

NATIONAL SEMINAR REPORT

**Understanding Strategic Coercion in
the Realm of Gray Hybrid Conflict:
Implications for Pakistan**

February 11, 2019



Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad

National Seminar

Report

***Understanding Strategic Coercion in the Realm of
Gray Hybrid Conflict: Implications for Pakistan***

February 11, 2019

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The Institute of Strategic Studies was founded in 1973. It is a non-profit, autonomous research and analysis centre, designed for promoting an informed public understanding of strategic and related issues, affecting international and regional security.

In addition to publishing a quarterly journal and a monograph series, the ISSI organises talks, workshops, seminars and conferences on strategic and allied disciplines and issues.

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CONCEPT NOTE OF THE SEMINAR

Under the shadow of nuclear weapons and the role of non-state actors, international conflict in the twenty-first century has assumed far more complicated dimensions. The post-Cold War international order witnessed strategic uncertainty where the prospects of traditional inter-state wars started to decline and new or de-statised wars gained momentum. Evolving through the periods of fourth-generation and compound warfare, the contemporary strategic environment has entered into a new millennium of hybrid conflicts which are facilitated by the globalization and information technology developments.

Hybrid warfare, non-linear war, or conflict in "the gray zone" is a synchronized use of instruments of power targeting specific vulnerabilities across the full spectrum of societal functions to achieve desired results. The main aspect that sets it apart from the attention-based conventional warfare is the capability of state and non-state actors to systematically use the creativity, ambiguity, non-linearity and cognitive elements of warfare to exploit the perceived vulnerabilities of critical infrastructures in Military, Political, Economic, Civil, and Informational (MPECI) domains of the opponent. In hybrid conflict, opponent brings into play an innovative combination of MPECI techniques including economic pressure, support for local opposition groups, disinformation, and criminal activity to design a unique coercive hybrid attack which stays below the national threat and international legal thresholds. The attack can be detected only after its successful execution and manifestation of destructive effects. Furthermore, the capability to retaliate is hampered by the inaccessibility to accurate information since the targeted vulnerabilities are far beyond the domain of traditional threat assessments.

These changing contours of modern conflict have also transformed the battlefields in South Asia which is one of the significant epicentres of instability in the globalized world. In this context, the hybrid threats to the security of Pakistan have become an exceptional fusion of fervent irregular warfare and lethality of state conflict e.g. terrorism, insurgencies, cyber-attacks, weaponization of social media, resource warfare, territorial disputes, and electronic media war.

Countering hybrid warfare requires a comprehensive threat and capability assessment. The hybrid threats are beyond the scope of traditional security ambit of a state; and therefore, require



coherent and coordinated efforts by many institutions. In this regard, the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad organized a one-day Seminar on “**Understanding Strategic Coercion in the Realm of Gray Hybrid Conflict: Implications for Pakistan.**”

For this purpose, the proceedings of the Seminar were based on three broad themes/presentations by national and international experts:

1. *Identifying Doctrines and the Nature of Gray Hybrid Threats in the 21st Century*
2. *Strategic Coercion in the Age of Hybrid Conflict: Adversaries and Challenges in South Asia*
3. *Pakistan and Hybrid Conflict: Vulnerabilities, Capabilities and Policy Responses*

Objectives:

- 1) Explore the changing character of conflicts and contextualize the various components of hybrid conflict to develop a joint conceptual understanding.
- 2) Analyze the impacts of hybrid threats on South Asia, particularly Pakistan, and their significance within the international and regional strategic environment.
- 3) Bring together a core group of national and international experts for crucial discussions towards constructing a strategic narrative and produce policy-relevant recommendations for countering hybrid conflict.



DETAILED PROGRAMME OF THE SEMINAR

INAUGURAL SESSION

- 1015 hrs: Registration
- 1030 hrs: Recitation from the Holy Quran
- 1035 hrs: **Welcome Remarks** - Amb. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry, *Director General, ISSI*
- 1040 hrs: **Inaugural Address** - Gen. Zubair Mahmood Hayat NI (M), *Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee*
- 1100 hrs: Group Photo followed by Tea/Coffee Break

WORKING SESSION

Chair: Amb. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry, *Director General, ISSI*

Presentations:

- 1130 hrs: **Identifying Doctrines and the Nature of Gray Hybrid Threats in the 21st Century**
Mr. Leonid Savin, *Geopolitical Analyst, Russia*
- 1150 hrs: **Strategic Coercion in the Age of Hybrid Conflict: Adversaries and Challenges in South Asia**
Mr. Ikram Sehgal, *Defense and Security Analyst, Pakistan*
- 1210 hrs: **Pakistan and Hybrid Conflict: Vulnerabilities, Capabilities and Policy Responses**
Lt. Gen. Naeem Khalid Lodhi HI (M), *Former Defense Secretary, Pakistan*



1230 hrs: Interactive Discussion

1300 hrs: **Concluding Remarks** - Amb. Khalid Mahmood, *Chairman BoG, ISSI*

1305 hrs: Lunch

PROFILES

CHIEF GUEST

General Zubair Mahmood Hayat NI (M)

Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee



General Zubair Mahmood Hayat NI (M) was commissioned in Pakistan Army in Artillery Regiment on October 24, 1980. He is a graduate of Fort Sill Oklahoma, USA, Command and Staff College, Camberley, United Kingdom and National Defense University, Islamabad. He has vast experience of command, staff and instructional appointments. He has commanded an Artillery Regiment, Mechanized Artillery Division, an Infantry Brigade and an Infantry Division. He has been Adjutant at Pakistan Military Academy (PMA), Brigade Major of an Infantry Brigade and Air Advisor at Pakistan Embassy in the UK. He has also been Chief of Staff of Strike Corps, Private Secretary to Chief of Army Staff and Director General, Staff Studies Directorate at General Headquarters, Rawalpindi. He has also held the appointment of Director General, Strategic Plan Division (SPD). He has commanded 31 Corps Bahawalpur.

Ambassador Khalid Mahmood

Chairman BoG, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI)



Ambassador Khalid Mahmood is Chairman Board of Governors, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI). He is also a member of the Asian Regional Forum (ARF) Experts and Eminent Persons Group, President Islamabad Council of World Affairs (ICWA) and Course Director at the Foreign Service Academy, Islamabad.

