

PAKISTAN AT THE CROSSROAD: HYBRID WARFARE AND THE PARALLELS BETWEEN BANGLA AND BALOCH MOVEMENTS

Dr Asma Rashid*

Abstract

In a hybrid war, the first casualty starts by undercutting truth. The intricate pattern of falsehood in the saga of Bangladesh has been carved and circulated by victors who constructed a rancorous and barbaric image of Pakistan. The exaggerated accounts and propaganda effectively disseminated, albeit the administrative weakness of the federal government in Pakistan. The fragile political situation in 1971 contributed to a manipulative and decisive hybrid war by India. This study argues that vicious cycle of hybrid war by India against Pakistan is increasingly taking roots in Balochistan, the largest and strategically located Pakistani province. The organized efforts of India are aimed at the exploitation of ethno-linguistic fault lines within Pakistan. Indian government systematically backed the militant elements in Balochistan via financial, military, and diplomatic sustenance for undermining the amity and security in Pakistan. This research paper attempts to uncover and focus on bypassed facts and myths for producing a more holistic insight into the tragic dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. Moreover, the paper comprehensively divulges the aims and objectives of the Balochistan insurgency for broadly understanding the stakes and parallels in the unfolding new episode of hybrid war by India against Pakistan.

Keywords: Propaganda, Hybrid War, Dismemberment of Pakistan, Bypassed Facts, Insurgency, Separatist, Balochistan, CPEC.

Introduction

Over the years, the tale of the disintegration of Pakistan has been projected as a movement of liberation for the democratic rights of the people of East Pakistan. It remained an undisputed fact that the disparities between East and West Pakistan were the by-product of the historical legacy of the colonial period.¹ Though sectionalism and regionalism existed between the two wings of united Pakistan, it remained quite controllable. Despite differences in culture, language, and geography, the two wings steadily worked out several deadlocks and set out to blend as one nation. The prospects of positive engagement between the two parts of united Pakistan constrained the hegemonic designs of India for regional hegemony. So,

* Dr Asma Rashid is working as Lecturer at International Islamic University, Islamabad.

Indian leaders including Nehru explored every opportunity for disintegrating Pakistan. In July 1947, Gandhi stated that the Congress committee in East Bengal should never look upon Bengal as divided.² The Hindu Mahasabha ferociously declared that there would never be peace until the reunion of India.³ So, for Indian policymakers, the dismemberment of Pakistan remained the road to achieving the long-term goal of Akhund Bharat.⁴ The founding father of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam often mentioned Indian illicit designs in his speeches. He warned the nation against the insidious propaganda of India aimed at turning both wings of united Pakistan against each other by encouraging provincialism.⁵ With time, the worries of Quaid-e-Azam about Indian intentions of disintegrating Pakistan stood the test of time.

The history of Pakistan can be divided into pre-1971 and post-1971 phases. After the tragic dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, a period of relative détente was observed between India and Pakistan.⁶ It proved short-lived due to recognition of the existential crisis in Pakistan and Indian expansionist intentions which envisioned further disintegration or annihilation of Pakistan.⁷ Through various narratives, the Indian policymakers overtly and covertly supported the sub-nationalist movements in Pakistan. The current phase of Baloch sub-nationalism proved distinct due to the scope of its propaganda, use of militancy, and xenophobic sentiments.⁸ The sub-nationalist elements replicated the time-tested tactics of exaggerated accounts concerning oppression, subjugation, and discrimination against Balochistan by the central government and institutions that remained advantageous in the past. It was further fuelled by the death of Akbar Bugti in 2006 during a military operation. The issue of missing persons was started in 1976 after the alleged killing of Asadullah Mengal and gradually became a point of contention between state institutions and sub-nationalist elements.⁹ Pakistan's government oft-time tried to engage these groups in a comprehensive political dialogue, but the external illicit intervention made it an uphill task.

Indian support for these Baloch militants is a known fact. Indian newspapers like the Hindu accepted that Indian authorities provided fake identities to the Baloch militants for staying in India, and injured militants are often brought to Indian hospitals for treatment (e.g., during 2017 BLA commander Aslam Baloch famously known as Achu was treated in India for six months).¹⁰ It was also confirmed by several reports that Baloch Parilli an organisation of Balochistan National Army also existed in India.¹¹ The ex-Indian navy officer and spy Kulbhushan Jadhav also confessed during interrogation that his main task was to engage Baloch militants in criminal activities like killing or maiming Pakistani citizens.¹² He explicitly mentioned his extensive meetings with Baloch militants. So, in this background, the Baloch sub-nationalist movement does not appear as a by-product of mere internal

grievances. It remained crucial to address the role of external and internal factors and reasons that are paving the path for another wave of militancy in Pakistan. In this context, this paper tries to answer three questions: 1) why was the separation of East Pakistan not a liberation movement? 2) how did India fight a hybrid war in East Pakistan? and 3) how India is waging a hybrid war in Balochistan?

