blank range and left unscratched (Masoodi, 2023). It seems that the Indian operatives are roaming around in Pakistan with greater impunity. India is maximizing on Pakistan's political instability and carrying out these extra judicial killings in Pakistan.

3.12 Nearly after three months, murder of Sikh activist took place on May 07, 2023

The Indian intelligence agencies orchestrated killing of Khalistan Commando Force- (KCF) chief Paramjit Singh Panjwar in Lahore. He was also killed by two shooters on motorcycle (same technique used in previous target killings). Paramjit Singh was wanted in India for terrorist attacks and was key figure in Khalistan movement. India's cross border covert operations after 2020 intensified and mainly Sikh activists were the main target (Tribune India, 2023). The execution of the Sikh activists in Pakistan may not hurt their Khalistan movement. The mainstream leadership of Khalistan movement is in Canada or America. It is not that easy for the Indian government to repeat assassinations in those countries because of the diplomatic backlash, but as far as Pakistan is concerned, India may take out targets whenever it is feasible for them.

In the same year on October 02, 2023 another member of the banned outfit LeT, Mufti Qaiser Farooq was shot dead in the financial capital of Pakistan, Karachi. It has been observed by the locals that the killers of Mufti Qaiser Farooq knew the area and could be native of Karachi (Times of India, 2023). Indian intelligence is apparently hiring the local gangs to carry out these extra judicial killings. Pakistan is a fertile land for such type of militants. Poverty, illiteracy, socio economic deprivation, political instability, inflation, unemployment, ultra nationalist tendencies and religious extremism are few factors which allow external powers to play their notorious games in Pakistan. Due to these factors, raising sleeper cells in major cities and hiring contract killers is not at all difficult job for a professional intelligence agency. Same strategy was advocated by Ajit Doval few years ago. In one of his lectures he emphasized that India must capitalize on Pakistan's political, economic, socio-economic, ethno-nationalist vulnerabilities. Today, the same Ajit Doval has been reappointed again as NSA of India. Ajit Doval is counter-terrorism expert and has also served in as Intelligence Bureau's operational chief. Since 2014, he has been serving as NSA Chief

and his policies and actions have seriously impacted on Pakistan's security (DDNews, 2024) In the same month India killed another important figure of JeM.

On October 11, 2023, R&AW managed to eliminate Mr. Shahid Latif. He was killed by three shooters during the Fajar prayers at local Masjid in Sialkot city of Pakistan. Shahid was among the most wanted list of India and it is suspected that Indian death squad was involved in his murder. The technique of the killers was same, shooters were on bikes, wearing masks and helmets to hide their faces. Shooters targeted Shahid at point blank range to ensure he is dead. India claimed that Shahid was involved in many terrorist attacks inside India especially the Pathan Kot attack (Times of India, 2023). After initial investigation, the Karachi police believed that Indian R&AW might have been involved in these killings. According to Police, CTD (counter-terrorism department) has collected evidence of the incident, while during the preliminary investigation, evidence of the involvement of the intelligence agency of our neighbouring country, R&AW, has been found in the incident. India is also targeting religious figures to ignite religious/sectarian violence in Karachi, which is also port city and important for Pakistan's economic growth and development. Earlier on September 6, 2023, a cleric Qari Khurram Shahzad was killed by shooters on motorcycle. Karachi police arrested a man allegedly having links with R&AW and his local facilitator in slum area of Lyari (Imtiaz Ali, 2023). Karachi has always been target of the militants organizations and hostile external intelligences because of the vital importance of this city for Pakistan economic development and progress.

