



**CONFERENCE REPORT  
COMPOUND (HYBRID & GRAY ZONE)  
THREATS TO PAKISTAN**



**Center for Global & Strategic Studies,  
Islamabad**

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# ***International Conference Report***

## ***“Compound (Hybrid & Gray Zone) Threats to Pakistan”***



**Organized by  
Center for Global & Strategic Studies, Islamabad  
at  
Marriott Hotel, Islamabad  
on  
8<sup>th</sup> June 2018**

## **Participants**

The Conference was attended by almost 300 participants including government representatives, retired senior armed forces officers, diplomats, and experts from Telecom, IT and Media Industry.

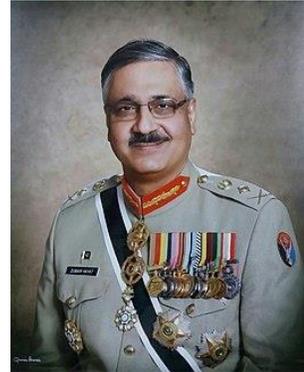
- Host** Lieutenant General Muhammad Zahir Ul Islam, HI(M), (Retd) - Chairman, Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad
- Chief Guest** General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI (M) - Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee
- Guest Speakers** Lieutenant General Masood Aslam, HI (M), SJ, (Retd)
- Air Marshal Waseem-ud-din HI(M), S.Bt(Retd), Former Deputy Chief of Air Staff (Operations)
- Dr. Ashfaque Hasan Khan- Former Special Secretary Finance and Dean, S3H, NUST
- Mr. Ammar Jaffery, Director General, Center of Information Technology (CIT)
- Mr. Habib Malik Orakzai, President, Pakistan International Human Rights Organization (PIHRO)
- Dr. Ejaz Akram, Advisor to the President of the National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad
- Major General Udaya Annesly Perera, (Retd), Former Commandant DSCS, Sri Lanka Army
- Mr. Hai Zhao, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China

## **Introduction to Speakers**

### **Chief Guest**

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

General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI (M) is a four-star rank army general in the Pakistan Army, and is currently the Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee. He previously served as Chief of General Staff and Director General Strategic Plans Division (SPD) in Pakistan Army.



He was trained as a forward observer at the U.S. Army's Field Artillery School in Fort Sill, Oklahoma, United States, where he qualified and graduated as an artillery specialist. In the United Kingdom, he attended the Staff College in Camberley, and is a graduate of the National Defence University, Islamabad

#### **Lieutenant General Masood Aslam, HI (M), SJ, (Retd)**

Lieutenant General Masood Aslam (Retd) is a decorated soldier, who retired as a three star General Officer and served as former Ambassador of Pakistan to Mexico. His last assignment in army was Commander of XI Corps and commanded the unified chain of forces, fighting the pro Tehrik-e-Taliban forces in the North-West Pakistan from 2007 to 2010.



He is one amongst the former officers who directed and oversaw the major operations against the militants, including Swat operation, operations Zalzala, Sherdil, Rah-e-Rast and the Rah-e-Nijat.

### **Air Marshal Waseem-ud-din HI (M), SBT (Retd)**

Air Marshal Waseem ud din was commissioned in October, 1977 as a General Duty (GD) Pilot in Pakistan Air Force. He is an accomplished fighter pilot with rich experience on F-16s and Mirages. He commanded an elite Fighter Squadron, a Fighter Flying Wing and a Fighter PAF Base.



During his illustrious career the Air Marshal has served as Director of Operations, Assistant Chief of the Air Staff (Operations) and Additional Director General Air Force Strategic Command. At senior staff assignments, the Air Marshal has the distinction of having served as Director General Air Force Strategic Command, Air Officer Commanding Air Defence Command, Deputy Chief of the Air Staff (Administration) and Deputy Chief of the Air Staff (Operations), the prestigious appointment which he held till his retirement. He is a graduate of Combat Commanders' School, Turkish Armed Forces Staff College and Royal College of Defence Studies (United Kingdom). He also holds a Master's Degree in International Affairs from King's College UK.

The Air Marshal, in recognition of his meritorious services, has been decorated with the distinguished awards of Sitara-i-Imtiaz (Military), Hilal-i-Imtiaz (Military) and Sitara-i-Basalat.

### **Dr. Ashfaque Hasan Khan - Former Special Secretary Finance and Principal and Dean, School of Social Sciences & Humanities, National University of Sciences & Technology (NUST), Islamabad**

Dr. Ashfaque Hasan Khan is the Principal and Dean, School of Social Sciences & Humanities, National University of Sciences & Technology (NUST), Islamabad. He is a member of the Economic Advisory Council of the Government of Pakistan and has recently been elected as member of the Board of Trustees of the International Islamic University, Islamabad. Dr. Khan has been



the Special Secretary Finance/Director General, Debt Office and Economic Adviser Ministry of Finance, Islamabad for eleven years from 1998 to 2009. He has also been the Spokesperson of the Government of Pakistan on Economic Issues for eleven years. With a Ph.D degree in Economics from Johns Hopkins, he joined the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) in 1979 as Research Economist, where he held increasingly senior positions.

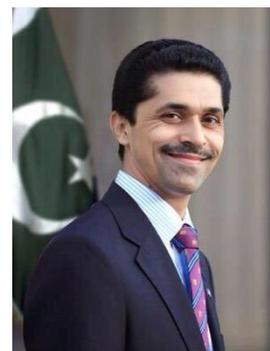
**Mr. Ammar Jaffery - Director General, Center of Information Technology (CIT), Islamabad**

Mr. Ammar Jaffery is currently the Director General, Center of Information Technology (CIT) and is known for his contemporary analysis of changing challenges for Pakistan. He has formerly served as the Additional Director General of Federal Investigation Agency – Government of Pakistan. He is also the Chief Security Experts Private Limited Pakistan and Head of Pakistan Information Security Association (PISA).



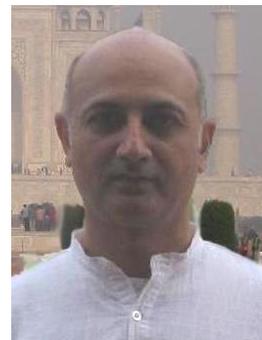
**Mr. Habib Malik Orakzai - President, Pakistan International Human Rights Organization (PIHRO)**

Mr. Orakzai is currently the Chairman of Muttahidda Qabail Party (MQP), FATA, which represents the political interests of the people from Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Being a strong advocate of human rights in Pakistan, he is also the President of Pakistan International Human Rights Organization (PIHRO). To add to his credentials, Mr. Orakzai completed his education from GCSP Geneva.



**Dr. Ejaz Akram, Advisor to the President of the National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad**

Dr. Ejaz Akram is a Professor of Religion & World Politics in the Faculty of Contemporary Studies of the National Defence University, Islamabad. Previously, he served as an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at LUMS from 2005-2016, and at American University in Cairo as Assistant Professor from 2003-05. He has also taught as summer faculty at Franklin College, Switzerland and as adjunct faculty at Franklin & Marshall, Pennsylvania, USA. He holds a Ph.D. in Religion & World Politics from the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. Professor Akram was also nominated as the Outstanding Visiting Scholar of 2017 at Tsinghua University, Beijing.



Dr. Akram specializes in the field of Comparative Religion & World Politics with a focus on the Muslim world and China. He also writes on the religio-political issues of Judaism, Christianity in the West, and Hinduism and Confucianism in the East. He has taught a large variety of courses, including Comparative World Religions, Religion and World Politics, Islamic Civilization and the West, East Asia and the Muslim World, Islamic Political Philosophy, Chinese Political Thought, and Philosophy & Politics of Global Ecology.

Dr. Akram has published several scholarly books, articles, reviews and editorials, and has conducted and appeared on several radio and television programs in Pakistan, North America, China, South Asia and the Middle East.

**Major General Udaya Annesly Perera (Retd) – Former Military Officer, Sri Lanka Army**

Major General Udaya Annesly Perera (Retd) is a well-known personality and a distinguished character in the fields of Military, Foreign Service and Higher Education in Colombo, Sri Lanka. He has dedicated 36 years of service as a Military Officer, Diplomat and an Educator.



Major General Perera joined the Sri Lanka Army as an officer in 1981. He was the first serving military officer to be appointed as a Deputy High Commissioner and thus served in Malaysia from April 2009 to June 2012.

He has obtained two master degrees and four post graduate diplomas on the subjects of Defence, Strategic Studies, Management, Social Science and Counter Terrorism. His new concept entitled ‘Civil-Military Interdependency Concept’ replacing the British, age old Operations Other than War (OOTWAR) got a lot of recognition in recent years.

**Mr. Hai Zhao - Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China.**

Mr. Zhao works at Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China. He is also a Former Academic Advisor, Twenty First Century Institute (Chicago).



He did his certification in Advanced Security Cooperation from Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in 2017. He also has a Ph.D. in International History from University of Chicago in 2015, before which he did his M.A. in Asia-Pacific Regional Studies from Perking University in 2002 and B.A. in World History, Peking University in 1999

## Opening Remarks

### Lieutenant General Muhammad Zahir Ul Islam HI(M), (Retd) – Chairman CGSS, Islamabad



Lieutenant General Muhammad Zahir Ul Islam HI(M), (Retd) – Chairman CGSS, welcomed the esteemed guests to the seminar titled “**Compound (Hybrid & Gray Zone) Threats to Pakistan**”. In his introductory remarks, he said:

It is my honor to welcome you all on behalf of Center for Global and Strategic Studies (CGSS). My special thanks to the worthy national and international speakers, who will talk on this all important subject of “**Compound (Hybrid & Gray Zone) Threats to Pakistan**”. I thank you all for sparing time and being with us. The topic has immense significance in view of the pertaining challenges facing Pakistan. I hope that today’s seminar would be an informative one and increase awareness concerning the topic. The concluding recommendations from the experts will be conveyed to the concerned circles.

## Inaugural Address

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



General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI(M), Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee addressed the audience as a keynote speaker and comprehensively elaborated the gray and hybrid phenomena and threat perception. Pakistan’s efforts to successfully avert these unconventional threats were also highlighted. His speech comprised of the following remarks:



I am pleased to share my views regarding the compound warfare, which is a combination of hybrid and gray zone and plausible approaches from Pakistan. Universal peace is an idealistic notion whereas wars have existed since time immemorial. Competition and anarchy is embedded in structure of international system. The nation states and composition

of human society often lead to conflicts or wars. The 21<sup>st</sup> century warfare is no more a military episode, rather war has aggravated beyond our current conceptions. It falls outside the neat intellectual box and the nebulous domain which is sometimes called as hybrid warfare or gray zone conflict. The gray zone hybrid conflict is a tailored mix of subversion, terrorism, irregular warfare tactics, economic warfare, information warfare, social engineering, societal disruption, conventional application especially the special operations and finally the criminal behavior. The purpose is to get some space in order to attain political objectives. Gray and hybrid conflicts are a deliberate blending and blurring of various modes of warfare in which conflicts are as much political as military. The key enablers of hybrid conflicts are political instability, weak institutions, socio economic disparity, porous borders, ethnicity and sectarianism, organized crimes, corruption and prevalent societal injustices. In gray hybrid conflicts, the character of the conflict continues to transform and includes both sides of the coin that is kinetic and non-kinetic, lethal and non-lethal, geographical and non-geographical, traditional and non-traditional, physical and cognitive, conventional and sub conventional.

