



SELINUS UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCES AND LITERATURE

**CRITICAL STUDY OF PROPAGANDA & HYBRID /
5TH GENERATION WAR FOR THE PURPOSE OF
NARRATIVE BUILDING**

By

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ABSTRACT :-

Undoubtedly this 21st century is the century of peak of modern sciences and media war. With every passing day the concept of conventional war is getting obsolete. In modern methodology war rooms are actually consists of super computers spreading information of your choice whether factual or not. In fact it's all based on narrative building and changing public perception. We have seen in recent history how media was used/misused to achieve desired results in narrative building across the world.

In this thesis I have tried to research the effectiveness of Propaganda on global level. How different countries have actively used tools of Hybrid war or may also be called 5th generation war to achieve geo political and strategic targets. Despite of knowing the consequences and catastrophic damages of such propaganda. In most cases it resulted in mass losses of human lives and complete destruction of Infrastructures. While in some cases it started wars between countries (Yemen & Saudi Arabia, Ukraine & Russia) and others. Also hybrid war brought many nations on brink of big conventional wars like Pakistan & India, and Standoff between China & India. Even in some cases it could have caused Nuclear wars between two countries for example North Korea & USA, Pakistan & India.

As case study I have studied Iraq war (US & NATO Invasion) which was legitimized by United Nations approved on reports about presence of Weapon of Mass Destructions (WMD's). Which was later proven all false and all reports, Media reports, documents everything was proven fabricated to build certain narrative to mislead the entire 170+ Member Nations of the world in UNO. Hence it's not only one of the most recent and classic example of White Propaganda. This might be considered as biggest successful propaganda campaign of 20th century which resulted into millions of Iraqis undue massacre, A complete destruction of oil rich economically stable country which caused loss of trillions of dollars and complete infrastructure demolition.

Furthermore in this thesis I have discussed fatal impacts of false propaganda, types of propaganda. Importance of knowing and countering propaganda and hybrid war tools to secure national interest. A chapter of thesis explains how a state can use propaganda for multiple uses to divert attentions from its failures and achieving success in certain narrative building.

A brief critical study of Strategic affairs based on media warfare is also part of this thesis. Every state desire to secure its strategic interests, which type of methodologies being used in modern day policy making of strategic affairs is also a part of this research. There's no doubt every country like to achieve best for its strategic interests but what kind of illegal, unethical, unlawful, inhumane & ill methods are used as state agenda is also discussed. Since our planet is already facing many challenges of its destruction (environmental issues, Covid-19 Type Pandemics & others) than why this risk of world war, nuclear wars due to illness of controlling or conquering the world. All that is happening on the name of strategic interests.

All that is discussed to make people aware for future so that false media propaganda would not influence. As per study many highly educated and intellectuals also came under the influence of 5th generation Media war. Due to basic perception of trusting everything shown on TV screen printed in Newspapers, Published on websites , on Social media, Digital Media or even told by your own leaders. This study emphasis people need to be more vigilant and must investigate as habit before believing anything reaches through any source especially when it comes to national interest or certain narrative. The main objective of this thesis is to reduce risk of future wars by making people aware of propaganda tools. It is required to emphasis on world leadership and legislators to implement new rules and regulations using United Nation Organization's Charter to stop False Propaganda & Hybrid warfare. Undoubtedly there is a need of new set laws like in "Geneva Convention" to prevent nations from outrages of False propaganda and deceptive narrative building.

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Materials:

Books & material relevant to the subject matter i.e. The Thesis: CRITICAL STUDY OF PROPAGANDA & RESEARCH ON HYBRID OR 5TH GENERATION WAR FOR THE PURPOSE OF NARRATIVE BUILDING, are listed above under the Bibliography section. Other material relating to the Thesis and the core of the matter are referenced below. All of the Internet material, likewise, Journal Articles, Case Studies, Conference Papers, and extensive information extracted from the Selinus University Library and the Encyclopaedia Britannica are all referenced.

Methodology:

Methodology as distinct from the method to be carried out offers the theoretical underpinning for understanding which method, or sets of methods such as 'best practices' can be applied such as; 'Principles, the notion of insight, presumptive research steps, tips and conclusions. 'i

Research methods *Vis a Vis* methodology conjures up many different approaches, scope and purpose between society and the law. ii Doctrinal Research is concerned with legal prepositions and doctrines, whereas **non-doctrinal research** is concerned with people, social values and social institutions. iii

Referring to the quote text by Volch, 'Nothing is ever written', it is rewritten'.iv There are so many sources for research but one must be careful to pick those academic ones who are your piers, but conducting a thorough reference interview with oneself is the best way to research, in similar fashion to a librarian.

In thinking like a Librarian, Buckingham reminds us of two good reasons for choosing or attacking the work ourselves in like fashion: '(1) their knowledge of general (non-law specific) research techniques and (2) their knowledge of legal resources and law-related research tools. By applying traditional research techniques to the legal field, law librarians are able to research more efficiently and effectively.' v

Indeed, whatever is required for this research will be achieved including all relevant 'Internet Resources, books, journals and the knowledge by Strutinvii in the 'Basic Legal Research on the Internet'

DEDICATIONS:-

As per every Muslim with even a Little Faith in his heart for him Prophet “ **Muhammed (peace be Upon Him)**” is the most respectful in entire Galaxies After Allah (God) Almighty, So that This study is dedicated to Prophet “**Muhammed (Peace Be Upon Him)**” who has remained a source of inspiration for me through-out my life. He always taught humanity to seek knowledge for getting success in life and life-hereafter.

After that I would like to dedicate this humble Effort to My Grandfather late “ **Allama Inayat Ullah Khan Almashriqi**” Who was not only a Great Scholar, Religious Leader, Freedom Fighter & much more, But also for me He is my pride and source of my recognition everywhere & anywhere. May Allah Grant him & my Deceased Parents (**InaamUllah Akram Almashriqi & Naseem Begum**) highest Ranks in Jannah (Paradise) Ameen.

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CHAPTER ONE

PROPAGANDA

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

History of Propaganda

Different Religions Quotations about Propaganda

Propaganda (Literature review)

Modern day Propaganda

Types of Propaganda

Techniques of Propaganda

CREATING ENVIRONMENT FOR PROPAGANDA

CASE STUDY

US,NATO INVASION IN IRAQ

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History of Propaganda :-

Adam & Eve were the first victims of False Propaganda When Devil (Satan) misled Eve about eating certain food According to Muslims holy Book Quran It was forbidden tree while according to Bible it was an Apple tree. But all major religion believes that Devil's propaganda was the reason which trapped Eve & than Adam to eat the prohibited fruit in heaven and in the Punishment of that they were thrown out of heaven and sent to earth. So if we look into religious perspective of propaganda is as old as mankind on this planet.

In Quran Allah Almighty Says "And We said, "O Adam, dwell, you and your wife, in Paradise and eat therefrom in [ease and] abundance from wherever you will. But do not approach this tree, lest you be among the wrongdoers."(Al-Baqarah - 35)

In [Genesis](#) 3:6

So when the woman saw that the tree *was* good for food, that it *was* pleasant to the eyes,

and a tree desirable to make *one* wise, she took of its fruit and ate. She also gave to her husband with her, and he ate.

Hence it is proven that for everyone on this planet who believes in any religion but not Atheist will agree that it was Devil who persuades Eve & Adam to eat from that Prohibited tree. He used to the time basic propaganda technique by falsely telling them advantages of eating from that tree and also put doubts in their minds by saying there is something very nice extra ordinary and special in this fruit and Almighty God has forbidden them from this tree so that they would not enjoy the best fruit in heaven. But obviously it was untrue and false rather it made Even & Adam Naked and they felt ashamed in front of each other. But they were trapped by Devil and Eventually sent to earth in punishment of that Sin.

It has a lesson for everyman on this planet that misguided by propaganda is not an excuse and one should use its common sense, resources & investigations to reach to the truth instead of falling into any propaganda.

As far as History of propaganda is concern all studies shows that roots of propaganda goes back to Greek times When Socrates was forced to suicide due to false propaganda against his Philosophies and Ideologies. Which were clearly against the ruling elite and clerics of that time. I would like to get into little bit details of history of Propaganda A.D. (After the Death of Christ) times before coming to modern day Propaganda.

Undoubtedly Propaganda was used as weapon by every powerful segments of all societies. Church (Christian Priests) was well aware of power of Propaganda and by using propaganda techniques Church turned the roman empire into Christian Empire in 4th century A.D. later on western Empires used similar propaganda to control other states including Germans. Church used this as weapon to defend itself to prolong its powerful reign but also propaganda was used by church to build hatred perceptions against all religions especially against Islam which was

Famous write Toynbee AJ. wrote in his book “ A Study of History”

“The inventors of Propaganda are religious Clerics and there propaganda caused demolition of many Civilizations like “Babylon“ & others.”

DIFFERENT RELIGIONS ABOUT PROPAGANDA.

Different of types propaganda are being discussed in almost all major religions. Including Judaism, Islam, Buddhist, Sikhism & Christianity. In some scriptures it's described as Gossips, Rumors, false news, fake information. But one thing is common in all scriptures that every form of propaganda is criticized and prohibited. It's clearly told that one should not believe in gossips false propaganda as it can lead to fatal consequences. For the reference purpose I am mentioning few quotes from Holy Quran, Holy Bible Old & New Testaments.

References from Holy Quran:-

49.6.(Al-Hujrat verse 66)

نَادِمِينَ فَعَلْتُمْ مَا عَلَىٰ فَنُصَبِحُوا بِجَهَالَةٍ قَوْمًا تُصِيبُوا أَنْ فَتَبَيَّنُوا بِنَبَأٍ فَاسِقٍ جَاءَكُمْ إِنْ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ أُيِّهَا يَا

6. O you who believe! If some transgressor brings you news (that requires taking action), verify it carefully (before you believe and act upon it), lest you harm a people in ignorance and then become regretful for what you have done.

The principle laid down in this verse after the commands concerning behavior toward the Messenger, upon him be peace and blessings, requires attention in many respects, such as follows:

- In another verse (17: 36), (Al-Asra verse 36) God orders: *Do not follow that of which you have no knowledge (whether it is good or bad), and refrain from groundless assertions and conjectures. Surely the hearing, the sight, and the heart*
Each of these is subject to questioning about it (you are answerable, and will be called to account, for each of these on the Day of Judgment). So a Muslim cannot judge anything without confirmed or true knowledge about it. Especially in matters requiring responsibility and concerning social & Political relationships.

In Christianity :- in Old Testaments

[John](#) [8:44](#)

You are of *your* father the devil, and the desires of your father you want to do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and does not stand in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaks a lie, he speaks from his own *resources*, for he is a liar and the father of it.

[John](#) [8:32](#)

And you shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Exodus 20:16 *Do not tell lies about others.*

Exodus 23:1 *Don't spread harmful rumours or help a criminal by giving false evidence.*

Psalm 34:13 *Then don't say cruel things and don't tell lies.*

So it's very clear that propaganda or lies have no justification in religion or ethics. So no

one should take religion as plea for his act of false propaganda.

Propaganda (A literature Review)

Propaganda has its roots in Latin, and is the gerundive form of *'propagare'*, which means to spread. Thus, propaganda means to disseminate, spread or promote particular ideas. The Vatican established the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in 1622 to propagate the faith of the Roman Catholic Church. The aim of this Sacred Congregation was to spread the faith to the world, and hence, propaganda lost the neutrality in its meaning. Its usage in World Wars I and II, at the beginning of the 20th century further inflated the pejorative sense of the word. In today's world if you label anything as propaganda, it would be akin to suggesting that it is something dishonest or deceitful. As World War II drew to its conclusion, researchers studying propaganda stopped addressing their subject as propaganda and began understanding the constructs of persuasion, and behavioural and attitudinal change. The growth of social scientific study and development of subjects like communication and social psychology drove the research on mass persuasion.

Before 1980

The research in propaganda was driven by the need for understanding mass persuasion by the governments, and was triggered by the first World War. Researchers such as (Lasswell, 1927) and (Creel, 1920) were of the view that Propaganda can possibly sway public opinion to any point of view. Based on the stimulus response theory, Lasswell assumed that human responses to media were uniform and immediate. As propaganda started gaining more attention, an effort went underway by the President's Research Committee (USA) to bring together knowledge of different fields together. They categorised the fields of propaganda, public opinion, marketing and social psychology as *"agencies of mass impression"* in 1931 (Czitrom, 1982). Doob (1948) defined propaganda as :

"The attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behaviour of individuals towards ends, considered unscientific or of doubtful value in a society at a particular time".

However, he later stated in a 1989 essay that *"a clear-cut definition of propaganda is neither possible nor desirable"*.

In contrast to the purpose theory, (Ellul, 1965) considered propaganda as a sociological phenomenon and not simply as something being done by someone to a particular end. He was of the belief that almost all the messages in our society are propagandistic to some extent, due to the conscious and subconscious biases of people. Although, Ellul contended that propaganda distorts historical recollection and impedes critical reflection, he was of the opinion that the world needs propaganda as we live in a large society. Propaganda helps to bring the population together for important events like elections, celebrations, and memorials. On one hand, propaganda could be used to incite masses to certain ends, and on the other it could be used to pacify them into a non-challenging lumber (Szanto, 1977).

As World War II drew to its conclusion, researchers studying propaganda stopped addressing

their subject as propaganda and began understanding the constructs of persuasion, and behavioural and attitudinal change. The growth of social scientific study and development of subjects like communication and social psychology drove the research on mass persuasion.

Modern Day Propaganda :

1980-1990

Burnett (1989) was of the view that propaganda acts as the carrier of ideology and can shape dominant ideological meanings in mass media. The study states that propaganda can be thought of as a form of communication with the sole purpose of fulfilling the propagandist's needs. It tries to generate a response in the audience befitting the propagandist's own agenda. Propaganda is considered a powerful tool that can mould public opinion and affect behavioural change. Although, some scholars view propaganda as the intrinsic thought and practice in societal culture, others view it as "*organised persuasion*", and have characterised it as being unethical and harmful (DeVito, 1986). Hardt (1989) and Lang (1989) rejected Lasswell's theory that human response to media and propaganda were uniform and immediate, and posited that propaganda is a complex sociological phenomenon.

It is also interesting to note the role propaganda plays in educational practices as well. For instance, (Aronson, 1980) questioned whether teaching student arithmetic at schools through questions that primarily deal with capitalist ideas, legitimises them as the right behaviour in the society.

1990-2000

Sproule (1994) identified propaganda as orchestrated public persuasion:

"Propaganda represents the work of large organizations or groups to win over the public for special interests through a massive orchestration of attractive conclusions packaged to conceal both their persuasive purpose and lack of sound supporting reasons".

Rogers (1994) stated that

"Private foundations and the federal government were more eager to support research that was useful to policymakers but did not raise troubling questions about the interests and motives of the persuaders".

However, Simpson (1994) was of the view that:

"Sponsorship can, however, underwrite the articulation, elaboration, and development of a favoured set of preconceptions, and in that way improve its competitive position in ongoing rivalries with alternative constructions of academic reality".

A popularly used word for propaganda in the domain of manipulating political information is 'Spin', and the public relations officers attempting to manipulate the news are referred to as "spin doctors" (Kurtz, 1998).

Propaganda is not just limited to politics or societal exchanges. In the corporate world it is defined as the,

"Communications where the form and content is selected with the single-minded purpose of bringing some target audience to adopt attitudes and beliefs chosen in advance by the sponsors of the communications" (Carey1997)

Noam Chomsky, in his introduction to Carey's collection of essays, said that Carey believed that

"The twentieth century has been characterized by three developments of great political importance: the growth of democracy, the growth of corporate power, and the growth of corporate propaganda as a means of protecting corporate power against democracy".

Carey said that

"Commercial advertising and public relations are the forms of propaganda activity common to a democracy. . . It is arguable that the success of business propaganda in persuading us, for so long, that we are free from propaganda, is one of the most significant propaganda achievements of the twentieth century".

Hitler's propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels, was of the opinion that 'extreme and outlandish' would prove to be more effective in being believed by the masses than simply bending the truth (Bogart & Bogart, 1995). O'Shaughnessy (1996) describes the characteristics of propagandist communication to be biased and ideological. The research claims that propagandists use tactics like simplification, exaggeration, and high-pressure advocacy to further their agenda.

2000-10

Parry-Giles (2002), defined propaganda as

"Conceived of as strategically devised messages that are disseminated to masses of people by an institution for the purpose of generating action benefiting its source".

In essence, propaganda aims to change the attitudes and behaviours of masses, and could potentially act as a tool to spread an ideology (Collison, 2003). Messina (2007) was of the view that the aim of propaganda is to control information flow, and deceive recipients by spreading untruthful information. A study performed involving four authors of management textbooks discovered that managerial theory

"Would seem to serve the interest of other groups who are also currently most powerful in management education" (Cameron et al., 2003).

In essence, we need to evaluate education practices in terms of their end results to identify use of propaganda in such practices. Researchers in the past have claimed propaganda and PR to be the same (Moloney, 2004), while some have claimed it to be a part of PR's toolbox (Messina, 2007). Hiebert (2003) argues that the goal of mutual understanding between organisations and audiences distinguishes PR from propaganda. The ethical concerns regarding communication have been highlighted by some authors (Weaver et al., 2006), with

the focus being on content, ends, and transparency. Some social scientists contend that ethical persuasive communication would allow the receivers to make '*voluntary, informed, rational and reflective judgements*' (Messina, 2007). Thus, the characteristics of persuasion differ from propaganda in being truthful, respectful, ethical and authentic.

2010-2020

Jowett and O'Donnell hold similar views on propaganda and persuasion. They state that an informative communicator differs from other kinds of communicators by having the purpose of creating mutual understanding of data that are considered to be accurate, concepts that are considered to be indisputable, and ideas that are based on facts. (Jowett & O'donnell 2018) .

A propagandist on the other hand, builds on the audience's existing beliefs, and uses them as anchors to alter or form new beliefs.

"The stronger the belief of a receiver, the more likely it is to influence the formation of a new belief." (Jowett & O'donnell, 2018).

Jowett & O'Donnell seek to

"Understand and analyse propaganda by identifying its characteristics and to place it within communication studies to examine the qualities of context, sender, intent, message, channel, audience, and response." (Jowett & O'donnell, 2018).

They define Propaganda as the

"Deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist." They view propaganda as a subcategory of persuasive communication (Jowett & O'donnell, 2018).

Persuasion has been defined as

"A complex, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by symbols, verbal and nonverbal, through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to adopt a change in a given attitude or behaviour because the persuadee has had perceptions enlarged or changed" (O'Donnell & Kable, 1982).

"Both persuader and persuadee stand to have their needs fulfilled, persuasion is regarded as more mutually satisfying than propaganda." (Jowett & O'donnell, 2018).

Thus, both persuader and persuadee would benefit from persuasion. Persuasion is based on the normative demands of accountability, transparency, and participation (Lock et al., 2016). Taylor & Kent (2014) contend that a persuasive attempt built on constricting freedom and instilling obedience is intrinsic to propaganda, with the sole intent of changing attitudes and behaviours. Another research states that propaganda lies at unethical end of a spectrum from ethical to unethical, and on the persuasive end of an axis from persuasion to understanding (Lock & Ludolph, 2020).

Thus, the underlying difference between PR and propaganda lies in the intent of the communicator. It is possible for a communicator to perform persuasion ethically (e.g. brand communication) or unethically (e.g. propaganda). Some researchers (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014) state that propaganda is, in essence, one of the tools of a PR manager. It is a specialist form of 'unethical persuasive communication' (Jowett & O'donnell, 2018). Researchers point out that trust in organisations is at an 'all-time low' (Auger, 2013) and there is scepticism among audiences regarding organisations' communications (Chang & Lin, 2014). Thus, it is imperative to differentiate between PR and propaganda.

Types of Propaganda :

There are three Major types of present day Propaganda. All three types have their own Characteristics. Those can be identified quite easily We have seen in many cases all three propaganda Types have been used to achieve same objective. It depends on the canvas and scale of objectives to decide which type will be effective.

With propaganda running into trouble due to its implicit negative connotation, it is important to differentiate between different types of propaganda. This would help us in distinguishing between the positive and negative side of it, as well. On one hand, propaganda could be used to incite masses to certain ends, and on the other it could even be used to pacify them into a non-challenging lumber (Szanto, 1977). Extant literature defines the following three types of propaganda.

- A) White Propaganda
- B) Black Propaganda
- C) Grey Propaganda

- A) White Propaganda

This is the type of propaganda where the origin of the information is known and the content is considered truthful (Guth, 2009). This, by definition then, would encompass most of the advertising done by corporates or governments. An example of white propaganda could be government communication to deter drivers from drinking and driving. Similarly, corporates promoting their products with unsubstantial claims can be seen as white propaganda. However, it is important to note that this has two checks that need to be cleared, i.e., even if the source is known but the information in itself is false, then it cannot be termed as white propaganda. For instance, if the government publishes data about the performance of a welfare scheme, and the data itself is fraudulent and/or not reliable, this would then not be

considered as white propaganda despite the source being known.

B) Black Propaganda

In this type of propaganda, the origin of the source is unknown and the information being transmitted is false (Guth, 2009). This type of Propaganda is fairly common in war efforts and political marketing, where the truth may not see any daylight. For example, the Iraq war by the US presents multiple instances, where the US propaganda machinery ensured that enough false information was fed to the US populace to keep the public opinion in favour of the war. At the start of the war, fraudulent documents alleged the Iraqi regime to be in possession of weapons of mass destruction, both biological and nuclear, however no such claims were corroborated even after the US invasion. Investigative reporter Seymour Hersh writes,

“One member of the U.N. inspection team, who supported the American and British position, arranged for dozens of unverified and unverifiable intelligence reports and tips data known as inactionable intelligence to be funnelled to MI6 operatives and quietly passed along to newspapers in London and elsewhere” (Hersh, 2003).