In 2023, the target killing increased and Pakistan also witnessed many terrorist attacks associated with TTP, BLA and ISKP. In reality India established her network in Afghanistan after 2021 under the auspices of Afghan Taliban. now the Afghan Taliban are controlling whole Afghanistan since 2021, all these need is international recognition, economic stability, trade and

investment. Only one country can assist Afghan Taliban, and that is India. India is largest economy in South Asia, largest market for the world especially US/EU, Russia, China and others. It is well connected with all major powers and has the say in global political arena. Whereas, is not in a position economically and politically to help the Afghan Taliban at the moment. This is the reason, the Afghan Taliban chose India over Pakistan after 2021 and allowed India to complete its development projects, assist Afghanistan economically and help Pakistan in global political recognition. Since 2021, the Indian government opened its consulate in Afghanistan, re-established her spying network, connected anti-Pakistan militant groups, provided them with funds, nurture, training and intelligence support to carry out terrorist attacks, target killing and assassinations in Pakistan.

Now there has been credible reports that India is carrying out extra judicial killings in Pakistan. only in 2023, six people have been killed in similar target killing attacks. Pakistan foreign office in January 2023 gave a statement that Pakistan possess credible evidence of India's involvement in the murder two Pakistani citizens. Pakistan's Foreign Secretary Muhammad Syrus Sajjad Qazi told the press that Indian intelligence operatives killed Muhammad Riaz and Shahid Latif in Rawalakot and Sialkot respectively. He said "these are killings-for-hire cases involving a sophisticated international set-up spread over multiple jurisdictions" (Hussain, 2024). India's strategy of global assassinations is real and endorsed by Canada and America. India had to face diplomatic setback from the Canadians and American government for carrying out assassinations of Sikh activities residing in those states.

On June 19, 2024, former Brigadier of Pakistan army was killed by shooters on motorcycles. The Indian media linked Brigadier ret'd Amir Hamza with an attack on the Indian Army's Sunjawan Camp in Indian occupied Kashmir. The modus operandi in this target killing

was same as the previous incidents in which the Indian R&AW operatives killed several other men in Pakistan. Four men heavily armed intercepted his car and started indiscriminate firing to ensure he is dead. This murder also looks like work of professional criminals and possibly locals who knew the area and fled without trace (Times of India, 2024). Indian intelligence is carrying out these murders with greater impunity, knowing that fact they are well connected in the global community. It is necessary for Pakistan to revamp its overall intelligence apparatus, bring political stability, put own house in order and launch massive crackdown on Indian intelligence's sleeper cells operating in the country. Earlier, another Pakistani, Amir Sarfraz Tamba, was brutally murdered in Lahore. He was also accused of killing Indian prisoner Sarabjit Singh in jail with rods and bricks. He is also closely linked with LeT. Amir Sarfraz was attacked by motorcycle-borne shooters in Islampura locality in Lahore (NDTV, 2024).

India's strategy of cross border assassinations is dangerous and entails far reaching implications. Eliminating terrorist figure never hurt the terrorist organization, they replace the leaders quickly. The solution to this problem lies in early resolution of Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan. the reason and motivation for these militants will end with the resolution of Kashmir issue. But unfortunately, India's brutal oppression of Kashmiris would raise more such men and terrorist attacks would continue on the Indian troops in IJK. India's aggressive policy is inspired by the Israelis. Did they achieve peace against Hamas or Hezbollah? No. India may also face the same situation and soon these militant groups may start reprisal attacks on the Indian soil and India would again link them to Pakistan. Pakistan has nothing to do with terrorism in India. It is India's own flawed policies that actually contribute to terrorism and extremism in India.