The gray hybrid conflicts are considered both armed and unarmed, involving strategic and tactical cooperation between regular and irregular forces simultaneously. The absence of legislation on what will be called as an act of war and what we consider as a

combat zone, it creates a response dilemma for the nations. We may say that the hybrid conflict is waged without a moral philosophy. It has revised the conventional framework of warfighting and distorted the fabric of the balance of power. It is defined by uncharacterized battle space which manifests on the border or more importantly deep inside the state itself. When waged in the cyber realm, it amplifies the use strategic ambiguity i.e. neither confirming nor denying the use of force also creating and retaining the environment for the attainment of strategic objectives.

The gray hybrid conflict does not target clear battles lines; therefore, we may have to face far less certainty about who is attacking us or even the realization that we are being attacked. This gray hybrid spectrum is inclusive of proxies and powers. Proxies not only including terror outfits, rather in the shape of economic hitman, socially engineered movements, disguised NGOs, penetrated media, clandestine non-state actors and pseudo intellectuals favoring surrender of state's sovereignty. Wherein non-state actors are seen operating through invisible foreign strings and therefore whispering campaigns, hitting at the symbols of ideology and nationhood as well as an array of smart options including cybernetics, demographic manipulations and geo engineering etc. While the proxies are employed to shape and redesign, reconfigure the strategic culture of a nation, they may also be sued to coerce or compel the state behavior for the desired outcomes, tending application of power if still required. In case required, the final kill is administered through an astute mix of hard and soft powers, especially in the chosen kill boxes, so as to defame, demilitarize and denude the nations of their center of gravity. The desired end state of the combined applications of what we call proxies and powers is a re-engineered DNA of a nation, deprived of strategic autonomy with a subservient strategic culture.

Let's consider for a moment how wars are being waged these days. The transformation of classic military on military contest to gray hybrid or a compound warfare can be attributed to the following factors:

1. The advent of nuclear weapons, restricting the ways of means for warfare
2. The evolution of moral standards, detesting using hard power or conventional war which may not be publically palatable

3. The transformation in the framework of international relations, erstwhile state to state interactions included on three players namely the government, armed forces and the people. But the imprint and the adaptive technologies and the rise of non-state actors have changed the complexion of the state to state behavior

As we move forward, I am also reminded of 1971. Though the term gray hybrid was not coined at that time yet, it was applied ingeniously against Pakistan with toxic results. We have already been bitten once in Pakistan. In the wake of cultural and conventional invasion by our adversary, I am a personal witness in those days to the inadequacies of our state response at that time including a muddled diplomacy, reactive strategic communication, inept role of the national media, dubious civil rights organizations, pseudo intellectuals, alien teachers and designed whispering campaigns. I am also witness to how a smart mix of conventional and sub conventional forces were provided training, logistic and support bases in 1971 close to our borders, to fit in an internationally accepted legal framework of right to protect. It is unfortunate yet interesting to study the operation “Jackpot” that how the external environment was shaped to breed resentment on the internal front, exploiting leverages over intelligentsia and elite using culture and ethnic affinity as a tool of premeditated influence campaign.



It is very prudent to unlock gray hybrid conflict into various stages, which at times may be sequential or simultaneous. On other occasions, it can be multi layered or multi dimensioned with blurring lines. Hypothetically for the purpose of understanding the gray hybrid conflict is likely to progress in 5 stages:

**Stage 1:** It involves the resetting of strategic narrative of a country. The societal and structural remapping of a country is undertaken by manipulation of socio political vulnerabilities, that is ethnic-religious-socio economic disparities, human rights and governance issues.

**Stage 2:** It envisions the weakening of the state structure, inducing insurgencies, terrorism, cyber threats in sync with hostile actors.

**Stage 3:** It is a stage, where the cohesion of the state may be broken by targeting the holy trinity of the government, armed forces and the people. Lack of public confidence in the state and the state institutions including the military is the hallmark of this stage. In case of internally induced movements and measures, globally recognized sanctions are impose to coarse and compel the target state.

**Stage 4:** In this stage, all elements achieve synchronization under one strategic script. Mayhem will be ensured to coarse the state on core issues and this time overtly.

**Stage 5:** It involves kineticism. Instead of non-kinetic activities, it is in lead at time in this stage through an engineered triggered event, which is designed to inflame internal and external hostile elements into a physical action such as occupation of important installations, civil disobedience and resulting into internal collapse which may be exploited by external conventional forces. It is worth highlighting that gray hybrid conflict has ability to skip or overlap these various stages.

I would like to visualize the global and regional context in which this gray hybrid environment is being played out in the nation state but more specifically in Pakistan. Internationally the world is undergoing transformation in four domains:

1. There is a shift in polarity from a unipolar to graduated multipolar world
2. There are resultant changes in geopolitical trajectory both internationally and regionally

3. There is an emergence of great power contestation, recalibration of the balance of power and arrangements with emphasis on issue based partnerships instead of traditional alliances
4. The colliding waves of globalization versus populism



Looking at the emerging trends, we can see that 90 percent of global youth lives in the developing countries. If left unemployed, it has the potential of being recruited by anti-state actors through inducements and incentives. Social media is shaping the opinions besides being used as a handy disinformation machine. A simple tweet can change the strategic security environment. Violent

actors are using social media as a disruptive and destructive recruitment tool. Refugees and immigrants can increase the risk of social disturbances. International organizations and selected NGOs offers diversity of means available for international coercion. Digitalization enhances the vulnerability of the state and armed forces, especially when exposed to cyber-attacks by the state and non-state actors. Increased dominance of the unmanned military capability through involvement of military robots and artificial intelligence powered weaponry. Also the militarization of the global commons including the outer space and more importantly the sea. In this backdrop, Pakistan is likely to remain a country of significance in modern geostrategic and geo-economic contestations. Whereas sources of stability and instability hinge around its strategic and economic relevance. This coupled with a volatile neighborhood characterized by the global phenomena of grey hybrid conflict is continuously tempting to turn our geostrategic significance into a geo strategic challenge.

The gray hybrid warfare is not new as we have already alluded to the case of 1971. In case of Pakistan, these threats are externally supported. Asymmetric conflicts ruthlessly unleashed to sabotage our geostrategic and geo-economic interests. Hostile and unstable neighbors provide classic environment to sandwich Pakistan into a gray hybrid

security challenge. The current strategic trust deficit is blurring the line between the state of war and the state of peace. The Afghan refugees spread all over Pakistan have meshed into the society which unfortunately rendered the space for the militants to recruit, aggravate and mutate. This is supplemented by state sponsored lobbying campaigns unleashed by the adversaries, who want to isolate Pakistan internationally, besides fuelling rifts between some major international powers, selected international institutions in Pakistan.

At this moment, all available options ranging from non-state actors to ethnic and sectarian conflicts as well as information operations are utilized by inimical forces. Our national fabric, our armed forces and our general populous and our leadership is being targeted. Some live examples of the gray hybrid conflicts are economic coercion, anti CPEC activities, manipulation and violation of water treaties, disproportionate and foreign driven projections of socially engineered movements by selected media houses internationally, continuous upward trend in border violations on eastern and western borders.

Within the realm of gray hybrid conflict, influence operations are conducted to spread disinformation and falsify facts while trying to mold not only the state but also the public perceptions or opinions. We are living in an age of information where news travel faster than an avalanche, therefore, cyber distortions through even a simple tweet or false news item has the potential to re-image falsehood into simple truth. This is the world of fake news, truly described as the post-truth world. We can refer to the live example of a cyber-distortion wherein a fake and fabricated concocted news regarding destruction of a state in twelve minutes became not only the talk of the town, but also the region and the world. When the news resurfaced, a reputed journalist had a discussion regarding the veracity. When asked about his opinion, he was of the view that this looks like a fake one with weak obscure sources and termed it as a journalistic dishonesty. While tracing this fake news, certain interesting facts came to the fore which are worth sharing.

Firstly, the fake news originated from an obscure western online media group called “The AWD NEWS” in October, 2016. This statement was attributed to me as Chairman

Joint Chief of Staff Committee (CJSC), an appointment which was announced a month later in November, 2016. This false news was recycled in 2018. There are some interesting web-hosting details which can give an insight into the world of this false, fabricated and fictitious news. There are seventy one news agencies, web portals and social media handlers involved in this hybrid attack out of which twenty five were located in India, seventeen in western countries and five in Middle East besides many unknown news agencies and obscure web portals across the globe. Unfortunately in Pakistan, the news was further spread by four web portals and twelve social media handles. This reflects the scale, scope, level and depth of such maneuvering and the effects that they intend to achieve both in strategic and political domain.

Over the years, some hostile intelligence agencies have tied up with centrifugal forces thus posing threat to our beloved country. Various troops involved in terrorism and anti-state activities in Pakistan have local lineages but has been used as an instrument by these hostile



agencies through covert support to destabilize Pakistan and weaken our internal front. There is no doubt that the arrest of Mr. Kulbhushan Jadhav from Baluchistan amply exposes their skill. He is the smoking gun of gray hybrid warfare against Pakistan. In fact, Pakistan is subjected to a triple gray hybrid challenge whereby tools of the third, fourth and fifth generation are applied simultaneously. The main objective of this compound warfare is to weaken the state by targeting its growth projections and causing an internal dissuasion and dissension.

The gray hybrid conflict place a concept challenge as to where locus of response should reside. Should it be ascribed to only defense apparatus or intelligence agencies or politico diplomatic measures? Or should it be something as close and unique and tailored state interagency construct? The modern state craft must be able to offer

holistic response to emerging, complex and unpredictable and external security landscape. As gray hybrid conflicts are no longer declared and having begun according to an unfamiliar template, therefore, theoretically speaking, hybrid war should lead to hybrid solutions. There is no definitive formula for the playbook for fighting out a gray hybrid conflict. However, such conflicts require an equally well integrated cross functional, multidimensional solutions including a mix of diplomacy, deterrence and use of the imaginative tools of the statecraft, battle ready military strengths, influence campaigns and all conceivable means available at the disposal of the state. At the state level, an integrated approach offers the best solution in shape of the formulation of a combined inter agency teams that could coordinate the diplomatic, political, military, ideological, intellectual and information activities. This is a part of the whole of nation approach. This holistic and comprehensive national response is predicated upon the whole of government and whole of societal components totally supported by law enforcement and intelligence agencies. In kinetic domain, part of answer lies in increased readiness, special operation forces and more importantly an increased proactive intelligence. However, to prevent the manipulation of internal fault lines, cyber social triggers, pressure points including human rights, religious cum sectarian, ethnic and political sensitivities and sagacious handling and timely socio economic measures promoting national harmony are therefore needed more than ever. For a country like Pakistan, the ideological response forms the backbone of the whole of nation approach. It is heartening to note that eighteen hundred scholars from all schools of Islamic thoughts in Pakistan had issued a fatwa “Paigham-e-Pakistan” which gives out conceptual contours for tolerant and progressive Pakistan as per the true teaching of our glorious religion “Islam”. The Paigham-e- Pakistan rightly urges that use of force in the garb of implementation of some way of life of a particular people as well as the armed struggle against the state or the use of violence to settle ethnic, geographical, religious and sectarian disagreements are contrary to the basic injunctions of Sharia. For the stability and defense of the country, all such tendencies are to be rooted out through administrative, educational, intellectual and defensive measures. The strategic contours of Pakistan national strategy against grey hybrid conflicts can be summed up in the acronym “Secure-PAK”. Secure means constitutional, ideological, informational

and institutional has to be secured to deny the degenerative structural and negative societal remapping or reimagining of the state. The PAK stands for three things:

- “P” stands for prevent that is to prevent hostile actors to manipulate proceeds relative deprivations among masses through people friendly socio economic uplift policies and mainstreaming of neglected areas as in case of FATA recently.
- “A” stands for averting fissures in the state and people relationship through a synchronized cooperative interagency mechanism and constant reassurances at all levels including national security committee and by undertaking all possible economic, administrative, educational, intellectual and defensive measures against strategic compellence or strategic coercion.
- “K” stands kinetic response to any external misadventure through a nose-up deterrence cum defense strategies harmonized application of all instruments of state. In Pakistan, our lofty will of the nation is our greatest asset. We continue feel and experience the grey hybrid threats but we also continue to respond with conviction and innovation. Such dirty tactics will not deter Pakistan from pursuing its rightful destiny with honor and grace in sync with our friends and partners.

