(cc) 2023 Nawaz, Zeshan & Akhlag. This is an open access article distributed under Creative Commons- Attributions International 4.0 (CC BY 4.0). The details of of license are available at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/ which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly attributed, not used for commercial purposes, and, if transformed, the resulting work is redistributed under the same or similar license to this one

South Asian Studies

A Research Journal of South Asian Studies Vol. 38, No. 1, January – June, 2023, pp. 53 – 72

Fifth-Generation Warfare: A Quagmire and Fiasco to **National Solidity of Pakistan**

Adnan Nawaz

Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad, Pakistan.

Email: adnanawaz@gcuf.edu.pk

Muhammad Zeeshan

M.Phil Scholar, Department of International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad, Pakistan.

Sufyan Akhlaq

B.S International Relations, Department of International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad, Pakistan.

ABSTRACT

Information technology and the internet have changed the nature of warfare in the present era. 21st century starts with a new technological advancement in economic, social, and political awareness. This article analyzes the intimidations of Fifth-Generation War (5GW) and its threats national cohesion of Pakistan. 5GW is a battle of information and perception. Misinformation, propaganda, non-state actors, and media movements generate disorder and anger. The adversaries spread misleading reports, fake news, and propaganda through social media tools. Pakistan is located in a very significant geopolitical region in the world. Pakistan is a victim of this latest war launched by anti-state intelligence agencies. In the present age, Pakistan is confronted with multiple challenges, like social & economic unrest and ethnic and sectarian divisions. Qualitatively research design is being implemented to investigate the nature of 5th Generation War in this article. It is an analytical case study to explain the impact of 5GW on the national cohesion of Pakistan.

Key Words: Fifth-Generation Warfare, Pakistan, Propaganda, Information Technology, National Unity, Social Media.

Introduction

Fifth-generation warfare (5GW) is carried out principally through non-kinetic military actions such as artificial intelligence, social engineering technologies, and fully autonomous system. The rise of fast internet technologies and social media has transformed the world. Prominent tools such as Twitter, WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram of social media have become a source of information (Azad, 2020). There is no definition of fifth-generation warfare. It is the a new concept of warfare in the research field. The fifth-generation warfare has no military force

Revised: June 18, 20223

Published: 2023

and no actual ideas. According to Major Shannon Beebe, American Army staff, "This kind of warfare is motivated by frustration rather than any material or ideological objective" (Raazia, 2022). 5GW is the war of observations and information. Fifth-generation warfare is also a cultural and hybrid war and Pakistan is a victim of it (Haider et.al, 2020). With the emergence of nuclear technology; strategies of war and methods have changed. In fifth-generation warfare, the battle is not fought in the battlefield, so it is difficult to characterize the enemies and the combatants. This war is fought in every field of life. The modern war approaches include conventional and non-conventional plans and tactics by limiting the traditional means. Non-state fighters also engage in the war due to their vested agenda. Fifth-generation warfare does not have a clear definition because it continues to change at various times. Defining it in one-line is impossible because it is complicated to understand. No specific methodology exists to evaluate its parameters and regions. The adversaries try to target the most ignored areas. Its definition differs from individual to individual and community to community. The concept of fifth-generation warfare has changed due to changing historical trends and continuously advancement in technologies (Jahangir & Bashir, 2022).

In its present time, fifth-generation warfare has threatened many nation states. The opponents have been using different tactics of war against Pakistan. External hostile regimes have been involved in conspiracies aginst Pakistan, funding militant groups, non-state actors and NGOs, conducting secret operations and launching media campaigns. The enemies of states utilize social media as a warfare tool to share fake news and misleading reports to damage the national cohesion of Pakistan. At current, media campaigns against Pakistan are in full swing. The adversaries are trying to influence international institutes, particularly Financial Action Task Force (FATF), to show Pakistan funding to nonstate actors. Anti-Pakistan forces have combined and targeted Pakistan with tactics of Fifth-generation warfare (Nadeem et., 2021).

This article studies threats of Fifth-generation warfare to Pakistan using different tools such as social and electronic media. After widely studying print, social, and electronic media, it is clear that anti-Pakistan forces are using all their abilities to make Pakistan weaker in all respects. Today, Pakistan is dealing with threats to national cohesion through hybrid warfare. The study also gave suggestions that might help to overcome the challenges of 5GW in Pakistan by using state institutions and spreading awareness among the general public through the media.

Generations of Warfare

The future of war requires a careful consideration of its past. Historians have been especially aware of economic, social, and political factors to blame for the rising tide of controversy. Cultural and intellectual reforms have played a significant role

in globalization and contributed to war theories. From first-generation to fifth-generation warfare, several theories and models have been presented to investigate the nature of war (Nadeem, 2010).

Battles were fought with swords, horses and manpower in ancient time. The *First-Generation War* gave birth to an orderly and organized system of waging wars. First-generation warfare tactics include fighting in lines and columns; horses, arrows, and swords were used as arms in these battles. The commander of military forces is also present in the battleground to lead his force from the front and the first-generation war depends on manpower strength. Napoleon Battles (1804-1814) are included in the first-generation war. Napoleon fought his battles at the start of the 19th century against the European powers. The American War of Independence (1775-1783) was fought by American states against the British Empire and it is also included in first-generation warfare.

With the invention of technology, swords were changed with advanced arms such as machine guns and rifles. In *Second-Generation War*, an enemy attack was possible far from a distance. The usage of radio transmission helped to arrange the military method even further. The artillery and ammunition became more significant. The American civil war from 1861 to 1865 was fought between the different independent states of America. This civil war is included second-generation warfare. Furthermore, World War-I from 1914-1918 was fought between the Allies and Central Powers is also an example of the second generation of wars (Nadeem M. A., 2010).