In this research, primary and secondary sources are used for data collection. The nature of this research is qualitative, descriptive, and exploratory. The collection of data relies on primary and secondary sources. The internal validity of this research design is strong, while external validity is limited. This study is explanatory in its nature and covers the temporal domain from 1947 to 2022, while the spatial domain is limited to Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh.

Deceitful Attire of Dismemberment of Pakistan

Dismemberment of Pakistan, sometimes, has been presented in a deceitful attire of liberation movement. A careful analysis of the events prior to 1971, however, shows a totally opposite picture as provided in the following paragraphs.

Agartala Conspiracy Case and Rise of a New Political Hero

The half-truths surrounding the Bangladesh movement resulted in a well-drafted episode of hybrid war. It is evaluable by an assessment of the Agartala conspiracy case 1967. In July 1966, the head of ISI colonel Muhammad Amir Khan (a Bengali from East Pakistan) was stunned when he learned about a secret organisation working for the disintegration of Pakistan under the patronage of Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman.¹³ ISI secured some tapes of detailed conversations and meetings between Lieutenant Commander Moazzam Hussein, Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, and Indian high commission officials.¹⁴ In the book, Agartala doctrine Subir Bhaumik stated that these secret meetings started in 1962.¹⁵ After arrest, Lt. Muzammil Hussein, Mirza Mohammed Rameez, Siraj-ul-Islam, and Ameer Hussain Maya confessed their close contacts with the Indian government via Mujeeb-ur-Rehman aimed at the disintegration of Pakistan.¹⁶ Amir Hussein mentioned the regular supply of weapons by India for up surging an internal revolt that can pave the road for disintegrating Pakistan.¹⁷ Despite concrete evidence, political mishandling of the case in the last days of the Ayyub regime made Mujeeb a political hero.¹⁸ With this dubious background and unsettled case, Mujeeb entered into the elections of 1971.

Negative Appeals and Brute Power Politics

In the aftermath of elections in 1971, the two key political players in united Pakistan, Mujeeb and Bhutto, secured the majority based on negative appeals.

Bhutto wanted the refurbishment of civilian rule and economy on socialist lines, while Mujeeb aimed for the provincial autonomy of East Pakistan. One was playing the Punjabi card, and the other was whipping up the demands for social reforms in East Pakistan.¹⁹ Neither had a positive and constructive approach aiming for national unity. Both hunted for maximum political power, making a confrontation inevitable. Adding up the Indian ill-intention in this political conflict led to the perfect recipe for the dismemberment of Pakistan.

Propaganda and Bypassed Facts

Apart from power politics, the popularity of the political mandate of Mujeeb-ur-Rehman requires a closer inspection. According to the end results published by the election commission of united Pakistan, the Awami League held no more than 42% of the votes. The Awami League managed to obtain a mere 17% of Muslim votes in East Pakistan.²⁰ The majority of the Muslim masses in East Pakistan didn't play a part in the electoral process and at no time validated/recognised the mandate of Mujeeb-ur-Rehman. Hindu community staged a decisive role in the triumph of the Awami League by providing the crucial covert financing and votes. In early 1971, many political opponents of Mujeeb-ur-Rehman were targeted and murdered during the staged riots in East Pakistan. The political propaganda about the influx of refugees also remained questionable. Kuldip Nayyar, stated, only a few Muslim refugees crossed the Indian border.²¹ About 80% of the refugees were Hindus who never accepted the partition of united Bengal.²²

Phases of Successful Hybrid War of India in 1971

Media, Brainwashing, and Fabrication

India set out the stage of hybrid war by building extensive ties between the Awami League and the Indian Intelligence Bureau with a single task of manuring the ground for direct Indian intervention.²³ It required the brainwashing of the Bengali youth with phrases aiming at exaggerated accounts of economic disparity and lofty ideals like independent state/liberation. The word Bangladesh was also first used by a Hindu named Bimal Mitra.²⁴ The most effective weapon in this hybrid war was the propaganda of Indian Media. Hindu newspapers like Ananda Bazar Patrika (Bengali), Jugantar (Bengali), Hindustan Standard, the Nationalist, the Eastern Express, and the Advance propagated the illicit agenda of the Indian government in East Pakistan.²⁵ All India Radio from Calcutta launched daily shows for endorsing the Bangladeshi cause.