Disinformation is another term used to define propaganda. It uses covert and incorrect information, and hence is considered black propaganda. Disinformation means

“False, incomplete, or misleading information that is passed, fed, or confirmed to a targeted individual, group, or country” (Shultz et al., 1984).

Hitler’s propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels, was of the opinion that ‘*extreme and outlandish*’ would prove to be more effective in being believed by the masses than simply bending the truth (Bogart, 1995). Hence, it can be observed over time that propagandists tend to spread messages that are highly polarising and divisive. Black propaganda is even used by allies on friendly nations. British intelligence tried to manipulate the United States to go to war in the two years before Pearl Harbour was attacked by the Japanese. The extent to which black propaganda works depends on the audience’s acceptance of the source credibility and message content. A propagandist’s efforts might fail if the message and/or source fall outside the accepted socio-cultural and political frameworks of the audience. Here, it is also interesting to note that the failure of black propaganda usually does not have drastic negative effects for the cause, i.e., the public soon forgets that they were being deceived and would not hold long term grudges to having been manipulated.

C) Grey Propaganda

This is the type of propaganda that propagandists and public relations experts absolutely embrace. Here, the source of the information is suspect and the information’s truthfulness is also doubtful. This provides two advantages to the propagandist - first, it is really difficult to identify this kind of propaganda as it weaved in, generally, with some amount of truth; and second, the perpetrators have full deniability as the source is suspect and hence, they can

	<p>Simplification This technique reduces the propaganda material to easily understandable small portions rooted in dogmatism, leaving little or no room for logical dialogue. Example: Bank-sponsored commercial stating "...all your troubles will be over when you take out a loan with us".</p>	(Conserva, 2003; Lee, 1945)
<p>Use of Omnibus</p>	<p>Name-Calling Name-calling attaches a negative label to an idea, thus diverting attention from issues, and derailing discussions. Example: Nazi Propaganda Machinery calling the Jews, rats, was one way of dehumanising them and diverting the attention away from the atrocities done to them. Glittering Generality</p>	(Yourman, 1939)
<p>Words</p>	<p>Opposite to name-calling, glittering generality associates an idea with a "virtue word" (like freedom, security, tradition, prosperity, etc.) to make the populace accept and approve it, without much evidence. Example: US's military aggression in the Middle-East and Vietnam have been bred and promoted on nationalistic calls. The terrorist jihad is promoted on religious calls.</p>	(Stevens, 2012)
<p>Identification</p>	<p>Transfer This technique is used to gain identity with the target group, to induce positive or negative feelings, and lends prestige, sanction, or authority to the program. Transfer helps people identify more readily with the program and shift loyalties of groups in favour of the program. The technique can be used to make an idea more acceptable or rejection worthy. Example: Comparing the September 11, 2001 attacks to the Iraqi War.</p> <p>Testimonial Similar to transfer, but Testimonials use a respected person to endorse the program. It can also be used to induce positive or negative feelings. Example: Political strategist and former Clinton adviser Dick Morris calling Bush's inaugural speech "brilliant".</p>	(Conway et al., 2007; Fleming, 1995)
	<p>Plain Folks</p>	(Conway et al.,

	This technique helps the propagandist to convince people that both, he and his ideas, are “of the people” and hence should be deemed ‘good’. The propagandist tries to appeal to values that common people hold dear, like family and	2007; Lee & Lee, 1995)
	Band-Wagon Here, people are encouraged to follow the ‘crowd’ of people who have already accepted the program. The propagandist tries to engage cognitive shortcuts of decision making by having people accept an idea without weighing the proper evidence, by having people identify with members already in the program.	(Lamkin, 1955; Pierce, 1940; Tilley, 2004)
Strategy	Hot Potato The propagandist tries to discredit his opponent by entrapping him/her in situations which would be viewed by most people in a negative light. The event or situation need not necessarily be untrue, rather it is the use of extraneous events with right timing and skill that determines the effectiveness of this technique. It blames an individual.	(Cooper, 1971; Curnalia, 2005)
	Stalling Stalling is a delaying technique to make the opposition ‘lose steam’. It includes formation of committees, adherence to ‘proper procedure’ (red tape), memo passing etc. Example: “I’m in favour of your	(Cooper, 1971; Curnalia,

Creating Environment for Propaganda.

Environment needed for Propaganda – A Subcontinent perspective

Subcontinent provides best platform for all three types of Propaganda. It’s shame that due to Pakistan & India’s bilateral conflicts Mainly Kashmir Dispute these two countries are in state of continuous war against each other on all fronts. They had 3 full fledge conventional wars 1948, 1965, 1971. And Two major Stand offs in last twenty years (Kargil 1998 & Balakot LOC Dogfight 2019). Despite of the fact both countries are Nuclear States still a continuous Propaganda war is going for decades. We will discuss Pakistan India Conflicts in next chapters in details. At this point I would like to raise vulnerability of these countries in terms of required environment for Propaganda.

We have discussed the techniques of propaganda as well as the behavioural and cognitive aspects of the masses that the propagandist plays on. It is also important to study what supports or helps propaganda. These may not be directly linked to the propagandist idea; however, propagandists use various ways to change the environment to make propaganda more effective. These changes in environment are focussed on incapacitating masses by:

Violence

In India Security forces & Police brutality accompanied with violence by organised crime networks and vigilantes intimidate dissenters and stop them from acting against propagandists. In India this could be seen in the form of Extra Judicial Killings of protestors , murders and intimidation of journalists, mob violence against minorities (Mainly Muslims), and organised crime cartels in almost every industry including Bollywood Etc.

Judicial Paralysis

As the matter of fact Judicial System of both Countries is still based British Empire Era when it was all India and Colony of British Empire. For Obvious reasons Britain designed Judicial system was never meant to serve Equal justice system for Master and salve at the same time . Hence its

continued and When the judicial system is so designed that it is almost impossible for the rich and powerful to get acquitted, the masses lose faith in the struggle against the propagandist forces. That's the reason Subcontinent judicial system is notorious for being glacially slow and has often not been able to deliver justice in high profile cases. For instance, none of the people accused in the 2G Scam, which turned out to be a multi-million-dollar scam as per the CAG reports, have been convicted till date in India.

While Similarly many from Swiss Bank Accounts cases and Panama Cases has not been concluded to any conviction so far despite of being convicted still Convicted personals managed to get away from the country under Supreme courts Umbrella.

Curbing education

Undoubtedly Education is one of the few ways of defending oneself against propaganda. Hence, in Both countries the propagandists have always tried to control education, and not let it reach the masses. The fact that India's education record is dismal is a testament to it. As per the government report, only 24% of people in India & 18% in Pakistan pursue any kind of higher education. Although about 70% in India & 64% in Pakistan children enrol in secondary education, as per a UN report, the quality of education is so dismal that basic literacy has also not been achieved with these students (Education & Employability, 2016).

Curbing free speech and investigative journalism

Journalism acts as the fourth pillar of democracy. It is imperative for the propagandist that they not just control the media but also curb investigative journalism. Indian media channels are most notorious being part of propagandist hence its channels such as "Republic TV" & others been banned in UK & other countries due to Promoting hate speech violence and false propaganda. India fares the among lowest countries when it comes to protecting its neutral, non biased journalists, ending up lower than even some war-torn countries and dictatorships economies. In addition, the country's sedition laws have been used by the government to stifle any sort of criticism of itself or its policies. Due to all these recent laws It has turned India into undeclared dictatorship.

If we compare in Pakistan Free Speech and Investigative Journalism have many hurdles including influence by political elites and power cartels. But in terms of Criticising Govt. Security forces & Establishment it's the other way round as compare to India. It's been observed that on the name of freedom of speech many Journalists, Media Houses and Institutions crossed all the red lines in terms of criticizing Army , Establishment, Judiciary & Government. Propagandist used this as weapon against state. Which needs to be controlled by proper legislation.

Increasing power distance

Another aspect that has hardly been investigated in the existing literature is of power disparity. By definition, power distance represents an individual and society's acceptance towards power and authority. India has one of the highest power distance indices in the world. The increasing power distance incapacitates the population towards standing up for what is right and

dissenting with power figures. This also has a trickle-down effect where not only the highest authorities reap the benefit of power distance but almost everyone who has any power over someone else, also benefit. Which makes countries like Pakistan based on “Might is right” which has its own effects and loop holes for propagandist seeking for weaknesses in societies.

Hate

It is interesting to analyse hate in the context of propaganda. History has shown us that where propaganda has worked to devastating effect, there were copious amounts of hate in the society. This we believe, is not by accident but by design. Indian history shows that the British ruled India for over 100 years by the policy of ‘*divide and rule*’. Even after 70 years of independence the policy can still be seen at play in India. Propagandists sow hate in the environment as the effect of propagandist messages is exaggerated in the presence of hate. In our research we have witnessed that propaganda works best in a negative environment. Propagandists work on public fears and insecurities to further their cause.

CASE STUDY

US,NATO INVASION IN IRAQ 2003-2011

US Military Invasion & Attack on Iraq to remove President Saddam Hussain is the biggest example of successful false propaganda in recent history. It was based on two Major factors.

- 1) Iraq have got WMD's
- 2) Iraq is ready to test Nuclear Bomb

These were the two Fabricated facts supported by US, UK Propagandists to built an impression of requirement of immediate attack on Iraq. Eventually they launched a campaign against Iraq & President Saddam Hussain. It was a well planned largely funded and supported by largest media houses like Fox News, CNN, BBC & others campaign. Many baseless Articles were written against Iraq & Saddam Hussain Printed in Washington Post, New York Times, The Sun UK , The Guardian and Times of London. Simultaneously there were many self proclaimed investigative reports from Intelligence agencies and NGO's to prove that Iraq have got large number of Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMDs) & also preparing nuclear bomb. Again to spread fear and make those reports believable all major forms of media like Fox News, BBC, CNN, Washington Post, New York Times, The Sun , Guardian, Daily Mirror Voice of America , Associated Press and others took part as propagandist without any verifications of confirmation of sources.

On one side certain TV channels were Showing US Vice President Richard B Cheney's Interview where he was enforcing of immediate attack on Iraq to control its all WMDs while on the other scene US Foreign Secretary Colin Powell was convincing the world and United Nation Organization (UNO) to permit immediate attack on Iraq through UNO resolutions.

John Pilger & Alan Lowery (British Men) made a Documentary in 2010 " The War You Don't See" It was an investigative documentary in relation to wars since 1st World until Afghanistan & Iraq War. There are many examples in that documentary to show the power of propaganda. In terms of Iraq war other than the propaganda prior to war in that documentary it's also showed how :

Propagandist Showed on TV channels Victory of Basra City 17 times falsely prior to final victory in Basra, Iraq.

Prior to War British Prime Minister Tony Blair Assured they will takeover Baghdad (Iraqi Capital) without any bloodshed. Which again later proved only a false propaganda.

Colin Powell's evidence against Iraq were not challenged at any level in media or public level.

When we see a planned propaganda like in Iraq war it's not necessary everyone is knowingly the part of that propaganda rather some people and media houses become vulnerable to tactics like that and be part of that false propaganda without realizing its fake or false rather believing it fully truthful. In case of Iraq war in 2003 A famous British Journalist David Rose was an example of that vulnerability or trap. Due to believing on propaganda he became biggest supporter of attacking on Iraq and write articles and features about that. Later on when he came to know the fact he openly apologized to the public and wrote "I am very hurt & angry at myself that whatever I wrote was wrong and information I received were also fabricated."

There are most Significant Moments Prior to Iraq War :

- 1) September Dossier
- 2) Dodgy Dossier

1) September Dossier :- (2003)

Yes !! That Dossier was presented by British Govt. with the Title of.

"IRAQ'S WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION"

THE ASSESSMENT OF THE BRITISH.

Also known as the **September Dossier**, was a document published by the British government on 24 September 2002 on the same day of a recall of Parliament to discuss

the contents of the document. The paper was part of an on-going investigation by the government into weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq, which ultimately led to the invasion of Iraq six months later. It contained a number of allegations according to which Iraq also possessed WMD, including chemical weapons and biological weapons. The dossier even alleged that Iraq had reconstituted its nuclear weapons programme. Without exception, all of the allegations included within the September Dossier have been since proven to be false, as shown by the Iraq Survey Group.

The much-anticipated document was based on reports made by the Joint Intelligence Committee, part of the British Intelligence 'machinery'. Most of the evidence was uncredited, ostensibly to protect sources. On publication, serious press comment was generally critical of the dossier for tameness and for the seeming lack of any genuinely new evidence. Those politically opposed to military action against Iraq generally agreed that the dossier was unremarkable, with Menzies Campbell observing in the House of Commons that:

We can also agree that [*Saddam Hussein*] most certainly has chemical and biological weapons and is working towards a nuclear capability. The dossier contains confirmation of information that we either knew or most certainly should have been willing to assume.

However, two sections later became the centre of fierce debate: the allegation that Iraq had sought "significant quantities of uranium from Africa", and the claim in the foreword to the document written by British Prime Minister Tony Blair that "The document discloses that his military planning allows for some of the WMD to be ready within 45 minutes of an order to use them."

Britain's biggest selling popular daily newspaper, *The Sun*, subsequently carried the headline "Brits 45mins from doom", while the *Daily Star* reported "Mad Saddam ready to attack: 45 minutes from a chemical war", helping to create the impression among the British public that Iraq was a threat to Britain.

Major General Michael Laurie, one of those involved in producing the dossier wrote to the Chilcot Inquiry in 2011 saying "the purpose of the dossier was precisely to make a case for war, rather than setting out the available intelligence, and that to make the best out of sparse and inconclusive intelligence the wording was developed with care." On 26 June 2011, *The Observer* reported on a memo from John Scarlett to Blair's foreign affairs adviser, released under the Freedom of Information Act, which referred to "the benefit of obscuring the fact that in terms of WMD Iraq is not that exceptional". The memo has been described as one of the most significant documents on the September dossier yet published as it is considered a proposal to mislead the public. Because in this report it was allegedly fabricated that Iraq is buying enriched "Uranium" from Niger. And The claim that Iraq was seeking to buy uranium from Africa was repeated in US President George W. Bush's January 2003 State of the Union Address. The controversial 16 words used by President Bush on 28

January 2003 were:

The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa.

This 16 word line is one of the best examples of False propaganda “White Propaganda” When State lies and other states of media houses backed it and make lie to be believe undoubtedly.

In Chapter one of the report was titled as :-

IRAQ’S CHEMICAL, BIOLOGICAL, NUCLEAR AND BALLISTIC MISSILE PROGRAMMES.

Again This one line Title was enough to misguide and scared the people of Britain, USA and rest of the world. And That’s what exactly happened through the local media and press.

Another very Important factor of This dossier was :-

The 45 minute claim

The 45 minute claim lies at the centre of a row between Downing Street and the BBC. On 29 May 2003, BBC defence correspondent Andrew Gilligan filed a report for BBC Radio 4's Today programme in which he stated that an unnamed source – a senior British official – had told him that the September Dossier had been "sexed up", and that the intelligence agencies were concerned about some "dubious" information contained within it – specifically the claim that Saddam Hussein could deploy weapons of mass destruction within 45 minutes of an order to use them.

On 1 June, Gilligan expanded upon that claim in The Mail on Sunday newspaper, stating that the government's director of communications, Alastair Campbell, had been responsible for the insertion of the 45-minute claim, against the wishes of the intelligence agencies. Gilligan subsequently gave evidence before the Foreign Affairs Select Committee, as did Campbell, who denied ordering the inclusion of the claim, and demanded an apology from the BBC. He subsequently backed this demand in writing.

The BBC refused to apologise, and stood by Gilligan's story. Campbell responded angrily, with an appearance on Channel 4 News.

On 7 July, the Select Committee published a report which cleared Campbell, albeit on the casting vote of the chairman. In the report, the committee stated that the 45-minute claim had been given "undue prominence".

On 15 September, MI6 head Richard Dearlove told the Hutton Inquiry that the claim related to battlefield WMD rather than weapons of mass destruction of a larger range than just battlefield. On the same day, Tony Cragg, the retired deputy chief of defence intelligence, admitted there were memos from two members of DIS objecting that parts of the dossier, including the 45-minute claim, was "far too strong" or "over-egged".[18]

On 28 January 2004, the Hutton Inquiry released its report, which among other things concluded that:

"Mr Gilligan accepted that he had made errors" about the 45 minute claim; specifically, his report that the government "probably knew that the 45 minutes claim was wrong or questionable", and his report that intelligence officers were unhappy with the insertion of the claim in the dossier, or only inserted it at the insistence of the government, were erroneous.

Hutton was "satisfied that Dr Kelly did not say to Mr Gilligan" certain dramatic statements about the 45 minute claim, which Gilligan had reported as direct quotations.

That only one person (Dr. Jones) had expressed any reservations about the 45 minute claim, and that was about the strength of the wording, not its inclusion.

2) The Dodgy Dossier (February 2003)

Dodgy Dossier is most notorious and important 19 pages document. Which was presented in February 2003.

Iraq – Its Infrastructure of “Concealment, Deception and Intimidation” (more commonly known as the Iraq Dossier, the February Dossier or the Dodgy Dossier) was a 2003 briefing document for the British prime minister Tony Blair's Labour Party government. It was issued to journalists on 3 February 2003 by Alastair Campbell, Blair's Director of Communications and Strategy, and concerned Iraq and weapons of mass destruction. Along with the earlier September Dossier, these documents were ultimately used by the British government to justify its involvement in the invasion of Iraq in 2003. This report is consists of three parts.

This report draws upon a number of sources, including intelligence material, and shows how the Iraqi regime is constructed to have, and to keep, WMD, and is now engaged in a campaign of obstruction of the United Nations Weapons Inspectors.

Part One focusses on how Iraq's security organisations operate to conceal Weapons of Mass Destruction from UN Inspectors. It reveals that the inspectors are outnumbered by Iraqi intelligence by a ratio of 200 to 1.

Part Two gives up to date details of Iraq's network of intelligence and security organisations whose job it is to keep Saddam and his regime in power, and to prevent the international community from disarming Iraq.

Part Three goes on to show the effects of the security apparatus on the ordinary people of Iraq.

The term Dodgy Dossier was first coined by online polemical magazine Spiked in relation to the September Dossier. The term was later employed by Channel 4 News when its reporter, Julian Rush, was made aware of Glen Rangwala's discovery that much of the work in the Iraq

Dossier had been plagiarised from various unattributed sources including a thesis produced by a student at California State University. The most notable source was an article by then graduate student Ibrahim al-Marashi, entitled Iraq's Security and Intelligence Network: A Guide and Analysis.

Whole sections of Marashi's writings on "Saddam's Special Security Organisation" were repeated verbatim including typographical errors, while certain amendments were made to strengthen the tone of the alleged findings (e.g., "monitoring foreign embassies in Iraq" became "spying on foreign embassies in Iraq", and "aiding opposition groups in hostile regimes" became "supporting terrorist organisations in hostile regimes").

In its opening paragraph the briefing document claimed that it drew "upon a number of sources, including intelligence material". Before the document's release it had been praised by Tony Blair and United States Secretary of State Colin Powell as further intelligence and quality research.[8] The day after Channel 4's exposé, Blair's office issued a statement admitting that a mistake was made in not crediting its sources, but did not concede that the quality of the document's text was affected.

The claims contained in the September and 'Iraq' Dossiers were called into question when weapons of mass destruction (WMD) were not found in Iraq, and the dossiers were encompassed by House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee inquiry. The Committee subsequently reported that the sources should have been credited, and that the dossier should have been checked by ministers before being released. The dossier had only been reviewed by a group of civil servants operating under Alastair Campbell. The committee stated that the publication was "almost wholly counter-productive" and in the event only served to undermine the credibility of the government's case.

The controversy over the Iraq Dossier was mentioned frequently in the government's conflict with the BBC over the claim in the September Dossier that Iraq could deploy biological weapons within 45 minutes of an order to do so, and the controversy surrounding the death of Dr. David Kelly. Andrew Gilligan, the BBC journalist who wrote a report which claimed that the September Dossier had been deliberately exaggerated, stated before the Hutton Inquiry that recalling the February Dossier had led him to file his report based on his interview with Dr. Kelly without seeking confirmation from other sources. Whether or not the September Dossier was inconsistent with the original intelligence, it was altered in ways that made it inconsistent with itself.

The dossier became a point of amusement in British politics. During one Prime Minister's Questions, Michael Howard (then leader of the Opposition), informed Blair, "I have got a great big dossier on his past and I haven't even had to sex it up." [10] The term "Dodgy Dossier" was used again in January 2017, in reference to the "Steele Dossier" on a supposed sex scandal involving US President Donald Trump.

After the end of Iraq war it is estimated that due to this war hundreds of thousands Innocent Iraqis were killed, Million were made homeless and displaced. Iraq was a flourished economy an oil rich country with Tons & Tons of Gold assets. Had much more per capital income as compare to most of the countries of the world. But due to this unfair war imposed on innocent Iraqis Iraqi Economy collapsed and country suffered trillions of dollars losses and since than country is struggling to restore its glory despite of being oil rich and resourceful country.

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CHAPTER TWO

HYBRID WARFARE

5th Generation War.

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

Definition of Hybrid warfare

DIAGRAM (1)

Indian Hybrid Warfare Doctrine

Hybrid Warfare In depth.