The element of surprise attack was also used in this generation of warfare. More aggressive battles with the tanks and the aircraft support and the infantry in the battles ground were used in *Third Generation Warfare*. It is very effective and brilliant planning to achieve the target quickly (Borrelli, 2020). The Germans first used the third-generation warfare tactics and strategies in World War II (1939-1945). The atomic disaster that took place in the two Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is often regarded as an important moment in WWII, the event marked a significant shift in favor of the Allied forces. In 1965, the war between Pakistan and India was also considered third-generation warfare.

The word *Fourth-Generation war* was first used by William S. Lind and a panel of United States defense analysts in an article "The changing face of war: Into the Fourth Generation," issued by Marine Corps Gazette in 1989. Fourthgeneration warfare is given to different war tactics utilized over the last few decades. The most dangerous changes come in the world due to this type of warfare. This is the generation of warfare which is difficult to separate from peace and war; it is also tough to separate a fighter and an ordinary citizen. In fourthgeneration warfare, instead of developing military troops in another country, the countries provide indirect political and economic aid to the insurgents in the adversary state and use them against their own country. The historical event known as the "Kao Plan" involved India providing military and economic aid to

the "Mukti Bahini" in their fight against Pakistan. Unfortunately, the outcome was devastating for Pakistan as the Eastern part separated from Pakistan. This left a lasting impact on India-Pakistan relations. The wars in Libya, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria exemplify fourth-generation warfare (Hammes, 2007).

In 2003, Robert Steels coined the phrase Fifth-Generation warfare. It is a battle of information and perception. The scholars dealing with the fifth-Generation war focuss more on the irregularity of modern strategy. The war does not stand only for military or strategic goals. It usually holds some other goals like economic, religious, and political. It is not necessarily the states which strikes the others in this asymmetric warfare; sometimes, non-state actors like intelligence agencies and various organizations may also participate in such activities for their vested interest. Fifth-generation warfare utilizes misinformation and float it with evil intent to hit the opponents on political, economic, and strategic fronts. In 2010 Daniel Abbot wrote a collection of articles on Fifth-generation warfare titled "The Handbook of 5GW". The Book recommends that fifth-generation warfare is a cultural and moral war fought by manipulating information. According to this argument, the violence in the fifth generation is so widespread that the defeated side could not even be aware of its defeat (Krishnan, 2022). The 5GW is the hardest to analyze because of its confidentiality. To succeed in fifth-generation warfare, dishonesty and distraction are emphasized over violence. This includes manipulating and coopting actors working on adversaries' behalf without even having awareness. The fracturing of a society can create disharmony as individuals become separated into different groups and may even establish comparable systems of governance. As a result, the government's authority will no longer survive, and individuals can violate the law without any repercussions. It is challenging for the regimes to stop the spread of misinformation and a more difficult challenge to restore the damages that has been done by the fake information (Qasim, 2021).

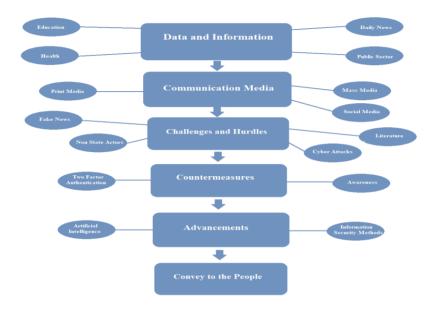
The concept of fifth-generation warfare has been heavily promoted in modern military language, but it remains a multifaceted and an unclear idea. Scholars have attempted to bring clarity to different aspects of 5GW. According to experts, fifth-generation warfare typically involves five elements: physical boundaries, information dissemination, social dynamics, cognitive factors, and economic structures. By mobilizing non-state actors within a country, adversaries use fifth-generation strategies to fight against states to achieve their objectives. There is a great competition between state actors for legitimacy and power within the country. Although economic marginalization can be a significant factor in fifth-generation conflict; cultural supremacy is also a fragile area. The fifth-generation warfare involves competition between several groups within a state for their supremacy (Gillani, Nazir, & Pirzada, 2021). In 2016 Russian involvement in the American presidential election can be seen as an example of 5GW (Mueller & Man, 2019). New techniques wer found to intervene and influence political debates alonwith minds of people to secure vested aims in future. The invention of

the internet and social media platform makes fifth-generation warfare more effective. This kind of war creates chaos and slows down the country's progress. The people's unhappiness generates anger in their behaviors, such as the war zones refugees of Syria, which can be used by the violence provokers (Khanum, Daud, & Hussain, 2020).

Theory of Inoculation and Containment of Impact of 5GW

Inoculation Theory proposes that individuals can be "inoculated against counterattitudinal attacks in a manner similar to immunization against viral attacks" (Banas & Miller, 2013). It can be used to generate resistance against the change of attitudes abd behavior through misinformation and fake news. The process is similar to that of medical inoculation in which weak germs are injected inside the body to boost immune response against it (Compton, 2013). It is proposed that when individuals are given a weaker argument against their current beliefs, they develop a strong resistance to such type of future threats and develop counter arguments. It is just like to enhance their mental antibodies against the incoming belief or argument (McGuire, 1964). The process of giving one sentence counter argument to the individual to develop his own thoughts against the incoming attitude is called active refutation while giving a person with a set of set of refutations to assist him for the development of counter responses is called as passive refutation. The studies reveal that passive refutations are more helpful in developing a counter narrative and thus more efficiently thwart the devastations posed by fake news and other instruments of 5GW (Banas & Rains, 2010). The critics like Roozenbeek and van der Linden (2018) are of the view that misinformation and fake news can be treated as viruses. According to them, active inoculation is more effective than passive one as it allows more cognitive thinking and individuals are more confident to develop a counter argument. In both cases, inoculation theory can be applied to counter the threats of misinformation spread through mass media and individuals may get less harmful impact of the 5GW. The inoculation pre-treatments can be helpful to the individual to minimize the impact of fake news and conspiracies around the globe that has been an issue for the democracies of the globe.