RAW and Staged Hijacking

In 1968 Indira Gandhi tasked Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) with the subtle job of training and raising a militant militia in East Pakistan. Things worked as planned, so in early 1971, Indira Gandhi formally called Army Chief Sam Manekshaw and asked him to prepare within six months for the final military assault on East Pakistan.²⁶ On 30th January 1971, RAW staged a hijacking plot for creating a rationale behind banning/outlawing civil and military flights across the Indian territory. On 15th February 1971, this scheme took a turn when a letter of Sheikh Abdullah surfaced revealing that the alleged accuser in the hijacking case named Hashim was an Indian agent.²⁷ Later R.K Yadev (RAW agent), in his book 'Mission R&AW' confessed that it was an inside job which means that RAW trained and armed Hashim Qureshi.²⁸ The purpose was to cut off the direct air connection between the two wings of Pakistan for the smooth disintegration of a united Pakistan.

Awami League and Eight Theatre Road Calcutta

In April 1971, India started hosting the exiled political leaders of the Awami League in a house at Eight Theatre Road Calcutta, where a provincial exile government of Bangladesh was made on the behest of Indira Gandhi.²⁹ This conspiracy house was later named Mujeeb Nagar. This drama was part of the plot for amassing support for the military intervention in united Pakistan. In the book of B.Raman (Ex-RAW official) named as Kaoboys of RAW, he mentioned that the formal organisation of Mukti Bahinis was completed, in 1971, with extensive training in initiating independence campaign, using weapons, ammunition, and sabotage.³⁰ According to a famous commander of Mukti Bahinis Lt. Colonel (Red), Sharif Haq Dalim Bir Uthman, who later served as the senior Bengali diplomat, the militia focused on dispersing guerrilla bands, destroying power stations, stopping exports, destroying godowns, disrupting communication lines of Pakistan Army.³¹ The purpose was the exhaustion of the Pakistan Army before the direct intervention of the Indian army.

Structure and Organisation of Mukti Bahini

The organisational structuring of Mukti Bahinis was done with different set of targets. So, RAW structured seven distinct bands of militia operating under the Mukti Bahinis.³² The Niamit Bahini group waged a guerrilla war against Pakistan. This group opted for hit-and-run attacks. Sector troops backed the Niamit Bahini group by outlining sabotage operations against the Pakistan Army. Gona Bahini group waged irregular terrorist activities. The members of this group destroyed bridges and critical communication lines. Gram Parishad group monitored the movement of Pakistani troops and organised rural sanctuaries for hiding irregular

terrorists of the militia. The naval group conducted naval operations against the Pakistan Army, and RAW directly managed it.³³ Action groups with heavy Indian and Russian weapons aimed for massive casualties. The intelligence group operated from the headquarter of Mukti Bahinis in Calcutta. This group assigned all the tasks and shared information with the different groups of Mukti Bahini. Base camps managed food, training, and medical facilities for the groups of Mukti Bahini.

Training and Tactics of Mukti Bahini

Apart from the organisational structure, the Mukti Bahinis geographically operated in 11 different sectors with 57 subsectors.³⁴ Approximately 161,500 Mukti Bahinis launched an offensive assault against the Pakistan Army. RAW trained the groups based on age, background, and education. The training categories outlined the nature of the activities. Science graduates recruited in the Mukti Bahini required a short training session of two months for sabotage activities. The undergraduate young and brainwashed Bengali students remained crucial for RAW. So, their training covered specific knowledge about small arms, rocket launchers, mortars, and commando tactics.³⁵ While the last category of non-matriculates prepared for and participated in launching grenades, mines, and a variety of explosives against the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan.³⁶ The book *Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis 1968-70* stated that Indian military academy and institution trained 2000 Mukti Bahinis every six weeks.³⁷ The staggering involvement, structuring, and execution of the plot by the Indian government turned the table against the isolated Pakistan Army stationed in East Pakistan.

