

Fifth Generation war between India and Pakistan in the perspective of Regional Security: A Study of Daily Dawn and Times of India's News Coverage. (January 1st.2020 to December 31st.2021).

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Abstract: 5G warfare is a modern phenomenon which is still in the process of evaluation and verification; it contains various ideas like the use of various tools such as disinformation, misinformation and support of proxy militias, cyber-attacks, and law fare and propaganda. In India Pakistan perspective, this kind of warfare has been predicted and rectified during many instances. This study aims to identify the factors and dynamics of this issue, especially from the perspective of India and Pakistan relations, where there have been four wars and numerous armed conflicts. Along with traditional warfare, 5G warfare must be examined with its possibilities and existence through the editorials of Pakistan's and India's renowned newspapers that will clearly elaborate on the real factors of 5G warfare present in the sub-continent.

Keywords: Fifth Generation war, Regional security, Daily Dawn, Times of India, News coverage

1. Introduction

5th generation warfare is still an uncovered complicated reality because there is no agreed definition of this warfare as it is still open-source warfare, but it is quickly making its existence around the world. It is a kind of non-contact warfare in which states can destroy each other without a human seeing it. If this assumption is accepted, then the start of 5GW can be marked with the introduction of long artillery and naval gunfire using rifled barrel weapons. This concept gained some exposure after the 9/11 incident as it was the initiation of a kind of war that did not involve much human and military presence, and this instance in history completely changed the course and nature of war forever. The difference between war and peace has faded as the war trend of state-to-state confrontation was captured by non-state actors and militant groups. A nation's army has become a kind of a tactic to use in hybrid

war because it is not a part of the scenario entirely as it is not going to confront the opponent, but military tactics are part of the hybrid strategy.

Arms development and advancement is a consistent and familiar idea for the state's security, but this arms race is also highly beneficial for organizations to utilize the weapons in the best possible manner. New technology for tanks, grenades, artillery guns, and other weapons has impacted governments, military, organizations, and combat capabilities. However, there must be better ideas for using them to win because the concept and practice of war are continuously evolving through the technology, doctrine, tactics, and training constantly upgraded by the entities involved in the war (Patrick, & Reichborn-Kjennerud, 2017).

5th generation war is the war of information and perception mentioned by Daniel Abbot. It can also be defined by social engineering, misinformation, and cyber-attack; this era of artificial intelligence was started with the advent of highly advanced technological development in every sphere of life. It was originated in the early 2000 era, and it promoted and added up with new dimensions and ideas by different scholars and strategists as military think tanks were agreed upon developing commercial information technology and planned to apply them to military operation concepts with the name of "Network Centric Warfare" (Abbot, 2010). Fifth-generation warfare is the combination of four generic elements

1. **Network:** This aspect of the war is predicted to be based upon some virtual framework comprised of information, sensing, effects, and command working on operational grounds. With single to collective battle groups, various force elements interact with each other and then act on or pass forward information provided by the mentioned grid.
2. **Combat Cloud:** When all the elements work together, they form a combat cloud with the connectivity of data with tactical benefits, including situational awareness, long-range engagements, and mission success.
3. **Multi domain battle:** There are five operational domains such as land, sea, air, space, and cyber. The new concept is about the multi domain battle, which is actually the integration of multiple domains, and it is also about the use of armed forces across two or more domains to acquire operational advantage. They must act in a complementary manner, so each capability enhances the effectiveness of the whole along with the reduction of individual vulnerabilities of each domain.
4. **Fusion Warfare:** Fusion warfare is about increasing the volume and speed of information addressing command and control concerns; it is related to the information flow, software incompatibilities, and intrinsic vulnerabilities for attack and deception (Abbot, 2010).

The concept and chemistry of warfare are adapting rapidly, and new innovative ideas are making their prominent place by removing the traditional aspects of waging war because new tactics and tools are evolving and adapting. There must be a brief comparison to understand the recent changes in the notion.

Evolution of Warfare from Traditional Aspect to the Modern Methods:

THE GENERATIONS:

An Evolution and Overview.