The twenty first century contestations or conflicts marks the return of Machiavelli or Kautilya approach to war, where in the notion of deep operation has underwent profound changes. Instead of frontline battlefields, the gray hybrid conflicts is expected to be fought in the backyard of political, economic, societal, information and cyber domain. Therefore, today we are witnessing the gray hybrid conflict being manifested through a combination of hard and soft power. It is manifested through such theories and creative chaos such as shock and awe, fire and fury and others. Modern warfare is characterized by calculated ambiguity, controlled chaos and perplexing complexity. It can envisaged that the future hybrid conflict in the region shall be fought by the foreign sponsored non-state actors and inserted proxies under the overall goal of influence operations so as to achieving the strategic end state rather than conventional military to military conflicts especially in our case where the environment is nuclearized.

To starve off such challenges, let us join hands to nurture a society that promotes unity, faith, discipline, tolerance, brotherhood, mutual respect and offers a comprehensive system of justice besides a continuous up gradation of our kinetic and non-kinetic interagency response mechanism through strengthening of our state institutions and our state processes. An important ingredient of our response is our preparations with our global and regional partners within the permissible limits of our national interests and priorities.



## Speaker 1

### Major General Udaya Annesly Perera (Retd), Former Commandant Defence Services Command and Staff College, Sri Lanka Army



Major General Udaya Annesly Perera (Retd) conveyed his gratitude to CGSS for being able to speak to the learned audience and greeted them all on behalf of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka at the conference. He addressed the audience on the topic of “**Role of Insurgencies in Proxy Warfare**”. His speech comprised of the following remarks:

I am not expert on Pakistan but we are a country which is expert on defeating terrorism from our country. We are very proud to eradicate this menace but we are also thankful to the Pakistan for providing critical support in hard times and will not forget this cooperation. For my Chinese friends who are also sitting in the audience, we won't forget China as well, which was equally instrumental in helping Sri Lanka defeat terror. There is no question that these two countries are a part of our success and we will work together in future.

The success of Sri Lanka in defeating terror has many lessons for other nations. Nations facing insurgencies and turmoil can tailor their counter insurgencies by taking lessons as required. In academic institutions, I used to ask the students and experts:

***“Whether Insurgents are made or they are born”***

***“Where is the factory where they are made?”***

The answer that I got was that they are not born but made into terrorists due to certain reasons. Upon this conclusion I often wondered on various manifestations and convinced me towards certain conclusions. As it is us as a society who made them. Hence, the society has to come together as a whole to address the problem because military alone can't handle the situation on its own.

We have forums, conferences and seminars in order to find solution to terrorism but there are many other factors that threaten humanity and we don't talk about them but

only talk about terrorism. Do we know that twenty six million people perish every year due to diseases? Heart diseases alone kill 8.7 million people per year. Strokes kill about 6.2 million people. Diabetes kill about 1.3 million while lung cancer kills about 1.6 million in addition to mental diseases that also kill 1.3 million people. These are the factors that threaten humanity but we prefer to sideline it. How many people die due to terrorism? The figures are only 30000 per year. I have never seen a conference on how to prevent these deaths. The statistics are self-explanatory and one can easily guess which factor needs more attention. However, there is one factor that needs conscious attention which separates terrorism from all. The phenomena of terrorism threaten the existential security of a nation state.

Now we talk about proxy wars and its dimensions. In 21<sup>st</sup> century, except few, every war is a proxy war. The terrorist entity or organization never fights on their own. There are three types of baskets where one can put the support base of these proxy wars such as:

First basket consist of aggressive patrons who support the proxy outfits overtly. Then you have enablers that does not support militarily but provides economic, material and ideological support. The most dangerous are the slackers as we don't see, know or



observe them but passively they provide support to proxies. They turn a blind eye on the proxy insurgents' excesses and present an excuse that their country's law does not permit them to act against those groups. Furthermore, there is a possibility of these enablers getting into the basket of aggressive patrons. This is the real picture of terrorism and insurgencies today. Our success against terrorism lies in the defining the terrorism. We were able to mobilize the whole nation with the help of friendly countries. If the terrorism ought to be defeated, the narrative against terrorism should be put in the societal domain. Terrorism cannot be defeated unless we define it. How can we defeat terrorism without recognizing or identifying it? Even if you define the terrorism, it is possible that the world may not agree with the definition. The reason lies in the political nature of the phenomena and hence they may not have same thought process as we might have. That does not mean that a nation state cannot have its own definition and eradicate its legitimate concerns and fight against terrorism. The national will should be there to fight terrorism.

In addition, one must be cognizant of the fact that there are no classical terrorist organizations or insurgencies in the world. Terrorist organizations sometimes transforms into insurgencies and vice versa. The current lot of terrorist has a narrative which says that they use terrorism but as a logic while classic terrorist organizations do use terrorism only as a tactic. Practically, every insurgency has a terrorism component in it.

Our nation faced the most dangerous hybrid terrorist organization in the world. We were fighting insurgency in the south, east (grey zone as per western thinking) and also a black zone on top where we were embroiled in a conventional war. Terrorist organization in Sri Lanka had ten to fifteen ships in international waters sailing under the flags of Honduras, Panama and others. We don't blame those countries as they were earning money out of it. In addition these terrorist organization had submarines, had an army and air force. The situation was such that insurgents will bomb power supply stations and whole of the Colombo will fall in darkness. They chose the most crucial time to conduct such actions. When Sri Lanka was playing West Indies in a Cricket match finals, one bomb was dropped in Colombo using a single engine aircraft flying for almost 200 kilometers from north. One can imagine the fear psychosis. However, this

organization was defeated. Only failure in this strategy which we faced as General Zubair rightly pointed out was the strategic communication. We could not communicate to the world (especially west) that what we underwent to eradicate the terrorism from our country. This strategic communication failure resulted in multiple consequences. In 21<sup>st</sup> century, we can fight wars in different domains but the war can only be won in communication domain. One has to make the world understand that you have actually won the war. The perception can sometimes be deceptive and contrary to reality. We have to work and change the perception. Terrorism can only be defeated when terrorists are isolated.



## Speaker 2

### Mr. Hai Zhao, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China



Mr. Hai Zhao conveyed his gratitude for being able to speak to the learned audience. He addressed the audience on the topic of “**Forecasting the Upcoming Global Threats of Irregular Warfare**”. His remarks contained the following important features:

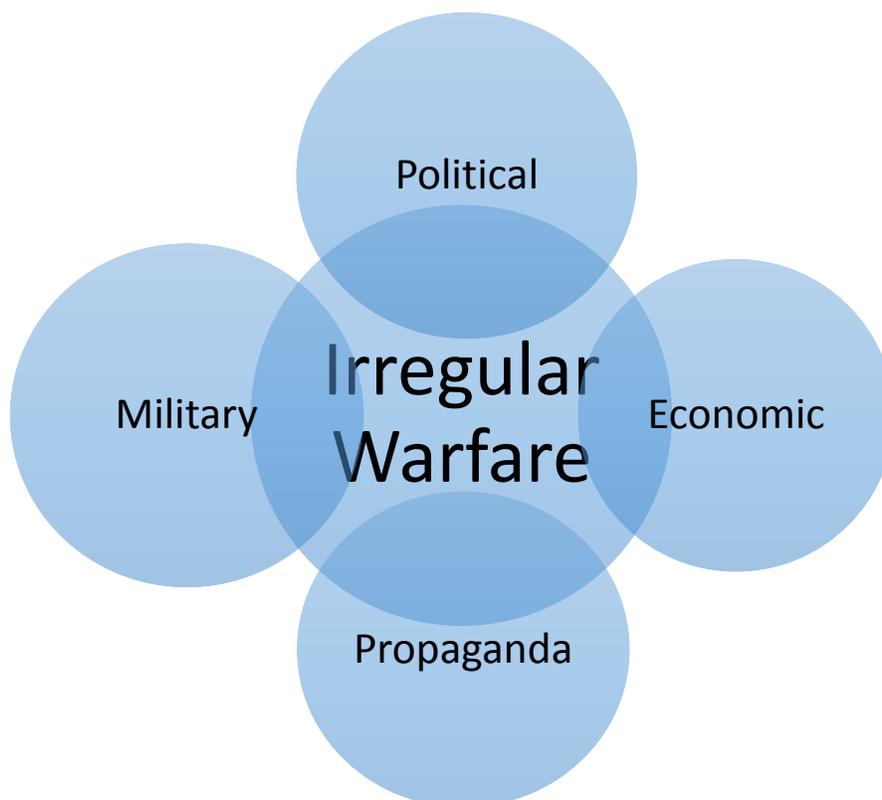
I am a history major and would like to go back to history to talk about irregular warfare that actually begins with actual war. In China, there are two important classics and one of them is Sun Tzu (The art of war fame). Once he famously said that subduing the enemy without fighting is the best of the best. From the very beginning, In Chinese culture and history, we believe that fighting is the last resort. In today’s terms, the conventional war is actually destructive and serve no one’s good. The best way to achieve political objective and victory is through various means particularly the strategic design to achieve the victory without going into the battleground with the adversary. Confucius also held the view of learning the new while revering the old and learn from it. Modern China has learned a lot about the irregular warfare besides the real war that is being faced which is threatening its security. There are two things which needs conscious attention:

- First of all, In addition to irregular warfare, China is also facing a threat of conventional warfare. However, the irregular warfare is very much a concern for today’s China. The belt and road initiative is china’s national strategy while China Pakistan Economic Corridor is its flagship component. Therefore, China should be aware of conventional and unconventional threats and pay attention to both. Irregular warfare should be treated in mutual terms rather than negative terms. Nation states can use irregular warfare as a defense mechanism. Modern countries can use irregular warfare to attack us but we can also defend ourselves using irregular tools and measures. Particularly, weak states can employ these

tactics to attain leverage over the big countries. We have to bear in mind that we can also use irregular warfare offensively against adversaries to our advantage.

- Secondly, one should limit the definition of irregular warfare. However, we cannot expand the definition too broadly, otherwise we risk of bringing some of the grey zone and ambiguous actors and pushing them into our enemies. In terms of counter terrorism, we have to be aware of different socio economic and political problems while not to define the actors as enemies hastily.