Adnan Nawaz, Muhammad Zeeshan & Sufyan Akhlaq A 5th Generation Warfare Model:



(Developed by the Author)

Explanation

This model explains the complex world of fifth-generation warfare, exploring the ways in which opponents gather critical information from public institutions such as hospitals and educational centers, as well as from face book and traditional sources such as books and newspapers. This data is disseminated through various channels, including print media like newspapers, magazines and mass media platforms like TV, and social media sites like Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter. Hostile agencies and non-state actors use fake news and literature to inculcate the vestesd propagands in the minds of people to slowly and steadily brain wash them. At the same time, cyberattacks on critical government websites have been launched to gain access to sensitive information. Awareness of the masses is an important strategy to win against such ardous challeges. Any news or information on social media must be verified before accepting and disseminating it. Latest techniques in cyber security and artificial intelligence may help any state to block any such threats.

Role of Social Media in Pakistan

The social media tools such as Twitter, Facebook, Whats App, and Instagram are the favorite source of information for individuals (Ortiz-Ospina, 2019). Social media platforms are being used by anti-Pakistan powers to share fake information

i.e., a huge number of Indian public use social media to to spread misinformation against Pakistan. For instance, the Indian government spread fake news of the Pulwama attack to its nation in February 2019 (Azad, 2020). The Indian government even claimed to shoot down the Pakistan Air Force fighter craft F-16, which was never proven (*Dawn*, ISPR, 2019).

As per the report, there were approximately 71.7 million social media users In Pakistan. Most people rely on social media for news. Among the other media sources, Facebook is used by 46% of the public, YouTube is on the second place with 42%, WhatsApp 23.5%, TikTok 17.3%, and only 2.3 % use Twitter (Kemp, 2023). The advent of social media in the 21st century introduces a new domain of warfare. Social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, and YouTube are the prominent tools of fifth-generation warfare. The adversaries of Pakistan use these tools to spread false news, misleading reports and launch propaganda campaigns in the country (Khan, 2020).

The province of Balochistan has long captured the attention of numerous global powers, owing to its advantageous location and abundant natural resources. Throughout history, imperialists have persistently sought to gain control over this region, as it offers a favorable setting for launching their nefarious campaigns against our nation. India uses different tactics of disinformation and propaganda campaigns through outsourcing news content to support separatist movements in Baluchistan. Certain websites (The Hindu, Hindustan Times, and News Intervention) and YouTube Channels (WION and Study IQ) have shared misleading information with anti-Pakistan groups. As a result, these groups create chaos in the country (Gichki, 2022).

In 2020, the Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) requested Twitter to take decisive action against those spreading anti-Pakistan propaganda. Social Media has played a very important role in the spread of political instability in Pakistan as it is creating an environment of insecurity. Twitter is an influential platform for shaping public opinion; Twitter is also a source of sharing information for political parties, politicians, civil society activists, and journalists. This platform is also used by anti-state elements to propagate extremism, terrorism and lunch fifth-generation warfare against Pakistan (Abd, 2022).

Currently, social media play a significant role in a country. Pakistani youth is facing difficult situation because of the unstable political situation of the country. Anti-Pakistan actors are mobilizing the youth to secure their interests. They spread misleading information through social media platforms and create anger and chaos in the public. It is critical to investigate what enabled the fifth-generation warfare to infiltrate the Pakistani system. The external influence has a significant impact on political narrative building. The people have lost faith in the country and are disbelieving on many issues. There is a widespread lack of determination in the professional environment.

Propaganda Campaigns against Pakistan

The media campaigns are in full swing against Pakistan. The enemies have launched media campaigns to counter Pakistan and aimed to damage its image worldwide. Over the past decade, significant tendencies in anti-Pakistan propaganda have been detected. The advancement toward economic stability in Pakistan is facing obstacles. Pakistan has a very significant geopolitical position on the world map. The enemies of Pakistan always try to stop the country's progress and harm its positive image in the international community. The insidious act of brainwashing of nation is causing a detrimental erosion of their beloved sovereignty. The enemies of the state continuously work against the country and create hurdles for national cohesion. Non-kinetic resources are used against Pakistan. Indian linkage of fake Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and think tanks were exposed in 2019, spreading misleading against Pakistan (Machado et.al, 2020). The US and the western countries were spreading fake news that Pakistan's nuclear program was dangerous for the world. The USA has adopted different methods of fifth-generation warfare. Typically, it is called the triple C method which is convinced, confused, and conflict. In fifth-generation warfare, the key target is the young generation. In this era, young generation, especially, students, use Android phones for internet. The apps which are available to them are Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter to viral the information in minutes (Sabir, 2019). The security situation in Pakistan is undoubtedly affected by its relationship with India which poses a significant traditional security challenge. India's traditional military capabilities far surpass Pakistan, with a defense budget of 72.6 \$ billions, compared to Pakistan's 11.3 \$ billions. India is also one of the largest arms importer in the world and has acquired advanced weaponry, including drones, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), the S-400 defense system, and hypersonic and supersonic missiles. These developments have created a complex security landscape, which requires careful consideration and planning by Pakistani authorities to ensure the country's and its citizens' safety as India has been a traditional enemy of Pakistan. India uses fifth-generation warfare tactics to destabilize Pakistan through propaganda campaigns. India feels a threat from China-Pakistan economic and strategic ties considering it as a threat to its national security. That's why, India is trying to destabilize Pakistan by launching fifthgeneration warfare (Markey, 2022). The European Union (EU) accused Pakistan of proliferation in 2004. At the same time, reports began circulating in the international media that Pakistan would halt and pull back its nuclear weapons program due to growing international pressure (Mustafa, 2018).