The main motive of the study is to understand the new paradigm of war and its previous means and modes. Generation theory of war is a highly informative way for understanding the transformation of the concept of war. It started with the Peace of Westphalia, which was when the sovereign governments, politically empowered people, and armed forces were taking directions from the new system. There were fewer logistics, no mass, more maneuvers, no distant warfare, no civil-military distinction, and a non-linear battlefield as part of the earlier generation, but when 4GW came, these aspects gained more significance. Generations were defined with the reference to their eras and characteristics:

1. **First Generation:** This era is also called as Classic Nation State War that was initially emerged from the mid-17th century onward. This was the time of classic nation state war concluded by the time of Napoleonic Wars, it was completely dependent upon man power and use of firearms to achieve great power within the restricted range of time and place. The defense and offence both were linear that enabled the soldiers to use and attack maximum volume of fire on the enemy, it was a disciplined and linear battlefield in which nothing is hidden as all the power from both the sides was exposed to calculate and predict the result of the war and this is called as frontline. This generation developed a culture of order in the military; its strategy was based upon mass and central tactics on deployment in lines and columns in order to maximize the firepower (Grey, 2007).
2. **Second Generation:** In the beginning of 19th century, second generation warfare emerged with the introduction of new technologies, industries were growing and new techniques were utilized in different field of life so, the battle grounds were highly adapted because of the increased volume of direct fire with machineguns and efficient rifles. This technology replaced the older war norms and strategies as now; the paradigm was shifted towards fire power through guns and artillery. With the comparison of first generation, battlefield is still linear but the width of the zone was expanded as there is a variety of armaments with heavy firepower in the form of guns and other artillery moreover, it was also equipped with the air power capable of breaking through thick fortified zones led to extreme breakdown. According to Jomini, it was the era of mobilization and movement of bigger armies than that of opponent. In this particular era, huge armies were able to move to attack over the enemies as it was facilitated by technologies such as telegraph and railways (Gingrich, 2016).
3. **Third Generation:** Third generation war can also be called as Maneuver war as it was evolved because of the second generation Stalemates. At the end of the World War I, German soldiers used storm tactic that was intended to end a deadlock on the western front in which specialized German soldiers infiltrated into enemy area, aim was to gather resources on a focal point, make a breakthrough and cut the enemy support. This all needed quick movement, and in this generation, tanks and jets were the source of quick maneuver, but these advancements were still under the power of idea (Bowdish, 2013).
4. **Fourth Generation War (4GW):** When it comes to 4th generation Warfare then this can be clearly known as unconventional warfare that can be called as evolved form of insurgency it is a complete opposite of the traditional concept of the war as the differentiation between war and

peace has completely vanished. It is the war of concepts, ideologies and civilizations as in this era, political, social, economic and military means are using to defeat the enemy's will to resist. This war could be initiated by the states, trans-national or sub-national non-state organizations, \$GW has turned the older dimension of revolutionary guerrilla wars and old terrorism by utilizing the modern approach in every dimension as with the adoption of new and fast technologies, dissemination of instructions, ideas and perspective had turned the military endeavors around. Better communication makes the dispersion and functioning easy and quick furthermore; it reduces the pressure on limited logistics (Ahmed, 2019).