There is a significant amount of literature on grey zone conflicts. There is a general understanding that between peace and war, there lies a grey zone and measures can be undertaken to achieve political objectives. In 2015, the United States Special Force Command issued a definition of the political warfare which states that a spectrum of activities associated with diplomatic and economic engagements, security sector assistances, forms of unconventional warfare, and information and influence activities. In view of the today's realities, one gets to understand that they can do few things such as planting political conflict, weakening governance, destabilizing the social system and disrupt economic function. The following model will explain the traditional way of interpreting the irregular warfare which includes aspects such as:



## Framework for Irregular Warfare

- **Political:** In political realm, there are various ways of imposing diplomatic isolation as US used against North Korea and Russia. Other means are intimidation and expulsion of diplomats. Other aspect includes internal interference such as support opposition parties, unions, grassroots movements, color coup such as Arab Spring.
- **Propaganda:** The propaganda is a tool which is also employed effectively by various actors whether state or non-state.
  - a. Informational manipulation is another aspect. In Cold war and post-Cold war, the governments used the publications and broadcasting tools to influence other countries internal domestically.
  - b. The psychological influence involves the attracting the imagination of the audience at first and hence gets dominance over deciding the authenticity or proof. Hence, there exists a superiority element and the once the news is out in open first, the late comers are less likely to be taken seriously as a true narrative.
  - c. In China and Russia, many opposition artists and authors supported by foreign sources. They give subversive expression, satire that is destructive to the conventional values and fabric of the society. This aspect lies in the domain of artistic influence.
- **Military:** The military influence involves special operations and offensive exercises near the border of the homeland as well as the overthrow of legitimate governments which happened predominantly in cold war era. The tactics involves influencing events to bring about downfall of the government. Technological disruptions are also a tool which can be utilized in the time of war. For example the GPS is a US innovative disruptive technology which can be cut off in the event of a conflict or war hence handing a disadvantage the opposing party. Hence it presents a dangerous scenario where one's independence can be disrupted with such technologies.
- **Economic Side:** The economic side is the ability to give and cut aid packages. On the one hand aid is given to support friendly countries that will support the

lender's ability and influence, and if the recipient of a huge amount of aid is being threatened with a cut, this is a threat to national security. The US gave a total of 2 billion US dollars to Afghan mujahedeen in assistance which led to Afghanistan becoming the single largest country with highest number of weapons than all the south Asia combined. Trade sanctions is one of the element that has the ability to influence your adversary. For example China is under the sanction of the export control called Wassenaar Agreement. That is the reason why the US wanted to shut down a Chinese company called ZTE. The reason was that China cannot acquire the most advanced chip technology and has to import 100 billion dollar



worth of chips almost every year. North Korea is also one of those example which can even not import energy and export their key products like coal and fishery products. After the incident of Crimea, the US placed financial sanctions on Russian companies. Similarly Iran and Venezuela also endured the sanctions regime imposed by the US. Even after repealing the sanctions, the investments by the companies are mostly related to the nation states that control the sanction regime and can pull of their investment any time which creates significant problems for the recipient state.

**Forecasting:** The current environment and past experience regarding irregular warfare may help in forecasting about future the future trends in this arena. These most important factors are:

- Non state actors will continue to play an important role in the future. Due to the technological advancement and globalization, we see a lot of non-state actors and groups, transnational networks (particularly terrorist) and even think tanks have influence against nation states or certain parts of it.
- Discrete forces and means are at work today. The ramifications of technological advancements that includes unmanned systems that include artificial intelligence (AI) and block chain are still not very clear. However, we can already see its usefulness for the military. We also note that a lot of technologies have dual use. For example if we combine AI with combat systems, it creates a huge impact on the battlefield. They can reduce human suffering on the one side and inflict massive suffering on the other side. They make war easier on the one side but make wars intimidating on the other side. In the coming decade, we will see the development of such high tech warfare innovations which will transform the way of fighting but also the command system and how to financing these wars. Once these systems fall in the hands of non-state actors, it will certainly have far greater consequences because there are less constraints by the nation states.
- The cyber space has been polarized through manipulated polarization. Identity politics factors such as racial, ethnic, religious, income, gender, history can be used to by the online cyber actors using data. For instance changing the results of an election by tampering the figures. That will militarize cyber space and polarize the society. This kind of virtual war can easily turn into a real war putting people on the street fighting each other. As a result it will destabilize the democracy and make it likely move into the real war.
- The fake news is a phenomena which can be used against other countries but here the emphasis is on its use domestically to influence domestic support and change the domestic opinion. The intention may also be to cause domestic audience confusion, stress, scare, suspicion, repulsion for certain foreign policies or countries and will evoke a response from the populous.
- In case of maritime militarization, the US encouraged other countries to occupy islands hence China responded by claiming and enforcing its own sovereignty.

This has destabilized the whole region and attracted other southeastern nations towards a closer bond with the US.

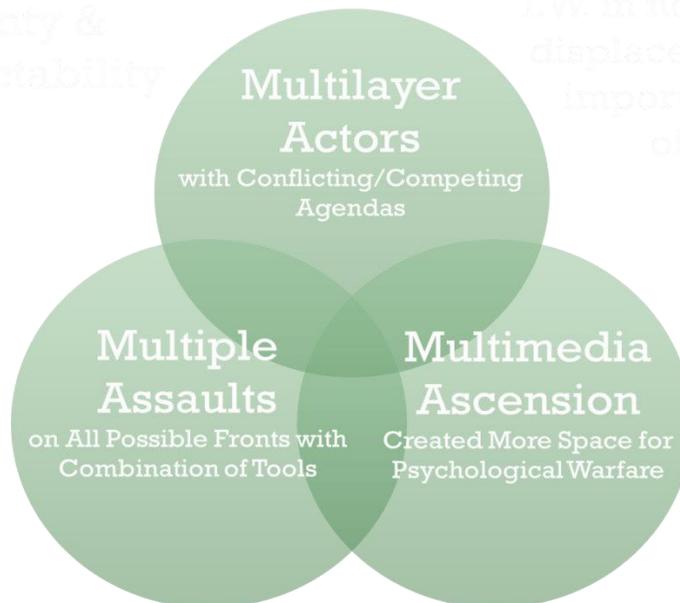
### **3M Trends: Uncertainty & Unpredictability**

One should note that irregular warfare in no way displaces the importance of real warfare. The 3M trends amply describes the future trends in irregular warfare. These are:

- a) **Multi-Layer Actors:** It involves state, multilateral organizations and non-state actors coming together and acting in the same arena. Sometimes it is hard to distinguish which one is active.
- b) **Multi Assaults:** This involves economic and informational attack.
- c) **Multimedia Ascension:** The age of communication, internet and data available creates the space for the actors to manipulate. This phenomena is called multimedia ascension.

3M Trends:  
Uncertainty &  
Unpredictability

Reminder:  
I.W. in no way  
displaces the  
importance  
of R.W.



**Threats to Belt and Road Initiative (CPEC as a component):** The US is using indo-pacific as a new strategy and creating building blocks to counter China's Belt and Road initiative. China also faces terrorist threats in its western provinces in Xinjiang province and a misinformation campaign is continuously going on to create resistance among ethnic groups such as Uighurs, Tajiks and other minority groups. There is a smear campaign inside China not to invest in Muslim countries, while Belt and Road initiative contains various Islamic countries. The US has also promised alternative financing for countries that does not take part in Chinese Belt and Road Initiative even though there is no concrete promise of how much money they will invest.



### Speaker 3

#### Dr. Ashfaq Hassan Khan - Principal and Dean, S3H (NUST), Islamabad



Dr. Ashfaq Hassan Khan expressed his gratitude to Center for Global and Strategic Studies (CGSS) for organizing such an excellent event and said that this event will contribute towards the discourse on an important but largely unnoticed gray and hybrid threats. He addressed the audience on the topic **“Coercive Economic Measure: A way to achieve Political Objectives in Gray-zone Warfare”**. His speech included the

following remarks:

The knowledge and understanding about the hybrid war is very limited among the people of Pakistan. These are the new techniques and tactics of war. The concept of interstate war is on decline these days and the concept of hybrid war has gained prominence, particularly after 2005 and that deals with Hezbollah war with Israel. This hybrid war is utilized to achieve political objective that are not possible through direct military conflict. Therefore, hybrid war is still unknown to the people of Pakistan and particularly the students. Hybrid war is the way of fighting that combines the regular and conventional with irregular and nonconventional forces. It includes subversion, destabilizing social media influence, disrupting cyber-attack, economic coercion and sabotage. Therefore, hybrid war exploit the full spectrum of modern warfare. A hybrid war has the ability to foment instability in other states domestic affairs by using the technique of cyber influence operatives in conjunction with the economic pressures, lending support to opposition, disinformation, and criminal or terrorist group’s activities. It may involve the covert deployment of unarmed troops or irregular combatants through hybrid war and relies on cyber capabilities and non-state properties.

The gray zone conflict employs unconventional practices such as cyber-attacks, propaganda, political warfare, economic cooperation, sabotage, sponsorship of the armed, proxy fighters and creeping military expansionism. The status is frequently shrouded in misinformation and deception. The key aspect of gray zone challenges is

that they should be sufficiently ambiguous to leave the target unsure as how to respond. Most importantly gray zone conflicts are neither for war nor peace, but administered somewhere in between.

There are five elements of gray zone hybrid war. It starts with media propaganda and the use of the subject of mass communication for media propaganda. It uses disinformation, fake news, defamation of the government, political leaders, armed forces, judiciary, intervention into foreign electoral system and flawed diplomacy. Then comes cyber warfare hacking and manipulation of data. Economic coercion and sabotage, the countries finance minister presents the fictitious picture of the economy and when they leave it is then realized that it was all bogus. Subversive activities are also a part of grey hybrid spectrum. In recent years we have witnessed the concept of gray zone gaining attraction to the new typology of conflict. Coming to the economic spot. Economic coercion and sabotage as an instrument of hybrid and gray zone conflict.

When a country wants to achieve certain political objectives that are not possible through warfare then it may be take these steps:

First of all, the country that wants to influence finds a political party in the interest



country. Support the party whole heartedly through political, diplomatic and financial support. If the party wins the election, the economic coercion and sabotage as an instrument of hybrid war begin to take

shape. This can be done by appointing a weak finance minister and central bank governor. The goal is to weaken key financial institutions by appointing weak and

frivolous leadership. This will breed bad governance and enhance the role of consultants, both from within and outside the country. It will also increase the role of NGO's to deliver and their influence will increase. The influencer country will continue its financial support, either directly or through international financial institutions. Targeted countries continue to service huge debts and their economies continue to deteriorate. These countries ultimately go to the lender as a last resort and lose their financial sovereignty. Lenders are under the influence of the major stakeholders. Lenders bail out the countries under the conditions that the political or economic objectives of the major shareholder states are materialized. The targeted country ultimately succumb to the economic sabotage and hence the factor of hybrid war worked successfully.

Pakistan has been facing an accelerated hybrid war for the last one decade which reached its tipping point in last four years. All the five elements of hybrid war has been unleashed on Pakistan for the last several years. The people of Pakistan are yet unaware because the hybrid war is ambiguous and deceptive. The people of Pakistan do not realize what has happen to them or will happen to them, they take the situation as a normal deterioration in the country.

It is a fact that a country derives its military strength from its economic strength. As a consequence the country's power and national security is enhanced. Weak economy generates violence, political turmoil and hence weakens national security. Robert McNamarra (former World Bank President) is of the view that security breeds development and without security there is no development. As both are complementary, the economic sabotage is used to weaken the security of the targeted countries.

There are four areas in economic sphere which is sufficient to break a country. These are:

1. Economic growth
2. Trade deficit
3. Public or foreign debt
4. Foreign exchange reserves

Economic growth of a country brands a country as problem country. In early 2000, Pakistan's growth was moving at an average rate of 3.5 percent, we were regarded as a problem country. Even the friends' stopped interchanging and meeting. However, if the country is moving at 7 or 8 percent, they view us as an opportunity, hence, the entire foreign policy objectives changes depending upon the economic growth of the country. If economy does not grow strongly, the economic opportunities shrink and hence youth get less opportunity to get jobs which breeds resentment in the society. Civil unrest and political turmoil is the result. If the economy is not growing as per expected, then the country fails to generate adequate resources and force the government to sustain huge fiscal deficit and hence lead to large external and public debt. It also affects human capital and infrastructure development while shrink foreign exchange reserves to a minimum level.