The inter-services intelligence (ISI) and Pakistani army are being held responsible by the adversaries for regional hostilities and for backing non-state entities. The fight against terrorism has never praised and emphasized Pakistani sacrifices (Nadeem et al., 2021). For the adversaries, waging a conventional war against Pakistan is still challenging. They have, therefore, launched offensive

propaganda war against it. Pakistan is dealing with several internal problems, regional proxies, and global pressures. It is challenged with new mechanisms like news framing, propaganda, and trolling which allow enemies to harm its positive image in the world. India declares war on journalism against Pakistan with the support of improved cyberwarfare technology and social media point of view (Rawan, 2020). There are many factors including foreign involvement can change the attitudes of the citizens and leaders and build the anti-state narrative in their minds. This initiated harmful propaganda and spread misinformation to exploit religious, ethnic, and political disorder in a community (Saud, 2022). The adversaries of Pakistan funded the Shia/Sunni sectarian divide and many other ethnic-religious conflicts like Sindh and Baloch independent movements in a state (Mirza, 2020). Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP) leaders Ehsanullah Ehsan and Latif Mehsud both confessed to Indian maneuvers and in spreading anti-Pakistan sentiments (Khan, 2022).

A propaganda campaign started against Pakistan by Indian media in 2019 about the Pulwama attack on a military convoy in India-occupied Jammu Kashmir. In response, the Indian Air Force (IAF) launched an airstrike near Balakot; India claimed to have a successful strike on a militant camp while killing more than 300 militants. But no such evidence of training camps for militants exists there. India only destroyed some trees. Indian Air Force and media groups claimed that he shot down Pakistan Air Force (PAF) F-16 aircraft with Mig-21 which was also proved wrong (Murtaza et.al, 2022).

The incompetence of political leaders produced a weakness in the sovereignty of the State (Kamboh et.al, 2021). Mearsheimer and Stephen explained about pro-Israel organizations' efforts to affect academia, the mass media and think tanks as these institutes are crucial in determining popular opinion (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006). Such activities are continuously perpetrated by some of the Indian lobbies against Pakistan e.g., Disinfo Lab issue.

Enemies of the State: European Union Disinfolab Report

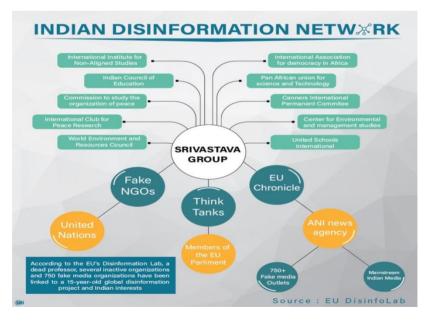
In 2019, the European Union DisinfoLab started an investigation against an online network operated by Indian groups and uncovered a massive operation targeting global institutions. This project is also called 'Indian Chronicles'. This operation investigates about the revived dead media, think tanks, NGOs, and even the revived dead people. The objective of the network was to undermine Pakistan by producing and disseminating content in Brussels and Geneva. This investigation undercover a network of more than 550 registered websites' domain and more than 750 fake media in 116 counties working against Pakistan (Gary, 2019). The EU Disinfo Lab exposed the more extensive network of Indian Intelligence agency RAW sponsoring fake media groups and fake NGOs to damage the image of Pakistan in the world (Rehman, 2022).

Adnan Nawaz, Muhammad Zeeshan & Sufyan Akhlaq



Source: (DFRLab., 2020)

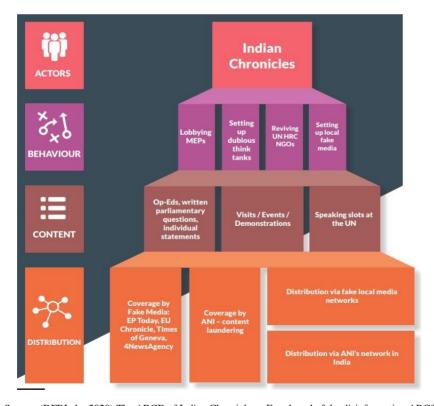
The EU Disinfo Lab report gives the details about a list of several people under whose names various websites domains were registered, and these domains cannot be located or identified. There is also the possibility that they are using fake identities based in Canada and Europe. South Asia Democratic Forum (SADF) was registered against the email address csopus@yahoo.com; this email was also used to register some fake NGOs, specifically the European Organization for Pakistani Minorites (EOM) and the International Forum for Rights and Security (IFFRAS).



Source: (DFRLab., 2020)

The Srivastava Group (SG) is an Indian Company backed by Delhi. The research investigates this group is operating 265 pro-Indian websites working from 65 countries. The SG group has targeted the officials of the UN and EU parliament. One specific NGO, as identified by the researcher of this project, was the Commission to Study of Peace (CSOP) which was founded in 1930 and stopped its activities in the 1970s. The founder of this CSOP was Prof. Louis B Sohn who was a faculty member of Harvard University for almost 39 years. The researcher was shocked after seeing that Prof. Sohn attended the session of UNHRC in 2007, but he died in 2006 (Hussain & Menon, 2020).

In 2013 the Baluchistan House was founded in Canada by Tarek Fatah, a media personality in Canada. He declared himself as an Indian born in Pakistan and as an immigrant present in Canada. He has excellent relations with Ankit Srivastava, and he has acknowledged that the Srivastava group pays him to copy the opinion articles of Toronto Sun op-eds and publish his owned New Delhi Times. The members of Baluchistan House, Tarek Fatah, and Mehran Mani have organized protests, conferences, and other events against Pakistan in Geneva (Javed, 2021).