India's hybrid warfare: Options for Pakistan

DIAGRAM (2)

Hybrid War As Concept

DIAGRAM (3)

Paradoxical Trinity of Hybrid Warfare

DIAGRAM (4)

Emergence of 5GW and Understanding Hybrid Warfare

5GW Educational Institute

5GW • (5TH Gen.WAR)

Difference between 5GW and Hybrid Warfare

CASE STUDY

Indian Chronicles By EUDISINFOLAB

Indian Chronicles and EP Today: the same modus operandi

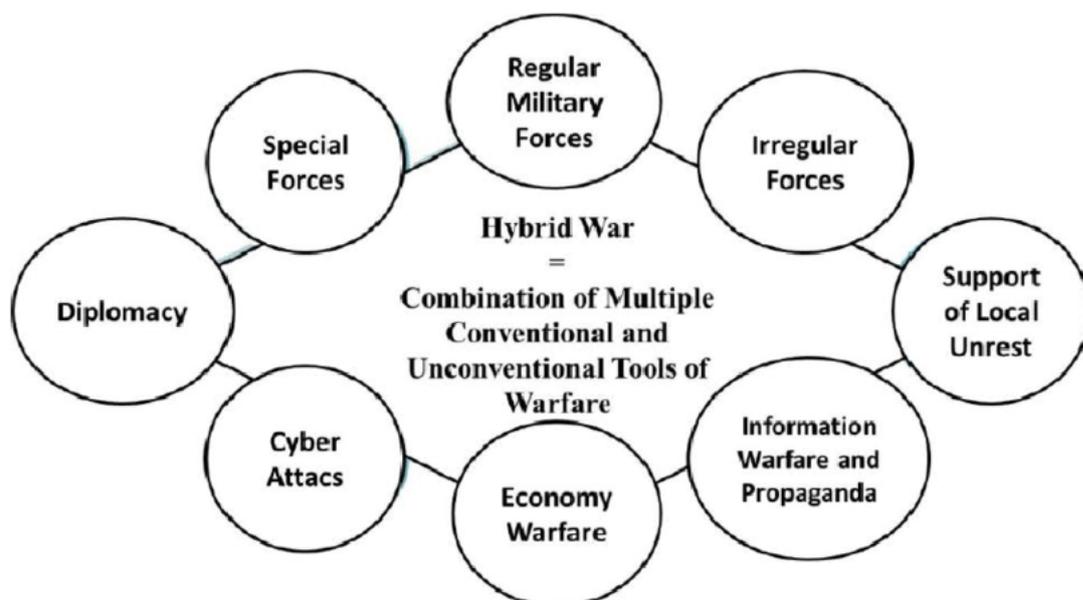
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Bibliography/REFERENCES

Definition of Hybrid Warfare

Hybrid Warfare came to prominence in the 21st century, the “Age of Globalization” that has opened up many new technical and communication options and shrunk distances. According to Prussian general and military theorist Carl von Clausewitz “Every age has its own kind of war, its own limiting conditions, and its own peculiar preconceptions.” While fighting wars in the conventional manner. Russian General Gerasimov holds that “In the 21st century we have seen a tendency towards blurring the lines between the states of war and peace. Wars are no longer declared and, having begun, proceed according to an unfamiliar template”



This new form of warfare avoiding a clear differentiation between war and peace, soldiers and civilians is practiced by all sides of the different divides. The US definition characterizes Hybrid Warfare as “Synchronized use of multiple instruments of power tailored to specific vulnerabilities across the full spectrum of societal functions to achieve synergistic effects.” Russian scholar Korybko, on the other hand, says “Hybrid Wars can be defined as “externally provoked identity conflicts, which exploit historical, ethnic, religious, socio-economic, and geographic differences within geostrategic transit states through the phased transition from Color Revolutions to Unconventional Wars in order to disrupt, control, or influence multipolar transnational connective infrastructure projects by means of Regime Tweaking, Regime Change, and/or Regime Reboot.”

While clear differences may be visible between the two definitions, in common they envisage military strategy that employs political warfare and blends conventional warfare, irregular warfare and cyber warfare with other influencing methods, such as fake news, diplomacy and foreign electoral intervention. By combining kinetic operations with subversive efforts, the aggressor intends to avoid attribution or retribution. Hybrid warfare can be used to describe the flexible and complex dynamics of the battle space requiring highly adaptable and resilient response. A variety of terms are used to refer to the hybrid war concept: hybrid war, hybrid threats, hybrid influencing or hybrid adversary (as well as non-linear war, non-traditional war or special war).

Hybrid warfare employs means other than conventional military troops, tactics and strategies, to include the employment of irregular military and paramilitary forces like guerrillas, paramilitaries, etc.

Use of non-violent means by civilian institutions include psychological assaults using ethnic, religious or national vulnerabilities, provocateurs operating behind enemy lines, economic assaults through sanctions, boycotts and punitive tariffs so as to weaken the enemy economy, cyber assaults at elections and referendums, use of big data for manipulation of referendums like Brexit and the US elections and a vast selection of propaganda warfare via electronic and social media, TV channels and publications.

Diplomacy is as much involved into this new type of warfare as are fake news. The relative novelty of hybrid warfare today lies in the ability of an actor to synchronize multiple instruments of power simultaneously and intentionally exploit creativity, ambiguity, non-linearity and the cognitive elements of warfare. Conducted by both state and non-state actors Hybrid warfare typically tailored to remain below obvious detection and response thresholds, and often relies on the speed, volume and ubiquity of digital technology that characterizes the present information age.

Indian Hybrid Warfare Doctrine

Since Ajit Devol (An undercover spy of RAW who lived in Pakistan for many years as beggar) has entirely changed Indian Hybrid war perspective and he has taken into a different level. It is known as “Ajit Devol Doctrine”. Which is very much popular among Extreme right wing Indians and extreme Hindutava political segments. Hindutava is another Ideology driven from an Ancient Indian Hindu Philosopher (283 B.C.E.) who wrote many books at that time about how to rule the world but in Hindu perspective. Chankya is known for his barbaric ideologies and theories Such as Ruler can kill as many as human being to control its state

and ruler should keep killing its own public to maintain the control. His one quote is still fit into all Hybrid warfare but especially Indian Hybrid Doctrine designed by Ajit Devol lately. Chankya Says *“A person should not be too honest. Straight trees are cut first and honest people are screwed first.”* While Greek Ideology and recent Europe ideology and Islamic perspective is entirely opposite of that where Ethics, truthfulness being straightforward is the key even if costs life these ethics should not be compromised. If we look into last few years of Indian interior policies its clearly obvious that Ajit Devol Doctrine is not only consists of all elements from definition of hybrid warfare (2.1) but also in addition it has additional theories such as using Proxies in country to undermine your enemy and even killings of innocent children and using women is part of “Ajit Devol Doctrine”. To further clarify this hybrid warfare, Its proven that Indian RAW (Research and Intelligence Wing) and other security and intelligence agencies are using Afghanistan Soil as nursery of their terrorists training camps to deploy in Pakistan. Those trained agents and proxies are known to be working inside Pakistan with the name of “TTP” (Tehrik-e-Talibaan Pakistan) . Who are responsible of killings of more than 100 innocent school students in Peshawar , Pakistan in 2014 . During notorious attack on APS (Army Public School) . And later on TTP proudly admitted and took re Combination of responsibility if such barbaric inhumane act. Which was clearly supported by India and Undoubtedly it was combination of both Ideologies Chankya Ideology and Ajit Devol latest Doctrine. Even In India there are some sane voices who have openly said that the combination of MAD (Modi, Amit , Devol) will lead india to its own destruction. But India is carried on with its Hybrid warfare in the region which will be explained in more details later on .

Another Aspect of Indian Hybrid warfare is to exploit weaker elements of the society of enemies. We get more in depth understanding of that if you study the details of investigations and fact finding from Indian serving Navy Colonel Kulbhushan Jadev. Who was caught by Pakistani Intelligence inside Pakistan. After many years of his successful penetration in anti-Pakistan elements. Although in the beginning India did not acknowledge him as their citizen later on after all evidences from Pakistan. Indian Govt. not only admitted him as their citizen but also went into I.C.J. (International Court of Justice) to stop his execution after his conviction from Pakistani courts. Hence it is very clear that Indian hybrid war doctrine has no limits and very challenging for neighboring & regional countries such as Pakistan, China , Iran & Afghanistan.

Hybrid Warfare In depth.

There is no uniform understanding of the term and its implications of hybrid warfare. The US Department of Defence (DD), NATO and EU see Hybrid Warfare mainly as a means to undermine democratic states and democracy as such. Col. Frank Hoffman’s approach is to see it as a combination of regular and irregular warfare that includes the use of terrorist acts and extreme violence. The US Army Chief of Staff defined a hybrid threat in 2008 as an adversary that incorporates “diverse and dynamic combinations of conventional, irregular, terrorist and criminal capabilities” and the United States Joint Forces Command defined a

hybrid threat as, “any adversary that simultaneously and adaptively employs a tailored mix of conventional, irregular, terrorism and criminal means or activities in the operational battle space. Rather than a single entity, a hybrid threat or challenger may be a combination of state and non-state actors”. In 2011 the U.S. Army defined a hybrid threat as “the diverse and dynamic combination of regular forces, irregular forces, criminal elements, or a combination of these forces and elements all unified to achieve mutually benefiting effects”. An opposite understanding of this new type of warfare is held by the Russian military. They understand it as a Western ploy against the new Russia-China axis and use Hybrid Warfare to prevent implementation of Eurasian concept and Russia’s return as a global power.

Closer to our time is the British “Great Game” that aimed to stop the Russian advance in Central Asia and defend the British colonial holdings in the subcontinent. As described by Kipling in “Kim”, the British used their intelligence network. Prominent example is the article of Russian general Valeri Vasilyevitch Gerasimov, the current Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Russia, and first Deputy Defence Minister appointed by President Vladimir Putin in 2012. In February 2013 he published a widely noticed article titled “The Value of Science Is in the Foresight: New Challenges Demand Rethinking the Forms and Methods of Carrying out Combat Operations”. Gen. Gerasimov did not use the term ‘hybrid war’ but called it “indirect and asymmetric methods” – other than sometimes stated he did not attempt to develop a doctrine that was later practiced in Ukraine, but he considers ‘indirect and asymmetric methods’ as tools from the tool box of the West.

Because the article was published approximately a year before the Maidan revolt in Ukraine that set in motion a chain of events ending with the Russian occupation of Crimea and the civil war in Eastern Ukraine the views expressed in the article were understood in the West as an expression of Russia’s understanding of hybrid warfare.

Mark Galeotti, Senior Non-Resident Fellow at the Institute of International Relations translated the article into English and posted it in his blog. To make the thing catchier he called it the “Gerasimov doctrine” though even then he admitted that it was not a doctrine.

India’s hybrid warfare: Options for Pakistan

The basic understanding between the two seems to be the same in Russian understanding the main aim of Hybrid warfare is regime change – a tool of the West used to encroach upon the Russian sphere of influence. Korybko writes: The book focuses on the new strategy of indirect warfare that the US has demonstrated during the Syrian and Ukrainian Crises.” Korybko treats Hybrid Warfare not only as an attack against Russia but against the Eurasian concept and the initiatives to implement it, i.e. OBOR and China. He mentions the name of Mackinder, the British geographer who predicted the Eurasian concept to be the ‘pivot of history’. As a motto he uses the Chinese Sun Tzu “Supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy’s resistance without fighting.” From that can be easily deduced that Russian understanding of hybrid warfare is based on Russia’s experience with Western encroachments on what they consider their comfort zone (First part of extracts from a talk delivered at the National Defence University (NDU) recently by the defence and security analyst).



Hybrid War As Concept:

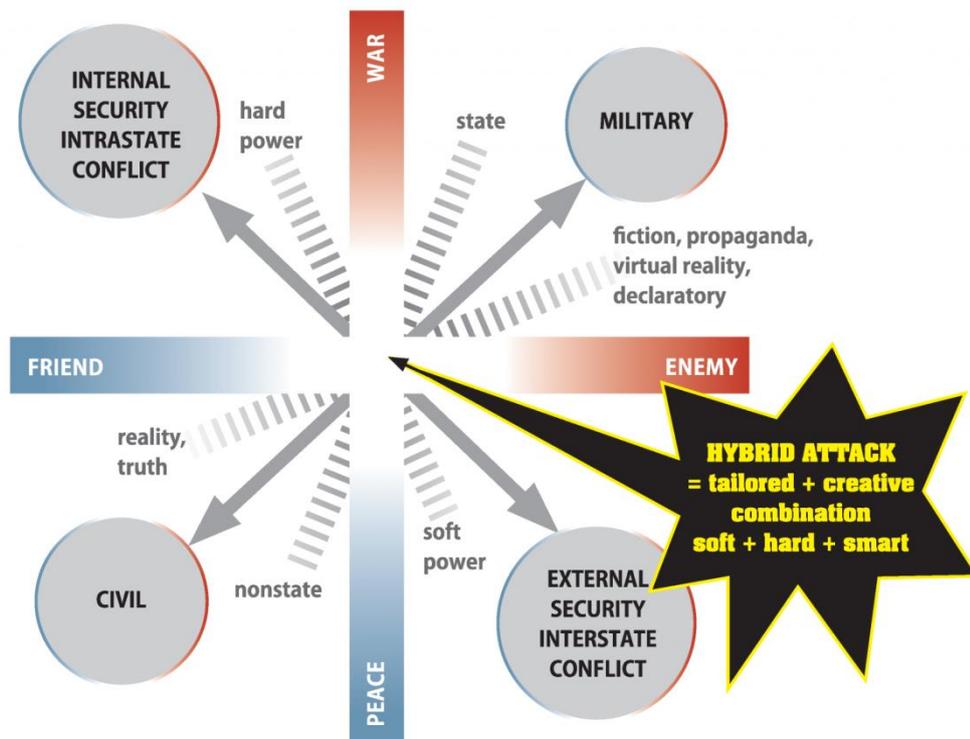
These two diagrams are very important to understand the concept of hybrid warfare .

It clearly shows how all concepts of Hybrid warfare are interconnected with each other.

When Hybrid attack is actively working whether it's soft or hard, smart or tailored. If it's right in the middle of internal security Interstate conflict it will directly effect external security conflict. Similarly in typical Hybrid war model to target civilians it's necessary to target army first and if desirable results are from army civilians has to be targeted as well . and both will effect each other. Because they all work under each others shadow. That's why it's also called grey area of interfaces .

HYBRID WARFARE AND THE CONCEPT OF INTERFACES

Operating in the Shadow / Grey Area of Interfaces



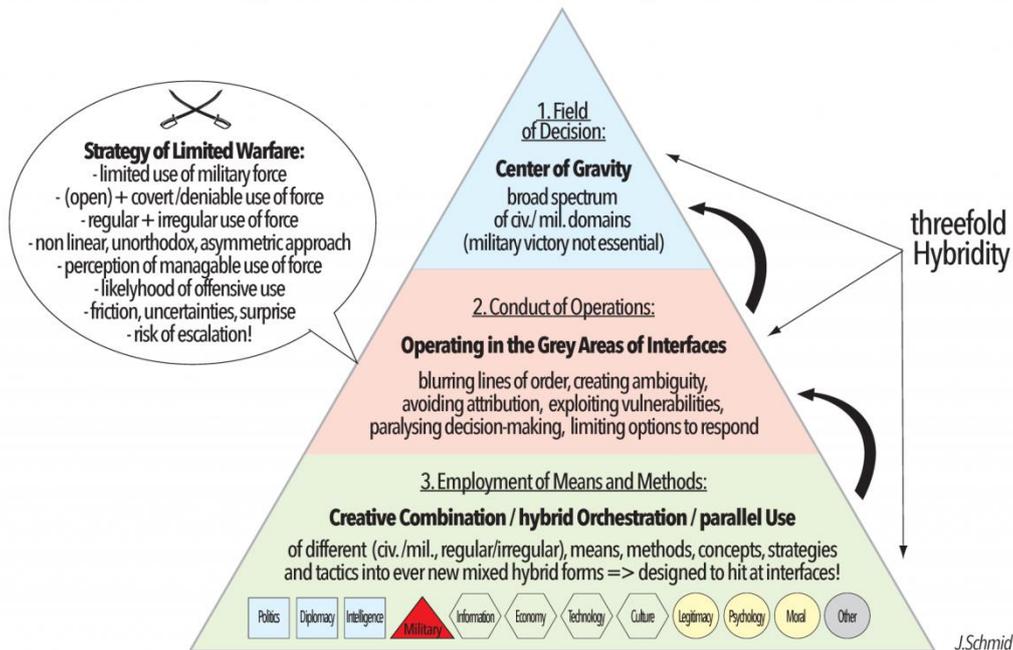
Paradoxical Trinity of Hybrid Warfare.

There are three major aspects of this paradox.

- Centre of Gravity
- Operating in the grey areas of interfaces
- Creative Combination.

The "paradoxical" Trinity of Hybrid Warfare

Three key characteristics / tendencies & their hybrid interaction / orchestration



a) Centre of Gravity:

It's also known as broad spectrum which highest level of hybrid war where civil military targets are attacked directly. At this level direct war is most probably not possible but target oriented attacks are quite common. That's the stage which is also called stage of decisions or field of decisions because most of the decisions are taken at this stage in relation to how to achieve long term and short term targets .

b) Operating in grey area of interfaces

At this level the main aim of hybrid warfare is creating ambiguity & Exploiting vulnerability of the situation. Which will result into paralyzing decision making and once decision making is paralyzed you are ready to go to highest level of Hybrid warfare against your target. It will also limiting options to respond for your opponents. Hence this middle stage of hybrid war paradoxical trinity is most important.

c) Creative Combinations.

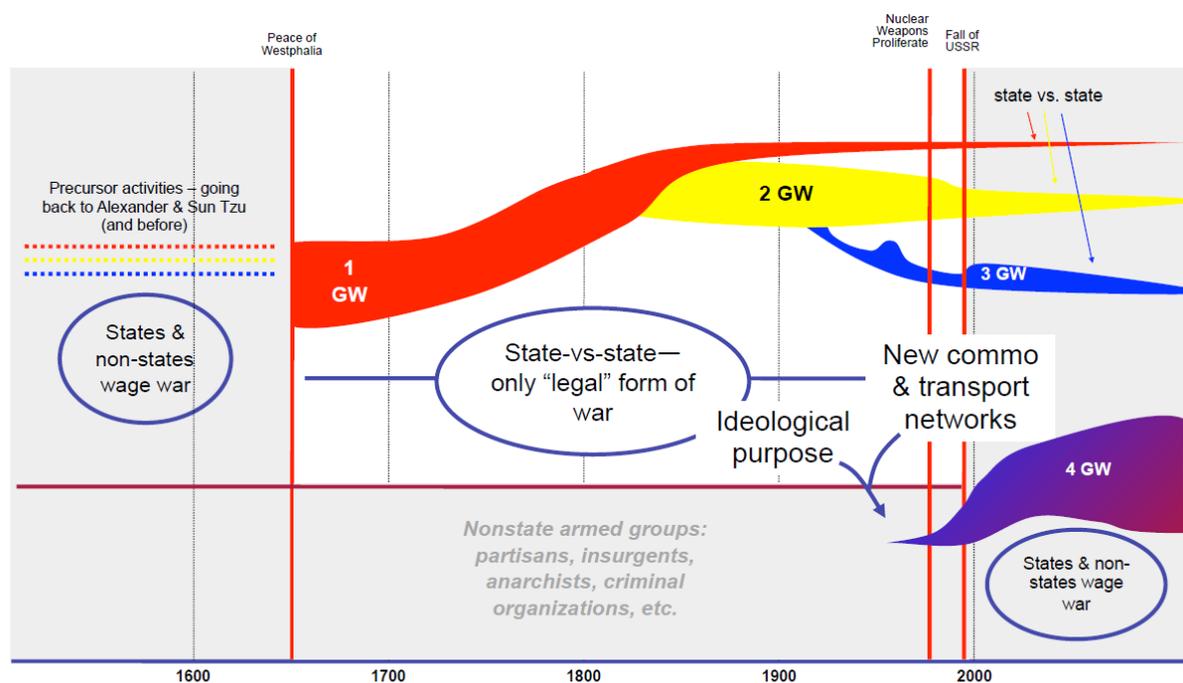
This is the foundation or first stage of Propaganda Paradoxical. In which many elements and factors has to be considered . In this initial stage different military & Civil , Regular or

irregular means to be Used to start up hybrid warfare. This stage is decisive stage for advancing at penetration stage. In this stage Tactics need to reform and conclude for future strategies. This Paradoxical methodology works in threefold hybridity.

Understanding of 5th Generation War.

EVOLUTION OF GENERATIONS OF WARFARE

Genesis of Warfare. Thinking about future of war requires careful reflection on its past. The modern fascination with cutting edge technology and its undeniable impact of war often obscures our view of warfare's other dimensions. Historians have widely noticed the social, political and economic factors in shaping evolution of conflict. Cultural and intellectual changes have played a powerful role as thinking about the future have influenced the way we speculate about war so much that we often use them. Defining Generations of Warfare. If we look into historical prospective, we observe that the generational evolution in warfare was so abrupt in one hand like advent of muskets or nuclear weapons and so smooth on the other hand like terrorism. Thus, global academia also differs widely in defining border lines of these generational shifts. Above all some elements of one may carry over to other generation as explained in Figure.



First Generation.

First generation warfare reflects tactics of the era of the smoothbore musket, the tactics of line and column. These tactics were developed partially in response to technological factors the line maximized firepower, rigid drill was necessary to generate a high rate of fire, etc. and partially in response to social conditions and ideas, e.g., the columns of the French revolutionary armies reflected both the élan of the revolution and the low training levels

of conscripted troops. Although rendered obsolete with the replacement of the smoothbore by the rifled musket, vestiges of first generation tactics survive today, especially in a frequently encountered desire for linearity on the battlefield.