In 1990s and 2008- currently, these two periods have generated problem of budget deficit. In the last one decade we have added 54 billion dollars' worth of debt to the country. Pakistan's total requirement for servicing debt in a year amounts to 26.5 billion

dollars. Twelve billion dollars will come from variety of sources which will lead a gap of 14.5 billion dollars. We should ponder as to how we will fill this huge gap. Consequently, the country will be forced to approach the financial institutions and hence we will be mandated to fulfill the political motives behind financing the money. Hence, economic sovereignty will recede. The NFC award is another component. Three times more resources have been transferred to the provinces under the newly invoked NFC award. There is no trace of where these large sums of money have gone. Literacy rate in

provinces have declined and primary enrollment has declined. Health indicators are not promising in all the provinces. It has bred corruption while the leaders have bought properties abroad. However, there is no accountability for these funds. This is a matter of national security and needs conscious attention of the concerned circles.

Pakistan's economy has been deliberately weakened. The ministry of finance of Pakistan was saying on 31<sup>st</sup> of May, 2018 that Pakistan has strengthened and it will not go to International Monetary Fund (IMF) for assistance but the same ministry presents to the caretaker Prime Minister after just 48 hours and informs him that the fiscal situation is worsened and we must approach the international financial institution. Quite a few economists were warning about such conditions beforehand but no conscious effort was made to handle the fiscal deficit. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) grey list are the most immediate challenges facing the interim and incoming government.



## Session 2

### Speaker 4

#### Lieutenant General Masood Aslam, HI (M), SJ, (Retd)



Lieutenant General Masood Aslam, HI(M), SJ, (Retd) addressed the audience on the topic of “**Bifurcating Military and Non-military paradigms of Hybrid Warfare in Pakistan**”. He commenced his speech by stating:

Whenever discussing ‘warfare’, we analyze a country’s utmost potential to compete in war. However with time, the nature of threat changes and so do elements of warfare.

***Every Age has its own kind of war, its own limiting conditions and its own peculiar preconceptions***

***-Carl Von Clausewitz***

The purpose of warfare remains the same, which is to utilize power potentials to achieve the political objectives. Without understanding the nature and character of war, one should not expect to survive in the changing dynamics that surround one. War is now seen as a social phenomenon, which aspires to create controlled chaos in the targeted region and state. It is seen as a methodology to achieve political and strategic state objectives, without tripping the threshold of war. The purpose is to deny the opponent a legal recourse to power, or attract international intervention.

Valery Vasilyevich Gerasimov, a Russian General, introduced the Gerasimov Doctrine. According to the Russian General, history has shown us that a perfectly thriving state in a matter of months or even weeks can be transformed into an arena of fierce armed conflict. The country thus becomes a victim of foreign kinetic intervention, leading it into a state of chaos, humanitarian catastrophe and civil war. This is achieved by a focused application of political, economic, information, humanitarian and other non-kinetic measures when applied in coordination with an internal discontent and protests.

The example of application of such a doctrine in dismembering a state can be observed in Libya, Syria, and Ukraine etc.

### **The Aims of Hybrid Activity**

1. Manipulating Public Conscience
2. Creating a Virtual Reality
3. Information mediums used by:
  - a. Erroneous and Mystified image
  - b. Facts, Events & Political statements manipulated
  - c. Fabrication of Fake/ nonexistent News
  - d. TV, Mass and Social Media

### **Prevalent Regional Environment**

The geographical proximity of Pakistan in the region strongly impacts the prevalent traits of hybrid warfare in the country. Middle East & Yemen are excessively unstable, Iran and the United States of America are currently at a standoff, the Afghan Conundrum with its ongoing war destabilizing Pakistan's western borders, India's ambitions in the region, China's Belt Road Initiative with China-Pakistan Economic Corridor being a flagship project and Pakistan's internal security challenges amalgamate massive security challenges.

### **Military Dimension**

The hybrid war that has been launched against Pakistan in both, military and non-military dimensions can be vividly observed, given the extensive regional turmoil. While stating the events that hint upon the hybrid warfare in Pakistan, the speaker spoke about the post 9/11 instant growth in number of militants in the region of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), who wore both internal and external. The militant concentrations soon grew into the tribal areas and bordering regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). To curb the growing menace of terrorism, the Pakistan Army soon started the stabilization operations to secure the 6 agencies along with the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) region. 2014 marked the beginning of Zarb-e-Azb (a military operation) to eradicate the presence of terrorist safe havens within Pakistan.

Radd-ul-Fasaad (another military operation) began in 2017, to further the existent military stabilization operations in Pakistan. The operation also worked to dismantle the political and criminal mafias in Karachi, which freed the city of the existential terror. The culminated elements of the military dimension were able to secure a stable and safe environment within the country, in which the country could economically progress.

A geopolitical observations about the militarily effected regions and the soon gained stability by the efforts of the Pakistan Army, were hindering the desired objectives of international powers in Pakistan. Therefore, in the form of counter measures, soon the problems such as militancy and terrorism in Balochistan, resurfacing and patronization of defeated Pakistan's militant groups in Afghanistan, concentration and emergence of the Islamic State in Khorasan and the exploitation of the Line of Control (LOC) began.

### **Non-Kinetic Dimension**

The speaker emphasized that the non-kinetic dimension is the main dimension of Hybrid Warfare. The public at large, is the target audience for this form of propagation and is now a common topic of debate.

### Pakistan in the Eye of the Storm

Continuous manipulation of the political and ideological conflict. In recent years, even the ideological basis on which this country was established, has been questioned. Popular scholars have talked of the re-confederation of these ideological believes.

### Multipronged strategy to destabilize Pakistan

Greater cleavages have to be fostered between Civil and Military leadership. The fact is, in 70 years of existence, thrice the military regimes have been established. Because of this there is a permanent credibility deficit between the military and civil leadership. The military leadership in the post 9/11 era is unable to understand that the military leadership in today's date is not the same as the military leadership of the 60s, 70s or even 90s. Armed forces around the world are now more focused on how to influence military intervention in governance through indirect means.

In the last 10 years, we have seen that the governments are completing their tenures, without a fear of military intervention. The Pakistan army in the current environment needs a corrective surgery. The indirect western influence over the government and domestic systems, is how the minds of the local populace are being exploited.

The west also aspires to fan religious and sectarian discord within Pakistan, and this manifestation can be observed in Balochistan, Karachi and even in the federal territory. The economic squeeze being caused has also been highlighted by a previous speaker. At the same time the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) has its undivided focus on Islamic Radicalization, further hampering the financial linkages of Pakistan.

Given the political instability and hatred on political leanings, today our country and society are vastly fragmented. Political tolerance is non-existent. All this has created an



unstable environment for the upcoming general elections. The political leadership of Pakistan thus needs to realize the non-conventional challenges facing Pakistan, and look beyond the inter-party problems.

To add to the challenges, social media is creating greater chaos/confusion among the nation. Unfortunately we are all party to the social media websites, we pass on all information we receive without looking into its credibility. We as individuals have thus become tools at the hands of the manipulators, in disseminating disinformation. The

power of social media lies strong around the world for e.g. a few days ago a English 15year old boy was access the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) information network, posing as John Bennett. We as observers, keen to share information, are the preachers of many such dangerous developments which can be used against us. The speaker further said that 'governance' is effective by all aspects of non-kinetic influence.

### **Case Studies**

In the last few years, the incidences hint upon the changing dynamics of internal/domestic environment. In April 2016, the outbreak caused by the Panama Papers is still a chaotic reality of the country. Secondly the purported Surgical Strikes carried out in September 2016, are again an attempt of the Indian military to prove to the world to discredit the Pakistan army. Moreover, the Dawn Leaks in November 2016, disqualification by the Supreme Court. The FATF and Government's apathy towards money laundering are additional incidences to the scenario.

The mainstreaming FATA was an achievement after almost 15years of fighting in the region for the sake of stabilization. The area was free of insurgencies, and ready for development but then came the emergence of Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM). The movement's initial demands were indeed genuine, but now the *Jirgah* (council) has favored new demands, not the same as the ones initially introduced. The movement is undoubtedly backed by foreign investors, with the goal to continue destabilizing the region.

Publication of Controversial Books and their launching timings clearly showcase a pattern of hidden motives in propagating false information. Finally, the 'Water Bomb' is of crucial concern. We as Pakistan are still not realizing the severity of the concerns regarding shortage of water. India on the other hand has played its cards right, building water reservoirs and changing the dynamics of the Indus to its favor.

The speaker concluded his speech by saying that the information technology has exposed us to the continuous flooding of information. The inter-connectivity is a tool to the megalomaniac in their pursuit of power and influence. Not just the developing countries, but the super powers have also been exposed to manipulation of data and information. The Russian manipulation of the U.S. Presidential Elections in 2016, is still

under microscopic investigation by the U.S. Government. He added that Pakistan needs a holistic response to combatting these threats, by making the public aware of the hazards of social and mass media. The Theory of Controlled Chaos in rival country needs to be studied. All these elements need to be worked upon to develop a substantial response to the arising challenges around us.



## Speaker 5

### Air Marshal Waseem-ud-din HI (M), SBt, (Retd), Former Deputy Chief of Air Staff (Operations)



Air Marshal Waseem-ud-din HI(M), SBt, (Retd) addressed the audience on the topic of “**Identifying Gray-zone Hybrid Threats in Pakistan**”. His speech comprised of the following remarks:

At the onset allow me to thank The Center for Global and Strategic Studies for arranging this conference on an immensely important topic. Being a military practitioner for over four decades, the topic is very close to my heart as it involves Pakistan’s National Security. As a practitioner, my senses are tuned to recognize threats to National Security and I firmly believe that Hybrid threats emerging out of the Gray Zone conflict arena are the gravest of challenges Pakistan faces today.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have just listened to eminent speakers and by now we have a fair idea of the Gray Zone and the “Threats” emanating out of it. About six decades ago, Andre Beaufre said “In the age of the nuclear Weapon, war and peace would be buried side by side”. The dictum held well throughout the cold war and has proven true in South Asia as well after the overt nuclearization of India and Pakistan. While he said it in the context of nuclear deterrence, little did he know that his saying would hold true in the information age as well. The state of “No war, No peace” is a recent terminology which echoes the truth behind Andre Beaufre’s statement and aptly defines the prevailing state of affairs globally as well as in our region. Having had a common understanding of the Gray Zone and the Hybrid Threats, I will focus myself on the Gray Zone Hybrid Threats being faced by Pakistan.

Firstly, I will briefly define Gray Zone and Hybrid Warfare, then I will touch upon spectrum of Gray Zone Techniques and the domains of Hybrid and irregular Warfare.

Subsequently, I will attempt to answer two basic questions, why and How Pakistan is being subjected to Hybrid Warfare.