Source: (DFRLab., 2020) The ABCD of Indian Chronicles – Ever heard of the disinformation ABC?

The Indian Chronicles report discloses some interesting facts about the mainstream media agency i.e., ANI to publish fake news to damage the image of Pakistan in the world. They picked up some famous politicians and journalists who had some personal issues with Pakistani establishment. These people are an easy tool for Indian agencies to utilize and spread anti-Pakistan messages among the people and promote the anti-Pakistan agenda (Rasool, 2020).

Non Coventional Battle Field and Pakistan

Pakistan is currently being targeted by certain hostile nations, who have launched an extensive diplomatic campaign aimed at destabilizing Pakistan. This has created a challenging situation for the country, which must now take appropriate measures to defend its interests and maintain political stability. Despite these challenges, Pakistan remains committed to upholding its sovereignty and protecting the interests of its people.

Financial Actions Task Force (FATF) has put Pakistan in the Grey list to observe its efforts to secure funds transferring in the global economy (FATF, 2021). As a major player in global markets, India is seeking to place Pakistan in the 'blacklist' of the Financial Action Task Force. Pakistan's reputation has been seriously harmed at the international level by Indian media's negative propaganda operations and diplomatic efforts. As a result, Pakistan has been placed on the Grey List of the FATF (Jeffery, 2020).



Source: IPRI (https://twitter.com/IPRI_Pak/status/1318934689642668033)

Foreign hostile powers are funding insurgencies that support terrorism, impeding development efforts, and disseminating false and misleading media stories to influence the perceptions of local Pakistani communities. In the province of Baluchistan, there are multiple separatist movements, including BLA (Baloch Liberation Army) and BLF (Baloch Liberation Front). These groups aim to encourage spread of centrifugal tendencies among disillusioned individuals towards current political system. If these movements join forces with fifthgeneration warriors who share their objectives, the result will be the disastrous for Pakistan. This combination poses a severe threat and is currently being demonstrated in Baluchistan. Russia, the US, the UK, India, and Israel have been part of conspiracies against Pakistan in the Baluchistan province (Khan, 2012). Russia supported the 'Great Baluchistan' movement when it invaded Afghanistan in 1979 (Carson, 2018). In recent times Pakistan slightly changes its foreign policy and tilted toward China, as seen in its commitments to CPEC, which is not accepted able to USA and India. Both countries are involved in 5GW in Pakistan. In the current situation, America and India are on the same page due to the Chinese rising factor in this region. This policy change may also rise the threats of 5GW in Pakistan (Javeria, 2022).

The Indian spy agency RAW (Research Analysis Wing) conducts many covert operations in Baluchistan through different non-state actors' networks such as religious and minorities group and fund them to work against Pakistan. In 2016 Indian Navy commander and agent of RAW Kulbushan Jadhav was captured by Pakistani agencies near the Iranian border. He was involved in different covert operations in Pakistan. He had admitted, "My purpose was to hold meetings with Baloch insurgents and carry out activities with their collaboration. These activities have been of criminal nature, leading to the killing of or maining of Pakistani citizens". He clearly admits that RAW leads independence movements in Pakistan. "I realize during this process that RAW is involved in activities related to the Baloch liberation movements within Pakistan and the region around it" (Baloch et.al, 2021). The Bloch community was incited to oppose Pakistan by the Indian intelligence agency RAW. A TV news channel called "Zed Salam" has also been launched in India for the same reason (Magbool, 2018). On Defense Day 2020, General Qamar Javed Bajwa, a former Chief of Army Staff, warned the nation, "On this occasion, I would like to turn your attention to another challenge. This challenge has been imposed on us through the fifth generation of hybrid war" (Desk, September 6,2020).

Frgility in Fault lines of National Cohesion

Instead of conducting conventional offensives against Pakistan, the enemy is conducting psychological attacks using its media and literature resources (Batool, 2019). The adversaries utilize Pakistani young students in 5GW against the nation.

The enemies try to brainwash the thoughts through literature and media showing signs of alliance by offering them empathy and utilized them to blame the administration of Pakistan. They also introduce ideas of class distinctions, such as how the wealthy have access to everything while the underprivileged and young people struggle in this nation (Kamboh et.al, 2021).

Pakistani and India no longer fight against each other on territorial boundaries and India has more opportunities to launch fifth-generation warfare against Pakistan. In the words of former DG ISPR Major General Babar Iftikhar, "Pakistan is being massively subjected to Fifth Generation warfare, but we are aware of threats. Furthermore, he stated that "India is involved in an immense campaign of 'fifth-generation warfare' to obstruct Pakistan's road to prosperity mainly through targetting the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Pakistan's International Image" (Dawn, 2020).

In fifth-generation warfare, adversaries use numerous mass media (TV Channels, Printing Media, etc.) and social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and Whats App. These are very prominent tools for sharing targeted information against Pakistan (Maseehullah, 2023). Pakistani institutions could not respond effectively in the past to counter false information and propaganda campaigns launched against the state. Authorities should protect social cohesion and ideological unity by fighting in two ways i.e., limiting the flow of information and developing countermeasures (Bhukari, 2020). Recent reports suggest that the Indian intelligence agency, RAW, has been conducting digital spy operations by sharing sensitive and strategic information through computerized numerical data. To further their aims, it has been discovered that they have created many fake accounts on popular social media platforms. These accounts manipulate and influence innocent civilians and spread propaganda and disinformation. As a result of these nefarious activities, the situation in Pakistan has become alarmingly chaotic and destabilized. There is an anti-military campaign being waged by antistate actors with the intention of creating a divide between the armed forces and the government. These enemy countries share misleading information regarding the state's military and economic institutions among youth and mobilize them against the country's institutions. The primary focus of these campaigns is to damage the social cohesion of Pakistan and create chaos in the country regarding ethnic communities, minorities, and religious sects (Rakhshani, 2022).