Second Generation.

Second generation warfare was a response to the rifled musket, breech loaders, barbed wire, the machine gun, and indirect fire. Tactics were based on fire and movement, and they remained essentially linear. The defense still attempted to prevent all penetrations, and in the attack a laterally dispersed line advanced by rushes in small groups. Perhaps the principal change from first generation tactics was heavy reliance on indirect fire; second generation tactics were summed up in the French maxim, "the artillery conquers, the infantry occupies." Massed firepower replaced massed manpower. While ideas played a role in the development of second generation tactics (particularly the idea of lateral dispersion), technology was the principal driver of change.

Third Generation.

Third generation warfare was also a response to the increase in battlefield firepower. However, the driving force was primarily ideas. Aware they could not prevail in a contest of materiel because of their weaker industrial base in World War I, the Germans developed radically new tactics. Based on maneuver rather than attrition, third generation tactics were the first truly nonlinear tactics. The attack relied on infiltration to bypass and collapse the enemy's combat forces rather than seeking to close with and destroy them. The defense was in depth and often invited penetration, which set the enemy up for a counterattack. While the basic concepts of third generation tactics were in place by the end of 1918, the addition of a new technological element-tanks-brought about a major shift at the operational level in World War II. That shift was blitzkrieg.

Fourth Generation.

This is perhaps the shortest era and can be easily defined as transitional in nature. Where states took on non-state actors or vice.

- versa. A non-national or transnational base, such as an ideology or religion; highly sophisticated psychological warfare, especially through manipulation of the media, are key characteristics of this generation. In-fact, as W. S. Lind and Colonel Nightingale predicted, it is idea of poor and low-tech nations / groups fighting against technology of westernized and developed nations. Fourth generation warfare uses all available networks political, economic, social, and military to convince the enemy's political decision makers that their strategic goals are either unachievable or too costly for the perceived benefit. It is an evolved form of insurgency.

- While concluding above discussion one can safely say that first three generations were technology or its anti-dote driven state VS state affairs. The fourth generation saw active participation of non-state actors and other less lethal means of combat. However, as this threatened civilian targets while bypassing military it has urged for more rapid response and thus transform itself quickly.

- Transition to Next Generation. Current events suggest that there are a number of ongoing major developments in 4GW: a strategic shift, an organizational shift, and a shift in type of participants.

- **Strategic Shift.** Strategically, insurgent campaigns have shifted from military campaigns supported by information operations to strategic communications campaigns supported by guerrilla and terrorist operations.
- **Organizational Shift.** The emergence of civil war as a part of insurgency is based on the major organizational shift that has occurred since Mao formulated his concept. It reflects the continuous, worldwide shift from hierarchical to networked organizations. While the Chinese and Vietnamese insurgencies were hierarchies that reflected both the social organizations of those societies and the dominant business and military organizations of the time, recent insurgencies have been networked coalitions of the willing.
- **Shift in Participants.** Even within a single country, the highly diverse armed groups that make up a modern insurgency have widely differing motivations. These motivations can be reactionary, opportunistic and ideological as well.

☒ **Unrestricted Warfare: Book by Chinese Colonels.** In their book, titled Unrestricted Warfare, published in 1999, Col Liang and Xiangsui of Peoples Liberation Army, China define future war as follows:-

EMERGENCE OF 5GW AND UNDERSTANDING HYBRID WARFARE

“The first rule of unrestricted warfare is that there are no rules, with nothing forbidden.”
(Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui:

Unrestricted Warfare-1999)

Emergence of 5GW

Definitions of 5GW. The concept of 5GW has achieved pre-eminence more than a decade before as the next form warfare after 4GW, however it remains diverse basing upon the viewpoints of academia. Few of the definitions from different sources have been quoted as under:-

“Warfare that uses all means whatsoever - means that involve force or arms and means that do not involve force or arms; means that involve mil power and means that do not involve mil power; means that entail casualties and means that do not entail casualties to force an enemy to serve one’s own interests”¹.

¹Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, Unrestricted Warfare. (Beijing: PLA Literature and Arts Pub House, Feb 1999)

² <https://web.archive.org/web/20101107010719/http://www.5gwinstute.com/webfiles/whati>

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5GW Educational Institute.

Established in 2010 the institute provides a platform to carryout advance studies of emerging threats. It defines 5GW as :-

“5GW is an extension of Asymmetrical and Insurgent Warfare, whereby the enemy uses all means, conventional and unconventional tactics. It includes political, religious and social causes; incorporates information operations campaigns (internet and 24 hours news cycle) can be conducted by organization or un-organized groups; may be nation state led or non-nation state led to disrupt and defeat opponents in order to achieve their will”².

5GW • (5TH Gen.WAR)

It is primarily evolved from previous four generations of warfare.

- Major components include information and cyber threats.
- This type of warfare can be waged by states/ non-state actors.
- It is a blend of kinetic and non-kinetic warfare.
- 5GW is mainly waged in social and cognitive domain.
- The proponents of 5GW avoid conventional military confrontation.
- 5GW aims at diverse objectives to include: small gains through hacking, medium gains through terrorist incidents and may aim at strategic gains like regime change.

Hybrid Warfare & Generations of Warfare

Hybrid warfare is a mixture of first three generations of warfare with either fourth or fifth generation warfare.

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- This form of warfare can only be waged by a state capable of launching conventional war onto the adversary.
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Difference between 5GW and Hybrid Warfare.

Although a clear demarcation with regards to difference between these two types of warfare does not exist, but yet the details contained in ensuing paragraphs will help in understanding the difference:-

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- Oppressor state may employ non-state actors as tools to fulfill the objective.
- It is predominantly kinetic form of warfare.
- Hybrid warfare is waged primarily in physical and conventional/ sub conventional domain.
- Hybrid warfare seeks conventional military confrontation as the last decisive option.
- It mainly aims at regime change/ overpowering target state

CASE STUDY.

Indian Chronicles By EUDISINFOLAB

In modern day advancement in Media everything spreads so rapidly that without even realising or feeling anyone can become part of certain agenda which is the motive of your opponent. Hybrid war models are changing every day. But Indian Chronicles is the latest example of Hybrid warfare in interest of a certain country (INDIA) and to achieve that What's been done that's our case study to understand at what extent Hybrid warfare can reach.

It's an investigation conducted by Gary Machado, Alexandre Alaphilippe, Roman Adamczyk and Antoine Grégoire under the Umbrella of EUDISINFOLAB.

EuDisinfo Lab have done a significant job to expose most latest and modern case study for Hybrid warfare. In Simple one line Hybrid warfare is "To serve the Interests of A certain State or narrative to achieve perception building " and in this case of Indian Chronicles , EUDISINFO LAB describes it is "Subsequent Investigation to deep dive into fifteen year operation targeting the European Union & United Nations to Serve Indian Interests"

As per my research INDIAN CHRONICLES is a Subsequent investigation into a massive online and offline 15-year on going influence operation supporting Indian interests and discrediting Pakistan internationally. Despite of EU DisinfoLab first report In 2019, in which the EU DisinfoLab uncovered a vast network of 265 coordinated fake local media outlets in 65 countries serving Indian interests, as well as multiple dubious think tanks and NGOs. This network was active in Brussels and Geneva in producing and amplifying content designed to, primarily, undermine Pakistan.

Due to no action against India after their first report in 2019.

EU DISINFO LAB re opened and continues to investigate this work, as documented in their report "Influencing policymakers with fake media outlets, an investigation into a pro-Indian influence network".

Foreword Throughout this investigation, They have been astonished by the multiplication of layers of fake, something had never normally encountered in other investigations. "Indian Chronicles" – the name they gave to this operation - resurrected dead media, dead think-tanks

and NGOs, as well as dead people. The actors behind this operation hijacked the names of others, tried to impersonate regular media and press agencies such as the EU Observer, the Economist and Voice of America, used the letterhead of the European Parliament, registered websites under avatars with fake phone numbers, provided fake addresses to the United Nations, created publishing companies to print books of the think-tanks they owned. They organised supposedly multi stakeholder events where – in essence – everyone speaking were tied to “Indian Chronicles”. They misappropriated the picture of a former UK Government Minister and BBC Director on Facebook, registered the names of deceased persons to attend events five years after their death, invented dozens of journalist identities. They used layers of fake media that would quote and republish one another. They used politicians who genuinely wanted to defend women or minority rights to ultimately serve geopolitical interests and gave a platform to far-right politicians when convergent objectives could be reached. It’s astounding level of fakery is the reason why the operation could last for so long: how can a human being suspect or imagine that this is possible?

But for the sake of legibility, that they had to leave aside many other fakes.

In every investigation, disinformation researchers are faced with similar questions: “why did you work on disinformation from this country and not on disinformation from that country? Are you funded by the enemy of my country? Do you realise that when investigating this matter, you are considering only one side of disinformation? Why don’t you study the other side? (etc)”. It all began when with a publication by the European External Action Service (EEAS) about EP Today syndicating content from RT. And this led EU DISINFOLAB to publish these two investigations. As you must be aware – as it is the case for every investigation – that it will be used and recuperated by those who have an interest in seeing this investigation published – in this case, probably Pakistani authorities media and friends of Pakistan and it did happen as expected so but not at the level it was expected. Let us bear in mind that it is not because one side uses dodgy influence campaigns that the other side does not and a simple Google search will lead you to read about inauthentic behaviours supporting Pakistani interests. More importantly, this investigation is in no way a judgement about the situation of human rights in Pakistan, nor should it serve to undermine the credibility of minority movements in Pakistan. This report simply shines a light on how Indian stakeholders have used these struggles to serve their own interests. It’s known fact that “there is no such thing as good disinformation”, and I would agree with a key actor of Indian Chronicle

- namely Madi Sharma - who recently tweeted: “Your ethical muscle grows stronger every time you choose right over wrong.”

It was said on their first investigation published in 2019

When they uncovered a network of 265 fake media in 65 countries reproducing negative content about Pakistan online. This network was created by malicious actors who were behind “EP Today”, a fake European Parliament magazine active in Brussels since 2006 that was serving as a “honeypot” for Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and other politicians who could publish their views, in particular views that would serve Indian interests and undermine Pakistan. Some of these MEPs and other politicians would then attend United Nations side-events, press conferences and demonstrations in Geneva with minority-rights. NGOs set-up by the same actors, such as the European Organization for Pakistani Minorities. Another fake media - “Times of Geneva” – and a fake, allegedly Geneva-based press agency – A News Agency - would then produce written and video content that would be re-used online by NGOs, and disseminated via the global fake media network and/or via an Indian press agency (ANI). This

operation was attributed to the New-Delhi based Srivastava Group that – in partnership with the Women’s Economic and Social Think-Tank (WESTT) - had sponsored the trip of 27 MEPs to visit Kashmir and had met with India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Reopening the case During our previous investigation, They left without going into details of some of the websites, domain names and associated email addresses that deserved a closer look at a later stage. In further 12 months they took a deeper look, specifically, at the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace (CSOP). We soon realised that this US based NGO – accredited to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) – had become inactive in the late 1970s, and that it was resurrected, and its identity hijacked in 2005 by the same actors depicted in their first investigation. Shockingly, it was discovered that not only had the organisation been resuscitated, but also its former Chairman and “grandfather of international law in the US”, Louis B. Sohn, who passed away in 2006 is listed as attending a UN Human Rights Council meeting in 2007 and participating in an event organised by “Friends of Gilgit-Baltistan” in Washington D.C. in 2011.

Advocacy in Geneva: outside and inside the United Nations’ Human Rights Council From then on, it was uncovered an entire network of coordinated UN-accredited NGOs promoting Indian interests and criticizing Pakistan repeatedly. There are connections of at least 10 of them directly to the Srivastava family with several other dubious NGOs pushing the same messages.

These UN-accredited NGOs work in coordination with non-accredited think-tanks and minority-rights NGOs in Brussels and Geneva. Several of them like the European Organization for Pakistani Minorities (EOPM), Baluchistan House and the South Asia Democratic Forum (SADF) were directly but opaquely created by the Srivastava group. In Geneva, these think-tanks and NGOs are in charge of lobbying, of organising demonstrations, speaking during press conferences and UN side-events, and they were often given the floor at the UN on behalf of the accredited organisations.

Lobbying in Brussels:

using Members of the European Parliament via an online EU affairs media honeypot The organisations created by the Srivastava group in Brussels organised trips for Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) to Kashmir, Bangladesh and the Maldives. Some of these trips led to much institutional controversy as the delegations of MEPs were often presented as official EU delegations when they were not in fact travelling on behalf of the Parliament.

The actors orchestrating Indian Chronicles are directly tied – and again not at all transparently - to the creation of three informal groups in the European Parliament, namely the “South Asia Peace Forum”, the “Baloch Forum” and “Friends of Gilgit-Baltistan”. They have organised press conferences and events within and in front of the European Parliament.

Organisations like WESTT – the Women Economic and Social Think-Tank – drafted and suggested parliamentary questions to the European Commission and articles for fake EU magazines such as EP Today. This served as a honeypot to attract a growing number of MEPs into a pro-India and anti-Pakistan discourse, often using causes such as minorities rights and women’s rights as an entry point.

This is how EU Chronicle exposed – serving as the new “EP Today”, a new fake media with fake Journalists supposedly covering European affairs but which essentially offers a platform for MEPs to sign pro- Indian articles. In less than 6 months of existence, already 11 MEPs, most of

them already involved with EP Today, have written or endorsed op-eds at a remarkably high pace for EU Chronicle.

But that's not all...

While they could not cover all of it in this second investigation, Indian Chronicles also created a number of obscure companies in Canada, fake media targeting South-Asian populations in Canada, was involved in demonstrations in New York, created fake media in Bangladesh and in the Maldives. They impersonated a number of African human rights NGOs and created several lobbying agencies targeting EU institutions. Clearly, this 15-year operation is active on several continents.

The role of ANI:

Repackaging and amplifying the content produced in Brussels and Geneva Back to EU Chronicle, the only valuable coverage these op-eds are gaining comes from an immediate repackaging by an Indian press agency ANI (Asian News International), often quoting these op-eds as genuine articles from "independent media EU Chronicle". Without Times of Geneva and 4 News Agency which stopped their activities following their previous investigation, ANI remains the only press agency to extensively cover the activities of dubious NGOs in Geneva. The coverage – and often distortion - by ANI of the content produced in Brussels and Geneva led to the Big News Network and the World News Network, an entire network of 500+ fake local media in 95 countries that helped reproduce negative iterations about Pakistan (or China).

In total, the media coverage of Indian chronicle operations has covered 116 countries and 9 regions. It is also proved that the content produced was primarily targeted at Indian nationals with an extensive coverage of these barely known "media", MEPs and "NGOs" in Europe Essentially, Further investigation details how the activities of a fake zombie-NGO and that of a fake specialised media can then be repackaged, distorted and amplified by malicious actors to influence or disinform globally, using loopholes in international institutions and online search engines.

Summary of the 15-year influence operation

Overall, according to their open-source investigation, the operation led by the Srivastava Group and amplified by ANI began in 2005 and is still on going despite of all the reports published in the world. Which simply raise many questions?? Why no action is being taken against those EU MEPs, Institutions & Individuals who are/were knowingly supporting this false propaganda which can lead into catastrophic results between two nuclear countries. While some uninformed and trapped dignitaries have distanced themselves from these fake media NGO's Think Tanks and EP type news Magazines since they come to know the truth and hidden agenda behind that.

The operation's actual core mission is to discredit nations in conflict with India in Asia, in particular Pakistan but also China to a lesser extent. Its long-term objective is:

- In India, to reinforce pro-Indian and anti-Pakistan (and anti-Chinese) feelings in India.
- Develop further anti Pakistan sentiments to keep extreme right wing regime in power.
- To Control or suppressed all realistic approach voices to accomplish right wing agenda.
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- Internationally, to consolidate the power and improve the perception of India.
- Damage the reputation of other countries.
- Ultimately benefit from more support from international institutions such as the EU and the UN.

To do so, the operation consists of:

- The support to minority and human rights NGOs and think-tanks.
- The use of Members of the European Parliament to create a mirage of institutional support from the European institutions to these minority groups, in favour of Indian interests and against Pakistan (and China).
- An active presence in Geneva and the United Nations' Human Rights Council by:

organising side-events and demonstrations in support of minority rights;

impersonating extinguished UN accredited NGOs or using the speaking slots of various NGOs whose original missions seem totally unrelated.

- The creation of fake media in Brussels, Geneva and across the world and/or the repackaging and dissemination via ANI and obscure local media networks – at least in 97 countries - to multiply the repetition of online negative content about countries in conflict with India, in particular Pakistan.

Indian Chronicles and EP Today: the same modus operandi

As in their first investigation, The same patterns were observed:

- The extensive use of student interns, here speaking at the United Nations on behalf of one or more of these NGOs;
- The resurrection of shuttered organisations (NGOs, media) and deceased persons (Louis B. Sohn);
- The use of Regus virtual office addresses or simply fake addresses whenever an address was needed;
- The misleading representation of the views of individual MEPs as general support or official position from the European Union;
- The maximisation of negative content about Pakistan online, primarily using a network of fake local media across the world.

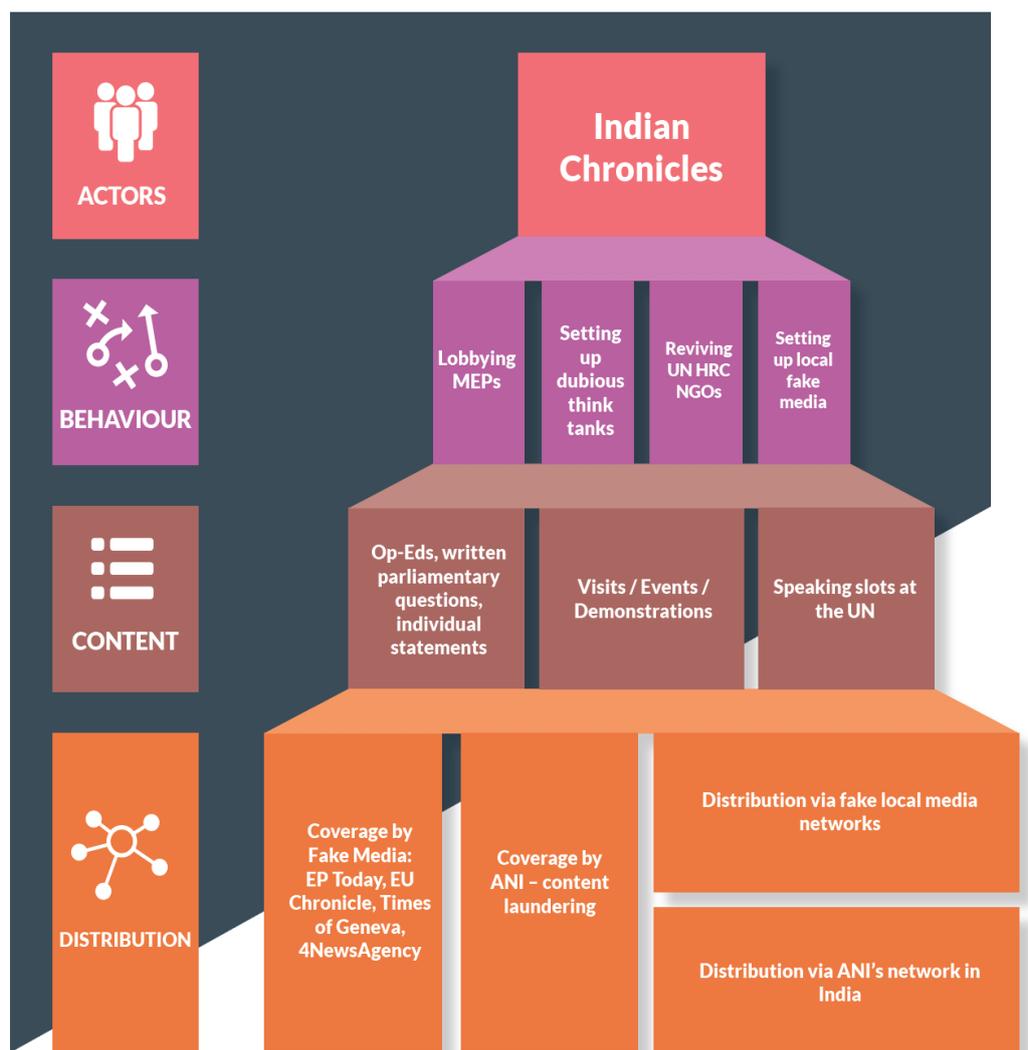
Indian Chronicles' massive online presence...

The actors behind EP Today and EU Chronicle registered +550 domain names of NGOs, think-tanks, media, European Parliament informal groups, religious and Imam organizations, obscure publishing companies and public personalities. A non-negligible proportion of domain names were bought in the context of the cyber warfare with Pakistan i.e. to cyber squat on domains that Pakistan might later wish to use.

...to support intense offline activities Every researcher working on disinformation is faced with the issue of trying to measure the impact of a disinformation campaign. In Indian Chronicles, the 15-year operation supported several demonstrations in Brussels and Geneva, the display of “free Baluchistan” posters across Geneva, the organization of several events inside the European Parliament, the creation of groups of support within the European Parliament, the influencing of European and international policy making, the convocation of the Swiss ambassador in Pakistan by the Pakistani government, the trips of delegations of Members of the European Parliament to Bangladesh, the Maldives and Kashmir that led to much controversy in Brussels. Policy recommendations it is very much alarming to see the continuation of Indian Chronicles, which despite their first report and wide press coverage, has pursued its 15-year operation and even recently launched EU Chronicle, a fake EU outlet. This should serve as a call to action for decision-makers to put in place a relevant framework to sanction actors abusing international institutions. It is possible that the absence of messages from the institutions affected by Indian Chronicles provided the space and opportunity for the operation to reinvent itself and to continue doing “more of the same”. It is also our belief that the possibility for malicious actors to abuse search engines by reproducing the same content hundreds of times should also be challenged.