The Final Assault

Indira Gandhi carefully crafted the plot for amassing international pressure against Pakistan. She dispatched Indian ambassadors for propaganda and lobbying in the different capitals of the world.³⁸ International delegates visited refugee camps at the invitation of the Indian government. After creating the desired environment, Indira Gandhi started formal visits to twelve western countries for stressing the Bangladeshi cause and liberation movement.³⁹ Indira Gandhi also managed a successful veto of the resolutions moved by Pakistan in UNSC through the backing of Russia. This nerve-wracking hybrid war gradually paved the unfortunate path of disintegration of Pakistan in 1971.⁴⁰

Indian Hybrid War Policy in Balochistan: The Dance Choir of Myths and Propaganda

The Myths Concerning Balochis and Khanate of Kalat

Oft-time, it is propagated by India that the common masses in Balochistan never desired to join Pakistan at the time of partition, but the people of Balochistan wanted to join Pakistan. The Balochistan Muslim League was created in 1939 with 7000 members.⁴¹ Its founding Father Qazi Muhammed Isa played a pivotal role in paving the support for Pakistan. He staunchly backed the fourteen points presented by Quaid-e-Azam and stood against the propaganda of Congress and Maulana Attaullah Shah Bukhari.⁴² During the third annual session of the Balochistan Muslim League, Quaid-e- Azam was invited as the chief guest. The only point of contention was the Khanate of Kalat which was formally established in 1666, and later on, forcibly acceded by the British government in Balochistan. In 1931, the masses of Kalat started demanding their political rights and founded Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochistan. During the arbitral agreement, there were some differences between the Khan of Kalat and the authorities of Pakistan, but they were gradually resolved through several rounds of high-level negotiations and assurances by the Pakistani officials.⁴³ The instrument of accession was signed by the Khan of Kalat on 27 March 1948, but his brother Prince Agha Abdul Karim was not in favour of acceding with Pakistan.⁴⁴ So, he took up arms and started violent resistance, due to which Pakistan had to mobilise its troops for avoiding bloodshed. Despite having a formal accession of Balochistan with Pakistan since 1948, India started promoting and provoking separatist elements in the Khanate of Kalat by proclaiming that Pakistan forced the Khan in joining Pakistan. The seed of suspicion and mistrusts led to the first wave of militancy in 1948.⁴⁵

The Issue of Underdevelopment and Poverty

Balochistan remained relatively underdeveloped as compared to the other parts of Pakistan. It was presented as a major indication of discrimination and oppression by Indian media and sub-nationalist elements. It also led to the widespread venom of sectionalism and provincialism within Balochistan. A closer look of Balochistan divulges that during the British colonial rule, Balochistan was the most underdeveloped region.⁴⁶ Its development was largely ignored due to difficult terrain and a small population. After the creation of Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan gradually started to increase development outlays in Balochistan. The slow pace of progress in Balochistan seemed to be ingrained in often bypassed/ignored reasons.

Firstly, since the creation of Pakistan, Balochistan has witnessed five waves of militancy that constrained the rapid progress and development in the province.⁴⁷ The engineers and investors were time and again targeted. The non-Balochis working for the development of Balochistan were systematically harassed, targeted, or killed. Secondly, the tribal and feudal system in Balochistan never opened up to private investment. Oft-time mega projects were considered as a form of undermining their control and authority on their native lands. Currently, the flagship project of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is also facing resistance and suspicion with exaggerated accounts of assault on the sovereignty of Balochistan. Moreover, Indian media is spreading absurd parallels between the East India Company and Chinese investment for enhancing the sense of fear and suspicion in the minds of the Baloch populace. Thirdly, the deliberate external intervention by India, Afghanistan, and Iran made it extremely hard to maintain the law-and-order situation in Balochistan. India openly advocated and pleaded the case of greater Balochistan on the international level. Moreover, since the government of Daoud Khan in 1973, the separatist groups of Balochistan took refuge and training in Afghanistan.⁴⁸ During the period of Hamid Karzai, several notable Baloch leaders including Brahmdagh Bugti allegedly took asylum in Afghanistan. Lastly, with regards to Iran, sectionalism shaped the sectarian conflict between the various groups living in Balochistan.

Indian policymakers carefully calibrated all these fault lines and used the loopholes for their benefit. Most Indian spies like Kulbhushan Jadhav crossed the international border on Iranian passports into Balochistan. Afghanistan was also time and again used by RAW for building secure base camps and safe havens for Baloch militants. Fourthly, since its inception, Pakistan faced the issue of a volatile economic situation, so the federal government remained engaged in directing resources to the areas with maximum population. Only 5% population of Pakistan resided in Balochistan. So, in light of these reasons it seemed hard to validate the Indian claims of discrimination against the state of Pakistan.

According to the official record of the Government of Balochistan, 22 million rupees were provided to them for improving infrastructure in 1960-61 which was increased to Rs 66 million in 1964-65.⁴⁹ After the abolition of the one-unit scheme in 1970, the government of Balochistan received another 70 million rupees for filling the infrastructural gaps. Since 1977, the government of Balochistan started a new developmental policy backed by the public sector development Programme (PSDP) and the federal government. Agriculture and fisheries emerged as the backbone of the economy.⁵⁰ During 1996-1997, \$ 25 million were earned through date processing plants in Balochistan. Palm oil cultivation was increased by 16%.