Ambassador Khalid Mahmood is a former Ambassador of Pakistan to China, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq and Mongolia. He has also served as Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, New York. He has also worked as Director

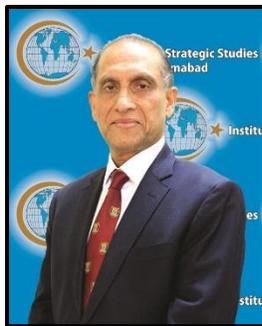


General (UN) and later as Additional Secretary (United Nations, Asia-Pacific and Africa) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad. He is also a Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and member UN Peace-Building Fund Advisory Group, New York.

He is a former President of the Institute of Regional Studies Islamabad, former President, Association of Former Ambassadors of Pakistan (AFA) and former member Board of Governors, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI).

Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry

Director General, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI)



Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry is Director General, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI). He has served as a member of the Foreign Service of Pakistan for 37 years. His last assignment was Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States of America. Earlier, he served as Foreign Secretary of Pakistan and participated actively in high level foreign policy discussions from December, 2013 to March, 2017.

Prior to this, he served as the Foreign Office Spokesman. He continued his active engagement with Pakistani and foreign media as Foreign Secretary, and later as Ambassador to the US. He has also served as Ambassador of Pakistan to the Netherlands, where he engaged in active public diplomacy in cooperation with Pakistani community to win friends for Pakistan. He has also authored a book “Pakistan Mirrored to Dutch Eyes” published by Sangemeel publications. He served as Additional Foreign Secretary for UN and Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations in New York, and Chef de Cabinet to the Secretary General of ECO in Iran.



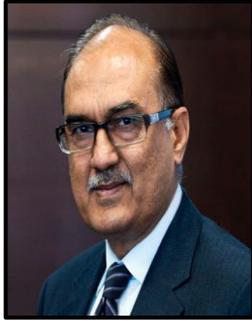
SPEAKERS



Mr. Leonid Savin is a geopolitical analyst, Chief Editor of Geopolitica.ru (from 2008), founder and Chief Editor of Journal of Eurasian Affairs (eurasianaffairs.net). He is the head of the administration of International Eurasian Movement and former Chief Editor of Katehon think-tank and magazine (2015-2017). He is also the Director of the Foundation of Monitoring and Forecasting of Development for the Cultural-Territorial Spaces (FMPRKTP) and a member of Military-Scientific Society, Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. Mr. Savin has authored numerous books on geopolitics, conflicts, international relations and political philosophy issued in Russia, Ukraine, Spain, Serbia and Iran.



Mr. Ikram Seghal is a senior defense analyst and Chairman of Karachi Council on Foreign Relations. He studied at Lawrence College, Murari Chand College, Notre Dame College and the Pakistan Military Academy (PMA). He was commissioned into Pakistan Army in 1965. He was given a battlefield promotion to the rank of Major and took early retirement in 1974. He worked as a commercial pilot before starting his own business in 1977. A regular columnist in the print media since 1987, he graduated to his own TV Talk Show. He is also a member of World Economic Forum (WEF), International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Chairman of Pathfinder G4S, Pakistan.



Lt. Gen. Naeem Khalid Lodhi HI (M) was commissioned in the Army on October 27, 1974. He has Bachelors in Engineering (Civil). Lt. Gen. Naeem Lodhi is a graduate of Command and Staff College, Quetta and National Defense University, Islamabad. He also holds a Masters in International Relations. He has served on various command, staff and instructional assignments during his career in the Army, including the important appointments of Directing Staff at National Defense University Islamabad, Commander Corps of Engineers, Director General Engineering Directorate, Director General, Staff Duties Directorate, General Officer Commanding Bahawalpur and Corps Commander Bahawalpur. Lt. Gen. Naeem Lodhi has also served as the Defense Secretary of Pakistan. Previously, he has also remained the Chief Executive and Managing Director of Fauji Fertilizer Co. Ltd and FFC Energy Limited.



WELCOME REMARKS

Ambassador Aizaz Ahmed Chaudhry
Director General, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad

General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, honourable Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee,

Respected speakers at the seminar, worthy guests, ladies and gentlemen. May I extend to you all, a warm welcome to the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.



The subject of the seminar is of topical significance, and increasingly relevant to the prevailing environment in and around Pakistan.

We are fortunate that a very capable and experienced person is our chief guest today. Everyone knows that General Zubair Mahmood Hayat is Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee. Increasingly, people are discovering that besides being a highly competent General of the Pakistan Army, there is a profound intellectual dimension of his personality, which we are fortunate to benefit from today.

I have interacted with General Zubair in his last three capacities: As Director General of SPD, he had full grasp of the import and direction of our strategic plans. As Chief of General Staff, and in his present capacity as Chairman Joint Chiefs, I have had the good fortune of benefitting from his deep insights.

General Zubair is an authority on the subject of this seminar. In fact, on all issues of strategic importance for Pakistan, he comes across as a clear-headed officer with deep understanding of the trends shaping up the world and our region.

May I also thank our three learned speakers.



Mr. Leonid Savin is a well-known scholar on this subject and has specially flown in from Russia for this seminar.

Mr. Ikram Sehgal not only runs a successful business enterprise, but also has astute intellect, which he has amply displayed through the books and articles he has authored, meetings that he hosts in the World Economic Forum in Davos, and through the platform of Karachi Council on Foreign Relation, which is now working closely with our institute.

General Khalid Naem Lodhi also brings to this forum a wealth of experience on war and peace issues.

Ladies and gentlemen, you have all seen the concept note we have circulated. You would note that the conflict of interest is as old as human society. It maintains itself through kinetic and non-kinetic ways. While war has been a constant in human history, the way wars are fought has evolved over time.

We have all heard of the four generations of the post classical warfare. It is the fourth generation of war, a term coined as late as 1989, which explains how the scope and modes of war have expanded way beyond the conventional warfare. A more recent term, 'hybrid warfare' has emerged that blends conventional, unconventional, cyber and psychological warfare, media manipulation, cultural invasions, and relentless propaganda to create ambiguity and confusion about the core values that hold a society or nation together.

When we look around, all this seems familiar.

The first question to the panelists, therefore, is whether the hybrid war imposed on us by hostile forces real or is it a figment of our imagination? My own take is that it is as real as our presence in the hall today.

Since 9/11, we remained embroiled in a disastrous war against terrorism. We managed to reverse the tide of terrorism, though at a staggering human and financial cost. Very few nations have done what we did.

However, not everyone is happy about our accomplishments. I remember, in 2016, two countries in our neighborhood launched a concerted campaign to isolate Pakistan. They demonized



Pakistan and unleashed relentless propaganda and psychological warfare against us. Pakistan, despite all challenges remains ever strong and determined to protect our sovereignty, our national interests, and our core values. But we must not be complacent.