Countermeasures for the Fifth-Generation Warfare

Pakistani government must take decisive action to counter the threats of fifthgeneration warfare. The government must leverage various media platforms to raise public awareness about these threats. A robust two-factor authentication system must be implemented to safeguard sensitive data. Advanced technologies such as Artificial Intelligence and Information security must be invested in to secure public and government data. Proactive steps to block media apps and

websites must be taken to prevent cyber-attacks. Furthermore, the government must ensure that the public is fully informed about spam and other potential dangers that could threaten Pakistan. National action plan should be fully implemented. Pakistan's ideology and national spirit need to be revived immediately. In the modern world, data is a priceless national resource. Since, there are no safeguards in place to preserve data, one must take action to secure data. A complete re-evaluation of our international relations is required to comprehend the international threats. Pakistan has to quickly set up a multilateral intelligence system. Pakistan must urge Russia, China, Central Asian Republics, and all of Afghanistan's neighbors make a unified cyber-security force to eliminate terrorists' networworks in the region.

In a country like Pakistan, there is a need to strengthen cybersecurity to protect the important infrastructure of the government (such as official websites of public offices and banks) and private networks from cyber-attacks. Pakistan's government needs to invest more in advanced technologies and set a mechanism for proper response to cyber-attacks. It is necessary to promote the awareness of cybersecurity and the need to educate the people. Authorities also need to develop and implement a comprehensive regulatory framework under government laws on using social media platforms in the country. This regulatory system should discuss the issues of hate speech, false news, and misuse of personal data. The government should need to make it easy to use reporting mechanisms on social media like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc. in order to report false news, hate speech, fake images, and misguiding content. In addition, it should take action to remove harmful content, and to expose fake information and propaganda campaigns.

Authorities must be able to counter falsehood campaigns and propaganda against Pakistan. There is a need to establish special units of military and intelligence agencies to monitor and counter fake stories and narratives on social media platforms (YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter etc). Furthermore, there is a need to give awareness to people through media to mitigate the effect of misinformation. There is a need to ensure accountability and to promote a transparent governance system in the country and to strengthen its democratic institutions in order to build trust and confidence of the public. Promotion of rule of law in a state and by giving independence to media platforms to highlight the positive things about Pakistan will help to contain the demages by 5GW in Pakistan. Politicians should need to resolve their conflicts and differences through peaceful means of social cohesion to overcome political instability.

Conclusion

The fifth-generation warfare is a war of misinformation and propaganda fought with technologies. Information Technology plays a very significant role in 5GW. The invention of fast-track communication applications like Facebook, Skype,

IMO and What's App has allowed the adversaries to use them for communication, sharing data, and spreading fake information in other countries for their political objectives. Furthermore, the technology which is used to spread misinformation and propaganda, is difficult to counter. Propaganda warfare is detrimental as it spreads chaos, fear, and anarchy in the state. Pakistani nation is divided on the basisi of language, religious sects, race, and economic classes. The Fifthgeneration warfare posed different challenges to Pakistan regarding political, social, economic, ethnic, and religious challenges. By the start of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, conspiracies of external forces had been started to thwart its economic and social progress. Pakistan has a great position among world powers due to its geostrategic location, security alliances, nuclear capability and relations with China. Government of Pakistan needs to give awareness among people to understand the 5GW threats. By launching campaigns in educational institutes and educating the masses about false news and propaganda campaigns which are being spread through social media platforms, the people may get awareness and counter the threats to national cohesion.

References

- Abd, S. A. (2022). Social Media as a Threat to National Security: A Case Study of Twitter in Pakistan. *Margalla Papers*, 26(2), 96-107. doi:https://doi.org/10.54690/margallapapers.26.2.117
- Adam Saud, N. K. (2022). Disinformation and Propaganda Tactics: Impacts of Indian Information Warfare on Pakistan. *Journal of Indian Studies*, 8(2), 335-354. Retrieved from http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/indianStudies/PDF/9 v8 2 22.pdf
- Azad, D. T. (2020). Understanding the international patterns against Pakistan. *ResearchGate*.
- Baloch, M. A., Mustafa, D. G., Kakar, D. A., & Kakar, S. A. (2021). Balochistan and Fifth Generation Warfare: Role of External Powers. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 58(2), 140-146. Retrieved from chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/history/PDF-FILES/20_58_2_21.pdf
- Banas, J. A., & Rains, S. A. (2010). A meta-analysis of research on inoculation theory. *Communication Monographs*, 77(3), 281-311
- Banas, J. A., & Miller, G. (2013). Inducing resistance to conspiracy theory propaganda: Testing inoculation and metainoculation strategies. *Human Communication Research*, 39(2), 184-207.
- Batool, M. (2019). Role of youth in 5th generation warfare. Pakistan: The Nation. Retrieved from https://nation.com.pk/2019/01/27/5th-generation-warfare-threating-integrity-of-state-role-of-youth/https://nation.com.pk/2019/01/27/5th-generation-warfare-threating
 - integrity-of-state-role-of-youth/
- Bhukari, S. (2020). Hybrid Warfare and the Role of Social Media. *Th south Asian strategic stability institute sassi university*.