Ladies and Gentlemen, The development of war and warfare has been evolutionary whereas its impact on nations and international affairs has been revolutionary. Military scholars and theorists have identified four basic elements that form the basis for shaping the evolution of warfare. These elements and their interplay are essentially the reasons due to which this evolution takes place. Firstly, with the passage of time, nature of adversaries are changing, secondly nature of objectives are changing, thirdly the nature of available forces on both sides is changing, lastly and most important is the fact that due to the first three changes newer domains of conflict are emerging every day. Besides these factors, other reasons may force nations to resort to newer forms of warfare, other than the shooting war, these include:

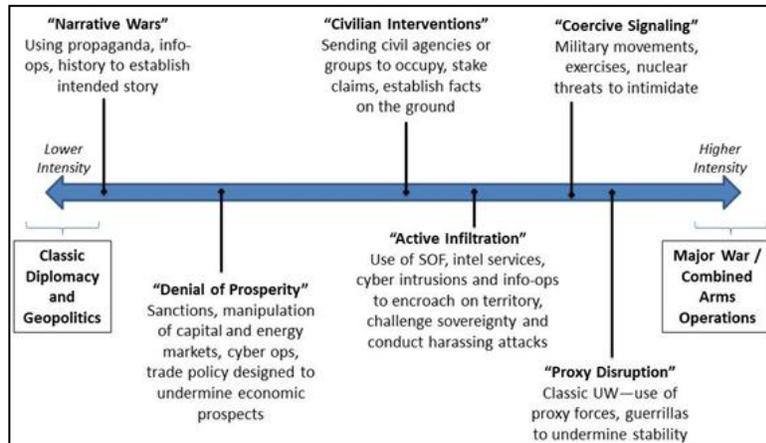
- 1. International aversion to armed conflict:** Humanitarian concerns and raised levels of awareness among masses forces nations to avoid force on force armed conflicts
- 2. High cost:** For some nations armed war fighting may be too cost prohibitive. Even richer nations may find war to be too expensive after cost benefit analysis.
- 3. Conventional asymmetry:** There could be too much disparity between potential adversaries, this will always prevent the weaker nations to enter into armed conflict with stronger nations.

Last but not the least; nuclear deterrence may prevent war for obvious reasons.

When nations cannot go into open armed conflict, what choice do they have to achieve their strategic objectives? They resort to other means of achieving their strategic objectives. As stated by Carl Von Clausewitz who said “war is a continuation of policy by other means”. This, ladies and Gentlemen, defines a state in which adversary nations pursue their goals and objectives without fighting a shooting war, they are neither at war by the traditional definition, yet they are not at peace and live in a constant Gray Zone.

With this understanding, Let us have a look at a contemporary model of Gray Zone and various tools used by competitors. These are explained by the model depicted below.

## Spectrum of Gray Zone Techniques



I find this depiction by a RAND study interesting, as per RAND, from the left edge of the scale to the right side, various available tools and methods have been captioned. On the lower end of the scale, Narrative Wars are waged using propaganda; information operations and fake news etc. are used to influence the adversary. Moving through various stages, on the higher end of the scale, adversaries may resort to use of proxies, guerilla or other forms of irregular warfare. In between the adversaries use many tools to subdue the target nation. These may be used in combination or stand alone. These tools range from denial of prosperity i.e. economic sanctions, manipulation of energy markets, cyber ops etc., civilian intervention where non-military agencies are used for influence ops. Coercive signaling through military exercises, deployments or military posturing and in extreme case use of proxy disruption through covert Guerrilla operations or use of proxy forces to undermine stability.

Within the context of conduct of actual operations in the gray zone, social scientists now describe these tools and methods and their combination as Hybrid Warfare. In my reckoning, Hybrid Warfare is a natural evolution of conduct of warfare and a step beyond 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Warfare techniques.

NATO describes hybrid threats as “those posed by adversaries, with the ability to simultaneously employ conventional and non-conventional means adaptively in pursuit

of their objectives”. These are sophisticated campaigns that combine low-level conventional and special operations; offensive cyber and space actions; and psychological operations that use social and traditional media to influence popular perception and international opinion. In Hybrid warfare, regular and irregular capabilities can be fused in time and space to achieve decisive effects.

These capabilities and available tools are usually used by targeting one or all of the four different domains to achieve the desired objectives. These domains are Physical, Information, Cognitive and Social.

- **Physical Domain.** This domain involves material things i.e. land, manpower and material resources. Targeting Physical domain means capturing land, killing personnel or destroying infrastructure and forces.
- **Information Domain.** The domain where information is created, manipulated, and shared, this includes the cyber domain as well. It resides in the electromagnetic spectrum and cannot be seen by the naked eye in the physical domain. Electronic and print media are integral components of this domain.
- **Cognitive Domain.** The domain where intent, doctrine, tactics, techniques, and procedures reside. It involves the human mind hence spans perceptions, notions and intent of human beings. It is the domain where decisive concepts emerge and influence our actions.
- **Social Domain.** Comprises the necessary elements of any human enterprise. It is the domain of culture, religion, values, attitudes, and beliefs, and where political decisions related to the “will of the community” are made.

This expansion of the domains of war beyond the physical domain makes possible the expansion of the battlefield by removing its geographical and political constraints and allowing it to become omnipresent.

Having briefly described the changed nature of modern warfare, its domains and the tools being used to achieve the end result or the strategic objectives, let me try and focus my attention towards the basic questions i.e. why and how irregular warfare is being carried out against Pakistan and what are the threats we are facing today. To answer the first question, I will briefly describe the regional and international environment.



Regionally, since its birth, Pakistan has faced an adversary on its eastern border who has never accepted creation of Pakistan and has never reconciled with the ultimate partition of the “Mother India”. Historically, Most of the Indian leaders saw the creation of Pakistan as “Temporary Aberration of the Political Map”. Some even vowed to work for the unification of the sub-continent. This mindset of the Indian Leadership, which defied the very existence of the two nation theory and never accepted the partition of India, has perhaps had the most significant impact on the security environment in the region and especially on Pakistan. The present leadership represents the same phenomenon and has demonstrated anti-Pakistan sentiment through words and actions. The second aspect of the Indian perspective, which has been influencing the events in South Asia is its quest for recognition as a mini super power. Both these notions have forced India to adopt a very aggressive posture against Pakistan. It

demonstrated the same intent in 1971 where it used all available tools of warfare to dismember Pakistan and Ladies and Gentlemen, even in 1971, it used Hybrid Warfare though in its very rudimentary form though the term was not coined by that time. If all the Indian actions in 1971 are loosely grouped they would fall in either one of the categories:

Since, 1971, the global and regional geo-political and regional environment has changed significantly. Bi-polar system changed into uni-polar one and now, uni-polar order is increasingly coming under stress with resurgence of Russia and rising China. Emergence of non-state actors has added a new dimension to the global security matrix. Resultantly, we have witnessed an unprecedented reshaping of the world order. In our not so far neighborhood, major regional players in Middle-East i.e. Syria and Iraq are in a state of chaos, especially Syria which has turned into a battleground for major international powers, Yemen is in a state of full blown war with its neighbors, Iran is at the center stage of geopolitics and simmering division in the Muslim world is taking a rather ominous dimension. The fallout of this regional turmoil directly or indirectly affects Pakistan.



Almost two decades of war inside Afghanistan has driven the country at the verge of collapse. Despite continuing massive international efforts, forty percent of the area in Afghanistan is still un-governed. Being the first door neighbor, the situation in Afghanistan is not only

at the core of Pakistan's strategic and diplomatic challenges, it is directly affecting our internal security situation. The security challenges emanating from our Western

neighbor are perhaps the gravest. On the contrary, Pakistan is often held responsible for every event taking place inside Afghanistan.

US presence in our neighborhood, its policy of Containment of China and Contest for influence amongst the super powers in the region has again put Pakistan in the eye of the storm. Sino-Pak co-operation and launching of CPEC as a strategic initiative has given a new impetus to the regional security dynamics. Pakistan's upward trajectory and future prospects of CPEC are not eyed favorably by many. Opposition of CPEC by anti-Pakistan forces is being manifested every day.

The most significant factor which has adversely affected the regional security dynamics for Pakistan is the shift in the US policy towards our region. US is clearly distancing itself from Pakistan and has found a new strategic partner in India to further its strategic objectives in the region. Not only, it is blaming Pakistan for supporting cross border terrorism but it is also actively supporting Indian stance on the turmoil in Kashmir. India backed by her newfound partner and other International players, is not only making an effort to undermine significance of Pakistan regionally, but also trying to isolate her with aggressive exterior maneuvers. Moreover, the region is witnessing forging of new alliances, realignment of interstate relationships, shift in US policy towards Iran and renewed interests of superpowers in the region. Pakistan once again finds itself at the cross roads of history where we have to make difficult choices as we are once again in a quagmire of conflicting interests of the superpowers. Challenges and threats emanating out of such a situation are indeed grave and have to be understood and dealt with.

Ladies and Gentlemen, may it be, Afghanistan, our religious and cultural linkages with Muslim countries, our principled stance on the Kashmir, the issue of terrorism, development of CPEC or our nuclear program, Pakistan faces opposition and stands to face hostility on a daily basis. The situation is not new, in order to compel us to relent and to coerce us; Pakistan has been dragged into wars and war like situations on a number of occasions. However, this time, with our nuclear deterrence in place, war in the region has become an un-thinkable option. Without war as an option, our

adversaries are forced to think of means other than military to confront, coerce and compel Pakistan. A classical scenario for waging Hybrid Warfare against Pakistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is a well thought of Hybrid War being waged against Pakistan, with the ultimate aim to isolate Pakistan and break our national will. The enemy aims to achieve the desired results without physically using mil means and turn us into a compliant state.

The major strands of this well-orchestrated Hybrid Warfare strategy are:

- **Isolate** Pakistan Diplomatically
- **Coerce** Pakistan into adopting compliant policies i.e. threat of surgical strikes and the mantra of “DO More” being replaced by “do more or else” warning and so on.
- **Strangle** Pakistan economically i.e. embroiling us in FATF and stoppage of US Military and economic assistance are cases in point.
- **Divide** Society on sectarian, ethnic, political and cultural basis
- **Fuelling** and supporting sub-national movements e.g. Baluchistan
- **Discredit** eminent state institutions e.g. Armed forces and Judiciary
- **Create** perception of dysfunctional state.
- **Create** doubts and raise questions on the raison D’etre of the creation of Pakistan i.e. the two nation theory
- **Limited** engagement on the kinetic front i.e. controlled and regulated conventional and sub-conventional action

Ladies and Gentlemen, if I take you back to the slide which displayed the classical tools of Hybrid Warfare, you would realize that a concerted de-stabilizing campaign has been launched against us which spans the entire range of elements and methods shown on the screen. The un-fortunate part is that most in our civil society are either oblivious to such a scheme and some have knowingly or unknowingly become tools in the hands of the adversary.

When we view the present events through the prism of Gray Zone Conflict and Hybrid Warfare, the situation becomes crystal clear. As I mentioned earlier in my talk, the hybrid warfare's battlefield is everywhere and omnipresent and all domains. Pakistan is being targeted in all four domains simultaneously.

**Physical Domain:** In the physical domain, traditionally, a two-front war had been a topic of debate in the military circles. If we look at the situation today, Pakistan faces kinetic threat from all fronts. While active engagements take place along LAC (Line of Actual Contact), unprovoked incidents across LOC are a commonplace event. Kinetic actions across the Pak-Afghan Border and physical attacks on security forces within the country are being perpetrated on a daily basis. Subversive activities using proxies is an indirect an irregular warfare being raged against Pakistan.

**Information Domain:** Major effort and focus of our enemies is to exploit the information domain to the fullest. Cyber warfare, propaganda operations, disinformation campaigns, fake news and defamation campaigns are part of a well contemplated design. This, ladies and gentlemen, in my opinion is the battlefield of today and future. Using intelligently crafted Information operations, the remaining two domains are also being exploited.

