



ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION

Fifth-Generation Warfare and Challenges for Pakistan

Noureen Bibi ¹, Samina Farhat ², Maaz Ud Din ^{3*}

^{1,2} Department of Political Science University of Karachi, Karachi, Pakistan

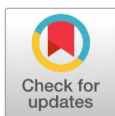
³ Department of Management Sciences University of Swabi, Swabi, Pakistan

³ Department of Management Sciences, University of Haripur, Haripur, Pakistan

Abstract— From the beginning of human history, warfare is continuously changing over time. New tactics and approaches to combat, such as unconventional warfare, hybrid warfare, information-based campaigns, media implantation, and fifth-generation warfare, are emerging, undermining the value of conventional military methods and blurring the line between conflict and peace. The fifth-generation war is not explicit; rather, it is unclear and ambiguous. In nature, that creates violence in a state affecting directly or indirectly state institutions, infrastructure, public lives and properties, and economic means such as banking. Fifth-generation warfare is an active threat to Pakistan's security as there are many ongoing conflicts that one can see at present, such as terrorism, ethnic and sectarian division, media propaganda against state institutions, and money laundering. The research aims to present the threats posed to Pakistan at the current time. It will explore 5th-generation warfare that will be applied in this article to show how it poses challenges to Pakistan. The current political and security challenges, along with the recent international developments that have had a deep impact on the geopolitical scenario of Pakistan, will be explained with the effects of 5th-generation warfare to show how new challenges are posed. The article's findings will be helpful in formulating policies that will ultimately be helpful to counter these challenges. It will be significant in providing more insights and helpful in transforming the discourse related to the security of Pakistan. It shows the different strategies, cyber-attacks, economic threats, and attempts to destabilize Pakistan.

Index Terms— Fifth generation warfare, Media propaganda, Money laundering, Terrorism

Received: 21 June 2022; **Accepted:** 25 August 2022; **Published:** 25 November 2022



Introduction

"War never achieves its absolute because war is never an isolated act: War does not consist of a single short blow and in war, the result is never final." (Clausewitz)

From the beginning of human history, warfare is continuously changing over time. New tactics and approaches to combat, such as unconventional warfare, hybrid warfare, information-based campaigns, media implantation, and fifth-generation warfare, are emerging, undermining the value of conventional military methods and blurring the line between conflict and peace. The fifth-generation war is not explicit; instead, it is unclear and ambiguous (Reed, 2008). In nature, that creates violence in a state affecting directly or indirectly state institutions, infrastructure, public lives and properties, and economic means such as banking. Fifth-generation warfare is an active threat

*Email: maazyoufazai12@gmail.com

to Pakistan's security as there are many ongoing conflicts that one can see in the present time, such as terrorism, ethnic and sectarian division, media propaganda against state institutions, and money laundering. The research aims to present the threats posed to Pakistan at the current time. It shows the different strategies, cyber-attacks, economic threats, and many more attempts that try to destabilize Pakistan (Shamsi et al., 2020).

Warfare has seen uniform evolution since the inception of human history. It did not take tens of thousands of years from the transformation of 1st Generation Warfare (1GW) to 2nd Generation Warfare (2GW). Instead, it developed and peaked in the hundred years between Waterloo and Verdun. Similarly, Third Generation Warfare (3GW) gained popularity in less than twenty-five years. Around the same time, when 3GW was being executed in Europe and in China, fourth-generation warfare was launched at the time of its beginning almost 8 decades ago. Fifth Generation Warfare culminated from the constant change of social and political allegiances to reasons instead of nation-states. This is labeled by the explosion of biotechnology and smaller entities' increasing power (Mattsson, 2015).

Fifth-generation war of its kind is vague. Presently, it does not have a universally accepted definition; however, this war is signified as unconditional and uncovered warfare. Anyhow, this model of war is hastily getting its prominent place in the whole world, and many questions are rising, like in what way and when this war came into existence? (Baloch et al., 2021). Since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, William Lind pointed out that modern war is different from other wars by categorizing the wars into four generations, each generation depicting a way of fighting a war. Fifth-generation war or hybrid war, a battle of conceptions and information, is a moral and cultural conflict that perverts the ideas of the public to generate a self-narrated perspective of the politics and world. According to Adam Herring's research, fifth-generation war is the "deliberate manipulation of an observer's context to achieve a desired outcome (Rees, 2010).