- Borrelli, F. (2020). 5th Generation Warfare? *Blackwater Tactical Weekly*. Retrieved 01 March, 2022, from http://www.projectwhitehorse.com/pdfs/7a.%205th%20Generation%20Warfar e.pdf
- Carson, A. (2018). *Secret wars: Covert conflict in international politics.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Compton, J. (2013). Inoculation theory. The Sage handbook of persuasion: Developments in theory and practice, 2, 220-237.
- Daniel Markey. (2022). Enhancing Strategic Stability in Southern Asia. Washington: United State Institute of Peace. Retrieved from chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2022-05/enhancing-strategic-stability-in-southern-asia-final-report.pdf
- Dawn. (2019). ISPR press releases proof further contradicting India claim of shooting down F-16. Islamabad, Pakistan. Retrieved from https://www.dawn.com/news/1474086
- Dawn. (2020, December 3). Pakistan being subjected to 5th-generation warfare.

 Dawn News. Retrieved May 27, 2023, from https://www.dawn.com/news/1593804
- Desk, W. (2020, September 6). Gen Bajwa warns country of attempt to discredit Pakistan via fifth-generation warfare. Rawalpindi, Punjab, Pakistan: The News. Retrieved May 26, 2023, from https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/710906-coas-warns-country-of-attempt-to-discredit-pakistan-via-fifth-generation-warfare
- DFRLab. (2020). Indian Chronicles: Deep Dive into a 15-year operation targeting the EU and UN to serve Indian interests. https://www.disinfo.eu/publications/indian-chronicles-deep-dive-into-a-15-year-operation-targeting-the-eu-and-un-to-serve-indian-interests/
- Dr. Bakht Rawan, S. I. (2020). Comparative Frame Analysis of Coverage of Kashmir Conflict in Indian and Pakistani Newspapers from War/Peace Journalism Perspective. *Sir Syed Journal of Education & Social Research*, 3(2), 338-345. doi:https://doi.org/10.36902/sjesr-vol3-iss2-2020(338-345)
- FATF. (2021). FATF Annual Report 2020-2021. FATF. Retrieved from https://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/brochuresannualreports/Annual-Report-2020-2021.pdf
- Gary Machado Alexandre Alaphilippe, R. A. (2019). *Indian Chronicles*. Brussels: EU DisinfoLab. Retrieved May 29, 2023, from https://www.disinfo.eu/publications/indian-chronicles-deep-dive-into-a-15-year-operation-targeting-the-eu-and-un-to-serve-indian-interests/
- Gichki, A. A. (2022). The Role of Media in the Fifth Generation Warfare: The Indian Information War against Pakistan. *Journal of Mass Communication*, 27(2), 50-68. Retrieved from https://jmcd-uok.com/index.php/jmcd/article/view/240/110
- Gillani, A. H., Nazir, J., & Pirzada, G. (2021). Media as a Weapon of Narrative Building: A case of Fifth Generation Warfare. *Pak. Journal of Int'L Affairs*,

- 4(4), 486-500. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Hassan%20Laptop%20Point/Downloads/30-media-as-a-weapon-of-narrative-building-a-case-of-fifth-generation-war.pdf
- Haider, M. W., Azad, T. M., & Warrich, H. u. (2020). A critical review of hybrid warfare: challenges to Pakistan. *Global Mass Communication Review*, *V*(IV), 72-90. doi: 10.31703/gmcr.2020(V-IV).06
- Hammes, C. T. (2007). Fourth generation warfare evolves, fifth emerges,. Retrieved from https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=482199
- Hussain, A., & Menon, S. (2020, December 10). *The dead professor and the vast pro-India disinformation campaign*. Retrieved May 30, 2023, from BBC: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-55232432
- Iqbal, H. (2021). Human Rights. ResearchGate. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/355360231_Human_Rights/link/616 c178c25467d2f00479f27/download
- Izzat Raazia, M. A. (2022). Conceptualizing Hybrid Warfare: India's Tactics Confronting Pakistan's Security. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan,* 59(3), 104-111. Retrieved from http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/history/PDF-FILES/13 59 3 22.pdf
- Jahangir, J., & Bashir, N. (2022). Fifth Generation Warfare: Response Strategy of Pakistan. *Academic Journal of Social Sciences (AJSS)*, 6(2), 59-76. doi:https://doi.org/10.54692/ajss.2022.06021753
- Javed, Z. (2021). *Analysis of the Indian Chronicles*. Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute. Retrieved from chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://ipripak.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Indian-Chronicles-Policy-Brief.pdf
- Javeria Jahangir, N. B. (2022). Fifth Generation Warfare: Response Strategy of Pakistan. *Academic Journal of Social Sciences (AJSS)*, 6(2), 59-76. Retrieved from http://www.ojs.lgu.edu.pk/index.php/ajss/article/view/1753
- Jeffery, S. (2020). Indian hybrid warfare: the threat is real. Pakistan: The Nation. Retrieved from https://nation.com.pk/2020/06/30/indian-hybrid-warfare-the-threat-is-real/
- Kemp, S. (2023). *DIGITAL 2023: PAKISTAN*. DataReportal. Retrieved May 27, 2023, from https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2023-pakistan#:~:text=Meanwhile%2C%20data%20published%20in%20the,and%20above%20at%20that%20time.
- Khan, H. (2021). CRITICAL STUDY OF PROPAGANDA & HYBRID / 5TH GENERATION WAR FOR THE PURPOSE OF NARRATIVE BUILDING. Department of Business & Media at Selinus University. Retrieved from chrome
 - extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.uniselinus.education/sites/default/files/2021-11/hamid%20khan.pdf
- Khan, M. K., Sana, A., & Kiran, A. (2012). Balochistan unrest internal and external dimensions. *Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis National Defence University, Islamabad*, 26, 93-123. Retrieved from https://ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/NDU_Journal_2012.pdf