My second question is why should anyone target Pakistan? Is it because of our own follies? Is it our geography? Or is it our refusal to take dictation from regional and global powers?

Again my take on this is as follows. The world has become so much complex. So has our region with almost perennially hostile India, unstable frontier in our West, and a roller coaster relationship with the US. The US Asia Pivot, partnership with India, and strategic competition with China has added complexity to our region. Even projects of connectivity, such as BRI and CPEC, are being viewed negatively by these forces. Pakistan has two choices; either accept what is being presented to us by the global and regional powers, or stick it out.

My third question would be, what kind of hybrid warfare are we confronted with?

Hot borders? Dissident groups? Social media activists? Foreign NGOs with their own agendas? Education institutions? Ideological confusion through media and social media? All of the above, I suppose and more. We need to be aware of that. Our nation needs to be aware. Only then the hostile agendas can be defeated.

My final question is what is it that we can do to effectively counter this hybrid warfare?

I am confident that we all would like to benefit from the wisdom and thoughts of the Chairman and the panel of speakers on all these aspects of today's theme.



INAUGURAL ADDRESS

General Zubair Mahmood Hayat NI (M),
Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee

Excellences, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I thank you for this opportunity to present ‘my views’ on contemporary subject of Strategic Coercion Realm of Gray Hybrid War and its Implications for Pakistan. In prevailing international and regional environment of Gray Hybrid Conflicts;



particularly in South Asia, this subject is of ‘great relevance’ and ‘interest’ to Pakistan. I will ‘unpack’ the context of Gray Hybrid Conflict (GHC) and its attendant tools.

Strategic Coercion ‘stands out’ as a ‘significant means’ of waging GHC against any state. After drawing the global context of Strategic Coercion, I will then venture into our region and share my thoughts on the way forward for Pakistan. Warfare evolves from generation to generation. It is a genuine evolution. The revolutions in military affairs; so prominent in our strategic discourses, were ‘not’ revolutions per se. They were ‘culmination’ of efforts seeking solutions to the tactical, operational and strategic issues of the time. The evolution of warfare always has been ‘preceded’ by evolution in political, economic, social and technical structure of the society.

Warfare evolves in consonance with the society ‘as a whole’. Grey Hybrid Realm of Conflict has evolved and gained ascension in last few years. Its evolution has also been preceded by the technological and societal changes. Though, it has far more complicated dimensions. Prussian military philosopher Carl von Clausewitz said that, “War is more than a true chameleon that adapts its characteristics to the given case.” The warfare in 21st century morphs into seemingly ‘unfamiliar forms’ that combine regular and irregular forces on the same battlefields. Hybrid threats are not novel either. While the means by which state and non-state actors conduct hybrid war today ‘have changed’, the ‘fundamental principle’ of utilizing a ‘combination’ of



conventional and irregular methods to achieve a ‘political objective’ is ‘consistent’ with ‘older’ forms of warfare.

However, despite having its roots in history, this contemporary warfare has the potential to transform the strategic calculations of potential belligerents due to rise of non-state actors, proxies, information technology, cyber, space, law fare, sanctions and influence operations. The Gray Hybrid Conflict as I call it, simultaneously and adaptively employs a tailored mix of conventional, irregular, terrorism, cyber and criminal means or activities in the operational battle space. Rather than a single entity, a hybrid threat or challenger may be a combination of state and non-state actors.

Gray Hybrid Conflict is in fact no more ‘that’ Gray. It is ‘THE’ ‘contemporary’ and ‘new’ form of conflict. The Gray Hybrid Conflict has lumped together a diverse array of behaviors; from irregular warfare and unconventional warfare, to coercion, intimidation and compellence. It has become a catch-all phrase that encompasses nearly all forms of modern conflict. Gray Hybrid challenges are thus inherently ambiguous in nature. They feature unconventional tactics, from cyber-attacks, to propaganda and political warfare, to economic coercion and sabotage, to sponsorship of armed proxy fighters, to creeping military expansionism.

Those tactics, in turn, are frequently shrouded in misinformation and deception, and are often conducted in ways that are meant to make proper attribution of the responsible party difficult. These challenges are ambiguous and usually incremental aggression. Coercion and intimidation as ‘integral parts’ of Gray Hybrid conflict are not new or novel either. Only the means and methods have evolved. This combination of coercion (sticks) and diplomacy (carrots) is as old as the practice of diplomacy. Coercive measures have been a tool of statecraft for centuries. Coercion involves use of threats and limited force in support of negotiations and demands relying on persuasion, rewards and assurances.

Coercive diplomacy has been considered as an attractive strategy to further foreign policy goals because it offers the target state an opportunity to achieve reasonable objectives with less cost. Coercive diplomacy is ‘potential means’ to change unacceptable behavior with much less, if any, conflict or bloodshed, with fewer political and psychological outlays. It is a diplomatic method used to engage in a particular course of action.



Often by using coercive diplomacy, there is less of risk of an escalation into a full scale conflict. From Thucydides to Machiavelli to Hobbes, philosophers and students of diplomacy have preferred resorting to some type of coercion in order to persuade opponents into taking a different course of action or changing their behavior, rather than resorting to military intervention. What has perplexed international theorists and policy makers is; under what political circumstances or crisis conditions can coercive diplomacy be applied today as a viable tool of foreign policy.

Coercive diplomacy, whose objective is to dissuade or prevent an opponent from undertaking an unacceptable course of action, employs flexibility in the various styles which allow for discrete measures, tailored conditions, paced escalation of events, and if all peaceful avenues fail, the ultimate use of force. When implementing tools of coercive diplomacy, they must be credible to be effective. One adversary must believe that the opponent is capable of carrying out the threat and punishment, and most importantly intends to carry out with the promise of the threat if the opponent fails to comply. By the same token, the opponent must be convinced that the promise is ‘credible’ enough to believe that the adversary will undo or lift the proposed punishment, if there is compliance.

Economic sanctions or embargoes are key deterrents with global powers to curtail behavior of other states. Economic sanctions take a variety of forms, ranging from a mere refusal to renew trade agreements to a total export and import embargo against the target state. Over the past decades, international sanctions have featured prominently in economic statecraft and practice as a means to achieve political goals. The doctrine of law fare has become the preferred strategic international political discourse. The coiner of the term describes the practice of using law ‘as a means of realizing military objectives’.