Moreover, during 2001-2002 Balochistan government earned Rs 5.90 billion from the fish industry. Since 2016, under CPEC, Government of Pakistan concentrated on the improvement of Balochistan. Approximately, a \$ 9 billion investment was announced for energy projects in Balochistan.⁵¹ Another, \$ 1 billion was allocated for developing Ziarat into a model tourist city.⁵² Modern transportation networks are almost completed from Karachi to Gwadar. On July 4, 2021, the CPEC Chairman briefed the media about the allocation of Rs 600 billion for several projects including Gwadar airport.⁵³ He explicitly informed the media about the progress on 80 different schemes in Balochistan.⁵⁴ In nine undeveloped districts of Balochistan, the government of Pakistan authorised the development of no less than 31 dams.⁵⁵ As of June 27, 2021, the annual budget of Balochistan remained Rs 570 billion.⁵⁶ So, it appeared that Balochistan and Gwadar are given serious prioritisation by the government of Pakistan in recent years that doesn't obviously suit the Indian ambitions.

Indian Information Operation and Spy Networks in Balochistan

The sub-nationalist elements in Balochistan oft-time thrive on negative appeals and oversimplify the geostrategic complexities of a sensitive and strategically located area like Balochistan. The tactic of creating a rift and smoke screen between state and its citizens is now again used in Balochistan. The sub-nationalist groups and Indian media blamed that the law enforcement agencies (LEAs) of Pakistan are responsible for the death of several notable Baloch activist and created a death squad that is allegedly behind the tragedy of thousands of missing persons which is far from the reality. The provincial and federal government has many times refuted such allegations stating it as an Indian tactics for hybrid warfare.

Further, Pakistan and Chinese convergence of interest is increasingly perceived by India as a growing threat to its broader regional aspirations in South Asia including Akhund Bharat.⁵⁷ India also tried to keep Pakistan economically volatile through deliberate intervention and propaganda, but the construction of Gwadar port can turn the tides in the favour of Pakistan which will be extremely disadvantageous for Indian ambitions. Moreover, the closer collaboration for Gwadar maritime security and modernisation with the help of China proved to be a daunting challenge for the Indian navy in the Indian Ocean.⁵⁸ So, the Indian intelligence service RAW inspired by Kautaliya's Arthshastra has expanded its active spy network in Balochistan for creating internal disharmony within the province.⁵⁹ Since 2015, Pakistan has formally levelled the allegations of intervention and killing in Balochistan on RAW.⁶⁰ Kulbhushan Jadhav alias Hussain Patel served as an Indian spy agent between 2003 and 2016.⁶¹ He was arrested by Pakistani officials after traveling on a fake identity from Iran. He confessed his close contacts with Baloch

militant groups with the stated objective of subverting or weakening Pakistan. Furthermore, the Balochistan government reported Jadhav's involvement in fuelling sectarianism and militancy.⁶² He also acknowledged that his main objective was to target the Gwadar port in Balochistan. In 2017, he was sentenced to death by Pakistan military court.

Structure and Organisation of Militant Groups in Balochistan

There are five notable militant/terrorist groups operating in Balochistan. They are involved in the violent killing, murders, and blasts aimed at exhausting the morale of the state institutions. The first distinct separatist group Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) remained active since 2000. It was directed by Khair Baksh Marri. It was labelled as a terrorist organisation by Pakistan in 2006. This group is a remanent of an earlier ethnic-based Baloch nationalist group that was originally founded in 1980.⁶³ India helped the militants of BLA and provided them much needed financial and military help. Afghanistan also proved as a safe haven for them. According to Afghan Tolo News, Baloch terrorist Aslam Baloch was provided asylum in Kandahar for several years.⁶⁴ BLA fostered hatred and promoted provincialism by deliberately killing some 500 non-Balochis.⁶⁵ BLA formally accepted that it was behind the attacks and killing of non-Balochis. The group is also involved in kidnapping, suicide bombing, assassination and sabotaging CPEC. In 2018, BLA attacked the Chinese Consulate in Karachi. Moreover, the Pearl Continental Hotel was attacked in 2019 during the visit of the high-level Chinese delegation in Balochistan by BLA.⁶⁶ Since 2020, they mainly target Chinese and the LEAs.