**Cognitive Domain:** This particular domain is being targeted to create discord, disharmony and doubts in the hearts and minds of our populace. Targeted messaging to fuel anti-state sentiment, questions about the two-nation theory and pictures of a bleak future are all an everyday affair both on the social as well as the electronic and print media. With the noble slogan of "Freedom of Expression" such campaign find traction in the population especially the youth of our country.

**Social Domain:** Using a combination of the tools described earlier, the very social fabric of our nation is under threat. Fault lines and fissures exist in every

society, however, in case of Pakistan, every fault-line and fissure is being exploited to the fullest and deliberate fissures are being created wherever possible. Our culture, religion, values, attitudes, and beliefs, and political debates are being targeted in this domain.

Ladies and gentlemen this was a very brief account of the gray zone threats being faced by Pakistan. When all four domains are targeted simultaneously, the end result is a synergized multiplication of effects.



With malice toward none, I earnestly feel that many segments in our society have fallen prey and are playing in the hands of our adversaries in orchestrating a well-targeted campaign, encompassing sensitive subjects, aimed at creating divisions, disillusion and discontent amongst the general public. A concerted campaign to smear the image of judiciary and Armed Forces is being vigorously run, unfortunately

by no one else but our own people. However, on somebody else's behest. Ethnic and religious sensitivities are being deliberately exploited to further aggravate divisions amongst various segments of our society. Dissident movements in Baluchistan and KP/FATA are being systematically fueled and constantly funded. The facts are that these movements are being controlled from across our borders, the websites are hosted in other countries and their leadership and facilitators are residing in other countries. These physical and verifiable facts remain obscured and do not surface on the information plane. Ladies and gentlemen, these were just a few examples, I can go on and on, and however, I leave it to your sound judgment.

So successful have been our adversaries in slowly creating a divide amongst us, that despite having suffered the most in terms of human lives and financial losses, we have to struggle to sell our narrative to the rest of the world. Our achievements against VNSAs are un-paralleled in history, yet we are labeled as a terrorist harboring country. This is mainly because we do not have a national narrative on our policy on terrorism and stand divided on dealing with this menace. We are at the verge of being declared a state sponsoring terrorism. All has been achieved through a well-directed Hybrid Warfare.

Before I conclude, I must share with you a few thoughts on what needs to be done to thwart the threats described earlier.

Firstly, we must do what we are doing today. Activities like these need to be arranged, encouraged and widely publicized to increase awareness among our masses, learned elite, media professionals and our youth. I say this because in the gray zone conflict, unaware individuals become tools of hybrid warfare. An innocent action of forwarding a message, news or a picture on the social media may be facilitating a larger campaign.

Secondly, we must formulate a cohesive national response to this form of threat. The responsibility lies with the policy makers and must incorporate and include all elements of National Power. Working in unison, we have to synergize our intellectual, technical and physical resources to respond to the Gray-Zone Hybrid threats. To be prepared for a befitting and cohesive response, we as a nation need to understand the dynamics of modern day warfare. Today's war is not confined to battlefields or defined fronts, we cannot defeat our enemy with great armies alone, but to deal with this menace we need every means available to us both hard and soft, national cohesiveness, better intelligence and vigorous efforts at every front.

## Conclusion

The emergence of Gray Zone hybrid threats and their recognition as potential Game Changers in the realm of National Security is the need of the hour. Proliferation of low threshold regional conflicts, as well as continuing asymmetric warfare scenarios will have a significant impact on the prevailing culture and prism of traditional military activity. With a change of paradigm Gray-Zone Hybrid warfare is the future of warfare. We in Pakistan must embrace this reality and prepare at all levels of policy, doctrine, strategy and operations. The enemies are cunning and they are conniving against our beloved country.



## Speaker 6

### Mr. Ammar Jaffery, Director General, Center of Information Technology (CIT)



Mr. Ammar Jaffery addressed the audience on the topic of “**Cyber Warfare: The latest development in Irregular Warfare**”. His speech comprised of the following remarks:

The speaker commenced his speech by saying that the history of warfare is as old as the existence of human beings. In every type of war, the rivals always try to utilize the best of their resources to divert the enemy, and in the current world, internet is the best resource of distraction.

#### **Internet**

In the beginning the internet facilities were very limited and so was its capability. Approximately 40 years after the development of the internet, today we are all aware and exposed to this technology. It has become a basic necessity of our lives, same as water or shelter. But scarier is the future of this technology which lies in the realms of artificial intelligence, robotics and big data analysis. Currently at least a total of six machines with shared capabilities are placed in every household. These machines are a source of connection to the entire world. These technologies provide many facilities but pose greater challenges.

The fast transformation is undeniable in the world of technologies. The brain structure of developing these technologies took over a century, but are now easily available/accessible to the terrorists, using it for the same purpose as us. The law enforcement bodies should thus not underestimate the capability of terrorists. These terrorists can access the cyber-space within seconds. For to get access to some confidential documentations, requires a procedure to be followed. But in the arena of the dark web, no such procedures need to be followed for access of information. The western world is however working to introduce a completely new version of the internet utilizing a block chain.

## **Artificial Intelligence**

The prevalent fear about the emergence of artificial intelligence is common among all. The misconception about artificial intelligence replacing the human race is however not true, instead this technology will supplement the human beings. Intelligence being utilized for the sake of health and education is beneficial.

## **Internet of Things**

The simplest of devices such as the Air Conditioner, is designed based on the concept of facilitating the human life. In today's era we should have policy frameworks for the utility of each element of information technology. We are not proactive in disseminating information, and thinking ahead of the arising challenges.

## **Block Chain**

The block chains started with cryptography. People at large believe this has something to do with bitcoins, but that is not entirely the case. After crypto-currency, the block chains jumped to security contacts, after which followed the industrial revolution 4.0, and now it has come to governance. In the next 2 to 3 years, the prosperity will not be envisioned without the involvement of block-chains. India is already teaching these technologies, because the country wants its upcoming generations to know about these developing technologies.

The personal information that we as individuals provide casually on social media websites, along with our likes and dislikes, our business information, our current locations can be easily recorded and utilized against us.

## **Drone Technologies**

The easily availability of billion dollar technologies such as drone technologies are also being used to achieve multidimensional objectives. At the same time, these technologies are cost effective, and can be used anywhere in the world. While the detection of these devised depends on the efficiency of the target.

## Global Networks

Different aspects of the information technology are used in collection of funds, in recruitments and propagation of information on the internet.

## Purpose/Types of Cyber-attacks

- Wireless devices have been used to target Iran
- Banking industry is being made to pay ransom money for the return of confidential information
- Data manipulation

## Cyber Warfare

Cyber warfare operates in an environment of 'choice of time'. How and when to change or manipulate the views of a decision makers are also well-used in the cyber domain. The access to adversaries' information indirectly pushes the individual into taking a decision. The decision



makers of the adversaries' can be brought down to take inherent decisions when need be. The senior caretakers of cyber warfare have to usually take very prompt and active decisions, and thus extensive training is required. In the cyber world, a small damage within the system can damage a long chain of data, and so mistakes cannot be easily overlooked. The accumulation of disadvantages in terms of technology or data, can cause a defeat in cyber warfare. The sequence of this form of warfare has had a long-existing chain of action, which can be tracked back into time.

## Four Pillars of Cyber-space

- Data
- Computer Technologies
- Artificial Intelligence
- Interaction and Technology Managements

The damage caused to any of these four pillars can be excessively exploited by the adversary. The warriors of cyber warfare should be well-equipped in coping with uncertainty through cyber-space based networking operations. What are the defined Software Based Command Proposed Systems and how can they be used, is a very important part of this stimulation.

The speaker conclusively stated that the traditional warfare has become obsolete with no boots on ground. Decision-makers thus do not need to tame and learn each and every computer technologies but to be aware of discrepancies in unnatural flow of information to not influence their decisions. We also required customized solutions to curb the menace of cyber-warfare. The relevant use of e-diplomacy is also crucial to the entirety of this situation. New information channels should be studied and bifurcated for better utility. We need to study international ranking statistics in terms of information technology, and work in accordance with them.



## Speaker 7

### Mr. Habib Malik Orakzai, President, Pakistan International Human Rights Organization (PIHRO)



Mr. Habib Malik Orakzai addressed the audience on the topic of “**Hybrid War & Socially Engineered Movements in Pakistan**”. His speech comprised of the following remarks:

Dear Colleagues, Ladies and gentlemen,

Firstly, I would like to thank CGSS for inviting me at this conference as a speaker. My topic is very sensitive and new for me. Being a social worker, I have been speaking on the human rights on different forums.

Hybrid war and engineered movements are a very complex topic, however I will only discuss one example i.e. Pashtoon Tahafuz Movement (PTM) and its sudden emergence. Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) has been a war zone for decades. Hundreds and thousands of people died during the War on Terror, many were displaced, while many migrated. We are thankful to our Armed Forces for bringing peace and stability in the Tribal Area, which was once a battle ground.

Some people get popularity in a day, some in a year and most do not gain any recognition at all. In the case of Pashtoon Tahafuz Movement, formally known as Mehsood Tahafuz Movement, the movement gained momentum overnight. The people of FATA were enjoying peace and stability after many years of unrest and this new movement emerged to drive the FATA population back into the shackles of unrest.

The question of concern is, how this non-popular movement became so popular that caught the eye of international media with hundreds of social media accounts created and operated by handlers in other countries.

The movement caught spark after the killing of young Pashtoon Naqeeb Ullah Masood by the police in Karachi, who was originally from South Waziristan, the police officers have been accused of sitting a fake shoot out to cover up and extra judiciary killing. Under the leadership of a young activist Manzoor Pashteen the PTM has evoked deep

emotions from Pashtoon in Pakistan and Afghanistan as well as overseas. PTM has staged many rallies in the different parts of the country with the support of some national and local politician.

Pashteen and other PTM leaders spoke about extra judicial killings, missing persons and mistreatment of Pashtoons across country. Strong words were ushered against Army which itself has a huge advocate of Pashtoon rights. Rallies were mostly the function of the support it had from some local politician, who also address the crowd during PTM addresses. If we go through their speeches, it seems that the movement has some other hidden movement, and the rights movement is just a cover story. Their only agenda is to create a gap of distrust between Pak Army and Pashtoon population. During PTM's first meeting with DG ISPR, the army assured them that the fulfillment of their righteous demand despite commitment the newness goes on. Local elite remember TTP's rise of terror and are grateful for peace in Swat and FATA, and so the army aspired to suppress any such futuristically arising sentiments.



Manzoor Pashtoon's movement is less about issues in South Waziristan and more about shaping a larger agenda relying on different changing causes to use them as accusations overtime. From the first movement it has been acknowledge by almost every Pakistani that these

demands are genuine and all issues should be addressed, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> week of April, the Core Commander Peshawar Gen. Nazeer committed while talking to media that he think that the demands of PTM are genuine and he wants a Jirgah (local council) to meet PTM leader to resolve these issues. Many in the international media and think tanks are now misusing the procedure of addressing the concerns PTM, and are thus protesting and rallying the negligence of the Pakistan Army. Reality is that currently the political and

administrative system of Pakistan is under tremendous pressure because of its 15 years old war against terror. Even since the country decided to side with US to lead the war in Afghanistan after 9/11, Pakistan is the only country that has sacrificed its stability and worked about the gravity of developments post-9/11.