Our investigation relied heavily on the analysis of websites and domain names, rather than online platforms. Much of what we uncovered could be done thanks to website domain names registration history and because many websites of Indian Chronicles were created at a time when malicious actors were less concerned with privacy. Nowadays, malicious actors register domain names and create websites anonymously, making detection more difficult. The regulatory discussion on data transparency from platforms now taking place should be broadened to include greater scrutiny of domain names. Domain name information is critical for disinformation researchers; I myself therefore advocate for sufficient transparency for researchers investigating malicious domains. It is also urge the domain name industry to seriously reflect on this kind of fraudulent, disinforming behaviour as technical abuse of the domain name system.

To explain further and in easy way a diagram from EU DISINOF LAB will be very helpful :



In this case, the need to describe distribution process of this information operation is crucial. It becomes possible to show both the direct and indirect efforts to spread this content towards the targeted groups of the campaign. In this specific case, the Distribution also goes further than its initial goal looking at digital distribution vectors (Advertisement, algorithmic amplification, algorithmic hijacking), to more “traditional” distribution vectors such as syndicated content and press agencies.

Many researchers have been trying to provide measurement tools to evaluate the impact of disinformation and information campaigns in the real world. These tools and frameworks are very often looking at the tactics of these campaigns as well as their amplification and distribution which is a complex task.

Finally, we are going to look at ways to quantify the characteristics and impact of the “Indian Chronicle”

Information operation.

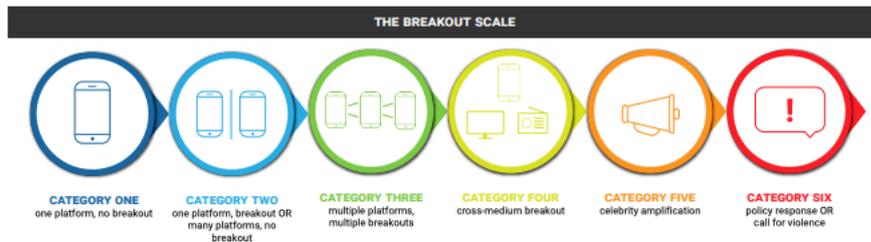
a- The breakout scale

In order to measure and compare the potential impact of Information operations/Disinformation campaigns,

A British researcher Ben Nimmo recently proposed the use of a breakout scale in a paper for Brookings.

This scale is looking into the following criterions to assess impact:

- Number of online platforms targeted by the campaign;
- Presence of an online breakout;
- Cross-medium breakout (web, tv, radio, printed news);
- Celebrity amplification;
- Policy response or call for violence.



Therefore, following Ben Nimmo's breakout scale, It would qualify Indian Chronicles as category 6. operation, the highest grade of this scale.

Even without formal attribution, the length, sophistication and the range of this information operation should call the attention of international institutions on the actors that have been able to design and maintain an operation with that scale.

Although full report of EU DISINFO LAB does not mention everything they could have uncovered, and it raised many questions?

Was there anyone or any factor to stop them to expose Indian Chronicles even more ?

It was purely Journalistic ethical burden & boundaries that EU DISINFOLAB despite of knowing and admission of knowing did not fully expose and hide few things in their final report. ?

OR it may be that we can expect another version of that report soon ?

These are the questions my research is also awaiting for answers and unfortunately till this time no answers for these questions.

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CHAPTER THREE

NARRATIVE/Perception BUILDING

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

What's Narrative

A holistic approach: The structure of national narratives

National Narrative

DIAGRAM (7)

DIAGRAM (8)

CASE STUDY

Pakistan Inclusion in FATF Grey List and Residual

Bibliography/REFERENCES

What's Narrative

Promising trends in textbook research and national narratives

In the last decades, history textbook research has changed profoundly with respect to methods and theories. It has evolved from a rather descriptive analysis of textbooks to embrace the use of quantitative and qualitative methods derived from the social sciences, narratology and media studies. Guidelines for a systematic analysis of textbooks have been refined. There are some good introductions and pioneering studies (e.g. Foster and Crawford, 2006; Pingel, 2008; Haydn, 2011; Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010; Fuchs 2011; Fuchs and Sammler, 2016). Several researchers have developed new tools for textbook analysis (e.g. Morgan and Henning, 2013). Moreover, based on new developments in the field of digital humanities, the Georg Eckert Institute has created a dedicated department, Digital Information and Research Infrastructures, for the further development of new digital tools and methods, derived from discipline-specific issues (GEI, 2017). These tools for textbook-related research provide new opportunities for data mining and tracing word patterns. Scholars use software such as Atlas.

Alcaste to code the content of textbooks and to examine vocabulary characteristic of a certain discourse. With digital tools, researchers can discover narrative patterns, for instance in the use of rhetoric and analogies. As a result, large-scale comparative research on national narratives in history textbooks offers insights about the general characteristics of these narratives and the role of the specific national context in the construction and continuation of these narratives.

An interesting example is a study by Inari Sakki (2014). She investigated how history and civics textbooks from five European countries portrayed European integration. By presenting a double content analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) about what was written on European integration and how, she discovered that in these countries the history of European integration is told from a national perspective. In another article, Sakki (2016) shows that French textbooks make European integration meaningful in reference to a shared post-war collective memory, referring also to an ancient idea of Europe, while English textbooks relate it to domestic policy. Furthermore, Sakki's type of research also shows a shift from national narratives to the study of post-national narratives. This theoretical construct does not mean the end of national narratives rather, it places the individual nation within different, shifting borders and argues that the relations between people and the conditions of belonging cannot be understood without reference to wider geopolitical changes (e.g. Pease, 1997). This trend is also visible in the research framework developed by COST Action IS 1205 for analysing historical representations, presented in July 2016 (COST Action IS 1205, 2016). A working group, led by Tibor Polya and Eva Fülöp, includes research on how the European Union is visualized in history textbooks.

Another trend is the influence of the visual and spatial turns on textbook research (Fuchs and Sammler, 2016: 11–12). According to Pieter de Bruijn (2014), visual renditions of history have increasingly made their way into history textbooks, as famous heritage objects and historical sources are printed for illustrative or teaching purposes. Researchers have developed new ways of analysing images in textbooks, because visuals have become a considerable part of the main textbook and the students' workbook. With regard to national narratives, researchers have discovered how selected 'iconic' photos sustained national narratives and how textbook authors

themselves play an important role in the perpetuation of these iconic images (Kleppe, 2013). Furthermore, comparative research into maps and images can reveal how the plot of the same historical 'event' is portrayed differently across national narratives, precisely because nations and their loss or triumph are the principal theme. For instance, Mario Carretero (2014) compared Spanish and Mexican textbooks about the American colonization and the representation of Columbus. Whereas all Spanish history textbooks contain biographic information about Columbus with lots of images, the Mexican textbooks include only brief mentions of his death and instead devote considerable text and visuals to the mistreatment of Indians and Mexicans.

In the history textbooks of both countries, textual and iconographic information are closely connected to stimulate historical imagination about the American colonization. Inspired by

narratology, history textbook researchers also investigate less visible processes that play an important role in explaining changes and continuities in national narratives within the genre of history textbooks (Van der Vlies, 2014, 2016). After examining some founding myths of the United States, Ray Raphael claims that textbook narratives can ‘survive’ even after academic findings have added nuances or proved them wrong, because of ‘three reasons, thoroughly intertwined: they give us collective identity, they make good stories, and we think they are patriotic’ (Raphael 2004: 5). As we have seen, for quite some time textbook researchers have discussed the issue of identity politics and patriotic values; however, the focus on the autonomy of narratives is a promising approach for future research on the perpetuation of national narratives. Some national narratives are simply too good not to be told: ‘Good does battle against evil, David beats Goliath, and wise men prevail over fools. (...) Even if they don’t tell true history, these imaginings work as stories’ (Raphael 2004: 5; see also Van der Vlies, 2016).

Emerging from older traditions, particular versions of the past can persist because they fit the canon and are considered ‘relevant for later cultural formations’ (Olick and Robbins, 1998: 129; Grever, 2007: 41). Therefore, such a version will probably change only when it ‘no longer fits with present understanding or otherwise loses relevance for the present’ (Olick and Robbins, 1998: 130). Hence, history textbooks can repeat familiar stories due to cultural factors. To enhance our understanding of this process and to get a grasp of the internal structures within history textbooks, the analysis of textbooks as an integrated whole is another promising trend.

A holistic approach: The structure of national narratives

National narratives can be highly patterned and constituted according to a common structure (Feldman, 2001). These patterns can be very dominant and remain the same, even if the details of the specific stories change. Consequently, some researchers speak of a complex national narrative, which is ‘constructed from a set of secondary narratives, myths, symbols, metaphors and images’ (Yadgar, 2002: 58). To be able to unravel this complexity in the genre of textbooks, we need a holistic approach: a focus on the history textbook as an integrated whole. In 2003,

Thomas Höhne proposed new research questions, aimed at yielding more insight into the structures of textbook narratives and the kind of knowledge they contain. He argued that these questions could overcome traditional, normative criteria in textbook research, such as ‘true’ and ‘false’, and shed light on the total textbook discourse (Höhne, 2002: 13). Specific narratives have meaning in the context of the whole textbook, and this certainly applies to *national* narratives. This means that the narrative structure or composition of the history textbook and its specific narratives about past events are connected. Changes in the narrative structure of the textbook, for instance due to societal transformations associated with different views on the past, have an impact on the function and meaning of the whole range of existing (national) narratives. Some specific narratives disappear, while other former ‘side stories’ are emphasized and extended. For instance, in Dutch history textbooks the history of the transatlantic slave trade and slavery recently changed from a ‘side story’ related to commercial enterprises in early modern history into a more visible part of the

national narrative, although experts remain critical about this (Klein, 2017: 76). This happened because migrants from the Dutch former colonies Surinam and the Antilles – often descendants of enslaved people – had persistently called for the acknowledgement of their past and the role of the Dutch (Van Stipriaan, 2007). In her current research on national narratives in English and Dutch history textbooks, Van der Vlies analyses history textbooks in this way. Inspired by Michael Rothberg's concept of multidirectional memory, she uses the notion of multidirectional textbook narratives: narrations in history textbooks that combine different histories, places and times in a productive way to generate meaning from historical combinations. Rothberg argues that collective memory is too often seen as a zero-sum struggle in which things are present or absent; hence, he focuses on multidirectional memory and examines the 'dynamic transfers that take place between diverse places and times during the act of remembrance' (Rothberg, 2009: 11). Van der Vlies (2016) reveals these dynamic transfers on the level of textbook narratives: cross-references and exchanges between nationally framed stories from the past in textbooks. A striking example in English textbooks is the often-made cross-reference between the threat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the threat of the German Blitzkrieg in 1940. Differences, such as the fact that the danger came from the sea in 1588 whereas in 1940 it came through the air, do not weaken the comparison, however, because the events are connected in expressing the same idea: danger of invasion. Textbook narratives can show a pattern of interpretation into which several data and events can be entered. In this way it is possible to detect patterns of meaning in the narration of (national) history. Hence, history textbooks can contain a set of resonating stories; together they constitute, affirm and inculcate a national narrative (Van der Vlies, 2017).

The dynamic transfer of textbook narratives is currently even further strengthened by the use of new media. Textbook narratives are increasingly embedded in a (re)mediated world, especially now in the era of e-textbooks, which can easily direct students to YouTube or other websites by hyperlinks. From this perspective, Eleftherios Klerides points to the dynamic and hybrid forms of history textbooks, which he describes as 'multilayered', a 'combination of discourses' and an 'interdiscursive domain' (Klerides, 2010: 34). In line with this research, Heinze (2010: 125) suggests that history textbooks should not be regarded just as 'mirrors' in which a certain discourse is reflected but as 'mediators of discourses, for they provide the methodological and didactic impetus with which these discourses reproduce themselves'

(Heinze, 2010: 125).

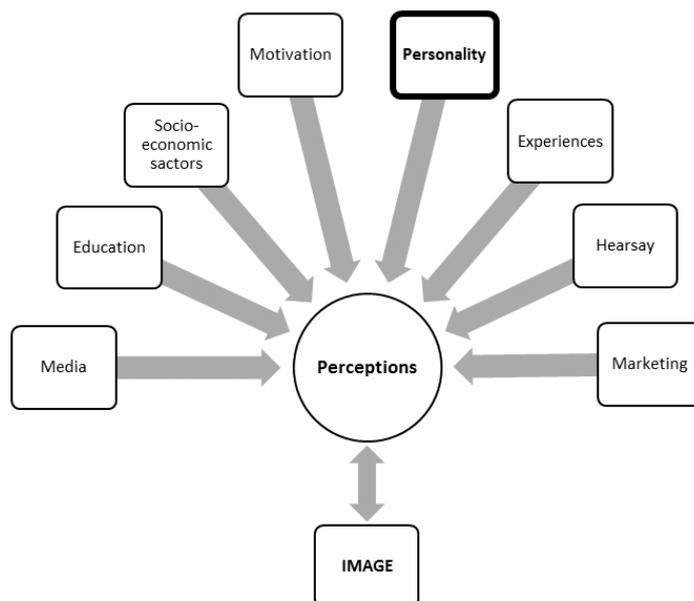
A holistic approach to history textbooks also elucidates how the organization of historical knowledge sustains the perpetuation of national narratives. Events from different time periods can be interrelated on the basis of a common plot or main storyline (Wertsch, 2004). The approach also gives insight into the arrangement of chronological time (diachronic and synchronic), the selection and naming of events and periods, and the use of colligatory concepts (e.g. 'Renaissance', 'Industrial Revolution', 'Cold War') which grasp different elements and stories together within a small plot (Jansen, 2010: 243; Grever et al., 2012). But even more important is that a holistic approach goes beyond a representational analysis limited to one person, event or period, separated from the context of the whole textbook. Bert Vanhulle (2009), who used a holistic approach in his analysis of the 'narrative

conception' of Belgian history textbooks in the period 1945–2004, argues: 'The emphasis lies on the structure and its consequences for the text as a historical representation, not on the portrayal of past events/ groups/identities and the teaching consequences or consequences for the minds of pupils and society at large' (Vanhulle, 2009: 264). Consequently, he is interested in locating the start of the narration. He wonders if history has a *fons*, 'a well from which the current of history springs', and if so in what direction. Because the researcher investigates the whole history textbook as 'one' historical representation, it is also possible to trace underlying conceptions of history specific interpretations of the relationship between past, present and future, such as decline, progress or eschatology (Adriaansen, 2015; Van der Vlies, 2016; Grever and Adriaansen, 2017). Alexander Albicher followed Vanhulle's approach in considering the history textbook as a complete narrative (Albicher, 2012: 43). Discussing how Dutch history textbooks have treated past and present in the period 1945–1985, he posed a series of questions: Are textbooks mainly exposing unique events and contingency or processes and structures? Is there a 'motor' that propels history? Apart from the periodization and categorization of history, he also studied fault lines and turning points. Turning points, for example, are important in the composition of a national narrative since they mark an end as well as a new beginning. As Zerubavel (2003: 85) has argued: 'Temporal discontinuity is a form of mental discontinuity, and the way we cut up the past is thus a manifestation of the way we cut up mental space in general.' Turning points underscore discontinuous time experiences in people's lives and are important anchors in mnemonic communities (Grever, 2001: 11, 18). Hence, to be able to understand the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks, we should regard this genre also in relation to wider cultural mnemonic schemata.

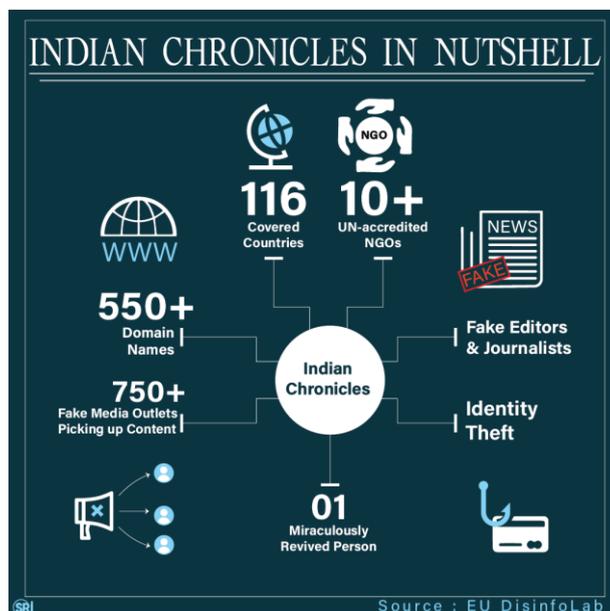
National Narrative

National narratives have often served to mobilize the masses for war by providing myths and distorted interpretations of the past, while conversely wars were major sources for producing national narratives. Because national history is very likely to remain a central topic in history education, albeit in ways that differ from how the topic was used fifty years ago, it is important to gain a greater understanding of the underlying structures and mechanisms of these narratives in history textbooks. After outlining the historical interconnectedness of the emerging nation states and history teaching, this review article explains the complexity of the history textbook as an educational resource. Next, we identify some current problems and challenges in history textbook research. We continue by discussing promising research trends related mainly to national narratives, such as the analysis of images, the use of digital tools, and studies of the autonomy of textbook narratives and of history textbooks in relation to other media. Another recent reorientation is textbook research that uses a *holistic approach*. By this we mean studies that examine the history textbook as a whole: composition, periodization, visual intertextuality and chapters that do not at first glance appear to focus on national history. These studies offer new insights and explanations for the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks. Narrative building is also used to achieve perception building & It is based upon Motivation, Experience, Hearsay, Media & other factors explained in diagram below. As per some latest research on geo political narrative objectives narrative can't be achieved without

constructed narrative. Everything stated in diagram is centrally attached to perception to achieve desired public narrative.



In modern days Perception/Narrative building using various tools and methods is common. Such as Fake Organizations, Deceitful Websites, Counterfeit Media Houses, Bogus Journalists/Editors using globally knew platforms such European Union & United Nations. To explain that further we have classic example of Indian Chronicles which has been discoursed in previous Chapter as “CASE STUDY”. One diagram from that report can explain how tools of Narritve building work in coordination without even showing any attachment to each other unless properly investigated.



CASE STUDY

Pakistan Inclusion in FATF Grey List and Residual:-

To understand clearly how narrative building and perception creating works I found “Pakistan’s Inclusion & residual in FATF “due to India’s efforts is classic example for that. It seems impossible to believe, Despite of complying with 26 conditions out of 27 conditions Pakistan still remains in grey list of FATF till year 2022 with unclear future. Since the establishment of FATF (Financial Action Task Force) in 1989, Pakistan is one of those countries who have been on its Grey list for years and especially since 2014 when FATF took over monitoring and designed new rules and guidelines for Money Laundering and terror financing Pakistan remained on grey list for more than 5 years and have suffered billions of dollar of losses due to conditions and restrictions implemented being in grey list. Since Pakistan was added in grey list second time in 2018 , Pakistan is constantly emphasizing that its Inclusion is unfair and based on False reports and propaganda and planned campaign against Pakistan’s financial institutions which lead FATF to add Pakistan in Grey list. As the matter of fact along with India it was USA, France , UK & Europe who pushed Pakistan into Grey list. Indian did try its best to further push Pakistan into blacklist a kind of complete shutdown for Pakistan imports and exports in 2018. That’s why Pakistan raised its concerns over India being co chair for the Joint group of FATF. Pakistan’s finance minister at that time Mr Asad Umar clearly stated

"Given the clear Indian motivation to hurt Pakistan's economic interests, Indian presence among the evaluators and as co-chair of the Joint Group would undermine the impartiality and spirit of the 'peer review' process, which lies at the heart of FATF's methodology and objective assessment,"

The minister said Pakistan firmly believes that India's involvement in the ICRG process will not be fair towards Pakistan and urged that FATF appoint another country as co-chair of the Joint Group instead of India to ensure an impartial assessment of Pakistan's progress in regard to the FATF action plan

Later on It was all proved correct when recently in June/July 2021 Indian Foreign Minister Confessed in a WEBCONFERENCE to Indian Foreign service officers said “ INDIA is the one who Made sure that Pakistan will remain in FATF Grey list” He took all the credit for his political party BJP Bhartia Janta Party & Indian Govt. Now its on Pakistan media houses and Government how to proceed to this in front of the world to fight against all that perception which was built against Pakistan.

A study suggest that whenever there are days near the review for Pakistan to keep remaining in grey list of place them back to normal in white list. Its evident Indian Media starts fully planned and coordinated campaign against Pakistan with false and fake proofs and propaganda to built the narrative against Pakistan. It is clearly notices how India take support and help from all 650 plus fake media houses, 110 misleading domains & over 10

NGO's exposed by EUdisinfoLab. Where we have studied the tools of Hybridwar warfare and EUDISINFO LAB IS a classic example for that.

Since it has been exposed now burden will rely on FATF (Financial Action Task Force) & APG (Asian Pacific Group) to prove its impartiality and free from all influence and pressure put by India and its allies. But surely So far India is clearly successful to keep Pakistan in grey list despite of the fact Pakistan has complied with 26 conditions out of 27 .