4 CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACTS OF UNDECLARED WARFARE FOR PAKISTAN

4.1 Instability and turmoil in Tribal Areas and Balochistan

India's renewed Hybrid warfare strategy after 2008 seriously hampered Pakistan's internal security. Indian strategic thinkers were cognizant of the fact that direct war is not going to serve the purpose because of nuclear factor in south Asia. This is the reason India planned hybrid warfare in tribal areas and Balochistan to undermine Pakistan's internal security, ignite ethno-political issues, capitalize on the political and economic vulnerabilities. Ex- FATA faced serious challenges and it will continue to do so because this area is bordered with Afghanistan, it is tough terrain and least developed area. It is easier for the militant groups to sneak inside Pakistan despite border fencing and deployment of Pakistan troops. It is difficult to man almost 1600 km Tribal areas. Militants, drug traffickers, smugglers make their inroads some way or the other and create problems for Pakistan. for a country like India it is not at all difficult to establish sleeper cells of TTP or ISKP in tribal areas. Despite Pakistan's huge counter terror efforts after 9/11 situation in some corners in tribal areas is volatile. After the withdrawal of the US forces from Afghanistan in 2021, Pakistan suffered many attacks on its security forces in tribal areas in which dozens of Pakistan Army's personnel were martyred. Which shows that secret sleeper cells of terrorist organizations are still working and they cannot work with patronage of any external element.

On the other hand, situation in Balochistan is also volatile but under control. Balochistan has been on target by India since inception. There is huge evidence available of Indian funding, nurturing and training of BLA insurgents. In recent times a common trend was noted in tribal areas and Balochistan. In both these areas there was surge in attacks on Pakistani security forces. Which clearly indicates that after a brief pause India has activated her proxies in Balochistan as well. There were coordinated IED attacks, guerrilla ambushes, and first suicide on Chinese citizens by female suicide which shows a new phenomenon in Balochistan insurgency. The intensity of attacks in Pakistani security forces in tribal areas and Balochistan would increase if not properly checked. These groups are getting external help with funds and intel which makes it easy for them to conduct such high profile attacks against Pakistani security forces in tribal areas and Balochistan. It is a matter of grave concern for Pakistan that Taliban in Afghanistan are not taking

effective steps against TTP and other terrorist groups. These terrorist groups are enjoying safe heavens in Afghanistan, from where they are managing and controlling their sleeper cells in Pakistan.

4.2 Economic Challenges: Threat to CPEC

India's hybrid warfare is also threatening Pakistan's economy. The main thrust of India is now on Balochistan to disrupt CPEC. Gwadar port is considered as jewel of CPEC mega project. Instability and turmoil in the area, attacks on Chinese citizens and workers may delay the project but it cannot stop this venture between Pakistan and China. But the most dangerous development is India's renewed efforts to sabotage this project. Deployment of high ranking intelligence officer with expertise in maritime warfare raised a few questions in Pakistan's strategic community.

1. Is India aiming to plan attacks on Pakistan's maritime traffic e.g. Cargo Ships, Oil Tankers/ships/vessels?
2. Is the Indian intelligence planning to carry out renewed attacks on Pakistan's maritime assets e.g. Ports, facilities or bases?
3. Is India going to equip BLA with modern weapon and equipment e.g. IEDs, VBIEDs, anti-aircraft Guns, SAMs to target Pakistan's security forces, Chinese engineers and workers or low flying helicopters in the area?
4. Who will invest in Balochistan if the situation is volatile?

All these above questions are valid and creates sense of anxiety in Pakistan. It is necessary that India and Pakistan must work together and resolve their issues amicably. But it doesn't look like this issue would be resolved in near future. It is imperative for Pakistan to improve her security apparatus in the area, enhance human intelligence in Iran and Afghanistan to as well to locate safe heavens and hideouts of the mainstream terrorist organisations and hunt them down with the help of local authorities. Local policing and intelligence network must also be improved to eradicate sleeper cells of TTP, ISKP, BLA and their affiliates.

4.3 Strategic Vulnerabilities: Two Front War Dilemma

Pakistan's main threat perception always revolved around India on the eastern front. But after 9/11 India came to Afghanistan and established her network to destabilize Pakistan. After

years of struggle Pakistan established peace in its tribal belt. But the cost was great. Pakistan had to deploy more than 200,000 troops on Western front which created two front war dilemma for Pakistan. now Western border is equally dangerous for Pakistan. even today this border is not stable as it should have been. Allegedly, India backed militant groups and criminals are active and try to sabotage Pakistan's security. In recent times Pakistan army faced many terrorist attacks and suffered huge casualties since 2021. Indian hybrid warfare is creating serious challenges for Pakistan to manage her security and allocate more funds, men and resources to safeguard huge eastern and western borders.