The second terrorist group is Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) that remained actively engaged under Sher Muhammed Marri and Allah Nazar Baloch. In 1970, an Indian Journalist Avinash Paliwal explicitly stated that RAW directly took part in the Baloch uprising that started in 1968.⁶⁷ They provided ammunition, money, and asylum.⁶⁸ In 2015, the Indian newspaper Hindu claimed that BLF and the Indian government once again started close coordination and engagement after the death of Sher Muhammed Marri. This group primarily targeted journalists and state institutions.⁶⁹ The third separatist group Baloch Republican Army (BRA) was designated as a terrorist organisation by the Government of Pakistan in 2010. It was founded by Brahmdagh Bugti.⁷⁰ This group exploited and brainwashed the minds of young students. BRA propagated widespread propaganda in Balochistan, especially after the death of Akbar Bugti against the state institutions of Pakistan.

The fourth group Lashkar-e-Balochistan (LB) was created in 2012 and remained involved in a series of blasts across Pakistan. Time and again, Pakistani authorities accused India of backing LB, but India refuted it⁷¹. The fifth separatist

group is the Baloch Musallah Difa Organisation that remained active since 2010. This organisation actively used violent means like using rocket launchers, blasts, and killings for threatening the citizens and journalists in Balochistan.⁷² The financial supporters of this group remained unknown, but it received substantial foreign backing. The year 2022, led to the merger of different Baloch groups under the umbrella of the Baloch Nationalist Army (BNA). This group claimed responsibility for a terrorist attack in Lahore on 20th January 2022.⁷³ Since then, a wave of violent attacks has led to heavy losses. The first major attack was launched on 25th January in Kech which resulted in the casualties of 10 military personnel.⁷⁴ The organised attacks by Baloch militants are being supported by India in terms of finances and ammunition.

Conclusion

Most often, history regards the accounts narrated by the victors. It also happened in the case of East Pakistan, where the conspirators concealed their illicit agendas in the garb of the so-called war of Liberation. Since the inception of Pakistan, India, never missed an opportunity for disintegrating Pakistan. Indian policymakers aimed for the dismemberment of Pakistan for fulfilling their dreams of Akhund Bharat. Initially, their efforts were contained by the politicians of Pakistan. However, the gulf between the two wings of Pakistan was intelligently manipulated by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. She turned out to be the chief architect behind the decisive hybrid war against Pakistan. All the components of hybrid war such as propaganda, fake news, diplomatic pressure, brainwashing, funding, training of rebels, and direct intervention were meticulously designed and executed against Pakistan. In the post-1971 period, India has opened another theatre of the hybrid war against Pakistan in the province of Balochistan. Once again, the old hybrid war tactics are used by India in Balochistan for smoke screening the realities on ground. The Baloch militants are surviving on the negative appeals and exaggerated accounts of the systematic oppression, subjugation, and discrimination. The vicious cycle of history is repeating itself so, it's high time for Pakistan to reassess its Balochistan strategy against the Indian hybrid warfare.