It is therefore understood that many new challenges have appeared, while winning difficult wars and new wars have been imposed called hybrid warfare. The interlocking and reshaping the identity of Pakistani Pashtoon is now under threat by the Manzoor Pashteen and his managers via their propagations in rallies and the support from international media and other powers. No doubt FATA has been a victim of negligence for a very long time. For a long time now, no Political Party Act was allowed in FATA. Now FATA has been merged with the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa(KP) through 31 amendment in the constitution and the territory has come to power with other provinces of Pakistan. These socially engineered movement, such as PTM have set up a new challenge against the merger.

The struggle in the promotion of human rights from the last 20 years has been brutal. I rise my voice at local and international forums for the people of FATA. I have been targeted, I have been kidnapped but I didn't get popularity as Mr. Pashteen because I never worked on any agenda. My only agenda is to serve my people and my country. In 2009 I alone with other likeminded people formed a political party of the tribal area named as the Muthaida Qabail Party for the political awareness of tribal people. A cumulative effort to mainstream the interest of FATA as the interests of the entire country, will hopefully counter the efforts of these socially engineered movements for the times to come.



## Speaker 8

### Dr. Ejaz Akram, Advisor to the President of the National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad



Dr. Ejaz Akram addressed the audience on the topic of “**Weak State Institutions & Role of Media in Gray-zone Conflict**”. His speech comprised of the following remarks:

Negligence of contemporary challenges causes many years to pass by, up until you realize that half a generation has gone by, and they believe completely wrong things about the national environment and security dimensions. The question of the hour, at this conference today is ‘how these problems must be addressed in the context of media?’ Media has an undeniable importance in this era of hybrid warfare. The media and information networks of our country have been infiltrated.

Ever since the 9/11, thousands of people lost their lives, and the ones who were directly responsible for these atrocities in terms of controlling the economy and politics, are from the North America and the Western Europe. The extended partners are the Hindu Fascists right across our eastern borders, and of course Japan, which is currently on the wrong side of the course. Recognizing the enemy, lying through its teeth is essential for combatting contemporary threats. Many scholars believe that enlightenment is nothing but mass-deception. The western world has thus created an environment of deception for the people of Asia and Africa, and so the people fell for it. Now, to use the media to combat the false narrative and give a counter-narrative is a strenuous task. The elites of our country already believe in the false narrative handed us down from the west. Although these people are uncomfortable with the effect of the narrative, but they believe in it nonetheless. On the other hand, the rural population does not understand the narrative. The cognitive and military elite thus need to understand the narrative and its repercussions. The political elites are biased to many of their self-centered objectives, and so cannot be solely trusted to make the right decisions to run a country.

The enemy has already destroyed our internal infrastructure, morale and identity, and thus we are losing the battle of hearts and mind. Hybrid warfare thus requires hybrid solutions. These solutions should not be country-based, but should be regional. The solution should also come from a different level of consciousness, than the one that produced it.

The media can be controlled, even if this will have consequences. Pulling a plug on various private new channels and networks can be carried out. But the problem lies beyond this. The daily banter of news flowing out of television sets has a direct or indirect effect of building our perspectives, even when we are not paying attention. Even the advertisements are not immune to deliberate messages conveyed to us. The cultural habits and attitudes are showcased in these advertisements, influencing our minds.

To subvert the enemy's attack on media, we need to have a complete reorientation of our consciousness. We for example take the 'white man' too seriously. An example could be of the political and social narratives that commonly exist. The concept of democracy being the only legitimate form of government is one thing we have been made to believe in. Now, many Chinese scholars have brought to light the fact that although China is not a nation-state it is still prosperous. China now understands the inequity that was rolled out to it in the aftermath of World War II. China has now intellectually challenged the notion of sole democratic prosperity. The initial advocates of this state system, are now themselves moving away from it, given the proxy warfare forcing them to transcend the boundaries of nation-state, which include many multinational companies. The people who are deeply and psychologically colonized are the ones who believe in democracy being the only legitimate form of government. We vote and bring people to power, so they can legitimately work on development. The core objective is 'development'. On the contrary, all the developments that came in the western world were under totalitarian regimes, and not democracy. People whoever never rule the world, it will always be the elite ruling in the name of people. China on the other hand, is termed as a dictatorship nation with a single party rule. However, China is seen to be practicing more democracy than the United States of America itself. Every 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> person is a member to the congress party. In China, a common man can walk into a communist party's office, and request for any form of development, and the task is taken up as priority. The response

time to address concerns is also less, than from an average democratic state. This is how the 'white man' influences our minds in making us believe what needs to be done to follow the path of development of Japan or South Korea, while we are unaware of our alternatives. We becoming more like the U.S. means our production and waste will resemble theirs, if that is so, we will require 6.1 hertz of a sink to absorb the waste which is physically impossible. In the last summit, President Xi said something very important which was that *'I want to have in China a moderately prosperous society, and not to wage a war against poverty, and blame poverty for everything'*. In addition, concepts such as secularism being food, religious consciousness being a backward phenomenon are all commonly found in our society, preached by the west.

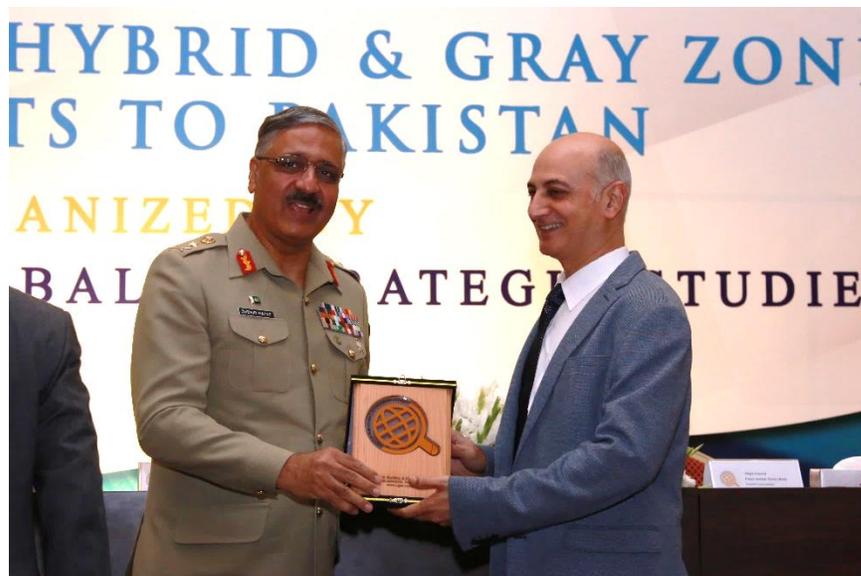


To work on our intellectual re-alignment which is intertwined with our identity (which is based on our religion and tradition). On the contrary, the Chinese destroyed their tradition to Cultural Revolution, and then later repaired it realizing it was a mistake. Many towns in China

are resuscitating their old buildings, old forms of music, dances, dresses etc. They are doing, so that their development is not spear-headed with western concept of modernism but rather from the long-standing Chinese culture. The problem does not lie with the different form of governance, but with our eyes having a limited vision of prospects and reality. The Muslim world civilization was large and global, with a system of sub-civilization states. Pakistan is a country which has brought four ethnically different provinces into one country. Pakistan since birth is a transnational unity of four different nations. We need to be very careful when it comes to fundamentalism. The secular fundamentalism has been built upon anti-army narratives, which needs to be curbed. Various universities, funded by the west have commonly floating false narratives among the student bodies. Some believe that they have the truth, and thus

the opposite party must be wrong. Labeling people on the basis of religion and sectarianism is also a common practice. In Pakistan, because the elite have gone secular, the religion has gone to the less privileged and illiterate. We need to resuscitate the inclusiveness of Islam in the society, and combine it with the new forms of modernization.

Conclusively the speaker said that things are so obvious in front of us and yet we cannot see them. We need a common strategy to combat hybrid warfare threats, both in terms of cognitive and military elite strategies.



## **Recommendations**

1. The National Security Policy needs to clearly identify and define Hybrid Warfare and Gray –Zone Conflict
2. The core objectives of Hybrid Warfare waged against Pakistan, need to be clearly identified
3. The ministries of Pakistan need to carry out a clear internal analysis of their instructional structure in light of the Spectrum of Gray Zone Techniques and identify existent elements of gray-zone conflict in each institution
4. An extensive study needs to be carried out as per the four domains of hybrid warfare namely Physical Domain, Information Domain, Cognitive Domain and Social Domain, to identify the areas of easy manipulation in the environment of hybrid warfare in Pakistan, and a reactive strategy needs to be created
5. A doctrinal analysis of all the adversaries of the state needs to be made part of the National Security Policy, to understand the adversaries’ outlook towards Pakistan
6. The intelligence network of Pakistan needs to be strengthened to be better aware of the adversary plotted hybrid warfare, and create a proactive strategy
7. Pakistan needs to establish better diplomatic relations, regionally and internationally, to combat the label of a ‘dysfunctional state’
8. Pakistan needs to revive the ‘national will’ among the young generation by utilizing means of revived academic syllabi and awareness
9. Pakistan needs the intellectual re-alignment which is entwined with the country’s identity
10. The political leadership of Pakistan needs to be aware of the discrepancies in unnatural flow of information to not let them influence their political decision-making
11. Pakistan needs to develop its cyber security abilities by developing technologies to protect its data, Artificial Intelligence & interaction and technology managements

12. Regulation authorities need to regulate the authenticity of information showcased on mass media to combat the use of media by external and internal adversaries to spread false narratives and disinformation/misinformation
13. Pakistan needs to understand that the purpose is to deny the opponent a legal recourse to power, or attract international intervention by utilizing hybrid warfare
14. The military stabilization operations in Pakistan such as Radd-ul-Fasaad need to be conducted to eradicate terrorism and insurgencies within Pakistan
15. Pakistan requires a holistic response involving all stakeholders to counter these complex and unpredictable elements of Hybrid Warfare
16. Such conflicts require equally well integrated cross functional, multidimensional solutions including a mix of diplomacy, deterrence and use of the imaginative tools of the statecraft, battle ready military strengths, influence campaigns and all conceivable means available at the disposal of the state.
17. At the state level, an integrated approach offers the best solution in shape of the formulation of a combined inter agency teams that could coordinate the diplomatic, political, military, ideological, intellectual and information activities.
18. A holistic and comprehensive national response for Hybrid Warfare threats, is predicated upon the whole of government and whole of societal components totally supported by law enforcement and intelligence agencies
19. The role of increased proactive intelligence is key to combatting gray-zone threats such as, manipulation of internal fault lines, cyber social triggers, pressure points including human rights, religious cum sectarian, ethnic and political sensitivities and sagacious handling and timely socio economic measures promoting national harmony
20. The strategic contours of Pakistan national strategy against grey hybrid conflicts can be summed up in the acronym “Secure-PAK”. Secure means constitutional, ideological, informational and institutional has to be secured to deny the degenerative structural and negative societal remapping or reimaging of the state. The PAK stands for three things:

- a. “P” stands for prevent, which is to prevent hostile actors to manipulate proceeds relative deprivations among masses through people friendly socio economic uplift policies and mainstreaming of neglected areas as in case of FATA recently.
- b. “A” stands for averting fissures in the state and people relationship through a synchronized cooperative interagency mechanism and constant reassurances at all levels including national security committee and by undertaking all possible economic, administrative, educational, intellectual and defensive measures against strategic compellence or strategic coercion.
- c. “K” stands kinetic response to any external misadventure through a nose-up deterrence cum defense strategies harmonized application of all Instruments of state. In Pakistan, our lofty will of the nation is our greatest asset. We continue feel and experience the grey hybrid threats but we also continue to respond with conviction and innovation. Such dirty tactics will not deter Pakistan from pursuing its rightful destiny with honor and grace in sync with our friends and partners.



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