Law has become as a ‘weapon’, a ‘tactical ally’ and a ‘strategic asset’, thus an instrument of war. Now, law fare can often accomplish what might once have been done with bombs and missiles; secure territory, send messages about resolve and political seriousness, even break the will of a political opponent.”

Ladies and Gentlemen!



In last decade, international security environment has undergone a ‘tectonic shift’ from the familiar post-Cold War era. The world order is in flux. The unipolar world has transitioned to a new and different ‘strategic situation’ that features, among other things, renewed great power competition. Many region are aflame and being ‘consumed’ by civil, asymmetric and proxy wars. Fight for resources is turning horrid. Digital technologies are ‘reshaping’ the world irreversibly. Economic geographies are being ‘leveraged’, through ‘connectivity’ and ‘pipelines’.

It has given rise to law fare, sanction and preventive doctrine by the superpower and her allies, all aimed at ‘coercing’ and ‘intimidating’; for the so called ‘national interests’ of those powers. Now let me venture into Dimensions of Coercion and Pakistan’s levers in safeguarding security and fostering a coercion free region.

South Asia is a key region; where coercion efforts of ‘different kinds’ are rife; that creates inter and intra-regional challenges. Pakistan has been enduring subtle and not so subtle coercion since our independence. At partition, princely states with Muslim majority nationals and Kashmir, were coerced on policy matters. Issue like unfair distribution of assets, large scale communal violence and stoppage of river water ‘ensued’ and ‘still rankle’ in our memories.

Coercive statecraft and hostility from our ‘Eastern neighbor’ is ‘not new’. Our Eastern neighbor has unfortunately kept making repeated attempts at coercion and intimidation. We have therefore been living in the ‘shadow of antagonism’ and ‘threats’ to our security and survival. During Cold War, we had to undergo coercion of one block due to our alignment with the other. This regional coercive attitude is not only with Pakistan alone: Her overbearing attitude and ‘attempts of domination’ have created a host of border and water dispute in the ‘Region’.

Meddling in affairs of all neighbors has become the ‘new norm’ and has reduced SARRC and all ‘other efforts’, aimed at regional cooperation to ‘zero’. Attempts were well made to coerce us militarily, to force ‘policy capitulation’.

Military might was amassed on our borders in 1986/87. Again in 2002, during Operation Parakram, the military muscle was placed at our borders to extract ‘favorable policy decisions’. With ascension of ‘hyper Nationalist Hindutva driven political dispensation’, this attitude has turned ‘more muscular and belligerent’ in recent past.



As manifested through statements made by political and military leadership. Hegemonic designs for greater power struggle and ‘regional hegemony’ are undermining regional security calculus, which are being translated through an ‘indirect strategy’ against ‘Pakistan’ to negatively affect our internal security environment, especially in erstwhile FATA, Balochistan and Karachi, like sponsoring ‘Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan’, ‘Baloch sub nationalists’ and other ‘terrorist groups’. Apprehension of serving officer, Commander Kalbhoshan Yadav proves our claims of the involvement.

Water coercion is also at play against us. Indus Water Treaty (IWT) has come under stress, due to the latest rhetoric. Efforts to gradually manipulate the IWT in order to ‘enhance control’ over Pakistan’s share of water are a ‘disregard’ to the spirit of obligations under IWT, which will have ‘serious repercussions’ in the region. In military domain, doctrines like Cold Start have been formulated for ‘perpetual coercion’ of Pakistan.

Owing to ‘geo-strategic interests’ and ‘hegemonic ambitions’, certain regional countries have embarked on maritime strategies to increase their influence in the region. Forward basing and Garlanding Strategies are being pursued. Efforts are affront to ‘change’ maritime geography of the region. Military bases have been ‘established’ at numerous places like Duqm, Changi, Sabang and Seychelles.

Landlocked countries on our West and Central Asian Republics (CARS) are being accessed through competitor ports and multi modal alternative Trade Corridors. On the security and strategic front, there are voices to revise No First Use (NFU) ‘Doctrine’. ‘2FW mantra’ is also being played to extract strategic relevance and advantages. There are efforts to subsume ‘cross border strikes’ into sub conventional domain of conflict. Law fare geometrics and economic coercion are also at play. Efforts have also been made to brand KFM, as ‘terrorism’; as a ‘sponsored’ activity. Information maneuver is also at play.

As is evident from the discourse, Pakistan was subjected to coercion on ‘various accounts’, but, we have defied them in the past and will continue to do so in future. Despite our ‘challenges’, we have ‘many levers’. We were created for a reason.



The ideology of Pakistan is alive; despite push by our adversaries and freewheeling pseudo intellectuals. Pakistan has established credentials for an 'inclusive' and 'accountable' democracy. We have taken the direction. I am sure we will tread this path successfully. We have come a long way in establishing our 'conventional' and 'strategic deterrent'. Our nuclear deterrence is 'defensive' and is driven by 'security concerns'; rather than great power ambitions like our Eastern neighbor.

Despite our asymmetry, we possess strong and battle hardened Armed Forces backed by credible minimum deterrence. As we grapple with traditional threats, 'new challenges' like cyber, space and non-traditional threats require 'new method' and 'mechanisms' to handle them. We have successfully fought the scourge of terrorism and extremism.

Since 9/11, we have paid a 'heavy price'; not only physically and monetarily; but also emotionally. We have immense 'geo-strategic importance'. Pakistan is a geo-economic pivot and a 'zipper state'. These factors provide Pakistan with an opportunity to 'maximize' its 'leverages' in 'socio-economic', as well as 'geo-political' domains. Given the CPEC and evolving SCO paradigm, we are set to play an 'important role' in regional (and beyond) construct of 21st century. With regards to KFM, our stance is 'principled'. Attempts for coercion on this account act as a 'Counter Fuel'. We believe that hegemonism will not solve regional and global issues. Coercion creates 'more problems'; than it 'resolves'.

We stand for a 'just resolution' in Afghanistan; which is durable and sustainable. Pakistan role in 'development' and 'common regional prosperity' is beyond doubt.

The 'stunted potential' of SARRC also needs re-vitalization. We understand the need to bolster our capabilities to deal with the 'evolving domain' of international law. This requires the creation of legal departments within the important civil and military domains, armed with 'practitioners' and 'experts' in 'international law'. Despite our challenges, we have not, we will not: blink!

We are engaging important world capitals, Muslim states and like-minded countries to solidify our relevance. We continue to maintain credible minimum deterrence; that 'guarantees' our



security. Our long but successful struggle against forces of ‘domestic’ and ‘regional’ disorder, fragmentation and terrorism has checkmated ‘ripples of chaos’.