4.4 Engineered Social Movements: Igniting Ethnic Fault lines

Another important facet of the Indian Hybrid warfare is to capitalize on Pakistan's political and ethnic vulnerabilities. This trend will not stop and it will continue. Previously, India, Russia and Afghanistan backed greater Pashtunistan movements in the post 1947 situation. Later, these states supported ethnic groups in Balochistan and ignited insurgencies in the 1970s. In recent times again we have observed that some engineered social movements are trying to undermine Pakistan army and launched a vicious campaign to create ethnic divide in Pakistan.

4.5 Indian Covert Ops/Proxy War: BLA/TTP/ISKP

India is actively pursuing her nefarious goals in Pakistan through BLA, TTP and or ISKP terrorist groups. India's involvement in Balochistan is not new. India has been interfering in Balochistan, supporting and funding BLA militants and giving them shelter in New Delhi. There had been many reports about Baloch insurgents getting treatment of asylum in India. According to the confession of Kulbushan Yadav, he funded BLA militants and subversion in Pakistan. According to former CJCSC Zubair Hayat, India has established a \$500 million worth secret cell to disrupt CPEC. It was Indian funding, training and support which enabled BLA to carry out high profile attacks against Pakistani installations in Balochistan. Through BLA India wants to achieve a few objectives.

- Undermine Pakistan's internal security
- Curtail Political and Economic Efforts by Pakistan in Balochistan.
- Attack Pakistan Army/FC/Police and installations
- Fund, Nurture, and provide intelligence support to BLA militants

- Attack Chinese Workers, Engineers and Nationals to reduce and ultimately remove their footprint from Balochistan.
- Ultimate goal is to disrupt/delay/curtail CPEC Project
- India want to see Pakistan as economically Fragile/Dependent state
- India don't want China in Gwadar so it can dominate Arabian sea and beyond
- India want maritime dominance in the region.

India's support to Tehrik-I-Taliban was also exposed when TTP senior commander Latif Mehsud was arrested in Afghanistan by NATO while having a meeting with R&AW and Afghan Intelligence Khad. Later on after a few months he was handed over to Pakistan. During his confession he accepted that India and Afghanistan are funding militant groups in Pakistan and destabilizing tribal areas (Moeed, 2016). Same narrative was accepted by Former Spokesperson of TTP, Ehsan Ullah Ehsan. He surrendered to Pakistani security forces after operation Zarb-I-Azb in tribal areas. In his statement to media he said that India does support militant groups in Pakistan from Afghanistan (ISPR, 2017). After 9/11 India came to Afghanistan started her effective renewed hybrid warfare against Pakistan. From Afghan soil India managed to fund, train and nurture militants in tribal areas and elsewhere. Because of the Indian funding and support militant groups were able to establish Safe Heavens, Network, Command & Control Center. In last two decades TTP militants with Indian support and transnational affiliates like Al-Qaeda, IMU, ETIM and others seriously impede Pakistan's security. In the war against militancy Pakistan faced huge economic and human losses. Thousands of soldiers of Pakistan Army, FC, Police perished. Overall economic losses were more than \$150 billion which seriously crippled Pakistan's economic growth (Ahmed, 2021). Indian cronies TTP carried out attacks on Pakistan's key military bases, intelligence headquarters, even GHQ Rawalpindi was not spared. Another important step India took was diplomatic boycott at regional and global level.

4.6 Offensive Diplomacy under Modi Regime: Diplomatic Isolation

The Indian government declared many times over to diplomatically isolate Pakistan at regional and global milieu. Modi government tried utmost to malign Pakistan and build consensus that Pakistan is country that harbor militants. In continuation to this aggressive approach former foreign minister of India once categorically said that we will isolate Pakistan. In practical terms India boycotted SAARC summit in Pakistan. Due to Indian political influence Afghanistan, Bangladesh

and some other countries from South Asia also boycotted SAARC meeting in Pakistan. In addition, Indian government used her political, economic and strategic influence over US, EU and Russia to build an anti-Pakistan narrative. After the attacks on Indian Army, PM Modi threatened Pakistan of diplomatic isolation.