- Khan, R. (2022). Between Independence and Autonomy: The Changing Landscape of Ethno-nationalist Movements in Pakistan. *Nationalities Papers*, *50*(4), 643-660. doi:http://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2021.65
- Khan, S. (2023, May 19). *Civil, military leaders decide to observe May 9 as 'Black Day' nationally*. Retrieved from Dawn News: https://www.dawn.com/news/1753698
- Khan, T. M. (2020). UNDERSTANDING THE INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA PATTERNS AGAINST PAKISTAN. In *Fake News* (pp. 209-233). Islamabad: Institute of Regional Studies Islamabad.
- Khanum, M., Daud, S., & Hussain, F. (2020). The Fifth Generation War in Pakistan and the Role of Media. *Habibia Islamicus*, 4(2), 77-90. doi:https://doi.org/10.47720/hi.2020.0402e06.
- Krishnan, A. (2022). Fifth Generation Warfare, Hybrid Warfare, and Gray Zone Conflict. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 14(4), 14-31. doi:https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.15.4.2013
- Machado, G., Alaphilippe, A., Adamczyk, R., & Gregoire, A. (2020). *Indian Chronicles: subsequent investigation: deep dive into a 15-year operation targeting the EU and UN to serve Indian interests.* EU DISINFO LAB. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/ALVI%20PC/Downloads/Indian-chronicles_FULLREPORT.pdf
- Maqbool, M. (2018). Pakistan's faultlines and hybrid war challenge. Pakistan: The Nation. Retrieved from https://nation.com.pk/2018/11/24/pakistan-s-faultlines-and-hybrid-war-challenge/
- Maseehullah, A. B. (2023). Fifth Generation War Against Pakistan its Dynamics, Implications and Response by State Institutions. *Review of Education, Administration & Law*, 6(1), 41-50. doi:10.47067/real.v6i1.302
- Masroor Khanum, S. D. (2020). The Fifth Generation Warfare In Pakistan and Role of the Media. *Habibia Islamicus (The International Journal of Arabic and Islamic Research)*, 4(2), 77-90. doi:https://doi.org/10.47720/hi.2020.0402e06
- McGuire, W. J. (1964). Inducing resistance to persuasion: Some contemporary approaches. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 1, pp. 191-229). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Mearsheimer, J. J., & Walt, S. M. (2006). *The Israel Lobby and U.S foreign policy* (Vol. 28). Faisalabad: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/ALVI%20PC/Downloads/Middle%20East%20Policy%20-%202006%20-%20Mearsheimer%20-
 - % 20 The % 20 Israel % 20 Lobby % 20 and % 20 U% 20 S% 20% 20 Foreign % 20 Policy .pdf
- Monaghan, S. (2019, October). Countering hybrid warfare: So what for the future joint force? *PRISM*, 8(2), 82-99. Retrieved from https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/prism/prism_8-2/PRISM_8-2 Monaghan.pdf
- Muhammad Nadeem Mirza, S. I. (2020). The Indian Hybrid Warfare Strategy: Implications for Pakistan. *Progressive Research Journal of Arts and*

- *Humanities*, 2(1), 39-52. Retrieved from https://shs.hal.science/halshs-03013546/document.
- Mueller, R. S., & Man. A. (2019). Report on the investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election (Vol. 1). Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.
- Murtaza, Z., Shah, A. S., & Murtaza, K. (2022). Propaganda as a War between Pakistan and India: Objectives and Reasons. *Human Nature Journal of Social Sciences*, 3(3), 147-157. Retrieved from http://hnpublisher.com/ojs/index.php/HNJSS/article/view/126/107
- Mustafa, M. Q. (2018). Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme: criticism, propaganda and response. *Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, 37*(4), 39-64. Retrieved from https://issi.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/3-SS_M-Qasim Mustafa No-4 2017.pdf
- Nadeem, M. A. (2010). Next generation of warfare. *Command and Staff College*, 21-22.
- Nadeem, M. A., Mustafa, D. G., & Kakar, D. A. (2021). Fifth generation warfare and its challenges to Pakistan. *Pakistan Journal of International Affairs*, 4(1), 216-230. doi:https://doi.org/10.52337/pjia.v4i1.118
- Ortiz-Ospina, E. (2019). The rise of social media. *Our world in data*. Retrieved from https://ourworldindata.org/rise-of-social-media
- Qasim, S. (2021). Role of Information Technology to Spread Sectarianism in Context of 5th Generation-Hybrid Warfare in Pakistan. *Karachi Islamicus*, 1(2), 25-34.
- Rakhshani, M. A. (2022, June 1). *Fifth-generation Warfare and its Challenges to Pakistan*. Retrieved from Hilal English: https://hilal.gov.pk/engarticle/detail/NjI1Mg==.html
- Rasool, S. (2020, December 15). *Indian Chronicles manifest the dangers of 5G warfare*. Retrieved May 30, 2023, from Global Village Space: https://www.globalvillagespace.com/indian-chronicles-manifest-the-dangers-of-5g-warfare/
- Rehman, A. (2022). Fifth-generation Warfare: A Case Study of Indian Disinformation Campaign Against Balochistan. *Journal of Mass Communication Department, Dept of Mass Communication, University of Karachi,* 26(1), 97-115. Retrieved from https://jmcd-uok.com/index.php/jmcd/article/view/221/104
- Roozenbeek, J., van der Linden, S., & Nygren, T. (2020). Prebunking interventions based on "inoculation" theory can reduce susceptibility to misinformation across cultures. *Harvard Kennedy School Misinformation Review*, 1(2).
- Sabir, D. M. (2019). Fifth generation warfare and media. Pakistan. Retrieved from https://e.jang.com.pk/01-30-2018/lahore/pic.asp...
- UKBA. (2008). Country origin Information report: Pakistan. London: UK Border Agency. Retrieved from https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2013/06/12/Pakistan_06 2008.pdf
