



CENJOWS

ISSUE BRIEF

IB/32/26

# INDIA'S EVOLVING SECURITY LANDSCAPE

MS VAIBHAVI KATAL





## CENJOWS

### India's Evolving Security Landscape



**Ms Vaibhavi Katal** is a research assistant at CENJOWS

#### Introduction

India's security landscape has undergone unprecedented changes. These changes have risen substantially from the shifting stance of India's foreign policy over the decades. Former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru played a crucial role in shaping India's foreign policy after independence, seeing a newly independent India as a moral leader among post-colonial states.<sup>1</sup> The Nehruvian foreign policy was founded on the ideals of non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, and peaceful coexistence. The aim of this foreign policy was to carve out a distinct niche for India, avoiding aligning with either of the superpowers during the Cold War to prevent redirection of essential resources from economic growth to military investment.<sup>2</sup>

However, in the long run, Nehru's foreign policy was proving to be idealistic. Nehru believed that by carving a peaceful foreign policy, one could bring peace to the existing volatile region. He signed the 'Panchsheel Agreement' with China for peaceful coexistence of the two nations.<sup>3</sup> Nehru prioritised economic growth and social welfare above maintaining an army. This approach crumbled soon as Pakistan continued to challenge India with conventional and proxy wars, while China emerged as a grave geopolitical threat. The failure to prepare the army for operations, followed by the debacle in the 1962 Sino-Indian War, marked a turning point in Indian foreign policy.

The 1962 war pushed India to reconsider its strategic position, leading to increased defence spending and a more realistic foreign policy. It emphasised the limitations of

moral power in the face of *realpolitik*, encouraging India to be more practical in dealing with rivals.<sup>4</sup> The current environment is characterised by overlapping domains, interconnected risks, and fluid forms of warfare. India now competes in a strategic environment in which conventional geopolitical rivalries interact with unconventional threats and regional tensions that are frequently buried within larger global power shifts. This changing setting necessitates a more comprehensive knowledge of how risks are defined, perceived, and controlled.

India's security landscape is constantly changing due to a number of causes. China's ascent as both military and economic power has shifted the regional balance and increased strategic rivalry. Pakistan's sustained dependence on asymmetric methods proves that sub-conventional war remains a constant issue. Additionally, the rise of the Indo-Pacific as a focal point of geopolitical strife has broadened India's strategic views beyond its immediate vicinity.<sup>5</sup> These external forces overlap with domestic security issues like cross-border terrorism, socio-political unrest, and border security, resulting in a complex and interlinked threat environment.

Furthermore, the rate at which technology is evolving, it is creating new chokepoints of vulnerabilities and also possibilities. Cyber warfare, space-based weapons, artificial intelligence, and narrative warfare are changing the character of conflict and broadening the spectrum of players who may influence outcomes.<sup>6</sup> As a result, India's current security environment cannot be comprehended via a single lens; rather, it must be examined as a combination of geopolitical, internal, and technical factors. These innovations are forcing the security architects to revamp the defence infrastructure and assess its ramifications before a single shot is fired.

This paper explores India's changing security environment from three interwoven perspectives: external geopolitical complications, internal security dynamics, and technology-driven dangers. Together, these aspects paint a complete picture of the environment in which India must develop and implement its national security policy.

## **External Geopolitical Challenges**

- **China: Structural Rivalry and Strategic Competition**

China poses as one of the most serious long-term challenges to India's external security landscape. This partnership is characterised by a constant loop of

cooperation and conflict, with collaboration in restricted domains coexisting with deep strategic distrust. Periodic skirmishes along the Line of Actual Control demonstrate that the border conflict is more than just territorial; it reflects a larger structural agenda.<sup>7</sup> These contradictions underscore the fragility of existing confidence-building methods, as well as the limitations of crisis management strategies.