A third-world country with outdated systems and poor political structure, there is an immense need for the development of national security with threats from all around the world due to its geopolitical position. As the world has advanced and technological giants have overtaken those with zero technological competence, Pakistan must enhance and upgrade its security policies to safeguard its national and ideological interests. As we are still caught up with number, size, and force, someone with lesser size, force, and number can undo us if modern-day warfare understandings are not comprehended and institutionalized. Hence, this research will provide insight, elaborate, and explain the modern-day security challenges and the existential threats that are posed to Pakistan. It will provide a new outlook and provide a new direction in this regard. It will help formulate new policies, prioritize new trends and technologies, and experiment with these technologies to tackle the challenges. The research will also explain the need for a new security discourse that will enhance the national understanding of our security.

Many scholars like Slog, Abbott, etc., concerned with fifth-generation war pursue to interpret it in their ways. The covert, deliberate control of actors, networks, institutions, states, or any [0GW, 1GW] 2GW/3GW/4GW forces to achieve a goal or set of goals across a range of socioeconomic and political domains while attempting to prevent or reduce the retaliatory offensive or defensive actions/reactions of 2GW, 3GW, or 4GW powered actors, networks, institutions, and/or states, according to Slog, is what constitutes fifth generation war (Slog, 2010).

Research objectives

- Highlighting the 5th generation warfare and security challenges posed to Pakistan.
- Explaining how these challenges pose an existential threat.
- Insights to formulate a new security policy.
- Institutionalizing 5th-generation Warfare.

In this war, the falsity of information is so clandestinely spread that conflict's victim even does not intimate that he is falling prey to war and the victim isn't familiar that he is falling the battle – this makes it the most terrible warfare generation among all warfare generations (Qasim, 2021).

Characteristics of Fifth-generation warfare

The fifth-generation war is not explicit instead, it is unclear and ambiguous that creates violence in a state affecting directly or indirectly state institutions, infrastructure, public lives and properties, and economic means such as banking (Janjua, 2018).

Moreover, there are three evident features or characteristics of fifth-generation war:

- It can carry out consolidated supra-groups. It fades away the borders that are conventionally confined to war in a period of armed forces or civil government.
- The borders are conventionally confined to war in a period of armed forces or civil government.
- It has the potential to reduce the function of present-day military forces equipped with modern war arms in upcoming wars.

Further, antagonistic feelings arise due to the economic recession and political instability; thereby, frustration emerges in public. However, violence may also take place because of state oppression, external attack, and political abuses. 5GW ignites religious emotions and targets cultural identities to give a strong blow to a foe. Abbott states that an exasperate crowd, well-trained army personnel, and many other unconventional warfare ways can establish catastrophic corps. He further argues that the propagation of information in war has advanced technologies of war that preclude the prerequisites of disturbance and explicit physical interference of the intruders; rather than the data through cables and supervision not only exploits but also manipulates the view of people (Abbott, 2010; Pechinthorn, 2019). According to Sun Tzu, this method of influencing public perceptions is "the zenith of skill a triumph without fighting (McNeilly, 2015).

Challenges for Pakistan

Pakistan is situated in an extremely important geographical and strategic region of the world. It establishes its importance to the world's superpowers. India, a longtime rival, is on the other side from China, a prosperous country. Iran is a neighboring country that opposes the United States and is still a war zone. For the superpowers, Pakistan is crucial in each of these sectors. However, it is now vital to identify the tactics employed by the superpowers to arouse interest in this region and Pakistan. India doesn't want Pakistan to advance economically. India continually works to obstruct Pakistan's development and damage its reputation abroad. India, in particular, fights Pakistan and places impediments in its way using every tool at its disposal. The anti-Pakistan factions continue to attack Pakistan and bring up issues with national unification. People were split as a result of prejudices towards particular churches, languages, races, and socioeconomic groups. Although federalism was the country's foundation, it has never been fully implemented. Pakistan is weak because of its immature political leaders (Zakaria, 2019).