“We will isolate you. I will work for that.....Terrorist attacks in Bangladesh and Afghanistan were also being instigated from Pakistan. This is the only country that is exporting terrorism in all corners. Wherever there is news of terror, there is news that either the terrorist first went to this country or later, after the incident, like Osama Bin Laden.....India would continue to push to make Pakistan a pariah state in the eyes of the international community.....We will intensify our efforts and force you to be alone all over the world” (Dawn, 2016).

In 2016 Sushma Swaraj former Foreign Minister of India accused Pakistan of terrorist attacks in Pathan Kot and Uri and asked the world powers to take action and isolate Pakistan (George, 2016). India’s baseless allegations and vicious campaign seriously hampered Pakistan’s ties with regional and global powers. In reality India was involved in terrorist activities in Balochistan and Tribal areas. Their senior Naval Officer Commander Kulbushan Yadav is still under the custody because of his involvement in terrorist activities in Pakistan (BBC, 2016). Diplomatic isolation by India would have far reaching implications for South Asia as a whole. Regional connectivity from Mumbai to Central Asia would suffer. Pakistan is the geo-graphical pivot of the world. Interregional connectivity between South Asia and central Asia would be dream if Pakistan is isolated at regional level. It is imperative for India to understand that Kashmir and other related issues are paramount for long lasting peace and stability in South Asia. In line with her hybrid warfare strategy, India has also launched media warfare against Pakistan. Next part of the article would discuss this aspect of the study as well.

4.7 Media Warfare/Propaganda/Fake News: Psychological Warfare

Media is fourth pillar of the state. India is effectively utilizing this platform and carrying out fake media campaign against Pakistan. The Indian Sponsored Srivastava Group launched an operation to discredit Pakistan and China not only at regional level but also at global level. The Indian objectives were

“In India, to reinforce pro-Indian and anti-Pakistan (and anti-Chinese) feelings in India. Internationally, to consolidate the power and improve the perception of India, to damage the reputation of other countries and ultimately benefit from more support from international institutions such as the EU and the UN. To do so, the operation consists of: The support to minority and human rights NGOs and think-tanks. The use of Members of the European Parliament to create a mirage of institutional support from the European institutions to these minority groups, in favour of Indian interests and against Pakistan (and China). An active presence in Geneva and the United Nations’ Human Rights Council by: organizing side-events and demonstrations in support of minority rights; to impersonating extinguished UN accredited NGOs or using the speaking slots of various NGOs whose original missions seem totally unrelated. The creation of fake media in Brussels, Geneva and across the world and/or the repackaging and dissemination via ANI and obscure local media networks – at least in 97 countries - to multiply the repetition of online negative content about countries in conflict with India, in particular Pakistan” (Alaphilippe and Adamczyk, 2020).

This is just an ice berg of India’s fake news or media warfare efforts. The Indian media more often behave irrationally for example after Balakot Strike by Indian Air Force the Indian media falsely claimed that IAF killed more than 200 people in an alleged Madrassah run by Jaish-E-Muhammad (National Herald India, 2019). However reality was different from the said claim. There were no losses reported but only few trees in Jungle were destroyed. On the next day when Pakistan carried out successful surgical strike across the LOC and on return destroyed two Indian aircraft and captured one pilot. But the Indian media kept on lying that Abhinandan the captured pilot shot down Pakistani F-16 (Gaurav, 2021). But reality was different from the Indian claims. Many international scholars and organisations refuted the Indian claim of shooting down Pakistani F-16 aircraft (Seligman, 2019). According to Foreign Policy Magazine report, Two senior U.S. defense officials with direct knowledge of the situation told Foreign Policy that U.S. personnel recently counted Islamabad’s F-16s and found none missing. Even the top Indian media’s anchors never shy away from stating lies on TV Channels.