China's expanding military and infrastructural growth along the border have transformed the operating environment, restricting India's strategic options. Improved logistics, monitoring, and rapid deployment capabilities permit persistent pressure without resorting to open war.<sup>8</sup> This is being replaced by China's larger regional posture, which includes a rising footprint in the Indian Ocean and attempts to shape interconnectivity and economic networks across Asia. Such changes suggest that rivalry goes beyond the immediate boundaries, into broader geopolitical and geoeconomic spheres.<sup>9</sup>

For India, the task is to handle both the immediate and long-term ramifications of this rivalry. Conventional deterrence is still vital, but insufficient considering the evolving nature of warfare. China's carefully calibrated use of pressure, ambiguity, and progress suggests a willingness to avoid military escalation. This requires India to move away from static defensive postures and towards a more integrated approach that combines military readiness with diplomatic messaging, economic resilience, and cross-domain strategic cooperation.<sup>10</sup>

- **Pakistan: Sub-Conventional Conflict and Strategic Persistence**

Pakistan remains a distinct security challenge, distinguished less by traditional military conflict and more by prolonged sub-conventional engagement. The relationship is defined by a pattern of sustained antagonism, with cross-border terrorism and proxy actors serving as main tools of state policy. This strategy enables Pakistan to apply pressure while avoiding the risks involved with direct military escalation, especially in a nuclear-armed environment.<sup>11</sup>

Violence and infiltration create a widespread sense of anxiety without substantially affecting the strategic balance. This puts India in a spotlight where

its response must be carefully measured, balancing the demand for deterrence against the requirement to prevent escalation. Traditional military doctrines, which are geared for decisive engagement, provide minimal direction for dealing with such long-term low-intensity combat. India's response to Pakistan has largely depended on restraint, dialogue, and de-escalation. However, this approach changed in 2016 after the Uri attack that was the watershed moment, signifying a broader shift from a defensive position to a calibrated 'offensive defence'.<sup>12</sup>

'PRAHAAR' is India's new counter-terrorism policy. Each alphabet in the acronym stands for a decisive decision India is taking.

- P**- Prevention of terror attacks to protect Indian citizens and interests;
- R**- Responses, which are swift and proportionate to the threat posed;
- A**- Aggregating internal capacities for achieving synergy in a whole-of-government approach;
- H**- Human rights and 'Rule of Law' based processes for mitigation of threats;
- A**- Attenuating the conditions enabling terrorism, including radicalisation;
- A**- Aligning and shaping the international efforts to counter terrorism;
- R**- Recovery and resilience through a whole-of-society approach.<sup>13</sup>

Over the years, India's counter-terrorism policy has steadily developed, indicating a trend towards increased integration and proactive measures. Initiatives such as the PRAHAAR policy represent an intention to shift from reactive methods to anticipatory and coordinated responses.<sup>14</sup>

PRAHAAR as a counter-terrorism strategy marks a new dawn in India's security doctrine. This initiative highlights India's policy of 'zero tolerance' for terrorism and its perpetrators. This policy demonstrates India's commitment to international cooperation and partnership.<sup>15</sup> India's counter-terrorism strategy, 'Prahaar', aims to criminalise all terrorist actions and deny terrorists and their

financier's access to funds, weapons, and safe haven in order to foster consensus on the definition of terrorism and the rights of terror attack victims.<sup>16</sup>

Moving away from previous principles of non-alignment and passive diplomacy, India today adopts a more proactive, strategically engaged, and ambitious approach. Such approach aims to address the structural basis of sub-conventional threats by prioritising intelligence integration, fast operational capacity, and pre-emptive response. However, their efficacy is contingent on institutional coherence and the capacity to maintain cross-agency collaboration over time.

- **The Indo-Pacific: Expanding Strategic Space**

The Indo-Pacific region has come to the forefront as a strategic focus for India since it has broadened the geographical and conceptual scope of India's security environment. India's security issues now extend beyond its near-continental border, duly encompassing marine sectors crucial to trade, energy security, and geopolitical influence. This trend mirrors wider changes in global power distribution, notably the increased importance of marine rivalry.<sup>17</sup>

Dr S. Jaishankar, in his book "The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World" mention that "As the world changes, it will naturally throw up new concepts and terminology. 'Indo-Pacific' is among the more recent additions to the global strategic lexicon. The waters are changing, and the Indo-Pacific is not tomorrow's forecast but actually yesterday's reality."<sup>18</sup> Today, India's role in the Indo-Pacific is defined by a precarious balance of collaboration and autonomy. Collaboration with regional stakeholders is motivated by shared goals of sustaining stability and safeguarding the openness of marine passages.<sup>19</sup>