Let me conclude by saying that; A nuclear power of 220 million can never be coerced. However, we also need to overcome our challenges and vulnerabilities in economic, internal and diplomatic domains. We need to get down to ‘brass tacks’ through ‘solid performance and action’ in commerce, trade, science and technology. A nation at peace within and without, focused on stability and economic prosperity; confident of its potential and strength; acting as a force for good; integrating with CAR, Middle East and the region. Maintaining a balanced international posture and optimizing our geo-eco and political relevance: we stand at a threshold of potential for progress and growth. That is the destiny of Pakistan. This is what Quaid-e-Azam envisioned; this is what we will achieve. So the notion of cooperation and partnership should trump other notions, including any ‘flirtation’ with coercion.

I thank you all.

Pakistan - Zindabad



PRESENTATION

Identifying Doctrines and the Nature of Gray Hybrid Threats in the 21st Century

Mr. Leonid Savin

Geopolitical Analyst, Russia

The Paradigms that govern hybrid warfare are Western, non-Western and home grown. The very term, *Gray Hybrid Conflict*, is a Western construct. The Western paradigm has been imposed on the world. So my thesis is to avoid the trap of the Western political science concepts and trends and to come up with our own narrative.



My second thesis is to look at the situation from a geopolitical perspective with the advent of globalization, proliferation of technology and access to sophisticated communication, the end of the unipolar moment and the rise of multipolarity, non-state actors and religious groups and social movements.

When we look at the hybrid warfare itself, we see that so many terms are used - almost a hundred terms. There are many definitions and terms mostly used by Western analysts and officials in different ways. Only a few terms are used by the non-Western world. Some terms associated with hybrid warfare are: Proxy War; Non-linear Conflict; Irregular Warfare; Non-kinetic warfare; Chaoplexic warfare; Cool war; Low Intensity Conflict; Compound warfare; Unrestricted warfare; Strategic terrorism; No war– No peace; Sub-conventional conflict; Covert operations; Irregular warfare; Guerrilla warfare; Active measures; Special warfare; Complex operations; Unconventional warfare; Asymmetrical warfare; Netwar; Counter-Unconventional warfare and Coaching war.



The idea of hybrid warfare has evolved over the years. About 14 years ago General James Mattis who was also the Defense Secretary of the US talked about four wars - one is military and the other three are non-military. This was the approach within the Western establishment.

Another idea was that hybrid warfare was the projection of all elements of national power political, military, economic, social, and informational. Next was the proposal by John McQueen in April 2014 who said that hybrid conflicts are full spectrum war. Before 2014, the notion of hybrid warfare was mostly focused on military strength and strategy but after the Ukraine crisis that changed. Western powers have tried to claim that Russia was conducting hybrid warfare in Ukraine. This is not true!!!

The aim of hybrid warfare is to change decision making - local, state and at institutional level.

Hybrid warfare tools are propaganda, fake news, strategic leaks, funded organizations, political parties, organized protest movements, espionage, proxies. Hybrid tools are designed to blur the distinction between peace and conflict. Hybrid warfare uses a combination of multiple conventional and unconventional tools of warfare. These include regular military forces, Special Forces, irregular forces, support of local unrest, information warfare and propaganda, diplomacy, cyber-attacks and economic warfare.

The nature of this new warfare requires new solutions to counter it. A Special Task Force is required to tackle this challenge. In July 2018, Russian Ministry of Defense founded a new structure. The Russian armed forces have created a department that is responsible for counterpropaganda since Russia is the object of Western manipulations.

Western powers are not following Clausewitz's famous "Politics is continuation of war by other (non-violent) means." My thesis is that Politics is continuation of war by other means. In reality, the most powerful states would like to use war for political means.

In conclusion, the concept of hybrid warfare and gray zone has evolved. Initially, it was just military concept used at the tactical level to talk about Hezbollah and terrorist organizations, about some radical groups in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is very interesting that American analysts never talk about conflicts in Latin America. In my opinion, that region is not highlighted because it is the US backyard. The concept of hybrid warfare is used for Africa and Eurasia, but not for



Latin America. So in 2014, the concept was mostly tactical/military, in 2017 it became Military, Political/Operational, and in 2018 it became Geopolitical/Strategic. These are all politically motivated definitions. They promote the state agenda of powerful states like the US against not only Russia, but states like Pakistan in South Asia. When we try to develop sovereign policies, states like US who like to maintain the status quo claim that any path of change (even if it is by peaceful means) means hybrid war is at play.



PRESENTATION

Strategic Coercion in the Age of Hybrid Conflict: Adversaries and Challenges in South Asia

Mr. Ikram Sehgal

Defense and Security Analyst, Pakistan

Hybrid war is a mixture of linear, non-linear, kinetic and non-kinetic. It is interconnected and unpredictable, combined with traditional, mixed with irregular and applied simultaneously in time and space. Among the forces, you have regular military forces, your special forces, you have irregular forces, you have support of local unrest, you have information warfare, propaganda diplomacy, cyber-attacks, economic warfare.



How do you counter these? You counter this by military servicemen and population, trusting in the country's security forces, remembering that enemy absolutely ignores moral and ethical limits during hybrid operations, and making the proper geo-political assessment of the hybrid threats. The major thing is information warfare. If you see today's world, the greatest example of it is the United States where Presidency is stuck at the moment because information warfare was used to turn the course of the election. And that is exactly what Robert Mueller, the Special Councilor is talking about. A number of US President's aides have been convicted on various counts, and in fact it is not clear if Wiki was used to insert certain things in Hillary Clinton's campaign so that things could be turned against her. Information warfare plays a great deal, particularly against Pakistan. Pakistan is the subject of lot of adverse information warfare. There was a military festival in Karachi where 80 per cent speakers spoke against Pakistan and Pakistan Army. They spoke about Pakistan Army's campaign in FATA and Swat; they spoke about the campaign of the Rangers in Karachi. That is the sort of thing we need to avoid.