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CHAPTER FOUR

SOUTH ASIAN STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

Definition of Strategic Affairs

Strategic Appraisal

Fault Lines

Pakistan Political Subversion

Generational Model of Warfare

Background of Strategic Affairs in the Asia Pacific

References / Bibliography

Definition of Strategic Affairs.

Since 2001 South Asia Especially Pakistan is much more familiar with word “Strategic Affairs” than ever before. As we have been keep told by our media and International media that Pakistan is the most important country strategically, In South Asia Strategically importance of Pakistan is unmatched. There were few reasons behind it.

- a) US & NATO Attack on Afghanistan
- b) Pakistan, India extreme critical relations
- c) China, Pakistan joint projects
- d) Post 9/11 change is Globalization.
- e) Quad & others coordination against China
- f) Projects like BRI,OBOR & CPEC.

Before going into further study let’s be clear with words strategic and its meaning.

Word Strategic

For Easy Understanding word Strategic means relating to the most important, general aspects of something like a military operation or political policy, especially when these are decided in advance

Adjective it uses like this.

..

The new strategic thinking which NATO leaders produced at the recent London summit

The Kashmir is of strategic importance to Pakistan.

◆ **strategically** **adverb**

Strategically important roads, bridges and buildings, Infrastructure.

adj Strategic weapons are very powerful missiles that can be fired only after a decision to use them has been made by a political leader.

Pakistan , India also have strategic nuclear weapons.

If you put something in a strategic position, you place it cleverly in a position where it will be most useful or have the most effect.

Typical Example

Pakistan & India's Military Positioning is emblematic example of Importance of strategically correct positioning. Deployment of Armed Forces and Reserves near the enemy's perimeter and making sure to be able to offensive with shortest possible time without any delay and without engaging anything other than available resources . That's one of the reasons that most of the cantonments are near the enemy's borders , strategic defence lines & major cities Geographically Important landmarks. Likewise strategic and deterrence assets are always positioned to be most effective and damaging without any delay and obstructio.

STRATEGIC APPRAISAL

The modern world is characterized by explosion of knowledge, information and rapid advancements in almost all facets of human life. Military art and science are no exception to this ever-growing transformation and expansion. The centuries old conventional jargons and doctrines in the domain of warfare are replaced with new concepts and techniques. Non-Kinetic challenges to the states are more pronounced than Kinetic ones in today's world. Whereas, the overall power potential of nations is still determined by conventional military yardsticks, it is the *Non-Kineticism* which is more seriously explored now a days by nations and societies to advance their interests. Any evaluation or analysis of wars and conflicts will be incomplete without a context to the prevailing situation at global and regional level. Therefore, a strategic appraisal is

☐ **Morphed Threat Dynamics.** Transiting world order and prevalent uncertainties with reduced credibility of superpower assurances has also morphed the threat dynamics, which necessitates evolving of prudent response options.

- **US Rebalance to Asia.** US rebalance to Asia and Sino Russian alliance creates dilemma for Pakistan to balance out her relations with these states and also radiates consequential security challenges for Pakistan.

- **Expanding Cyberspace.** Expanding cyberspace provides fertile ground for battle of narratives and also acts as enabler for hybrid threats; thus complicating security concerns and adding to the challenge of perception management. imperative to further the research on the subject of 5GW and Hybrid Warfare.

- **Global Environment.** World is transiting from *unipolartiy* to *multipolarity* which is likely to give rise to sub-conventional warfare, lead from behind proxies and hybrid conflicts; subjection of Pakistan to these threats will also increase in future.

- **Climate Change.** Global warming and changing climate is increasingly affecting the national security paradigm of states. Threat of water wars further complicates the situation and makes human security a challenge for states like Pakistan.

Regional Environment

- Instability in Afghanistan.

Instability in Afghanistan poses a serious security challenge for Pakistan, necessitating a comprehensive response.

- Chino-Russian Alignment.

Russia and China are gradually assuming the lead role in solving the Afghan issue with auspices of Pakistan.

- Middle East Crisis.

Turmoil in Middle East accentuated by competing interests of world powers will continue to pose security challenges, having domestic consequences for Pakistan.

- Iran – West Tension. Iran – West tension has raised level of concerned in the region; recent announcement of US regarding imposing sanctions on Iran will have negative implications.

- Border Disputes.

Pakistan and India (both Nuclear powers) are not enjoying friendly relations since independence, due to different territorial disputes including core issue of Kashmir.

Domestic Environment.

Certain notable factors from Pakistan's domestic environment are:-

- Though operation Zarb-e-Azb and National Action Plan have met success yet there is a need to take the operation to its logical conclusion.
- CPEC, though a game changer, faces serious threats from external forces. There is a need to harness the CPEC and take requisite measures for its security.
- The country is slowly and gradually moving towards strengthening of institutions. However, this slow pace is not at par with the growing threats to internal and external security.
- The myth of isolating Pakistan is fading away with increasing interests of various countries in joining CPEC and hosting of ECO meeting.
- Robust conventional and nuclear capability together with stable political and economic conditions have thwarted adversary's desire to attack Pakistan overtly.
- Prosperity Assessment of Pakistan. Figure 1.1 below shows the prosperity of Pakistan assessed in various domains.
 - In order to develop a better context to the research, there is a need to review our strengths and weaknesses or existing fault lines.
 - Geo-strategic location and relevance for regional/global agendas.

- An awakening civil society.
- An independent and assertive judiciary.
- An essentially working democratic structure with optimism in its functionality.
- An elaborate security apparatus with credible conventional and unconventional deterrence capabilities.
- A well-developed infrastructure and an industrious human resource
- Economic potential and abundant natural resources awaiting realization

Fault Lines

- Countrywide will and cohesion
- Declining economy and its negative impact on masses.
- Overly personalized political discourse.
- Radicalization / extremism and sub-nationalism.
- Religious, social, economic and ethnic divide and deteriorating human security situation.
- Absence of a well-defined National Security Management System

Pakistan Political Subversion.

Political subversion of Pakistan being carried out in mainly five domains as under: -

Diplomatic. Hostile countries have gone on all out diplomatic offensive to subvert Pakistan. Themes which are being propagated

State Actors. Hybrid threat waged by a state against another state has four strands i.e. political subversion, proxies, coercive deterrence and intervention.

Include Blaming Pakistan. Blaming the Country as Hub of Terrorism, Pakistan standing isolated and blaming Pakistan as supporting insurgencies in other countries.

Economic • CPEC.

CPEC has been termed as game changer for Pakistan's economy. All out efforts are in open to subvert this corridor of economic prosperity by spreading false information regarding its route and trust deficit between provinces.

Karachi.

Karachi is the hub of Pakistan economy and our 65 % revenue is generated in Karachi. Presence of Armed wings in political parties, life threats to industrialist and extortion in Karachi is threat to country.

Military •

A nefarious design to create a wedge between Armed forces and government is being run by anti-state actors.

- Our defence forces are maintaining near permanent state of readiness (alert). The three services remain under constant threat of terror attacks on their administrative setups, causing triple stretch and fatigue.
- Militaries around the world fight and defend territorial integrity of a country however seldom their battlefield becomes their own home ground. Fighting within own population does bring its own risks and vulnerabilities.

Nuclear Assets.

Narratives against our nuclear asset are:- • Efforts to project a theme that a non-nuclear Pakistan will be more peaceful, economically viable and in harmony with the neighbours.

Pakistan is projected as the centre of proliferation despite stringent measures on Pakistan's part.

Despite a viable and a strong nuclear security system, Pakistan is still singled out for security concerns

Psychological Subversion.

Psychological subversion is being done through demoralization and destabilization.

Proxy Warfare (Sanctum). Proxy actions can be grouped into three interrelated categories as under: -

Establishing Front Groups. Front groups have been created and various religious organization have also used the humanitarian cover to further their agendas.

Infiltrating the Institutions of the State. It has four stages namely gaining information, spreading rumours, corruption and talent spots to have their agents in major organizations.

- Warfare has never been uniform ever since the beginning of mankind. Ways and means of its conduct have been evolved through a *trial and error process* and will continue to do so. The explosion of social media and cyber space, effectiveness of anti-state propaganda, grievances of ethnic and religious minorities, sophisticated means of operations, de-centralized and loose command and control structure, poverty, lack of growth opportunities in life, absence of good educational facilities, ignorance about the religion, hate speech, intolerance towards others' viewpoints are some of the factors that provide breeding ground for 5th Generation and Hybrid warfare.

Understanding of Generational Warfare :-

Generational Model of Warfare

Dividing warfare in various generations is probably the most convenient way to understand its evolution. The same model provides a logical explanation to most of the wars of past and present. According to this methodology, first four generations of warfare can be labeled as:

- 1GW - War of Line and Column

- 2GW - Trench Warfare
- 3GW - Maneuverer Warfare
- 4GW - Irregular Warfare
-
- **4GW vs 5GW.** Difference between 4GW and 5GW is of *Motives, Technology and Empowered Individuals*.
 - **Hybrid Warfare.** This form of warfare is a combination of conventional and unconventional warfare (1GW, 2GW and 3GW combined with 4GW and / or 5GW). While there are overlapping definitions causing duplicity, twist of terminologies and confusion, hybrid threats and warfare is real. The co-relation of various generations of warfare is explained

- **Conclusions Relevant to 5GW** • Attacks in cyber domain can disable official websites and networks, disrupt or disable essential services, steal or alter classified data and cripple financial systems & electricity grids, among other possibilities.

- 5GW is a kinetic application tool of Smart Power which, while remaining under full blown military / kinetic applications, works to convince enemy's political decision makers that their strategic goals are either unachievable or too costly for the perceived benefits.

- *HAARP Theory* proposes tampering of ionosphere & geo-physical domain for purposeful military and civilian application. Visible signs of its manifestation exist in terms of weather and geo-physical manipulations.

- *Mind Control Sciences Theory* revolves around making a deliberate attempt to manage public's perception on a subject through sensitization. Although in its early stages of development, it is a potent threat for the future.

- Extremely Low Frequency (ELF) Weapons use radio waves as a weapon to create incapacity and disruption without resorting to destruction.
-

'Directed Energy' weapons are the newest in the range of destructive weapons but with tremendous potential and range of utility. Applications in this domain are presently experimental in nature but fast reaching operational status

Background of Strategic Affairs in the Asia Pacific

The delegation itinerary included a series of discussions with 'think tanks' and academics from institutions devoted to international relations and national strategy. These included The RAND Corporation, the US Army Strategic Studies Institute and with academics from the American

Enterprise Institute and the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington D.C. RAND Corporation 2.2 The RAND Corporation is a non-profit research organization. It is arguably the world's first and pre-eminent 'think tank'. RAND aims to provide objective analysis and effective solutions that address the challenges facing the public and private sectors around the world. 2.3 For more than 50 years, the RAND Corporation has pursued its non-profit mission by conducting research on important and complicated problems. Initially, RAND (the name of which was derived from a contraction of the term research and development) focused on issues of national security. Eventually, RAND expanded its intellectual reserves to offer insight into other areas, such as business, education health, law, and science. RAND's approach to problem solving has become the benchmark for other think tanks that followed. 2.4 The RAND Center for Asia Pacific Policy provides expertise on critical issues facing Asia and US-Asia relations. Decision makers and opinion leaders in the United States, Asia and throughout the world rely on RAND analysts for non-partisan, objective advice on Asia's greatest challenges.

The delegation met with Mr. William H. Overholt, the Asia Policy Chair at RAND. The meeting took place at RAND's new purpose built facility at Santa Monica California. 2.6 Mr Overholt provided the delegation with a range of insights about the US and Australian positions in the Asia Pacific region. He spoke at length about the relationship between the US and Japan and China. Significantly these discussions at RAND equipped the delegation well for the numerous views about the US – China relationship expressed to the delegation throughout their travels in the US. The Strategic Studies Institute 2.7 The Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) is the U.S. Army's institute for geostrategic and national security research and analysis. It forms part of the US Army War College. SSI conducts strategic research and analysis to support the War College curricula, provides direct analysis for US Army and Department of Defense leadership, and serves as a bridge to the wider strategic community. 2.8 Australia traditionally exchanges students with the War College. The student this year is Colonel Jeff Sengleman, a Special Forces Officer. 2.9 SSI is composed of civilian research professors, uniformed military officers, and a professional support staff. All have extensive credentials and experience. SSI is divided into three components: the Art of War Department focuses on global, trans-regional, and functional issues, particularly those dealing with Army transformation; the Regional Strategy and Planning Department focuses on regional strategic issues; and the Academic Engagement Program creates and sustains partnerships with the global strategic community. In addition to its organic resources, SSI has a web of partnerships with strategic analysts around the world, including the foremost thinkers in the field of security and military strategy. In most years, between a third and a half of SSI's publications are written by these external partners.

China Relationship 2.10 RAND and SSI described two conflicting views that underpin US strategic discussion on China. These can be broadly summarised as viewing China as either the 'threat of the future or the prize of the future'. 2.11 In the first view, held by many members of the US Legislature, China is seen as a rising power that will inevitably clash with the established global power in every aspect of competition – including military. This theory is based on the 19th and 20th Century European model in which great powers inevitably clash when a rising power seeks to impose its will on the established power. 2.12 In the second view of the US – China relationship, which RAND believe to be held by the Bush Administration, common interests that flow from trade and extensive engagement will over time bring the two powers closer together, making conflict highly unlikely. The US Department of Defence, an arm of the Executive Branch of Government clearly shares this view. Both Pacific Command and the Department officials at the Pentagon, in discussions with the delegation, confirmed the military's prudent preparedness for conflict but expectation that conflict was unlikely with China. 2.13 RAND observed that the US Congress appears determined to push the Bush administration away from China. At the same time it could be argued that China is more aligned with the US on free trade than the others

major Asian power Japan, which remains closer to the view held by Europe. Equally RAND suggest that the 20th Century military alliance with Japan in the Pacific ignores the reality of an emerging

21st Century social and economic alliance with China. 2.14 The extent to which China has become the focus of policy debate in the US was a significant observation for the delegation. While arguably Japan was the focus of US interest in the early years of the Bush administration, RAND argues that the President has moved further toward China than any of his predecessors. However, many members of the Legislature appear not to share the President's view and significant reservations about China's emergence remain. US Japan Relations 2.15 The extensive discussion of the US China relationship at RAND and SSI were almost always linked to the state of the US alliance with Japan. Japan's position in US strategic consideration was described as being either black or white. For example in the early part of the 20th Century Japan was considered an important ally in limiting the expansion of Russia into the Pacific. By the middle of the century Japan was the villain as it sought to secure resources and markets in the Pacific that threatened US power. By the end of the century Japan was again a key ally, first in the cold war containment of the Soviet Union, and later as part of a loose policy to shape the emergence of modern China. 2.16 The delegation was briefed by Mr Bill Overhalt at RAND on the emergence of the Japanese Right, which he believed was determined to "resist becoming a little Britain for the US in the Pacific". The same group would prefer an independent Taiwan and would resist moves to unify the Korean Peninsula. This group is therefore at odds with the Bush Administration. On the other hand RAND briefed that the current Japanese leadership are increasingly concerned about the emergence of China and are moving quickly to refresh their alliance with the US, including by carefully embracing a security role in the region. The challenge for the US is to avoid being caught up in Japanese local politics, instead seeking to step back to look for common strategic objectives. 2.17 It was suggested to the delegation that the Australia US alliance may be being used by the US to benchmark their alliance with Japan. This in part explains the rapid changes being seen in the Japanese security role in the region and globally. It also suggests a synergy from the cooperation between the Japanese engineers in southern Iraq and their Australian

security force that may not have been evident at the time of the deployment. Indonesia 2.18 The delegation questioned whether the US appears to be missing an opportunity to engage with a newly democratic Indonesia. Both Pacific Command and the Department officials at the Pentagon were aware of this deficiency but are impeded from acting to improve the situation by legislative bans imposed by the Congress. The lack of US defence engagement with the third largest democracy in the world and the world's largest Muslim nation is a potential weakness in Pacific security affairs. 2.19 The delegation raised the question of Indonesia, and more specifically the legislative restrictions on US Defence engagement with Indonesia, with the Chair of the sub-committee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator Murkowski. Senator Murkowski acknowledged the deficiency, stating in her view that it may be largely due to a lack of understanding of Indonesia by members of the Congress. The delegation suggested that US re-engagement with Indonesia was an area in which Australia could assist both parties and is therefore a key observation made by the delegation during its travels. US India Relations 2.20 India was characterised to the delegation, by the Defence officials at the Pentagon, as the 'biggest mover in US foreign policy'. It has taken some time but India has been 'de-hyphenated' from Pakistan (the India – Pakistan relationship) and is now being considered as a significant ally in its own right. The US officials clearly understood the importance of India as the world's largest democracy and as also containing one of the largest moderate Muslim populations in the world. 2.21 While India is clearly worthy of individual attention from the US the challenge for US officials is to develop the bilateral relationship with India while remaining a partner with Pakistan in the Global War on Terror. While progress has been made most officials in the US regard this balance as largely unresolved. 2.22 While India may have been "de-hyphenated" from Pakistan many officials now see India as being a balance to an emerging China. The strengthening US relationship with India was described by the SSI as being part of an informal process of channeling China's power. US economic interests in both India

and China were acknowledged as being too important for overt or military containment, but subtle and less militant shaping were assessed as offering significant long term benefit. 2.23 RAND also offered some insight into the Indian perspective of the impact of the emergence of Chinese economic and military power. The delegation was briefed that Indian officials had briefed RAND that China's economic success has been a source of great confidence and motivation for India. India, with its highly educated work-force, regards itself as better placed to compete in the global market place than most sectors of the Chinese economy.

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(CHAPTER 5)

PROPAGANDA LAWS

INTER RELATION BETWEEN PROPAGANDA, Hybrid warfare & narrative. Existing Laws About Fake News.

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

Understanding of Propaganda & Hybrid Warfare interrelation

DIAGRAM (9)

DIAGRAM (10)

The Legality of Fake News

The Prohibition of Propaganda for War in International Law (2007).

The Remedies Against Fake News

Counter Propaganda

Distorted News

'Fake News' and 'Disinformation' Legal References

Specific Types of Propaganda Regulated by International Law

Laws for Discriminatory Propaganda, Hate Propaganda, and Incitement to Genocide

Implementation of the International Law of Propaganda

International Broadcasting Regulations

Further Observations

Understanding of Propaganda & Hybrid Warfare interrelation.

Whenever there is modern study for PROPAGANDA it will lead to Hybrid warfare or 5th Generation war due to the obvious motives of modern day propaganda.

In context of the Hybrid Warfare concept, propaganda as previously considered, could be recognized as a part of all offered pillars: special and PSYOPS, economy and energy, media

and Internet, and public diplomacy. For sure, in some pillars propaganda is the tool of acceleration and it supports the desired effects (special operations, economy, public diplomacy). However, in some of them it has its own agenda (PSYOPS, media, Internet). Furthermore, propaganda as an instrument of strategic communication for the purpose of achieving hybrid aims, is used in the preparation phase (creation of stereotypes and prejudice) and in the phase of action (motivation for action, readiness to fight, insensibility for „their“ victims, generalization of „our“ achievements as undoubted right, etc.).

On the basis of the above mentioned analysis, the conclusion could be affected in line with identifying the process of propaganda: the Existence of the Power Elite, which consumes the delegated and elected by people right to estimate priorities and image of the reality; the Power Elite aspires to efficiency, prioritization and economization of the masses by using the focus - based stereotypes and prejudice in forms of rational and irrational messages broadcasting; Messages could be addressed to any audience, group, nation, and they have purpose to achieve aims of the Power Elite. In the core of propaganda we have recognized stereotypes, prejudice and mass manipulation moulding.

Considering stereotypes and theory of prejudice, one group, even the whole nation, could be directed to some other group or nation by active communication campaign provided by the elected elite, or interest groups, which are considered as the unique elite.

Of course, propaganda is essential for dissemination and support of all activities and achievements in the sphere of recognized pillars of the hybrid warfare concept. Globalized contemporary security environment does not recognize absolutely safe country, which means that a threat to national security is „clear and present“ danger, especially in the hybrid warfare conceptual meaning. This indicates that every country has to adopt critical and rational approach to the existence of hybrid security threats. In favour of this, active propaganda activities should be recognized as a signal of interest and current presence of interest of some side to achieve hybrid strategy dominance and goals.

As a possible answer to propaganda activities, some strategically planned activities could be performed:

Identification of sources.