Now is the time for the anti-Pakistan forces to decide how to deal with Pakistan. Due to its unique geostrategic position on the international map, Pakistan is assigned a great deal of importance. Only destabilizing Pakistan will achieve the goals of the anti-Pakistan factions. For a long time, the superpowers used these tactics, but as the twenty-first century got underway, a new warfare tactic was used against Pakistan to undermine its notions of unity and security. Fifth-generation warfare is the most recent type of conflict that states use to promote their objectives.

The weapons of modern warfare psychologically target people in the countries, turning the young generation, in particular, against their country and its armed forces. The antagonists don't hurt anyone physically but psychologically harm others by employing tools like media and literature. Ideas were created through this weapon of war, and doubts about their forces were raised. Different information with varying points of view is presented through literature and the media. They create moments in the name of rights, but when international media report on these moments, they openly criticize the national forces and show that Pakistan is in danger. They also planned events that show how extremist Islam has become.

There was no doubt that Pakistan faced issues on the Afghan border. Numerous people died both inside and outside of Pakistan. Anti-Pakistan forces emphasize that the Afghan and Pakistani border region is "Qabalis dead" as a result of Pakistani policies and participation in that battle. These kinds of claims are easy to believe for someone who has lost family members in drone attacks or by mistake. He believes that Pakistan's security apparatus and government are to fault for this catastrophic loss. The hostile forces against Pakistan have a chance to target those people in this gap. They have trained them to attack Pakistan's security and sympathize with them. These individuals also want Pakistani authorities to punish them. This kind of individual was trained and allowed access through their voice when they were ready to be employed by the enemy. Hate speech and other objectionable content abound in the media and literature. They invent stories, point out flaws, and fabricate in surgency (Kaltenthaler, Miller, & Fair, 2012).

According to an ex-USA army officer, we employ several methods in fifth-generation warfare. Commonly utilized is the three C formula, which stands for convinced, confuse, and dispute. Our main objective has always been to further our interests, and to do so, we create plans and focus on people from other countries. We were careful to choose those that were valuable to the nation and, second, to develop those issues that the general public confronted frequently. We also talk about the vulnerabilities and gaps. It might always be a simple target. When we make the leaders lead, and the following follow, no one is aware of the motivation behind this. We routinely encounter this and succeed. The focus of this conflict has always been on the younger generation. In the digital age, every young person utilizes an Android that is connected to the internet, especially students.

They have idealistic leadership styles and life philosophies. Each person has close emotional connections with others. They have access to Twitter, Facebook, and Whatsapp content, and as it is circulated and shared, it spreads swiftly. Fifth-generation warfare makes use of this recognizable weaponry (Kamboh, Mustafa, & Rasul, 2021).

Since its founding, Pakistan has had to deal with many problems, including the legacy of pre-decolonization, a leadership crisis, ethnic division, and the looming unity of religions. Unfortunately, the decentralization of East Pakistan and West Pakistan due to poor planning and weak strategies to address fundamental problems hurt Pakistan. In addition, the country's ongoing economic and political unrest had an impact on every department and institution. Following the events of September 11, many global powers prepared Pakistan for modern warfare, where all these nations participated in achieving their underlying objectives by using all forms of fourth- and fifth-generation war-

fare, from terrorism's false accusations to weak justifications of political unrest or either likely "possible threat" for powerful states (Batool, 2019). Pakistan's security is actively threatened by fifth-generation warfare because there are so many current conflicts at the moment. The major challenges Pakistan is confronting today because of 5GW are discussed as follows:

Terrorism

After 9/11, Pakistan became the victim of 5 G because the whole world portrayed Pakistan as the main source of terrorism. It was attributed in such ways that the world still sees Pakistan as a terrorist state. As a part of 5GW, Pakistan's enemy created many organizations for terrorist activities; these organizations are paid to do such activities. In the twenty-first century, most of the wars are proxy wars as the terrorist entity or organization never fights on their own (Perera, 2018). In March 2016, Pakistan captured the Indian spy Kalbushan Yadav, a former Indian Navy officer from Balochistan who revealed that he was involved in many terrorist activities at the behest of the Indian spy Agency, Research and Analysis Wing.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi claimed that "India has been sponsoring terrorism in Pakistan and Indian spy Kalbushan Yadav was involved in planning and sponsoring terrorist activities in Pakistan on behalf of the Indian government" during his country's speech at the 73rd session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York (Qureshi, 2019) The "Baluchistan Liberation Army" is the primary tool of the Fifth Generation Warfare. The primary organizations operating here are the Baluchistan Liberation Front (BLF) and the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA), both of which have a Marxist or secular ideological bent (Rana, 2019). This gang is active in a variety of militant activities in Karachi and Balochistan. All of this has an impact on Baloch people's thinking and psyche.

Sectarian and ethnic division

Pakistan is a country of ethnic and sectarian diversity, which has been exploited by enemies and terrorists. Hybrid attacks or 5GW tactics are carried out to divide societies along sectarian and ethnic lines. For this, antagonists have created apt and influential narratives to incite certain elements in Balochistan against the rest – the civilians against the army and vice versa would be a good example here. The Srivastava Group, a front for the Indian intelligence agency RAW, has been spreading anti-Pakistan misinformation on 265 websites in 65 countries, especially in Europe, to spread the illusion of sectarianism and ethnicity (Durrani, 2020). With the increase in mass media, it is claimed that tactics and tools have been used by those influential forces to penetrate certain parts of society. With the increase in mass media, it is claimed that tactics and tools have been used by influential forces to penetrate certain parts of society. While these religious, sectarian, racial, and inter-institutional fault lines have only surfaced intensely in the past, they have developed deep and wide, and society at large is now fragmented.

Propaganda by media (Electronic, print, and social media)

The primary growth in terms of use, size, reach, and flexibility in the modern era; social media has brought this world together in ways never known and has linked humanity in a free and easy way. No one can simply disregard the benefits of this invention, but this forum is used with ill intentions and negative objectives in myriad ways in Pakistan, and it has caused this great prospect to be brought down in the eyes of many as nothing but an instrument to spread false news and propaganda. It's easy to either make thousands of your supporters or turn millions against a potentially innocent and fair opponent, currently non-state actors with motives that gain so much influence online.

This destructive misuse of the "freedom of speech" given to everyone in a free and democratic society has unnecessarily triggered seismic waves of abuse, hatred, and shame among factions. Realistically speaking, hegemonic states use the media as an effective propaganda weapon against the states. On 12 January, The Economist London published an article entitled "Praetorian Penury," which made some fallacious and out-of-context allegations about the reasons behind Pakistan's persistent woes and kept the Pakistan Army responsible for the permeating situation and challenges (Ashraf, 2019). It should be noted that the paper is renowned for its aggressive stance toward the Pakistan Army and has carried similar writings even in the past as part of an ongoing international lobbying campaign to tarnish the reputation of Pakistan and its armed forces. The entire political structure of elections, the picture of government in the eyes of the general public as well as the prestige of everyone, even those barely popular enough to influence the lives of others, have changed 5GW entirely.

Money laundering and terror financing

Money laundering concerns looted wealth obtained from a corrupt practice like corruption, drug trafficking or tax evasion may be a felony, whereas terrorist funding requires the raising of funds to help terrorist activities or terrorist groups. Because money launderers and terrorists do not report their crimes to any agencies or bodies, it is very challenging to explicitly quantify these crimes. As a result, researchers have tried to take an indirect approach by examining laws and how they are put into practice to gauge a nation's susceptibility to these crimes. But Pakistan won't be judged the same way by different groups. For example, Pakistan ranks 23rd out of 125 countries

on the Basel Anti-Money Laundering Index, which is better than countries like China (19th) and Argentina (22nd) (Raza, 2019). All of these countries are interesting because they are not on FATF's list of countries to keep an eye on. This shows that FATF has different rules for different countries and that member states use it for their purposes in fifth-generation warfare. The FATF's position on Pakistan is also clear from the fact that the US and India are coming together to fight what they call "the threat of radical Islamist terrorism" (Raza, 2019). Furthermore, Kalbushan Yadev confessed that, on behalf of India, how he was financing insurgent groups to spread terrorism and extremism in Pakistan to damage its economy and spread violence to bring the public against the government and its institution.