At the same time, India is wary of formal alliances that might limit its strategic flexibility. This dual strategy underscores India's continued inclination for strategic autonomy, even as its overseas interactions grow. The developments in strategic space creates new obstacles that necessitate change in both capacity and mindset. Maritime security, naval reach, and logistical depth are critical to India's capacity to function effectively in such a setting. In 2019, Prime

Minister Narendra Modi launched the Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IPOI) at the East Asia Summit in Bangkok, where he highlighted seven pillars to focus on: maritime security, maritime ecology, maritime resources, capacity building and resource sharing, disaster risk reduction and management, trade connectivity, maritime transport, and science, technology, and academic cooperation.<sup>20</sup>

At the same time, the Indo-Pacific is a battleground for escalating struggle, with regional dynamics increasingly impacted by global great power rivalries. Navigating this environment needs a shift in strategic goals as well as a readiness to participate in numerous areas at the same time.<sup>21</sup>

## **Internal Security Challenges**

- **Insurgency and the Persistence of Structural Vulnerabilities**

Internal security is an important component of India's overall security environment, indicating the persistence of structural issues within the state. While the severity of insurgencies in areas such as the Northeast has decreased over time, fundamental questions of identity, governance, and economic disparities remain unsolved.<sup>22</sup> These variables generate circumstances for instability to re-emerge and increase vulnerabilities for internal security frameworks.

India has battled cross-border terrorism, insurgency, and militancy for a long time now. The governance demonstrates the limits of security-focused methods. Military and law enforcement actions can deter violence, but they cannot address the underlying causes of conflict. Long-term stability necessitates a mix of political initiatives, economic integration, and institutional responsiveness. This highlights the need for viewing internal security as an extension of broader governance problems. Simultaneously, vulnerabilities within are becoming more closely connected to external factors. Cross-border networks, financial flows, and ideological ties can exacerbate internal instability.

This interdependence blurs the difference between internal and external security, emphasising the importance of integrated frameworks that handle both concurrently. Until we have a sound internal security infrastructure, we will not be able to fully address external threats without letting our focus deviate.

- **Terrorism and the Evolution of Counter-Terrorism Approaches**

Terrorism is a major concern in India's internal security landscape, owing to its cross-border scope and capacity to cause both physical and psychological harm. Attacks are intended not merely to cause harm, but also to weaken public trust, achieve ideological goals, and question the legitimacy of state institutions. The prevalence of such threats implies both external support systems and internal weakness.

Terrorism has become more convoluted as it has evolved. Decentralised networks, digital communication platforms, and ideological dissemination have changed the way terrorist group's function. These changes make detection more challenging, necessitating adjustments in intelligence and operational responses. Traditional counter-terrorism techniques, which focus on reactive measures, are becoming ineffective in dealing with such changing threats.

In this setting, policies like PRAHAAR are an attempt to institutionalise a more proactive and integrated approach. Such initiatives seek to minimise reaction time and increase synchronised reactions from defence forces.<sup>23</sup> The coordination between different agencies has significantly contributed towards success in India's counter-terrorism measures. Moreover, the domestic counter-terrorism laws require amendment from time to time to respond to the emerging challenges.

- **Governance, Legitimacy, and Social Cohesion**

The correlation between governance and security is especially evident in India. Internal stability is intimately related to the state's capacity to sustain legitimacy and public trust. Socio-economic inequality, political marginalisation, and identity-based issues can all contribute to instability if not addressed properly.

Security concerns are thus more than just operational; they are both political and societal in character. Policies that encourage inclusion, openness, and accountability help to build resilience by improving the connection between the state and society. Governance deficiencies, on the other hand, can exacerbate insecurity by undermining confidence and opening the door to external abuse.

Balancing security imperatives and democratic standards is a critical task. Excessive reliance on coercive tactics might undermine legitimacy, whereas inadequate action can erode state power. Effective security management necessitates a calibrated strategy that combines governance and operational capabilities.