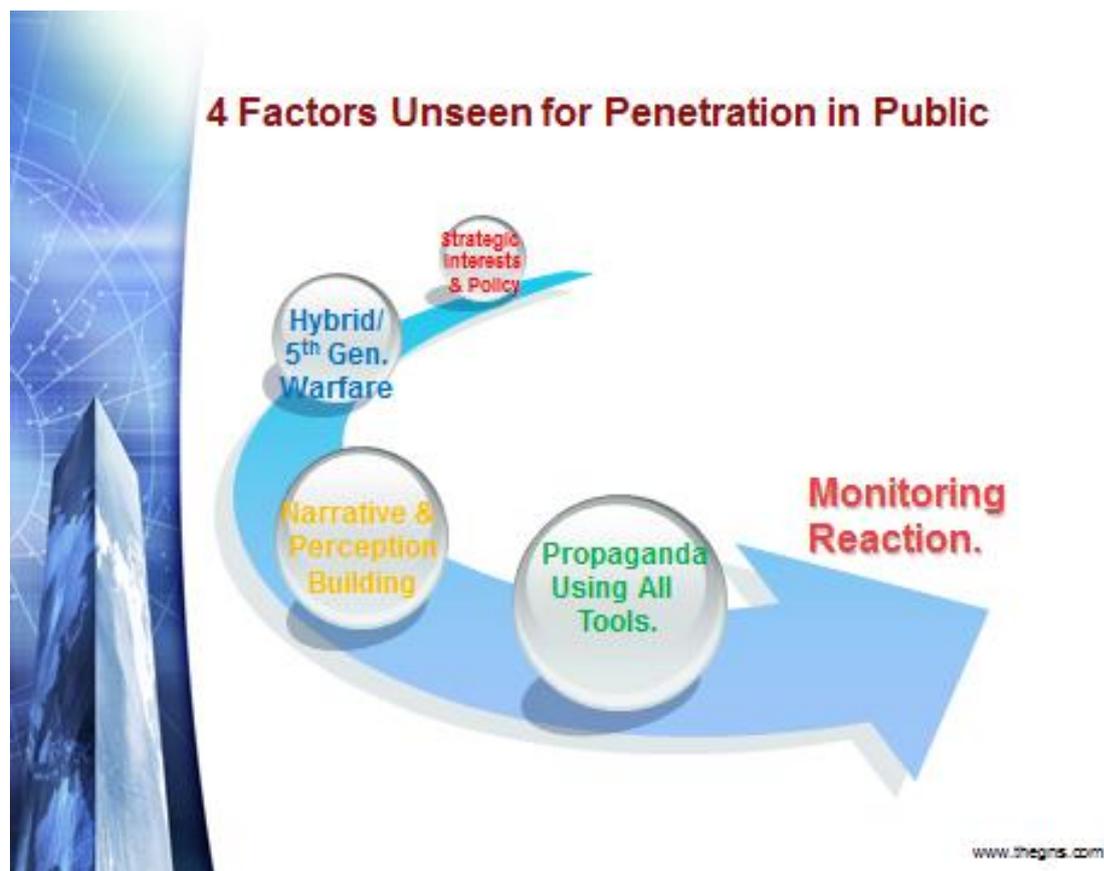
by which it is possible to identify motives of a subject, who has performed an action.⁶³ Namely, identification of initiators and their motives could provide real ambitions and aims of hybrid operations and clarify environmental situation, as well as the position of other stakeholders.

– Development *and implementation of counterpropaganda strategy*, which means the development of strategic communication campaign and its implementation. In the strategy development all necessary postulates of strategic management should be involved, otherwise, the campaign will probably fail.

Finally, propaganda is not a new phenomenon. However, in contemporary environment

it has acquired new power on the basis of previous theoretical concept and wide experience. For sure, propaganda, as well as the executed deception operations, has been the powerful tool of generals, intelligence agents and politicians throughout history.

However, in contemporary security environment it has gained a large role and significant importance mainly due to highly technically advanced and globalized international political environment.



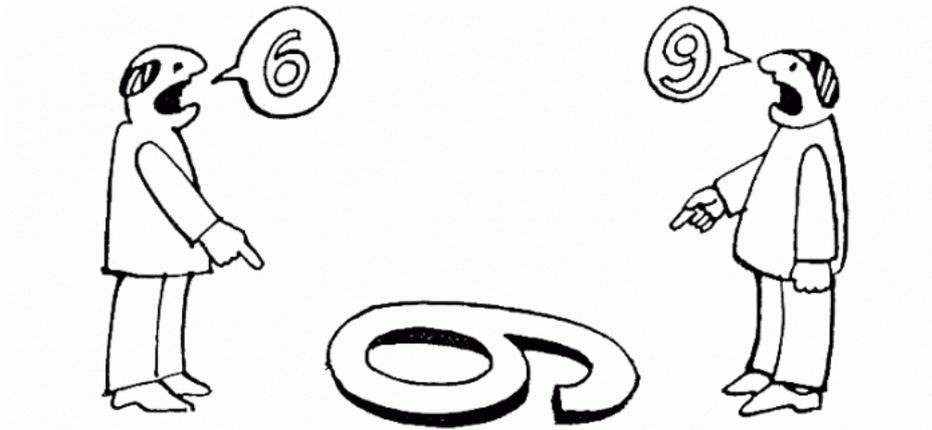
Above Diagram is quite interesting to understand as this four Balls collision or flowing creates reaction to monitor. Anything when Strategically is designed its always start with protecting and considering Strategic Interest which drives the policy. Than a rolling ball of events add in shame of Hybrid warfare and this hybrid war is aimed to build a certain narrative to support Strategic interests & Policy of the initiating factors Narrative building and perception creating can not be accomplish with out the support of Propaganda. Hence Propaganda tools are based and design to rely on Hybrid warfare. This Diagram becomes more interesting when study disclose that in some cases the entire diagram can have reverse cycle with same results. It's like some propaganda leads to start a new narrative or perception and that Narrative established due to Propaganda gets support from Hybrid warfare and when everything exists in certain way than it enforce the entry Strategic Policy making. So it's not easy to understand with most of the public propaganda that which stat of propaganda, Is it part of any Strategic policy or would it develop any policy that can only be achieved through close monitoring of circumstances and events attached.

Hence it is known and proven with many scientific researches that any form of propaganda whether it is “White, Black or Grey” All those types have adverse impact in overall context. There are many justifications from Propagandist supporters like “in love & war everything is fair” or in Sub Continent Chankya Ideology followers will say there are no ethics to achieve National narrative or supremacy. That’s the reason we see 5th Generation war is at peak in Sub Continent.

As it is So clear and deniable fact that Propaganda leads to Violence, Judicial paralysis, Hate, curbing free speech & curbing education, curbing Investigative Journalism . Now it must be quite easy to establish if propaganda is leading to these factors than no matter for what purpose it is or was but in the long run it is bad for its origin as well So for instance a propagandist can be benefitted from one aimed mission through that but at the same time its bi products such as hate & violence and curbing of education will effect its origin as well. Because successful propaganda means its Target and origin public both believed in it So it becomes a weapon which can fire back also after some time. That’s why all ethics and critics of Propaganda are agreed on one conclusion that any form of Propaganda is harmful and not good for the society and for the world peace in long run because it creates hates violence and distances’ between two opponents forever.

As in Hybrid warfare it is understood Use of non-violent means by civilian institutions include psychological assaults using ethnic, religious or national vulnerabilities, provocateurs operating behind enemy lines, economic assaults through sanctions, boycotts and punitive tariffs so as to weaken the enemy economy, cyber assaults at elections and referendums, use of big data for manipulation of referendums like Brexit and the US elections and a vast selection of propaganda warfare via electronic and social media, TV channels and publications.

As we studied Narrative building or perception creating in the last decades, history textbook research has changed profoundly with respect to methods and theories. It has evolved from a rather descriptive analysis of textbooks to embrace the use of quantitative and qualitative methods derived from the social sciences, narratology and media studies. With Narrative in conclusion it is driven that sometime two opposite narratives could be right on their own aspects and prospects. So it’s the time to look into narrative with others point of view it will help to reduce the conflicts and wars in the region. A simple diagram can explain how both opposite standing can be correct in their perception and narrative and it brings the need of understanding of others narrative not enforcing your narrative.



This one basic sketch helps so much to understand that how much important it is to listen to other's narrative before concluding a certain narrative. There are two possible positions in this sketch scenario. To further elaborate that one more example is quite useful it is letter "7" but for the opponent it could be "L". which means an entire different meaning with entire different language. Hence in conclusion it is very important to provide the atmosphere of understanding everyone's narrative despite of language differences. Instead of sticking to your own perception and establishing a propaganda based on that it's much better to go on opponents situation see in their perception it will help to reduce many territorial conflicts and wars.

The Legality of Fake News

A Fake News as Intervention

Under customary international law, intervention by one state in the internal or external affairs of another is prohibited. As held in the Nicaragua case by the ICJ, the principle of non-intervention protects the area in which sovereignty allows states to decide freely, but it does so only with respect to interventions that are 'coercive'. The range of actions between military intervention, which is clearly coercive, and offering one's good offices, which clearly is not, is a large grey area.⁴⁰ However, from the UN General Assembly's Friendly Relations Declaration, which is generally accepted as 34 M.N. Schmitt (ed.), Tallinn Manual 2.0 on the International Law Applicable to Cyber Operations (2017), at 95–96.

Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Judgment, 27 June 1986, ICJ Reports (1986) 14, at 62, 64–65, paras 109, 115.

A. Luhn, 'Pro-Kremlin Journalists Win Medals for "Objective" Coverage of Crimea', The Guardian (5 May 2014), available at www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/05/vladimir-putin-pro-kremlin-journalistsmedals-objective-crimea.

ARSIWA, supra note 32, at 53; United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran (United States of America v. Iran), Judgment, 24 May 1980, ICJ Reports (1980) 3, at 29–30, 35; see also Crawford, supra note 33, at 181–188.

EU East Stratcom Task Force, 'Corruption and Disinformation: Backstage at Russian Television', EU v. Disinfo (25 September 2017), available at <https://euvsdisinfo.eu/corruption-and-disinformation-backstage-at-russian-television/> Ioffe, 'What Is Russia Today? The Kremlin's Propaganda Outlet Has an Identity Crisis', Columbia Journalism Review (2010), available at http://archives.cjr.org/feature/what_is_russia_today.php; Borchers, supra note 9, at 93.

Nicaragua, supra note 35, para. 205.

Kunig, 'Intervention, Prohibition of', in R. Wolfrum (ed.), Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law (2012), vol. 6, 289, at 289–291 reflecting custom.

It is clear that coerciveness is not restricted to the use of physical force.

The recent Tallinn Manual 2.0 defines coercion as 'an affirmative act designed to deprive another State of its freedom of choice, that is, to force that State to act in an involuntary manner or involuntarily refrain from acting in a particular way'.

In regard to broadcasts, Maziar Jamnejad and Michael Wood summarized the law of non-intervention as follows: Whether a broadcast contravenes the non-intervention principle depends on all the circumstances.

If it is deliberately false and intended to produce dissent or encourage insurgents, the non-intervention principle is likely to be breached. If factual and neutral, it is doubtful that the broadcast will constitute intervention, regardless of the effect it may in fact have.

The main problem in specifying the threshold of coerciveness seems to be that various forms of pressure – for example, of an economic kind – are regarded as a legitimate and lawful part of international relations.

Fake news in the strict sense (false news) may be coercive in the required sense. So far, there seems to be no state practice confirming this interpretation, but there are sufficient reasons that a state experiencing intervention by false news might advance to justify such a claim. First, economic pressure was rejected as a possible means of intervention because, in effect, this would have deprived states of changing their trading and development aid policies, which are generally a sovereign part of states' external affairs. Recognizing false news as a possible means of intervention would not have any other direct legal repercussions. Second, while false news does not constitute a 'threat' against decision-makers.

It is coercive in the sense that it manipulates their capacity to reason. Much clearer than leaking true information at a strategically chosen time.

It utilizes the 'forceless coercion of the better argument' in a manipulative way.

Jamnejad and Wood, 'The Principle of Non-Intervention', 22 Leiden Journal of International Law (2009) 345, at 374.

Nicaragua, supra note 35, para. 245; see also Damrosch, supra note 42, at 34, 42, 47.

De Brabandere, 'Propaganda', in R. Wolfrum (ed.), Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law (2012), vol. 8, 507, at 509, para. 11; see also M.J. Kearney,

The Prohibition of Propaganda for War in International Law (2007).

At 12; Preuss, 'International Responsibility for Hostile Propaganda against Foreign States', 28 AJIL (1934) 649, at 652, 654, 668.

Ohlin, 'Did Russian Cyber-Interference in the 2016 Election Violate International Law?', 95 Texas Law Review (2017) 1579, at 1591–1592.

Cf. Goodman, 'International Law and the US Response to Russian Election Interference', Just Security Blog (5 January 2017), available at www.justsecurity.org/35999/international-law-response-russian-electioninterference/.

Applicability to Modern Fake News

While Article 3 of the Broadcasting Convention certainly applies to false news, it is questionable if it is violated by merely distorted news. This would not only be inconsistent with the ordinary meaning of 'incorrectness' since, despite post-modern doubts in the scientific community, whether a statement is 'correct' or 'incorrect' is determined, in ordinary language, by a simple correspondence theory of truth – that is, the accordance of the statement with reality. This was also the view of the Drafting Committee: 'The word "incorrectness" is taken in the current sense of allegations inconsistent with the truth.' The French word '*inexactitude*' seems somewhat more open to a wider interpretation, but, ultimately, the purpose of Article 3 is to counter false information, not incorrect interpretations or a certain presentation of facts.

The Remedies against Fake News

Remedies against fake news may be reactive (sections A and B), but they may also be preventive (section C).

A Right to Correction

When false news violates the principle of non-intervention, its correction and acknowledgement as false could be demanded as restitution and satisfaction respectively under Articles 35 and 37 of ARSIWA. Article 3(2) of the Broadcasting Convention also requires states parties to establish a procedure to publicly rectify incorrect – that is, false – statements that harm good international understanding, regardless if that incorrectness could have been known in advance.

A Right to Reply

The somewhat misnomered 1953 Convention on the International Right of Correction (Correction Convention)⁹⁸ gives, in Article II(1), a special right to states parties against news material that is distributed by news agencies to end-user media ('news dispatches' within the meaning of Article I)

The state receiving a communiqué satisfying the formal requirements of Article II(2) must, 'whatever be its opinion concerning the facts', distribute it through the channels it usually uses for communications on international affairs and to the news agency responsible

(Article III). If the state fails to comply with its obligations under Article III, the UN Secretary-General shall 'give publicity to the information' (Article IV). All of these obligations are subject to strict time limits.

Like the Broadcasting Convention's duty to rectify, the 'right of correction' established by the Correction Convention's unwieldy language applies to private and public news agencies, irrespective of any prior knowledge of the shortcomings of the statement made and only in an international context. Unlike it, the Correction Convention's right explicitly applies even to distorted news and is directed against any state party in whose territory a foreign news agency's dispatch was disseminated, even if its origin is in a non-contracting state. The convention allows aggrieved states to have their side of the story heard. The 'international right of correction' is thus really a right to reply for states supported by the duty of other states parties and the UN to amplify it.

Could the Correction Convention have been a tool for Germany in the Lisa case? Leaving aside the question of ratification (neither Germany nor Russia is a party), the answer would probably be that it would not. Germany would not have had a right to have a communiqué disseminated in Russia, since the news dispatch from the news agency Sputnik originated domestically in Russia, not from abroad. Moreover, it was its effects inside Germany, not in other states, that mattered. An example from the Cold War to which the convention could have been applied in a sensible manner is a dispatch by Novosti, Sputnik's predecessor news agency, that stated in 1987 that the USA had developed an 'ethnic weapon' that would kill only 'Africans'.

Counter-Propaganda

In 2015, the European Council took action against 'Russia's ongoing disinformation campaigns'¹⁰⁰ by creating, under the auspices of the EU External Action Service, an 'East StratCom Task Force', which seeks to raise awareness of, and to debunk, fake news.¹⁰¹ In addition, national units could be established that monitor the news cycle for items that seem to be pushed strategically, like the Lisa case.¹⁰² Their task would be to alert relevant authorities and actors to the potential impact of such news and 'Soviets Accuse U.S. of "Ethnic Weapon" in War of Words', Chicago Tribune (7 June 1987).

European Council, Conclusions of 19/20 March, Doc. EUCO 11/15, 20 March 2015, para. 13. European Parliament, *supra* note 13, at 42–44.

J. Janda, The Lisa Case: STRATCOM Lessons for European States, German Federal Academy of Security Policy, Security Policy Working Paper no. 11/2016

The Limits of Legal Regulation

False news is, and can be legitimately, regulated repressively. States are prohibited from deliberately producing false news at least in certain constellations under the Broadcasting

Convention and according to the principle of non-intervention. Private actors might also be held to that standard, but their human rights need to be taken into account. It should be noted that even state-owned or state-funded corporate entities may enjoy international human rights protection.

According to Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), the threshold for considering that a person 'ought to know' the incorrectness of a statement would have to be set rather high. Under the ECHR, for example, journalists must '[act] in good faith and ma[k]e sure that the articles were written in compliance with ordinary journalistic obligations to Inside Putin's On-Air Machine, *Time* (26 March 2015), available at <http://time.com/rt-putin/>.

117 Gendreau, 'The internet made "fake news" a thing – then made it nothing', *Wired* (25 February 2017),

available at www.wired.com/2017/02/internet-made-fake-news-thing-made-nothing.

118 Cf. Frankfurt, 'On Bullshit', in H.G. Frankfurt (ed.), *The Importance of What We Care About* (1988), at 130–131.

Gans, *supra* note 109, at 182.

Graves, *supra* note 7, at 75; same approach by the European Commission, *supra* note 5, at 10–11.

J. Röpke and J. Vollmer, 'Propaganda mit einer angeblichen Vergewaltigung', *Bild* (26 January 2016), available at www.bild.de/politik/inland/npd/wie-russland-mit-angeblicher-vergewaltigung-propaganda-macht-44289532.bild.html.

Distorted NEWS

Distorted news, on the other hand, is considerably more difficult to grasp legally. The old concerns of overly restricting freedom of speech for legitimate actors are still well founded. It would certainly be possible to decide case by case, taking into account freedom of speech, which kind of news is sufficiently distorted to count as fake news, developing generalizable standards in the process. The British communications regulator Ofcom is doing just that. For example, in 2015, Ofcom found *RT* to be in breach of its Broadcasting Code; *RT* had not shown 'due impartiality' and had 'materially mislead' the audience.

However, it is caution against going down that path any further. Considering the degree to which all news – and even its modern sub-genre of fact-checking – struggles with balanced and accurate reporting. Only in extreme cases could legitimately be taken to violate such provisions, taking into account the right to freedom of expression. Generally, for distorted news, the right to freedom of expression will stand in the way of repressive sanctions – and rightly so. The potential for abuse is immense.

Governmental information can address distorted news, and a right to reply, if available, might also be conducive. From a human rights perspective, the right to reply established by the Correction Convention is indeed entirely unproblematic; it obliges only states and the UN to disseminate the reply, without imposing a duty of publication on any private actor. Since nowadays any state can easily contact any news organization and publish press releases that are available instantaneously worldwide via the Internet, the added value of

the right might lie in the help of other states or the UN in giving it more publicity. A noteworthy feature of the Correction Convention, in regard to attribution, is that it allows action to be taken against news emanating from a state that is not a party to it by establishing a cooperative network of other states. It might, to a certain extent, be a role model for mechanisms that do not rely on attribution of conduct at all.

This is all the more important since, in practice, false news is mostly distributed by informal websites and through user-generated content, while distorted news is mostly

The exceptions to the freedom of expression generally admitted under international human rights law can be brought back to several types of propaganda specifically regulated by international law (see below at [section D](#)). In addition to war-mongering propaganda (*[Propaganda for War, Prohibition of](#)*) aimed at, or likely to provoke or encourage, a threat to the peace (*[Peace, Threat to](#)*), a breach of the peace (*[Peace, Breach of](#)*), or an act of *[aggression](#)*, four types of propaganda are specifically being regulated by international law: (1) subversive propaganda aimed at influencing nationals of another State towards insurrection, revolt, or civil strife; (2) defamatory propaganda against foreign States and their officials, such as *[Heads of State](#)* and diplomats; (3) discriminatory propaganda and incitement to discrimination, *[genocide](#)*, and other international crimes; (4) and more recently, incitement to *[terrorism](#)*.

The implementation of the international rules on propaganda will be discussed subsequently (see below at [section E](#)). The question of *[State responsibility](#)* for breaches of international obligations in this respect will be addressed first, followed by the international rules in respect of international broadcasting (*[Broadcasting, International Regulation](#)*), which supplement the general rules, especially in respect of State interference with foreign broadcasts.

‘Fake News’ and ‘Disinformation’ Legal References

Since 2016, the notions of ‘fake news’ and ‘disinformation’, which have very strong connections with the notion of ‘propaganda’, have gradually gathered more attention. While there is no consensus on a legal definition of ‘fake news’, it has been described as ‘information that has been deliberately fabricated and disseminated with the intention to deceive and mislead others into believing falsehoods or doubting verifiable facts; it is disinformation that is presented as, or is likely to be perceived as, news’ (McGonagle 203). Others however have considered ‘fake news’ to be an umbrella term for false news, that is, news that is (intentionally) fabricated thereby echoing [UNGA Resolution 127 \(II\) of 15 November 1947](#) (Baade 1358–59). There is a tendency amongst official institutions and international organizations to instead refer to the term ‘disinformation’, which is considered more neutral and understood to cover ‘all forms of false, inaccurate, or misleading information designed, presented and promoted to intentionally cause public harm or for profit’ ([European Commission ‘A Multi-Dimensional Approach to Disinformation: Report of the Independent High Level Group on Fake News and Online Disinformation’ 10–11](#)).

Compared to the definition of propaganda, there is notable overlap between ‘fake news’ and ‘disinformation’ although both should be distinguished conceptually. However, from a legal perspective, whether defined as ‘fake news’ or ‘disinformation’, such communications are not treated differently in international law from communications which are covered by the notion of ‘propaganda’. For this reason, whether defined as ‘fake news’ or ‘disinformation’, these communications are covered by the same types of propaganda that are regulated by international law (see [section D](#) below). ‘Fake news’ or ‘disinformation’ is likewise subjected to the same rules and exceptions concerning the freedom of expression under international human rights.

Propaganda and Freedom of Expression and Information in the eyes of Law

In general, conflicts are likely to appear between the regulation of propaganda as a form of communication and the freedoms of expression and information. Art. 19 [Universal Declaration of Human Rights \(1948\)](#) declares that ‘[e]veryone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers’ ([UNGA Res 217 A \(III\) ‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ \(10 December 1948\) GAOR 3rd Session Part I Resolutions 71](#)). A similar provision was enshrined in Art. 19 [International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights \(1966\)](#) (999 UNTS 171; ‘ICCPR’). Other international instruments, such as the [Helsinki Final Act \(1975\)](#) (Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe ‘Final Act’ [1 August 1975] [1975] 14 ILM 1292) have reaffirmed the commitment of the participating States to freedom of information.