References

- ¹ Ahmed, Junaid. 2016. *Creation of Bangladesh Myths Exploded*. AJA Publisher. [https://archive.org/details/ Bangladesh-Myths-Exploded-Junaid-Ahmad/page/n203/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/Bangladesh-Myths-Exploded-Junaid-Ahmad/page/n203/mode/2up).
- ² Ghosh, Sucheta. 1984. The role of India in the emergence of Bangladesh. Calcutta: South Asia Books. Accessed December 10, 2021. <https://www.worldcat.org/title/role-of-india-in-the-emergence-of-bangladesh/oclc/567567452>.
- ³ Pandey, Aparna. 2011. *Explaining Pakistan Foreign Policy*. New York: Routledge. Accessed December 10, 2021. https://www.routledge.com/Explaining-Pakistans-Foreign-Policy-Escaping-India/Pandey/p/book/9781138783560?utm_source=cjaffiliates&utm_medium=affiliates&cjevent=94d815265e971ec824901810a82b82a.
- ⁴ Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Red) Kamal. 1994. *The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971*. Lahore. Accessed December 9, 2021. https://books.google.com/books/about/Tragedy_of_errors.html?id=aONtAAAAAAAJ
- ⁵ Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali. 1971. *The Great Tragedy Pakistan People's Party*. Karachi: Vision Publication. Accessed December 9, 2021.
- ⁶ Khan, Feroz Hasan. 2015. *Security Dilemma in South Asia: Building Arsenals and Living with Distrust*. Calhoun: The NPS Institutional Archive. <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/57244>.
- ⁷ GILGRIST, JAMES. 2008. "The 'Security Dilemma' and South Asian Nuclear." doi:ISSN 2053-8626.
- ⁸ Sheikh, Salman Rafi. 2018. *THE GENESIS OF BALOCH NATIONALISM*. New York: Routledge.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² 2016. "Govt airs video of Indian spy admitting involvement in Balochistan insurgency." DAWN. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1248669/govt-airs-video-of-indian-spy-admitting-involvement-in-balochistan-insurgency>.
- ¹³ Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Red) Kamal. 1994. *The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971*. Lahore. Accessed December 9, 2021. https://books.google.com/books/about/Tragedy_of_errors.html?id=aONtAAAAAAAJ.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Bhaumik, Subir. 2016. "The Agartala Doctrine." (Oxford University Press). Accessed December 11, 2021.
- ¹⁶ Ahmed, Junaid. 2016. *Creation of Bangladesh Myths Exploded*. AJA Publisher.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Kardar, Abdul Hafeez. 1983. "Pakistan's Soldiers of Fortune." (Ferozon Ltd) 133.
- ¹⁹ Jahan, R. 1972. "Pakistan's Failure in National Integration." 189-190. Accessed December 12, 2021.
- ²⁰ Ahmed, Junaid. 2016. *Creation of Bangladesh Myths Exploded*. AJA Publisher ..
- ²¹ Nayyar, Kuldip. 1972. D "Distant Neighbours", Alan Riding."
- ²² Raghav, Srinath. 2013. "A Global History of Creation of Pakistan." (Harvard University Press). Accessed December 11, 2021.
- ²³ Ahmed, Junaid. 2016. *Creation of Bangladesh Myths Exploded*. AJA Publisher.
- ²⁴ Niazi, General A.A.K. 1998. "The Betrayal of East Pakistan." (Oxford University Press). Accessed December 12, 2021.
- ²⁵ Ahmed, Junaid. 2016. *Creation of Bangladesh Myths Exploded*. AJA Publisher.
- ²⁶ Yadav, R.K. 2014. "Mission RAW." (Manas Publication) 231. Accessed December 11, 2021
- ²⁷ 1971. Judicial enquiry Commission report on Hijacking of Indian Plane to Lahore. Accessed December 12, 2021.
- ²⁸ Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Red) Kamal. 1994. *The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971*. Lahore. Accessed December 9, 2021. https://books.google.com/books/about/Tragedy_of_errors.html?id=aONtAAAAAAAJ.
- ²⁹ Ahmed, Junaid. 2016. *Creation of Bangladesh Myths Exploded*. AJA Publisher.
- ³⁰ Raman, B. 2012. "The Kaoboy's of R&AW: Down Memory Lane." (Lancer Publishers LLC). Accessed December 12, 2021. https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/The_Kaoboy's_of_R_AW.html?id=k_UoRpuOWkgC&redir_esc=y
- ³¹ Ahmed, Junaid. 2016. *Creation of Bangladesh Myths Exploded*. AJA Publisher.
- ³² Yadav, R.K. 2014. "Mission RAW." (Manas Publication) 231. Accessed December 11, 2021
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Dalim, Lt Col. (Red) Sharif ul Haq. 2011. "Bangladesh Untold Facts." (Jumhoori Publication) 251. Accessed December 12, 2021.
- ³⁵ Niazi, General A.A.K. 1998. "The Betrayal of East Pakistan." (Oxford University Press). Accessed December 12, 2021.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Red) Kamal. 1994. *The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971*. Lahore.
- ³⁸ Ahmed, Junaid. 2016. *Creation of Bangladesh Myths Exploded*. AJA Publisher.
- ³⁹ Dalim, Lt Col. (Red) Sharif ul Haq. 2011. "Bangladesh Untold Facts." (Jumhoori Publication) 251. Accessed December 12, 2021.
- ⁴⁰ Muqem. 1973. "Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership." (National Book Foundation) 169. Accessed December 12, 2021.
- ⁴¹ Zehri, Jamal. 2017. "The Baloch struggle for Pakistan." *Voice of Balochistan*. <https://voiceofbalochistan.pk/opinions-and-articles/domestic-politics/baloch-struggle-pakistan-balochistan/>.
- ⁴² Sultana, Kishwar. 2019. "Balochistan and Pakistan Movement: Role of Qazi Mohammad Isa 1939-1947." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 56 (2). file:///C:/Users/Haier/Downloads/5_56_2_19.pdf.
- ⁴³ Iqbal, Chawala. 2012. "Prelude to the accession of Kalat State to Pakistan in 1948." *Journal of Research Society Pakistan*. <https://www.academia.edu/13372388>.
- ⁴⁴ Butt, Qaisar. 2013. "Princely Liaisons: The Khan family controls politics in Kalat." *Express Tribune*. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/538820/princely-liaisons-the-khan-family-controls-politics-in-kalat>. https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/The_Kaoboy's_of_R_AW.html?id=k_UoRpuOWkgC&redir_esc
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ n.d. "Balochistan Under the British." <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/baloch-brits.htm>.
- ⁴⁷ "Balochistan Insurgency." *Global Security*. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/pakistan1.htm>.