One such example is Arnab Goswami, who is senior anchorperson of Indian leading News Channel. He claimed in his one program that Pakistani Army officers on fifth floor of Serena Hotel in Kabul are busy in hatching conspiracies against India and Afghanistan. His lies were exposed

when it was revealed that Serena Hotel in Kabul only had two floors (The Friday Times, 2021). Such misinformation by the leading Indian media could help the government to secure their vote bank but sowing hatred and anti-Pakistan sentiments may lead to unwarranted consequences. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi used same rhetoric against Pakistan after Pathan Kot and Uri incidents and put all blame on Pakistan without any independent investigations.

Later on their own investigation proved that Pakistan had no involvement in Pathan Kot terrorist incident (Arunima, 2016). Media Warfare, Propaganda, Fake News and Psychological Warfare are key components of the Indian Hybrid Warfare Strategy. With this strategy India is using the print, electronic and social media for fake news onslaught against Pakistan to undermine Pakistan's soft image at regional and global level. Such an onslaught would continue in the near future as well because this strategy is working for Indian government. Based on false claims after Balakot Strike, the Modi Government secured second tenure and won decisive political victory by raising political slogan of "Chokidar"- (Watchman)" (Hindustan Times, 2019). India's fake news reporting is part of her propaganda warfare against Pakistan. As per 2021 record India got 392 news channels (Krishnan, 2021). Most of these channels are influenced by the state and considered as mouthpiece of the government. Fake news and propaganda is part of India's media and psychological warfare. It is a powerful tool to shape public opinion. Such approach by Modi regime is dangerous and would have far reaching implications for regional security.

4.8 Cyber Warfare

Cyber warfare is a modern warfare in which countries target other countries through computer networks and disrupt their Electricity Grids, target nuclear installations, civil military networks and facilities. In modern times the cyber warfare has become a serious threat to countries because of the airlines, trains, electricity grids, nuclear reactors, military facilities, governmental institutions even banking system is linked with computers. Any disruption in the above facilities would be a disastrous thing for a country. In recent times many developed nations suffered cyber-attacks by alleged rival states. It has been alleged that Chinese hackers hacked the America Stealth Aircraft F-35 and F-22 Raptor's Design. Moreover, also hacked about 614 GB data related to of American submarine's weapon, sensors and communication systems (Nakashima and Sonne, 2018). It was huge breach into the elite defense programs of the United States.

In another example more than 20,000 computers of the German parliament were hacked by the hackers and they asked for huge ransom to give access to data (Jowitt, 2020). Russia recently hacked Ukrainian grid stations which resulted in total blackout for few days (Majkut, 2022). Many times over Iranian nuclear sites faced cyber-attacks which resulted in disruption and losses (BBC, 2021). In Indo-Pak context cyber domain is slowly and gradually trying to create space. According to a Chinese cyber security experts, Indian government has officially authorized some state level cyber firms to carry out continuous cyber-attacks against China and Pakistan's civil and military installations. India's Cyber War against neighboring states would have far reaching implications for regional security. Any major cyber breach against Pakistan or China may create unwarranted situation for India (Tribune, 2021). In an another incident the Indian hackers targeted mobile phones and other digital devices of Pakistani government officials and military personnel. According to ISPR,

.....“the cyber-attack by Indian intelligence agencies involved a range of cybercrimes including deceitful fabrication by hacking personal mobiles and technical gadgets”. “Various targets of hostile intelligence agencies are being investigated. Pakistan Army has further enhanced necessary measures to thwart such activities including action against violators of standing operating procedures (SOPs) on cybersecurity.....an advisory is being sent to all government departments so they may identify security lapses and enhance cybersecurity measures. Senior officials advised to stop using WhatsApp” (The News, 2020).