What are the challenges and threats to Pakistan? The challenges and threats to Pakistan are to avoid isolation and demoralization. All the time people are going to tell you how bad you are. What a bad country you are. Let me give you an example of a bad country. Somebody gave me this statistic and I am going to repeat that statistic, 95 per cent of Indian population lives below poverty line. In our case, it is 65 per cent. Our standard of living is higher than India and every country of South Asia. We do have challenges like electricity breakdowns, loadshedding, governance problems, but we are not certainly as worse as the propaganda says. Do people know that we have second largest copper and gold reserves in the world, third largest cotton industry in the world, fourth largest coal producing country in the world, fifth largest milk producing country in the world, sixth largest rice producing country in the world, seventh largest wheat producing country in the world, and I am not going to talk about our nuclear weapons. So let's be proud of our country and put the information right and counter misinformation. There is no doubt that the new government is facing challenges. But what challenges?

We have challenges in hybrid warfare like historical, ethnic, social and economic. Every power uses that. It is the nature of war now. One must see the powers that you have. The British in WW II established a brigade called as Chindits brigade. The Chindits were dropped behind the Japanese lines and Burma by gliders and aircrafts to break Japanese communications. They were meant for subversion and Guerrilla attacks and communications attacks. Their number was 77 Brigade. Gen. Nick Carter, previous Chief of Defense Staff of UK has now reformed the 77 Brigade. This Brigade now consists of four thousand cyber specialist. So now this kind of war is being fought. This is the latest war that they are fighting. Many things can be attributed to Pakistan. Pakistan is an easy target. If you look at Pakistan, you will find that we have so many challenges. But with every challenge, there comes an opportunity. We are beneficiaries of not only what we are doing, but what is happening around us like the Belt Road Initiative which will reduce the distances. The interconnectedness will take place. The ECO countries are connecting roads and railways. The dominance of the maritime powers will reduce considerably. The fifth fleet and the seventh fleet might go on a pleasure cruise, because they will not be able to influence the course of war as much as they used to.

I must point out to you the biggest danger to Pakistan. In the older days, opium used to affect the Chinese. They used to spend a lot on opium and that was the way the Chinese used to be



controlled by various powers. The new way is to give a poor man a telephone so that he can use 25-30 per cent of the air time on packages and listening to music. He spends his hard earned money on that. And what does the Telecoms do? There is not a single Telecom which is owned by Pakistanis. All the servers are abroad whether it's Telenor or Jazz or Ufone. Telecoms and the social media platform where fake and distorted news is spread, there is no control over that. The Pakistan Telecom Authority is supposed to have control over them. Perhaps some regulations are coming but can you imagine that in a second they can flash this news all over Pakistan which you will take days to counter act. These are the dangers. You must put in effective checks and balances to make sure that these dangers do not exist. To give an example, the State Bank had been trying for the last two years to connect the Telecoms with the commercial banks. The Telecoms don't want to do so because of the fact that the data which is available to them will then also be available to the commercial banks. But where is the data that is available to them and who has access to the data available with the Telecoms? This is a great danger and we have to wake up to these realities.

Hybrid warfare can take many other forms like water or economic. Recently, US Secretary of State said that Pakistan will have to give all details of CPEC before they talk to the IMF. The Prime Minister was forced to go to Saudi Arabia, UAE and other places. Now the IMF is talking to us and hopefully by April we will have the program going. Thus, economics is used as part of strategic coercion. As far as India is concerned, we all remember the surgical strike. No one in Pakistan knows where the surgical strike took place, but according to India there was a surgical strike. You must remember that India makes terrific Bollywood movies which are far from reality. But that is also a projection of their hybrid warfare because when you see some of the movies which concerns intelligence operations are against Pakistan and not against any other country. Indian hackers have tried at times to get inside our air traffic control rooms. They tried to get into Karachi airport, Multan and Peshawar airport websites at one time.

Another threat is to the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. Few days back, I was in a panel in Institute of Business Administration on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. A known Pakistani Professor said that CPEC is a figment of imagination. A columnist also supported him. All I could say was to please travel to Gwadar, maybe you will see some of the power stations and you will find that it is not a figment of imagination. We have to take very strong decisions. We



must understand that this is the war that only the armed forces cannot fight. Whole society has to take part in it. It is a war that we must educate our children right from the beginning -the moment they have telephones in their hands which is an instrument of warfare now. We must address the root causes. In conclusion, I will say the real question is do we have a character as a nation to convert the opportunities that we have, from dreams into realities for our future generation.



PRESENTATION

Hybrid War: Impact on Society and Policy Options

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Every war whether hybrid or otherwise impacts society. In fact, it is the potential of adverse impacts of war that there is deterrence and abhorrence against war. War is actually directed to break or dilute the will of the opposing entities. Unlike most of the dictionaries that still define war as an armed conflict, Sun Tzu stated that acme of strategy is to win a battle



without fighting. We do talk about the nature and character of war as Aristotle cautioned us of defining the terms before we embark on any discussion. But it's all semantics and terms coined for ease of understanding. Similarly, we have divided war in a number of Generations according to evolution in weapons and resulting transformation in tactics, operations and strategy. Starting from first generation warfare we are now talking about fifth and sixth generation of warfare. I will not go into the details of generational definitions. But most flexible and all-encompassing new term is the hybrid war which is the employment of all science and art of warfare along with application of all modern resources available to the mankind.

About false flag operations - you must have noticed that something going on in Kabul and all telltale signs pointing towards Islamabad, and something happening in Islamabad and all telltale signs pointing towards Kabul. Once intelligence agencies carryout certain operations, the telltale signs are not very obvious. False flag operations are carried out which is a combination of operation and propaganda. All these techniques are not new. But with modern technologies and their global availability have enabled the major and small powers to attack opposing minds and will to resist in novel ways. Thus, in the trilogy of strategy that is end, ways and means where the end still remains the defeat of opposing will or the resolve, the ways and means have



undergone transformation that you have heard a lot about. Unless the political and military leadership comprehend and embraces the new concept, it will not be able to cope with the adverse impacts of hybrid war. To master the strategy of hybrid warfare is not enough or to understand the ways and means available, but also the location of the objective that ultimately the end wish to attain. As we are already determined that the final target will be the will and the resistive mindsets of the opponent because the most appropriate source of will then be employed in a composite manner that would directly or indirectly effectively attack the will wherever it will arise. By now we should be quite clear that hybrid warfare straddles larger presence in the cognitive space as compared to physical domains. A well-orchestrated onslaught would be unleashed against the minds and will power of the adversaries impacting on their world views, self-views, relationship with other entities, attitudes, faith, bonding forces and cultural pride. If will of the group of people or a country or a nation is the actual target, then it is of utmost importance to know as to where such a target is located. In a large mass of people with elaborate system and institutions, how to pinpoint this resistive will? Does it lie in a concentrated form or well-distributed across large space. Is it a physical or metaphysical entity related to hearts, bodies and minds? In my humble opinion, this will of the people is the center of gravity of any nation that is dependent on the political, economic and social structure of a society. In a good democratic setup, it is likely to be distributed all over the polity depending how the powers and responsibilities are distributed within that dispensation and who is calling the shots, how the decisions are being made. In autocratic environment, the probability is high that it may be embedded in certain personalities, thus, very easy to target. In tribal society, it may lie in very strong traditions that may extremely be difficult to defeat.