The broadly worded exceptions contained in international human rights instruments have been at the centre of the confrontation between the freedom of information and the right of a State to protect its internal security and public order. Especially during the [Cold War \(1947–91\)](#), Western States were generally inclined to maximize the rights of individuals to have access to information emanating from a foreign State, while Communist States were generally reluctant to accept an absolute freedom of information, advocating the necessity to maintain their national cultural and social systems.

The [European Court of Human Rights \(ECtHR\)](#) has emphasized on several occasions that freedom of information is applicable ‘not only to “information” or “ideas” that are favourably received or regarded as inoffensive or as a matter of indifference, but also to those that offend, shock or disturb the State or any sector of the population’ ([Handyside v United Kingdom para. 49](#); see also [Lingens v Austria para. 41](#)). The [Inter-American Court of Human Rights \(IACtHR\)](#) ([Herrera-Ulloa v Costa Rica \[Judgment\] para. 113](#)), the [Human Rights Committee](#) ([Communications Nos 422–424/1990, Aduayom et al v Toqo para. 7.4](#)), and the [African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights \(ACommHPR\)](#) ([Media Rights Agenda and Others v Nigeria para. 54](#)) have also highlighted the importance of freedom of expression for all information and ideas.

It is now beyond doubt that both freedom of expression and freedom of information are not absolute, as they are subjected to the exceptions provided for in international human rights instruments. Restrictions to these rights are permissible under the general derogations provided for in several human rights instruments. [Art.19 ICCPR](#) authorizes restrictions to freedom of information, on the condition that these restrictions are both

provided by law, and necessary for the respect of the rights or reputations of others, and for the protection of national security, public order, public health, or morals. Under the [European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms \(1950\)](#) ('ECHR'), freedom of expression can be restricted when it is 'necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary' ([Art. 10 \(2\) ECHR](#)). The IACtHR has also noted that restrictions must not only be previously established by law, but that they must also be intended to 'ensure the rights or reputation of others or to protect national security, public order, or public health or morals' and be 'necessary in a democratic society' ([Herrera-Ulloa v Costa Rica \[Judgment\] para. 120](#)). In general, these restrictions can be brought back to four types of propaganda specifically regulated by international law.

Specific Types of Propaganda Regulated by International Law

Laws for Subversive Propaganda

Subversive propaganda has been regulated by international law for many years. It can be described as propaganda aimed at destabilizing State institutions by influencing nationals of another State towards insurrection, revolt, or civil strife. The regulation of subversive propaganda is mainly aimed at regulating classical types of inter-State propaganda. It is related to the principle of sovereign equality of States ([States, Sovereign Equality](#)) and the obligation for States not to interfere with the internal affairs of other States ([Intervention, Prohibition of](#)), as reaffirmed by the [International Court of Justice \(ICJ\)](#) in the [Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua Case \(Nicaragua v United States of America\)](#).

The rule that States are under an obligation to avoid official statements tending to produce civil strife in another State is a deep-rooted principle of [customary international law](#). One of the first examples of the firm establishment of this rule in international law is the repeal by France in 1792 of a decree offering aid to revolutionary movements, as the decree was deemed to be contrary to international law.

Before World War I, efforts to regulate subversive propaganda were confined to the inclusion of anti-propaganda provisions in bilateral friendship treaties. The appearance of short-wave broadcasting, boosting cross-border communication and therefore the ability of States, State-controlled agencies, and individuals to broadcast propaganda messages in foreign States, drew the attention of States to the need to regulate international propaganda at a multilateral level. One of the first multilateral attempts to regulate the use of broadcasting in peace time is the [International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace](#) ([adopted 23 September 1936, entered into force 2 April 1938] 186 LNTS 301) under the auspices of the League of Nations. This Convention is formally still in force between several States such as New Zealand, Sweden, India, Denmark, Ireland, Egypt, Finland, Sweden, Hungary, [Russia](#), and Switzerland. Several other States, including the Netherlands, France, Australia, and the United Kingdom, denounced the Convention during the Cold War. According to its Art. 1, States were required to undertake to prohibit the broadcasting of any transmission which incites the population of another territory to commit acts

incompatible with the internal order or the security of that territory. The obligation to control propaganda established by the Convention existed for propaganda originating from within the State's territory, regardless of the private or public origin of the message.

Laws for Defamatory Propaganda

Defamatory propaganda in international law can be described as verbal attacks directed against foreign States and their officials, such as Heads of State and diplomats. Although propaganda messages can, in fact, contain true elements, the intention of providing misleading and distorted information with a predetermined purpose is mostly an essential element of propaganda.

Art. 29 [Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations \(1961\)](#) (500 UNTS 95; 'Vienna Convention') requires the receiving State to treat diplomatic agents 'with due respect and [to] take all appropriate steps to prevent any attack on his person, freedom or dignity'. The ICJ considered that this provision reflects a rule of customary law which, besides its application to diplomatic agents, 'is necessarily applicable to Heads of State' and in effect 'translates into positive obligations for the receiving State as regards the action of its own authorities, and into obligations of prevention as regards possible acts by individuals' ([Case concerning Certain Questions of Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters \[Djibouti v France\]](#) [2008] ICJ Rep 177, para. 174).

As far as the obligations of States with respect to defamation are concerned, one has to distinguish between defamation originating from State officials and defamation originating from private persons or other [non-State actors](#). In line with [Art. 29 Vienna Convention](#), States have a general obligation under international law to refrain from making offensive or defamatory remarks about the head of another State. In that case, the State against which the attacks are directed has a right to protest and to demand appropriate reparation.

As far as defamation originating from individuals other than State officials or representatives is concerned, international law is less strict. There is no obligation for States to take positive action to prevent or punish defamatory conduct and acts of individuals other than State officials or representatives. The apology sometimes given by States to the offended State in respect of acts of defamation by individuals is more a question of international courtesy than an obligation under customary international law. In those cases, the claimant will need to bring a claim in defamation before a national court, which will evaluate the claim, taking into account the applicable constitutional human rights, such as freedom of expression. As stated above, Art. 19 ICCPR for instance contains a restriction on the freedom of expression to ensure respect for the rights or reputation of others. Moreover, it is not completely clear what would constitute an 'attack on the dignity' of foreign Heads of State under international law. In the 2007 case [Aziz v Aziz and Others, HM the Sultan of Brunei Intervening](#), the Court of Appeal of the United Kingdom concluded that the right to individual speech as such, with the possible exception of extreme speech, does not require States to take any positive action (at para. 86). Art. 29 Vienna Convention would only require States to take positive action to prevent and punish physical attacks by individuals other than State officials or representatives against foreign diplomats and Heads of State.

Laws for Discriminatory Propaganda, Hate Propaganda, and Incitement to Genocide

International attention in respect of discriminatory propaganda—also referred to as hate propaganda or hate speech—and in respect of incitement to commit international crimes, such as genocide and [crimes against humanity](#) increased in the late 1990s. The revival of international awareness on the necessity to bring such communications to a halt was, in particular, the consequence of the use of media propaganda in the Rwandan genocide ([Rwanda](#)), inter alia, through

the now infamous *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*. Discriminatory propaganda differs from the previous discussed types of propaganda, as discriminatory propaganda is not necessarily cross-border or directed against a foreign State or its officials.

Incitement to Terrorism

Although some cases of terrorist propaganda and incitement to terrorism could fall under the prohibition of hate propaganda or discriminatory propaganda, several instruments are specifically directed at prohibiting terrorist propaganda through the prohibition of direct and/or indirect incitement to terrorism

Implementation of the International Law of Propaganda

Propaganda and State Responsibility

Many of the prohibitions on propaganda discussed above, such as defamatory or subversive propaganda, are primarily addressed to States. Therefore, if a State organ is in breach of its obligations under international law with respect to propaganda, this violation can engage the international responsibility of the State ([Art. 4 UN ILC 'Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts' \[2001\] GAOR 56th Session Supp 10, 43](#)). The same is true in respect of private broadcasters, when their conduct or acts can be attributed to the State, in cases where these private entities exercise elements of the governmental authority ([ibid Art. 5](#)), because they are acting on the instructions of, or under the direction or control of, that State (State-controlled agencies), or because the State acknowledges and adopts the conduct in question as its own ([ibid Art. 11](#)).

The question whether the responsibility of States extends to broadcasting of propaganda by individuals is more controversial ([Responsibility of States for Private Actors](#)). States generally deny any responsibility for such acts by their nationals and base their argument on freedom of expression and freedom of information. Such a distinction is particularly evident in the case of defamation discussed in [Section D.2](#) above. Several national legal systems include provisions on the criminalization of subversive propaganda by individuals, and similar national acts exist for defamation. The prohibition of discriminatory propaganda is also mainly addressed to individuals and can therefore result in the individual responsibility of the perpetrator, as evidenced by various judgments of the ad hoc criminal tribunals. State responsibility can nevertheless also be established when the State has the obligation to criminalize certain behaviour, such as in the case of incitement to terrorism, or when the State has the obligation to ensure that certain rights of persons are respected, such as in the case of defamatory propaganda. In those cases, international responsibility is a consequence of the breach of these obligations, not a result of a violation by the State of the norms on the prohibition of propaganda.

International Broadcasting Regulations

States can unilaterally have recourse to measures in order to halt alleged propaganda messages targeting the internal security of the State or the reputation of the State and its institutions. These measures may however conflict with a State's international obligations, both in respect of broadcasting and human rights. In the past, several cases of harmful interference have occurred, in particular during the Cold War. For instance, in the late 1950s the USSR jammed international transmissions by the United States-controlled Voice of America, while in the early 1990s the Government of [Cuba](#) jammed transmissions by Radio Marti, a United States-sponsored television

project transmitting directly to Cuban households. Radio Free Europe was also targeted by jamming campaigns during the Cold War.

The efforts of a State to bring to an end cross-border communication considered propaganda first of all need to be in accordance with the international regulation of broadcasting. [Art. 45 Constitution and Convention of the International Telecommunication Union \(\[concluded 22 December 1992, entered into force 1 July 1994\] 1825 UNTS 143; *International Telecommunication Union \[ITU\]*\)](#) adopts the principle that all radio stations must be operated in such a manner as not to cause harmful interference to the radio services or communications of other Member States or operating agencies. This amounts to a general prohibition of ‘jamming’, or deliberate radio interference, a measure States make use of to bring to an end international broadcasts they deem to be propaganda. However, such action is often based on the alleged illegality of the broadcasted message, and is therefore considered by the State jamming the foreign broadcast to be in accordance with international law as a countermeasure or an act of [self-defence \(Countermeasures\)](#). [Art. 34 ITU Constitution](#) authorizes Member States to stop, in accordance with their national law, any private message, if the communication may appear to be dangerous to the security of the State or contrary to its laws, [ordre public \(public policy\)](#), or decency.

Further Observations

Regulating fake news can be lawful and legitimate – up to a certain point. What must be avoided at all costs is developing a double standard: that fake news is illegal only if employed by ‘the others’. Most of the examples in this article concern Russian media, which may appear to be distortive in its own right. In fact, this focus is owed to the allegations levelled against Russian media from many sides and the ready availability of examples provided by Soviet disinformation practices.

Western states, it should be noted, also have a track record of information operations. During the Cold War, Western stations were indeed meant to destabilize the Soviet Union and other Eastern European states, but they sought to stay factually correct because this was considered to be more effective.

Any legal standard concerning fake news must therefore be a rather formal and potentially universal one, applicable without reference to overly particularist values or, worse, one’s geopolitical leanings. Otherwise, action taken against outlets such as *Sputnik* or *RT* might well set a precedent that authoritarian regimes can rely on for clamping down on more legitimate news networks. Post-World War II, democratic states widely thought a free and pluralistic press to be the best safeguard against fake news. Cf. Pronay and Taylor, “An Improper Use of Broadcasting ...” *The British Government and Clandestine Radio Propaganda Operations against Germany during the Munich Crisis and After*, 19(3) *Journal of Contemporary History* (1984) 357, at 365; Spahn, *supra* note 12, at 91ff.

Krieger, ‘Krieg gegen anonymous: Völkerrechtliche Regelungsmöglichkeiten bei unsicherer Zurechnung im Cyberwar’, 50 *Archiv des Völkerrechts* (2012) 1, at 11ff. 135 Cf. Luhmann, *supra* note 112, at 77, 118–119; Human Rights Committee, General Comment no. 34, Doc. CCPR/C/GC/34, 12 September 2011, at 40. 136 See, e.g., R. Shultz and R. Godson, *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy* (1984), at 133–157,

137 Pronay and Taylor, *supra* note 133, at 362; ‘Radio Free Europe’, *Oxford Essential Dictionary of the U.S. Military* (2001).

N. Schlosser, *Cold War on the Airwaves: The Radio Propaganda War against East Germany* (2015), at 57–58,

While this should still hold true, considering today's overabundance of information, the free flow of information might need some assistance. Since the complexity of the information age will not disappear, strategies to manage it are necessary.

Trust and distrust are both tools that allow us to deal with the complexity of the information confronting us. Making it easier for audiences to verify the trust vested in media might be a sensible step. Transparency in regard to media's source of capital and highlighting existing safeguards for their independence may be conducive.

For such transparency to be of use, media and digital literacy must be promoted and the information must be easily accessible. Answering distortion with distortive counter-propaganda, however, only creates more distortion and, therefore, precisely the untrustworthy information environment at which fake news is aimed.

Propaganda can be described as a method of communication, by State organs or individuals, aimed at influencing and manipulating the behaviour of people in a certain predefined way. The element of influence and manipulation is at the centre of the concept, and distinguishes it from mere factual information. The notion of propaganda remains, however, relatively unclear from an international law perspective, since propaganda is not on the whole regulated by international law. In the past, various meanings have been attributed to the term propaganda, and no all-encompassing definition of the notion currently exists in international law.

If we look into History, Throughout history, many efforts have been made to regulate the use of propaganda messages in international law and international relations, with varying degrees of success. In the course of the 20th century, technological innovation, the development of direct [*satellite broadcasting*](#), and the increased use of short-wave broadcasting with its inevitable influence on international relations ([*Mass Media, Influence on International Relations*](#)) have amplified international attention towards the regulation of certain cross-border communications. The first multilateral rules, aimed at regulating traditional forms of transnational propaganda, were developed under the auspices of the [*League of Nations*](#) and, after World War II, the [*United Nations \(UN\)*](#).

Any regulation of propaganda in peacetime potentially conflicts with the freedom of expression ([*Opinion and Expression, Freedom of, International Protection*](#)) and the freedom of information ([*Information and Communication, Freedom of, International Protection*](#)). Although both freedoms are well-established [*human rights*](#), they are not absolute, and are subjected to exceptions according to international law, both generally and specifically in relation to propaganda.

Although many of the above-mentioned issues and conflicts emerged in the Cold War era, the potential clashes between propaganda messages and freedom of information and expression remain real. The prohibitions of both defamatory and subversive propaganda, when originating from States, State officials, or representatives of States, have been established customary legal norms since the beginning of the 20th century.

In the past decades, attention has shifted towards the regulation of certain types of propaganda as an individual activity. The prohibition on discriminatory propaganda and especially incitement to genocide, as well as the prohibition of incitement to terrorism, have become prominent in current international law, for obvious reasons. Although the notion of discriminatory propaganda dates back to the end of World War II, many scholars have called for a strong confirmation of the principle in international law, even through the addition of incitement to genocide and hate propaganda to the list of international crimes. The same is true in respect of incitement to terrorism, as a corollary of international efforts to combat terrorism in general. International law will certainly evolve rapidly in these areas.

(CHAPTER 6)

THE CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Yes!! No Doubt strategic interests of every entity, country or region can be different but entire history of wars is filled with blaming strategic interests. Whether we look into Adolf Hitler's Propaganda Machines or Klu Klux Klan (KKK) white supremacy propaganda or ISIS in Middle East are latest examples. Hence even terrorist organizations create justifications for their wrong doings. If we look into reasons for all major wars for last 150 years. It is evident from World War I/ WWII till Afghanistan Iraq, Yemen wars, The reasons were strategic defense and narrative.

If we look into present day situation of the world All the major regional strategic & Economical conflicts are relying on False/Fake Propaganda , & Hybrid warfare supported by cover of National narrative and Strategic necessity for in depth Strategical controls . Exactly like in the case study of this thesis Iraq invasion was classic example of propaganda which lead to a nonstop and so far never ending bloodshed in the country. While the entire fear of WMD's was just collection and selection of lies. North Korea and USA keep threatening each other with nuclear wipe out. And its not hard to conclude that both countries are using worst form of propaganda tools and techniques to keep their public and rest of the world in darkness and misguided. Iran, Saudi Conflict seems a sect base conflict between two Muslim countries but again its victim of fake narrative and perception. The biggest of all is India vs Pakistan conflict. As per many studies this conflict could cause a possible nuclear war or even World War III which would kill millions from both countries and can even destroy this planet forever. Public from both side is unaware of cruelty of politicians and establishments. It has been noticed that Indian media known as Godi media is inciting the war and hate against Pakistan so much mainly for its political motives. Like its known fact whenever Modi Govt. is in political trouble or near any important public elections tensions between Pakistan & India rises . India starts ceasefire violations in the region and sometime any false flag incident also become part of the tensions. Undoubtedly Its always the most successful trick for controlling public's brain and building perception based on fear. India has become biggest supporter and expert of 5th Generation war so Indian hybrid war tool against Pakistan are very well known. Whether we study about Mumbai Attacks in 2006 or latest Pulwama (Indian Occupied Kashmir) attack Incident one factor is very clear that state supported and sponsored propaganda can not only deceptive for the world but also can lead into any big standoff or war.

It is inevitable to overlook the state desire to secure its strategic interests, but which type of methodologies being used can be questioned. As we know there are rules, laws & norms against fake news and propaganda but in modern day policy making of strategic affairs now it is required to have some legal bindings and obligations through UNO charter and Geneva Convention which is quite clear about laws against Human rights , Diplomats , and freedom of speech but now this is time to introduce otherwise laws also in clear wording and definitions to stop Governments to do state sponsored Propaganda against any nation or group. Otherwise powerful nations/ countries will carry on deceiving UNO and other organizations and world. The fact that every country desire to achieve best for its strategic interests can't be denied but question remain what kind of illegal, unethical, unlawful, inhumane & ill methods are being used to achieve such motives. In 21st century where planet earth is facing lots of challenges this kind of anti humanity activities must come under enforcement of international laws. Despite of facing global challenges like Global Warming & Covid-19 Pandemic humanity can't afford any large scale wars or world war III in the presence of So much nuclear arsenal in the hands of different countries.

Now time is running out this danger of false propaganda & fatality of Hybrid warfare is needed to be addressed. Otherwise one small miscalculation will result into any large conflict and in the latest example China and India were at the verge of war in Ladakh region and Godi Media was adding fire on fuel with their typical war hysteria style propaganda. As we have determined that latest methodologies to control the world will not be based on army strengths or collection of modern weaponry rather it is based on Hybrid warfare to create an environment to make certain agendas acceptable and popular around the world. Why everything is allowed under the name of strategic interests.

There has to be a designed mechanism based on equality and impartiality to bring laws against fake propaganda, Hybrid Warfare. As per study many highly educated and intellectuals also came under the influence of 5th generation Media war in recent times.it was Due to basic perception of trusting everything shown on TV screen printed in Newspapers, Published on websites , on Social media, Digital Media or even told by your own leaders. This study emphasis people need to be more vigilant and must investigate as habit before believing anything reaches through any source especially when it comes to national interest or certain narrative.

The main objective of this thesis is to reduce risk of future Wars by making people aware of propaganda tools, Types & Techniques. For people to know Hybrid war Methodology. Common People must be able to understand concepts of Narrative and certain perceptions. To be able to evaluate everything in the name of Strategic interests. It is required to emphasis on world leadership and legislators to implement new rules and regulations using United Nation Organization's Charter to stop False Propaganda & Hybrid warfare. Undoubtedly there is a need of new set laws like in "Geneva Convention" to prevent nations from outrages of False propaganda and deceptive narrative building.

As we are aware There are International laws for the countries in case of certain types of nuclear programs and uranium enrichment and in case of not complying with international

laws the entire country will face sanctions for example IRAN, North Korea etc & these sanctions are implemented by United Nations. Similarly there are organizations like FATF put restrictions in case of not complying with Terror financing, money laundering or financial irregularities. FATF have designed White, Grey, Black list for different categories. North Korea and Afghanistan are in black list and facing so many financial restrictions. In both cases sanctions by United Nations or restrictions by organizations like FATF entire country suffers and country leadership & establishment has to comply the rules and laws to come out. Exactly the same way by understanding the fatality of State supported fake propaganda, Hybrid warfare; Deceptive Narrative building can cause the biggest possible conflicts and losses. It is time to introduce the laws, rules & regulations against False/Fake Propaganda, Hybrid War, 5th Generation War, Deceptive Narrative building or Crossing limits on the name of Strategic interests. There must be some institution under the umbrella of United Nations or Security Council as these are directly related to world's security. That institution must have powers to implement restrictions and sanctions on any country who will be found involved in such activities. That suggested institution can adopt same guidelines like FATF have and White, Grey, Black lists can be introduced to prevent states to do such dangerous activities as state policy. Well reputed Institutions like EU.DISINFOLAB & UNHCR can assist to such institutions.