India is using Israeli Software “Pegasus” and “Chat Line” to hack into the mobile phones both IOS and Android and sneak into the WhatsApp to get access to crucial information. As per reports,

“.....The alleged targeting was discovered during an analysis of 1,400 people whose phones were the focus of hacking attempts in a two-week period earlier this year, according to the sources. All the suspected intrusions exploited a vulnerability in WhatsApp software that potentially allowed the users of the malware to access messages and data on the targets' phones” (Kirchgaessner, 2019).

India's cyber-attacks may increase in near future and undermine Pakistan's security. It is imperative for Pakistan to take effective measures to counter such attacks. Pakistan is a credible

nuclear weapon states, if Iran can face cyber threats to its nuclear installations, same could happen with Pakistan. India and Israel are closely collaborating with each other in Network Centric and Electronic warfare capabilities. It would be dangerous for Pakistan to ignore this emerging threat to its civil-military sensitive installations.

5 CONCLUSION

The Indian hybrid warfare strategy is serious and pertinent threat to Pakistan's national security. Although, hybrid war by India is not new phenomenon but it gained after the nuclearization of South Asia and specially in the post 2008 Mumbai attacks. The Indian hybrid warfare is hurting Pakistan on many fronts. India is capitalizing on Pakistan's geopolitical vulnerabilities, ethno-nationalist susceptibilities, diplomatic weaknesses, economic woes, internal & external security fault-lines. The Indian government realized her operational readiness and lack of offensive capabilities in their military machine after 2008 which prevented the Indian Army from any limited war strategy- (proactive military operations or Cold Start Doctrine) against Pakistan.

Lack of overwhelming conventional superiority vis-a-vis Pakistan and threat of nuclear escalation imposed limitations to India to execute these strategies against Pakistan. this is the reason that India relied more on hybrid warfare options to make it difficult for Pakistan to manage her overall security. The Indian Hybrid Warfare mainly relied on Covert Ops and proxy wars. The Indian strategic planners applied defensive-offense strategy against Pakistan to subvert peace and security in Pakistan. This strategy of India actually worked and it imposed serious damages on Pakistan. India's covert support to terrorist and insurgents in tribal areas and Balochistan seriously hampered Pakistan's security and it took almost two decades for Pakistan to somehow manage her security after 9/11. India also used her political and economic clout to coerce regional and international powers to impose diplomatic isolation and create troubles for Pakistan. Apart from covert ops the Indian policy makers are also challenging cyber security of Pakistan.

The indo-Israel strategic partnership is growing and creating new challenges for Pakistan. In recent times India is using an Israeli software to hack into electronic gadgets of key civil military

officials in Pakistan which may undermine Pakistan's national security. Pakistan must take concrete steps to counter cyber-attacks on her civil-military installations, nuclear sites and personnel etc. The Indian Hybrid warfare has opened up multiple threats for Pakistan which also include quick and swift operations or surgical strikes. India resort to surgical strikes options because it was unwise to fight a limited or total war with a nuclear weapon state.

The IAF has tried a surgical strike in 2019 but it failed because of operational weaknesses whereas Pakistan carried out successful surgical strikes with greater precision and accuracy which established conventional deterrence vis-à-vis India. But Pakistani policy makers must be cognizant of the fact that India failed in 2019 because of three weaknesses, **(i)**- Deficiencies/discrepancies in military preparedness & effective strategy, **(ii)**- Absence of long range defense system and **(iii)**- Lack of clear cut air superiority vis-à-vis Pakistan Air Force. Now Indian government is seriously working on all these aspects and trying to fill the gaps in all these domains. They are buying modern aircraft along with long range air defenses with the help of Russia and Israel. After the induction of these capabilities, it would be a tough choice for Pakistani military commanders to cross the LOC and carry out counter surgical strikes on the pattern of Operation Swift Retort-2019. Keeping in view all these developments Pakistani decision makers must plan according to the Indian military's capabilities and fill the operational gaps in her own military machine and strategy.