It should also be logically dependent on economic structure and how it is sustained. The faith and psychological makeup of the society being attacked is also important. Thus, this will to resist any external pressure is a complex phenomenon and needs to be studied in detail for its level of robustness and locations so the pressure is applied against the right spots. The nature of impact on society of this unique warfare would largely depend on the strength of those strands out of large number of options that the aggressor employs to achieve the goals. Undermining the economy would largely affect the poor and the middle class. Attacks on the moral stance and ethical moorings will normally affect the middle class only. If social structure comes under stress, it will engulf the rich and the middle class and shatter their comfort.



Similarly, the belief system, the world view, when attacked may unhinge the base on which certain societies are constructed.

I say that we are in the middle of an ongoing hybrid war. Thus, the impact on our society is profound. We are struggling to repair such divisive trends and some aspects of hybrid war that are being resisted from our side also to counter the forces. But our efforts are not harmonized. Disparities, neglected vast lands of Balochistan, Sindh and Gilgit-Baltistan, failure to control religious and sectarian hatred are all our own doings making tasks of our enemies much easier. They just needed to apply further pressure of existing fissures and cause unbearable pain to our society, polity and faith. You must have openly now heard sentences like religion has proved divisive rather than bonding, we would have been better off in undivided India, our forces have waged war against our own people, it's a conspiracy theory that some powers are deliberately targeting Muslim countries. If you see on ground, most of the turmoil in the world is taking place in Muslim countries and still people would say that it is a conspiracy theory. There is a need to check the intensity of these narratives that our society is already suffering from. Thus, the technique of hybrid war is to find an existing weakness, employ media both mainstream and specially social, to aggravate perceptions, employ paid advertent and inadvertent agents to lead such thinking groups, to carry out physical false flag operations to increase stand-off between various groups, employ economic and political hit men to deepen the existing disparities, create a civil strife situation preferably culminating into civil war, ensure total destruction by fueling one or both sides to perpetuate the conflict, gain control by either making a side win, or all out support to the winning side.

To assess whether we are actually victim of hybrid war or not, consider the intensity of the political rivalry. Political parties have always been against each other. But the intensity of rivalry we see now days is a very unique phenomenon. Mistrust created regarding all important institutions - we never hear anything good about judiciary, NAB, Election Commission, Armed Forces, even political institutions. If all institutions are being maligned, there must be something wrong somewhere. Sinking colossal resources at wrong priorities - Civil Aviation Authority had constructed 46 airfields. Each air field cost 30-50 billion minimum. Out of these 46 airports, only 28 are operative. You can just imagine what might have happened to other 18 and how the economic hit man has worked and all the resources are sunk in wrong places. Intensified sense



of deprivation in areas that have been kept backwards, maligning CPEC, keeping security forces under intense pressure from outside and inside, aggravating Shia-Sunni, Punjabi-Non Punjabi, civil-military tension through propaganda, spoiling relations with all neighbors employing 'information and false flag operations. We have been busy in discussing are these all home grown problems? Do we have to put own house in order? Is this all done by our enemies? This is actually an amalgam of the two, the Gray Zone, thus Hybrid in nature. Only understanding is not enough. It has to be fought back in all areas that we have discussed. This is the new science and art of warfare.

What are the policy options? There is a framework which is presented here. Before evolving any policy regarding hybrid war, it is absolutely necessary to determine is this actually happening to us or not. We as a nation must be on one page. There are lots of noises that hybrid warfare is a slogan, it is a fake or it is being raised by security institutions just to further their own interest. My first suggestion would be that either it should be discussed in National Security Committee or a committee comprising all political and economic and military leadership. They must sit down and proclaim in very clear terms that yes we are under hybrid threat or not. One of the definitions of hybrid warfare is that it is imperceptible. It is kept at a level where you always remain confused whether actually war has been imposed on us or not. The second frame would be whether we need to fight back or bear passively. If there is war, there are means of fighting back. One is that you just remain defensive and bear whatever is coming and make your defenses strong enough. Other is that you also hit the adversary. If you know there is a war going on then you need some institution, some resources to fight it back. It would have to be an all nation effort and not only in the literal purview of the armed forces. Thus, it has to be led by apex political entity.



QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

Q: Total of 46 airfields was constructed out of which only 28 are operational. What about the remaining 18 and where did the money go?

A: The money was spent at the construction of these airfields, but the problem was that those airfields were not needed in those areas. They were constructed mostly on demands from politicians.

Q: The symptoms of the hybrid war were stressed upon, but most of these symptoms have been there for the last 70 years. Do we need to re-evaluate them?

A: We have always seen political rivalry but it was not this intense. Animosity was not to this extent. Institutions like judiciary or bureaucracy were never under such pressure as it is now days. I feel that threshold has been touched where it can be said that hybrid war is there.

C: It would be interesting to study the models where the hybrid war has been defeated and how. One of the interesting studies would be the Arab Spring. We have witnessed Arab Spring being defeated in 2011 in Bahrain and in Saudi Arabia. It was perhaps due to the trust of the people. This is exactly what Pakistan needs today. If people have trust in government and institutions, all such acts from hostile nations will fail.

A: The purpose of any war including hybrid war is to destroy the resistive will of the opponent. Countries where decision making is centralized, it is easier to destroy that will. When will is destroyed, there is no need to destroy that country. In certain countries where you see that no destruction has taken place but people might have succumbed to narratives and may have been destroyed mentally or resistance wise, they have been destroyed.

Q: What should be Pakistan's long term policy to deal with hybrid war situation?