CPEC: Target of 5th Generation Warfare

Pakistan is set to become the foremost 5th Generation warfare battlefield on the planet because of its pivotal involvement in China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI), which the United States sees as a vehicle for China's global economic and political control. Opponents of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) were angered by the construction of the Gwadar ports. The project's promising potential has angered the Trump administration and the ruling class in India. (Korybko, 2017). Narendra Modi, the prime minister, is determined to sabotage the initiative. The CPEC project could not be derailed by conventional warfare by either the US or India. Since conventional war is less relevant as a tool of state policy than it has ever been between competitors with nuclear weapons, the likelihood of a full-scale conventional war, especially between nuclearized strategic rivals, is rapidly declining as a means of settling the problems. After exhausting all possible political and diplomatic avenues, PM Modi, with the backing of the Trump administration, has been employing a hybrid warfare technique to derail CPEC. India has been trying a wide variety of tactics, including terrorism, criminal activity, and the use of conventional small arms, to derail the project. In addition, local foreign governments have commissioned local cliques to commission internet-enabled misinformation or diversionary discourse to discredit the CPEC. Concurrently, the United States is employing economic pressure to slow progress on the CPEC.

US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo expressed the nation's continued displeasure with the CPEC on July 30, 2018. As he put said, certainly, we will be monitoring the IMF's activities. The International Monetary Fund's (IMF) tax money, and by extension, US dollars used to fund the IMF, should not be used to bail out Chinese bondholders or China (Jaspal, 2018).

"Islamabad is under intense pressure from the Trump administration to "forego CPEC and ally itself solidly with the US against China" (Bashir, 2019). Intentionally or not, some analysts have fabricated claims that undermine the prospective benefits of the CPEC project. Numerous fake reports have been published in national and international media outlets to sabotage the CPEC's progress. They argue that Pakistan will become an economic colony of China if it accepts the CPEC's massive loans (Mi-Youn, 2018; Sehgal, 2018).

New Delhi's persistent marketing of the initiative has been a major factor in its success. The Indian intelligence organization RAW has sponsored and committed terrorist acts in Pakistan, especially at CPEC locations, to delay progress and irritate investors. It had established a terrorist network in Baluchistan to disrupt the construction of CPEC-related infrastructure. As part of a counterintelligence operation, on March 3, 2016, law enforcement in Pakistan arrested Kulbhushan Yadav, a serving commander in the Indian Navy who was in charge of managing terrorist activities in Baluchistan. Jadhav declared, "India provides support to terrorists and Baloch separatists so that they can commit acts of subversion and terrorism in Pakistan.

Terrorist attacks and inciting Baloch militants are also part of its strategy to undermine and destroy the CPEC" (Dar, 2019). RAW has been providing support to radical Sunni militants and Baloch separatist groups in the region to exacerbate the sectarian division and disrupt the CPEC projects. Careful planning has gone into sowing sectarian division in Quetta to destroy the social and religious unity of the residents and to frighten away investors who were contemplating Baluchistan as a result of the development of Gwadar's port and international airport. Hazaras (a Shia faction) in Quetta were the primary target of the Taliban and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. Both organizations are violent Sunni extremists.

Conclusion

Due to the surge of populism, technological and communicational secret operations and information-based means accompany the important role of non-state actors in the battleground. However, taking action with other countries and international organizations, it is a dire need to design a pragmatic plan to tackle the issues of new generation war by combining modern tactics with regular methods and developing a potent grouping of bureaucracy, judiciary, and foreign offices, military and financial institutions. As a fundamental principle of the countermeasures of 5GW, firstly, an extensive strategic outlook should be considered for security in the long run. Secondly, the intention must be given not only to the military but also to all national powers fundamentals for the elimination of conflict. And thirdly, there must be efficient reforms in national institutions to redefine forms and functions notwithstanding the reorganization of government apparatus.