### **Technology-Driven Threats**

- **Cyber Security and the Expansion of Vulnerability**

The exponential digitalisation of India's economy and governance systems has introduced a new battleground of vulnerability into the national security framework. Cyber-attacks to vital infrastructure, financial systems, and government networks have the ability to interrupt important services and erode institutional legitimacy.<sup>24</sup> The complexity of attribution, along with the pace of cyber operations, complicates both deterrence and reaction.

India's increased reliance on digital technologies heightens the potential effect of such attacks. As a result, cybersecurity is more than just a technological problem; it also connects with economic stability and governance. Addressing this dilemma involves a mix of technology capabilities, regulatory monitoring, and cross-sector institutional collaboration.<sup>25</sup>

The changing nature of cyber threats needs adaptive tactics that can deal with both state-sponsored and non-state actors. This is imperative because during war, the first causality is always truth. The enemy can not only target the economic infrastructure of a country but also influence the psychology of the people by sending out a strategic message that their governments are

incapable of protecting them. Hence, investing in indigenous capabilities and developing resilient systems are critical components in strengthening the security frameworks.

- **Space and Emerging Technological Domains**

Space has emerged as a vital sector in India's security landscape, highlighting its role in communication, navigation, surveillance, and military activities. The increased dependence on satellite systems can create security shortcomings that can be exploited during the times of war. The potential interruption of space-based capabilities has profound repercussions for both civilian and military operations.<sup>26</sup> Advanced technologies like artificial intelligence, autonomous systems, and sophisticated computers are changing the nature of warfare.

Although these technologies improve capabilities, they also bring uncertainty, especially during decision-making and escalation scenarios.<sup>27</sup> Their incorporation into security systems needs a thorough assessment of both opportunities and challenges. Under the vision, Viksit Bharat 2047, India is striving to boost the very technology, global partnerships, private sector partnerships, and space missions to insulate India's space domain from adversaries.<sup>28</sup>

India's strategy in these fields must strike a balance between technological development and strategic autonomy. Building indigenous capabilities minimises reliance on external players while increasing resilience. At the same time, policy models must account for the ethical and strategic consequences of emerging technologies.

- **Information Warfare and the Contestation of Perception**

In today's world, information is currency. State and non-state actors use data to influence decisions, spread propaganda, distort narratives, and destabilise peace in the targeted region. Disinformation tactics and psychological operations are increasingly being used to exploit social differences and erode

institutional trust.<sup>29</sup> During Operation Sindoor, we saw the impact of misinformation and disinformation. Even the most credible news channels faltered in providing apt news during the operation.<sup>30</sup>

India's free and pluralistic information ecosystem has both advantages and disadvantages. While openness promotes democratic processes, it also allows external and local players to shape public debate. In such a discourse, people often misconstrue free speech as hate speech and exercise freedom of speech to spread distorted options as narratives. Managing this duality is a complicated task that needs precise calibration.

Tackling information threats demands a multifaceted approach that incorporates technology, legislative frameworks, and public awareness. Protecting the integrity of information systems and increasing public resilience are critical components of contemporary national security.<sup>31</sup>

## **Conclusion**

India's evolving security landscape shows the convergence of classic geopolitical rivalry, ongoing internal challenges, and quickly expanding technical sectors. External influences from China and Pakistan continue to influence strategic goals, but their techniques are increasingly operating below conventional boundaries, complicating deterrence and reaction. At the same time, India's expansion of its strategic scope into the Indo-Pacific demonstrates the growing interconnectedness of regional dynamics and global power modifications. These trends imply that India's security framework is no longer bounded by clear boundaries but is rather diffuse and intricate.

Internal security problems exacerbate this complexity, as issues of governance, social cohesion, and cross-terrorism collide with foreign forces. The introduction of policies like PRAHAAR represents an effort to adapt to this changing environment, but their performance will be dependent on long-term institutional integration. Simultaneously, technical advancements have broadened the area of vulnerability, making realms like cyber, space, and information critical to national security. Taken together, these variables indicate that India works in a security environment characterised by

convergence, ambiguity, and interconnectedness. Understanding the terrain is critical for building adaptable, integrated solutions capable of tackling both long-standing and emergent concerns.