- A:** There has to be a central agency which can react to this situation. If you have fake and distorted news 24/7, there has to be some control to come up with the correct version. The Telecoms require supervision. There has to be a proper control and response mechanism. Russia is introducing legislation on fake news. It will be a punishable crime because at times fake news is about serious crimes. Besides, good governance is the most effective tool against the hybrid war.
- C:** I wish to draw attention towards cyber trolling. Whenever something good comes out of Pakistan, we get hundreds of counter narrative comments which are obviously proved as being fake within seconds. Nobody can write so fast, so it is obvious that it is being generated by computers. Pakistan should also be in this game.
- A:** There are no two views about it. We need to do this immediately. Artificial intelligence can be used. Speed is the essence today.
- Q:** Media is a very big tool to implement hybrid war strategies. Which model would you recommend in Pakistan?
- A:** Al Jazeera and BBC are the best models. They may seem neutral but they are doing exactly what their governments dictate them to do.
- C:** At the heart of hybrid warfare lays intelligence and counterintelligence. Russia is the best example when it comes to countering hybrid warfare. Putin has a KGB background. We need to create more awareness about hybrid warfare and it should be taught in colleges, universities and above all PMA.
- A:** Hybrid warfare must be taught at all levels. There needs to be more awareness about hybrid warfare. It is no more only in the domain of armed forces. Putin has an image but it is the strategic culture in Russia which is different. One person from intelligence background is not enough.
- Q:** Pakistan is very vulnerable. Why we have not been able to counter it? It seems that adversary is inside us.



A: Pakistan is the only country in South Asia which stands against the hegemonic designs of India and therefore face the brunt.



CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ambassador Khalid Mahmood

Chairman BoG, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad

In this time and age, a major conflict between nuclear-armed states is inconceivable. Nor nuclear coercion has been successful, even against non-nuclear weapon states. Thus, most conflicts are in the form of conventional military interventions, sub-conventional (guerrilla or irregular) conflicts or 'hybrid warfare'.



The hybrid form of warfare is also called asymmetrical, non-conventional, gray zone conflict, 'new generation warfare', whole of government' approach and so on. The concept is not new. As early as 500 BC, Chinese military theorist Sun Tzu stated that "the skillful strategist defeats the enemy without going to battle" - in other words, subdue the enemy without fighting the war. However, hybrid warfare is emerging as the preferred option in today's contests because of the heavy cost of a direct all-out war.

Often, the objective of hybrid war is not to secure an adversary's immediate defeat, but to erode its morale; isolate it; 'soften' it up before a conflict; deflect it from pursuing unacceptable military or political objectives; disrupt its communications, command and control and / or important infrastructure; impose economic pain to secure adherence to political demands; erode the national unity and cohesion; delegitimize an adversary's government; compromise its leaders and so on.

The toolbox of instruments that can be used to wage such 'hybrid' warfare is rapidly expanding and becoming more sophisticated. It includes irregular warfare, political pressure, economic coercion, information manipulation, autonomous weapons, advanced cyber programs, social media, data mining, subversion, cultural invasion, special operations and artificial intelligence (AI). Russian President Putin has declared that "the nation that maintains supremacy in Artificial



Intelligence will rule the world." Technology, therefore, is progressively blurring the distinction between hybrid and conventional warfare.

Pakistan was the target of hybrid or indirect 'war' in 1971. Since then, it has been the target of multiple 'hybrid' campaigns. Exaggerated proliferation concerns and coercive diplomacy were utilized to hold back Pakistan's nuclear and missile programs. The legitimacy of the Kashmiri freedom struggle was eroded by its projection as terrorism. The onus for America's colossal military and political failure in Afghanistan was ascribed to alleged Afghan Taliban 'safe havens' in Pakistan. The Pakistan Army and the ISI remain a special focus of propaganda and fake news. And today, the hybrid war against Pakistan is focused on Balochistan, the former FATA region, Gilgit-Baltistan and the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.

Pakistan has developed credible capabilities to deter nuclear and conventional aggression. However, it remains very vulnerable to hybrid warfare. The main modality of this 'indirect war' against Pakistan is the media, including social media. There are numerous other 'agents of influence' who are used to develop and project an anti-Pakistan narrative e.g. many foreign funded and directed non-governmental organizations. The hybrid campaign also incorporates some ethnic and religious groups. The well-established foreign sponsorship of the Balochistan Liberation Army and the Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan is the case in point.

To counter hybrid warfare directed against it, Pakistan's agencies must be equipped with the most advanced surveillance and data collection techniques. We must possess the cyber capability to defend our crucial command-and-control systems and industrial and transport infrastructure against enemy attack. But to deter such attack, Pakistan must also have the capability for offensive cyber action. To acquire credible capacity to defend against and repel hybrid wars, Pakistan will need to make dedicated efforts, comparable to those deployed to develop its nuclear and missile programs.

The objective of this seminar was to analyze what constitutes a Gray Hybrid Conflict and how Pakistan should be prepared to fight such conflict in the future? I believe we have been quite successful in this endeavor. At the end of this comprehensive debate and discussion on Gray Hybrid Conflict and its implications for Pakistan, we are able to reach the following conclusions:



- a. The components of all Gray Hybrid or non-linear conflicts remain the same. However, their relevance, intensity and combinations are largely dictated by the specific vulnerabilities of adversary within a geostrategic context.
- b. In an interconnected globalized world, the magnified usage of hybrid components is largely facilitated and amplified by the information and technological revolution.
- c. Both state and non-state actors can successfully achieve their strategic goals with minimum use of military/ kinetic means in hybrid conflict.
- d. The use of hybrid means has led to sophistication and the urbanization of the conflict.

These fundamental aspects of Gray Hybrid Conflict necessitate the transformation of current security approaches and war-fighting strategies. The study of political and socio-economic origins of conflict along with the incorporation of modern technologies like cyber, artificial intelligence et al is a need of the hour to manage the conflict and minimize the damage.

As cyber threats continue to grow in sophistication, countries face a persistent challenge in recruiting skilled cyber security professionals capable of protecting their systems against the threat of malicious actors. The need for individuals capable of securing networks against attackers has never been greater. However, education and training institutions have so far found it difficult to keep pace with the growing need for cyber talent. Shortages exist across the board. We should look to the most successful cyber security training initiatives to identify best practices that can be adopted to help prepare our work force for cyber security careers.

No single agency, organization or institution can combat the hybrid threat. What is required is application of all elements of national power - all hands on the deck approach.

Pakistan has to take timely action to meet the challenge of Gray hybrid warfare. Successful nations are not those who learn from failures but those who avoid failures.

Lastly, while contemplating how best to meet the hybrid warfare challenge, it is emphasized that in the ultimate the importance of potent conventional; and nuclear military capability cannot be overemphasized.



We must recalibrate the institutional and national conceptualization of security threats. The study of political and socio-economic origins of conflict along with the incorporation of modern technologies like cyber, artificial intelligence, is a need of the hour to manage the conflict and minimize the damage.



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