The Indian Hybrid warfare is serious and pertinent threat for Pakistan, it is necessary for policy makers in the country to assess these emerging threats and strategies an effective response to mitigate these threats and challenges. India's undeclared war strategy is aggressive, against international law and may have far reaching implications for regional peace and security. The incumbent Modi regime in India is behaving irrationally against all moral norms and values of diplomatic relations. Modi in his first two tenures maintained aggressive policy and maintained

offensive diplomacy towards regional powers especially Pakistan. It is expected that his third tenure will be same and more aggressive. The Indian PM's close confidante NSA Ajit Doval is architect of India's undeclared warfare policy in the region and beyond. Initially, India focused on policy of 'surgical strikes' after 2016. This policy was also mentioned in India's joint armed forces doctrine and land warfare doctrine in 2018. But in 2019 India failed to execute this policy of surgical strikes against Pakistan and had to face embarrassing situation. India's Balakot strike not only missed the target but the very next day Pakistan air force in a broad day light crossed the LoC and carried out successful surgical strikes and also destroyed two Indian aircraft and one pilot was captured alive. This was the critical moment for the Indian government, after failure of the surgical strikes policy in 2019, the Indian policy makers resumed their undeclared warfare strategy which started under General V.K Singh in 2009 with the name TSD. This time the NSA Chief unequivocally focused on covert operations with new strategy and momentum.

This time it looks like the Indian Intelligence is focusing more on indirect approach instead of sending their high profile operatives like Kulbushan Yadav, who was nabbed in Balochistan in 2016 and still in custody. Indian R&AW is not taking up any risk this time. Since 2019, the R&AW have established their sleeper cells in Pakistan consist of more of local criminal gangs, extremist elements, ethno-nationalistically charged youth. These sleeper cells are being controlled through UAE, Afghanistan, Nepal and Mauritius. The study explored that India's approach is very simple this time, they try to execute Chankya Kautilya's approach of undeclared warfare, in which he advised the king to utilize all elements including spies, covert operations, women, religion etc. to subdue the enemy. India is executing the same strategy with better planning and focus. The modus operandi in these target killings is more or less same. In most of the cases masked men, heavily

armed on motorcycles carry out killing professionally and leave the area. Most of the target killings focus on LeT, JeM, Hizbul Mujahedeen and Sikh Activists in Pakistan.

India in recent times, might have been successful in killing several people in Pakistan but this strategy will backfire. Therefore, this is not the solution to the problem. Eliminating figurehead or leader of certain organization does not mean that their motivation is dead. Such an act may provoke these groups and they may launch even deadliest reprisal attacks on the Indian soil to avenge killing of their comrades. In that context, India would blame Pakistan for backing these groups and may carryout surgical strikes, cross border commando raids or drone strikes across the LoC. In that situation, Pakistan military will never tolerate any ingress or provocative action by the Indians. Pakistan pursue a policy of Quid pro quo plus, which means that Pakistan military will respond firmly to any aggressive move by the Indian military. Pakistan military has already showcased their resolve and conventional capabilities to carry out successful counter surgical strikes. Any provocation by the Indian military would lead this region to further instability and turmoil. It is imperative for both nuclear powers to show restraint, avoid such undeclared warfare policies, proxy wars and work together for the peace and stability of the region.

5.1 Recommendations

Pakistan should develop its economy to prevent economic dependency on IMF and other nations. Economic development should be main focus of government.

Pakistan should strengthen its bilateral/multilateral diplomatic ties with all friendly and neighbor countries for economic development and trade, and countering terrorism.

Pakistan should bridge faultlines- engage stakeholders in meaningful dialogue for internal stability. The use of soft-power would be a fruitful measure for countering security threats and prevent unrest in the country.

Pakistan should enhance counter intelligence efforts to neutralize R&WA's activities because R&AW has founded in many illegitimate interferences in Pakistan's internal issues and its involvement was also found creating security instability in Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan should enhance its counter intelligence efforts to neutralize R&AW activities in Pakistan.

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