Limitations

This article is focused mainly on 5th-generation warfare and the challenges that are posed to Pakistan. The suggestions and findings can apply to Pakistan only. The areas addressed in this research and the findings of the article are purely related to the specific context of Pakistan. These findings can never be applicable in any other context; rather, they will require new scenarios, challenges, and responses.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, D. H. (2010). The xGW Framework. *The Handbook of 5GW 10*. Ann Arbor, MI: Nimble books.
- Ashraf, M. M. (2019). Anti-Pakistan propaganda by foreign media. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/2QTW7ew>
- Batool, M. (2019). Role of youth in 5th generation warfare. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/3ivNBGj>
- Baloch, M. A. N., Mustafa, G., Kakar, 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.
- Durrani, M. (2020). 5th Generation warfare and Pakistan. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/3CFqX56>
- Janjua, R. W. (2018). Fifth Generation Warfare in Pakistan. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/3CGqb89>
- Jaspal, Z. N. (2018). CPEC: Exposed to hybrid warfare.
- Kaltenthaler, K., Miller, W., & Fair, C. (2012). The drone war: Pakistani public attitudes toward American drone strikes in Pakistan. Paper presented at *The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association*, Chicago, IL.
- Kamboh, M. K., Mustafa, G., & Rasul, M. F. (2021). 5th Generation Warfare and Issues of National Integration in Pakistan. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/3vYZis8>
- Korybko, A. (2017). Applicability of Hybrid Warfare to Pakistan: Challenges and Possible Responses. *NDU Journal*, 31(1).
- McNeilly, M. (2015). *Sun Tzu and the Art of Modern Warfare*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199957859.001.0001>
- Mattsson, P. A. (2015). Russian military thinking--A new generation of warfare. *Journal on Baltic Security*, 1(1), 61-70. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jobs-2016-0013>
- Mi-Youn, C. (2018). The perspective of X and Y generations on deterrence of death penalty: The case of women murders in Turkey. *Journal of Management Practices, Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(1), 21-27.
- Perera, U. A. (2018). *Compound (Hybrid and Gray Zone) Threats to Pakistan* (International Conference Report). Center for Global and Strategic Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan.
- Pechinthorn, K., Duangchinda, S., Rungrasamee, N., Chanchinda, P., Singto, C., & Umpornpet, P. (2019). Tourism experience comparisons between China and Thailand: Empirical evidence from young generation Chinese respondents. *International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences*, 5(3), 100-108. <https://doi.org/10.20469/ijhss.5.20003-3>
- Qureshi, S. M. (2019). 73rd session UN General Assembly. United Nations, New York, NY.
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.47720/hi.2021.0502e01>
- Rana, M. A. (2019). Religion, nationalism, and insurgency in Balochistan. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/2XKDems>
- Raza, D. A. (2019). Pakistan and the FATF's sword of damocles. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/31FZi89>
- Rees, L. (2010). *The End of the Rainbow: Implications of 5 GW for a General Theory of War*. Ann Arbor, MI: Nimble Books.
- Reed, D. J. (2008). Beyond the war on terror: Into the fifth generation of war and conflict. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 31(8), 684-722. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100802206533>
- Shamsi, S. S. H., Mustafa, D. G., Khan, R., & Azhar, D. M. (2020). Issues and Challenges of Peace Building in South Asia. *South Asian Studies*, 34(1), 165-183.
- Shah, S. U. (2019). Fifth Generation Warfare and the Challenges for Pakistan. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/3IThbjI>
- Shegal, I. (2018). Hybrid warfare challenges for Pakistan. *Daily Times*. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/3GBQcqq>.
- Slog, P. (2010). *5GW Working Definition, 0.91*. (D. H. Abbott, Ed.)
- Zakaria, A. (2019). Remembering the war of 1971 in East Pakistan. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/3XXK1LTt>