#### **DISCLAIMER**

The paper is the author's individual scholastic articulation and does not necessarily reflect the views of CENJOWS, the Defence forces, or the Government of India. The author certifies that the article is original in content, unpublished, and it has not been submitted for publication/ web upload elsewhere and that the facts and figures quoted are duly referenced, as needed and are believed to be correct.

## ENDNOTES

- 
- <sup>1</sup> Ranjan, Amit. "India's Foreign Policy: Shift, Adjustment and Continuity." *The Round Table* 111, no. 3 (May 4, 2022): 381–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2022.2082737>
- <sup>2</sup> Goel, Dr Shashi. "India's Foreign Policy : Nehru and Non-Alignment." Academia.edu, March 8, 2017. [https://www.academia.edu/31775040/Indias\\_foreign\\_policy\\_Nehru\\_and\\_Non\\_Alignment](https://www.academia.edu/31775040/Indias_foreign_policy_Nehru_and_Non_Alignment)
- <sup>3</sup> Kumar, Rajeesh. "Panchsheel Was Noble, but Did China Embrace It Ever? - MP-IDSA." MP-IDSA, March 11, 2025. <https://idsa.in/publisher/comments/panchsheel-was-noble-but-did-china-embrace-it-ever>
- <sup>4</sup> Bhutani, S.K. "Sino-Indian War, 1962 and the Role of Great Powers - MP-IDSA." MP-IDSA, February 12, 2024. <https://idsa.in/publisher/journal-of-defence-studies/sino-indian-war-1962-and-the-role-of-great-powers>
- <sup>5</sup> Sonavane, Aishwaria. "Articulating India's Grand Strategy towards Pakistan," n.d. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/618a55c4cb03246776b68559/t/68ca7bcf9a6c7106e7dd478a/1758100431154/Articulating+India%27s+Grand+Strategy+Towards+Pakistan+-+Aishwaria+Sonavane.pdf>
- <sup>6</sup> Grand-Clément, Sarah. "Artificial Intelligence beyond Weapons Application and Impact of AI in the Military Domain", 2023. [https://unidir.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/UNIDIR\\_AI\\_Beyond\\_Weapons\\_Application\\_Impact\\_AI\\_in\\_the\\_Military\\_Domain.pdf](https://unidir.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/UNIDIR_AI_Beyond_Weapons_Application_Impact_AI_in_the_Military_Domain.pdf)
- <sup>7</sup> Singh, Antara Ghosal. "China-India Rapprochement: A Reality Check." orfonline.org. OBSERVER RESEARCH FOUNDATION ( ORF ), August 6, 2025. <https://www.orfonline.org/research/china-india-rapprochement-a-reality-check>
- <sup>8</sup> Rajiv Lathar. "China's Infrastructure Buildup near India's Northern Borders: The Eight-Year Surge since Doklam." orfonline.org. OBSERVER RESEARCH FOUNDATION ( ORF ), November 3, 2025. <https://www.orfonline.org/research/china-s-infrastructure-buildup-near-india-s-northern-borders-the-eight-year-surge-since-doklam>
- <sup>9</sup> Verma, Adarsha . "EAST ASIA STRATEGIC REVIEW China's Rising Strategic Ambitions in Asia," 2018. [https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book\\_easr-china-rising.pdf](https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book_easr-china-rising.pdf)