- ⁴⁸ Kiessling, Hein. 2016. *Faith, Unity, Discipline: The Inter-Service-Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan*. Oxford University Press . https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=y_cgDgAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y.
- ⁴⁹ *Development Works in Balochistan*. Office of the Chief Minister Secretariat, Government of Balochistan . <https://balochistan.gov.pk/explore-balochistan/mega-development-projects/>.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Investment Opportunities. Office of the Chief Minister Secretariat, Government of Balochistan. <https://balochistan.gov.pk/explore-balochistan/investment-opportunities/>.
- ⁵² *Development Of Balochistan Top Priority Of Govt Says Prof. Ahsan Iqbal*. CPEC Authority , Ministry of Planning, Development and Special Initiatives. <http://cpec.gov.pk/news/6>.
- ⁵³ 2021. "CPEC projects to uplift Balochistan, PM prioritizing Gwadar: CPEC Authority Chairman Bajwa." <http://cpecinfo.com/cpec-projects-to-uplift-balochistan-pm-prioritizing-gwadar-cpec-authority-chairman-bajwa/>.
- ⁵⁴ 2021. "CPEC projects to uplift Balochistan, PM prioritizing Gwadar: CPEC Authority Chairman Bajwa." <http://cpecinfo.com/cpec-projects-to-uplift-balochistan-pm-prioritizing-gwadar-cpec-authority-chairman-bajwa/>.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ 2022. "Balochistan Assembly passes budget in opposition's absence." *DAWN*. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1631706>.
- ⁵⁷ Basit, Saira H. 2019. "CPEC Emboldens China and Pakistan's Joint Effort to Manage Militancy." *The Diplomat* . <https://thediplomat.com/2019/04/cpec-emboldens-china-and-pakistans-joint-effort-to-manage-militancy/>.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Liebig, Michael. 2014 "Statecraft and Intelligence analysis in Kautilya Arthashastra." *Focus* 8, no. 4.
- ⁶⁰ Khan, M Ilyas. 2015. "What lies behind Pakistani charges of Indian 'terrorism'." *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-32604137>.
- ⁶¹ 2017. "India knows why Pakistan sentenced Jadhav to death, says envoy Basit." *DAWN*. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1326535/>.
- ⁶² 2016. "Govt airs video of Indian spy admitting involvement in Balochistan insurgency." *DAWN* . <https://www.dawn.com/news/1248669/govt-airs-video-ofindian-spy-admitting-involvement-in-balochistan-insurgency>.
- ⁶³ 2011. "[Archive Material] Pakistan: Unveiling the Mystery of Balochistan Insurgency — Part One." <http://www.newscentralasia.net/2011/07/18/archive-material-pakistan-unveiling-the-mystery-of-balochistan-insurgency-part-one/>.
- ⁶⁴ 2005. "The Ministry of Interior Affairs says six people were killed in the suicide bombing in Kandahar on Monday." *Tolo News*. <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan/baloch-separatist-leader-killed-kandahar-attack-reports>.
- ⁶⁵ "Balochistan Liberation Army ." *Stanford Centre of International Security and Cooperation* (Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies.). <https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/balochistan-liberation-army>.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ Paliwal, Avinash. 2017. *My Enemy's Enemy: India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal*. Oxford University Press. https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=6WhNDwAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ 2015. "Pakistan outraged at the presence of Baloch activist in India." *The Hindu* . <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/pakistan-outraged-at-presence-of-baloch-activist-in-india/article7739733.ece>.
- ⁷⁰ "Balochistan Republican Army." Mapping Militant Organization (Stanford). <https://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/571>.
- ⁷¹ 2019. "Pak has evidence about India's involvement in Balochistan." *Indian Express*. <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/pak-has-evidence-about-Indias-involvement-in-balochistan/531448/>.
- ⁷² n.d. "Data Base of People With Extremist Linkages ." <https://www.doppel.org/BMDT.htm>.
- ⁷³ 2022. "Baloch Nationalist Army claims responsibility for Lahore blast." *The Tribune*. <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/world/baloch-nationalist-army-claims-responsibility-for-lahore-blast-363213>.
- ⁷⁴ 2022. "Ten soldiers martyred in Kech terrorist attack." <https://www.dawn.com/news/1671869>.