- 
- <sup>10</sup> Bisht, Shilpy. “Is This China’s New War Tactic? Strategic Ambiguity Playbook on Taiwan, Why India Can’t Ignore It.” News18, January 2, 2026. <https://www.news18.com/explainers/is-this-chinas-new-war-tactic-strategic-ambiguity-playbook-on-taiwan-why-india-cant-ignore-it-shil-ws-l-9805144.html>
- <sup>11</sup> Tellis, Ashley J. “Are India-Pakistan Peace Talks Worth a Damn?” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 20, 2017. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2017/09/are-india-pakistan-peace-talks-worth-a-damn>
- <sup>12</sup> Chawla, Shalini, and Senior Fellow. “DEALING with PAKISTAN: INDIA’S RESPONSE to URI ATTACK,” 2016. [https://capssindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/CAPS\\_Infocus\\_SC\\_05.1.pdf](https://capssindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/CAPS_Infocus_SC_05.1.pdf)
- <sup>13</sup> *ibid*
- <sup>14</sup> Ministry of Home Affairs. “NATIONAL COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICY & STRATEGY National Counter-Terrorism Policy & Strategy,” n.d. [https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/PRAHAAREng\\_23022026.pdf](https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/PRAHAAREng_23022026.pdf)
- <sup>15</sup> *ibid*
- <sup>16</sup> *ibid*
- <sup>17</sup> Chacko, Priya. “The Rise of the Indo-Pacific: Understanding Ideational Change and Continuity in India’s Foreign Policy.” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 68, no. 4 (April 23, 2014): 433–52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2014.891565>
- <sup>18</sup> S Jaishankar. *INDIA WAY : Strategies for an Uncertain World*. S.L.: Harpercollins India, 2020.
- <sup>19</sup> Kaura, Vinay. “Incorporating Indo-Pacific and the Quadrilateral into India’s Strategic Outlook.” *Maritime Affairs: Journal of the National Maritime Foundation of India* 15, no. 2 (July 3, 2019): 78–102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09733159.2020.1712012>
- <sup>20</sup> Ministry of External Affairs. “Ministry of External Affairs Indo-Pacific Division Briefs,” February 7, 2020. [https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Indo\\_Feb\\_07\\_2020.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Indo_Feb_07_2020.pdf)
- <sup>21</sup> Smith, Nicholas Ross, and Paul Bacon. “The Indo-Pacific Is like the Cold War, but Not in the Way Most Think.” *The Diplomat*. The Diplomat, August 18, 2025. <https://thediplomat.com/2025/08/the-indo-pacific-is-like-the-cold-war-but-not-in-the-way-most-think/>
- <sup>22</sup> Cline, Lawrence E. “The Insurgency Environment in Northeast India.” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 17, no. 2 (June 2006): 126–47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592310600562894>

- 
- <sup>23</sup> Ministry of Home Affairs. “NATIONAL COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICY & STRATEGY National Counter-Terrorism Policy & Strategy,” n.d. [https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/PRAHAAREng\\_23022026.pdf](https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/PRAHAAREng_23022026.pdf)
- <sup>24</sup> Ministry of Electronics & IT. “Government of India Taking Measures to Protect Critical Infrastructure and Private Data against Cyber Attacks.” Pib.gov.in, 2025. <https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=2116341&reg=3&lang=2>
- <sup>25</sup> Caveltly, Myriam Dunn, and Andreas Wenger. “Cyber Security Meets Security Politics: Complex Technology, Fragmented Politics, and Networked Science.” *Contemporary Security Policy* 41, no. 1 (October 14, 2019): 5–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2019.1678855>
- <sup>26</sup> Egeli, Sitki. “Space-To-Space Warfare and Proximity Operations: The Impact on Nuclear Command, Control, and Communications and Strategic Stability.” *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 4, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 116–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/25751654.2021.1942681>
- <sup>27</sup> Mayer, Michael S. “Trusting Machine Intelligence: Artificial Intelligence and Human-Autonomy Teaming in Military Operations.” *Defense & Security Analysis* 39, no. 4 (October 3, 2023): 521–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14751798.2023.2264070>
- <sup>28</sup> Government of India. “PARLIAMENT QUESTION: EFFORTS to MAKE INDIA a DEVELOPED NATION by 2047 in SPACE SECTOR.” Pib.gov.in, 2017. <https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleaseDetailm.aspx?PRID=2083766&reg=3&lang=2>
- <sup>29</sup> Hanska, JK. “Storytelling or NonKinetic Weaponry? Strategic Communication from a Narratological Perspective.” *Journal of Information Warfare* 14, no. 1 (2015): 24–38. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26487516>
- <sup>30</sup> Kumar, Raksha. “‘Truth Is the Casualty’: How Indian Fact-Checkers Debunked False Claims during the India-Pakistan Crisis.” Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, May 29, 2025. <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/news/truth-casualty-how-indian-fact-checkers-debunked-false-claims-during-india-pakistan-crisis>
- <sup>31</sup> “Government of India Taking Measures to Protect Critical Infrastructure and Private Data against Cyber Attacks.” Pib.gov.in, 2025. <https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=2116341&reg=3&lang=2>