Literature Review

20th century has witnessed the great transition from conventional to modern warfare and it became a center of attention for analysts, military personnel, scholars, political scientists because there was a need to understand the nature and dynamic of warfare in the post conventional era. It has also observed that some scholars objected this new concept and didn't mention it as a real and existing tactic of war, many writers like Mary Kaldor, Herfried Munkler, Mark Duffiel believed that there are some evident differences between conventional and Trinitarian warfare as they were associated with the ascent of modern state system along with the notion of cold war (Kaldor, 1999). It is a general fact that with the end of cold war, the pattern of interstate confrontation has been replaced by intra-state violence as it is evident that the states are mostly busy to cope up non state actors and their violence against the civilian rather than military and sporadic. The difference is becoming more prominent because a state has to deal with the disorganized attacks against civilian rather than on defined lines (Duffield, 2001). This indicates the replacement of first three generation of warfare as Herfried Munkler mentioned that classic model of interstate warfare has been replaced by the intra state warfare and states are now losing their authority against organized or rather organized violence (terrorism) so, it is important to understand the concept of new warfare and how 5th generation warfare is affecting the world settings. The modern age of warfare is comprised of suicide bombing, terrorist attacks, civil displacement and creating the environment of fear among the social fabric of the society (Munkler, 2015). According to the Munkler, it is actually the privatization of military and autonomization of different forms of violence that played a great role in transforming the nature of warfare. These unconventional wars have become the phenomenon of this era as they tend to be prolonged because of the external assistance, resources are consuming on a great extent and their motives are based on profit rather state sovereignty although Sinsisa declared that the concepts of massacres, abduction, population displacement or sexual violence are not novel practices but as they have characterized as the features of contemporary wars but they are as old as that of war (Munkler, 2015).

Fifth generation warfare has different genre, it can be defined through multiple dimensions like it is a called as irregular warfare, low intensity conflict, people's war, and non-kinetic warfare. Kelshall called this warfare as soft violence and said that soft violence incorporates physical violence and other harmful activities and it is hard to stop (Kelshall, 2005) through this form of violence, people don't enjoy the sense of safety in their communities and lose the trust in the governing entity. Contrary to conventional warfare, fifth generation warfare is not intended to crash the state or not directed towards the distortion of international peace and security. Bustamante identified hybrid warfare as a hybrid blend of traditional and irregular tactics like guerrilla warfare and insurgency or other acts of terrorism (Bustamante, 2014).

Theoretical Framework:

This study is based upon some contemporary and relevant theories related to fifth generation or hybrid warfare as it is directly relevant to the influence of mass media and setting a certain image on the public mind. In this regard, agenda setting theory is the best and the relevant theoretical design that inspires the mass media to try to give more space and time to an issue, consequently shaping the public's opinion? The content broadcast on media, either in print or electronic, is selectively intended to frame the minds of the masses, affecting their cognition of a particular issue. According to the definition by McComb and Shaw (1993) "This impact of the mass media- the ability to effect cognitive change among individuals, to structure their thinking- has been labeled the agenda-setting function of mass communication. Here may lay the most important effect of mass communication, its ability to mentally order and organize our world for us. In short, the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about." The pioneer of this theory McCombs and Shaw discovered that the media had a specific percentage of people who frequently referred to information provided by the media. This percentage rises for individuals who are motivated and enthusiastic about following up on presidential campaign material. The agenda setting theory is a hypothesis that examines how the media influences the public agenda setting of a particular subject. The major emphasis or primary issue that the members of society or the general public are concerned about is referred to as the public agenda. This theory elucidates the link in terms of correlations between the media's emphasis on an issue and media audiences' or the general public's reaction or attributes to that issue.

Theory of Uses and Gratification:

One of the theories of communications that focuses on social communications is "Uses and Gratification Theory" or "need seeking." This theory adopts a functionalistic approach to communications and media, stating that the most essential job of media is to satisfy the audience's wants and motives. This theory examines the message and social system before focusing on the audience's motifs. In other words, this theory focuses on how people seek media and how pleased they are with the type, content, and technique of consumption (Ruggiero, 2000).

Previously, Uses and Gratification Theory has been used to examine how and why individuals utilize channels of communication channels such as radio, television, and newspapers. People try to use different medium as a source of information to satisfy their needs. Katz and Blumler (1974) have named this phenomenon a theory of 'uses and gratification'. The theory of uses and gratification analyzes the social system and adopts a functionalist approach. The theory states that,

"The uses and gratification theory often focuses on gratifications that result from use and do not consider use as a goal. Researchers have stated two different types of gratification; "content gratification" and "process gratification". In content gratification receiving certain messages is more important, while in process gratification, participating in the "use process" is of much higher value." (Jafer, Pegah, 2016)

The creators of "uses and pleasure" had two key objectives in mind. The first goal, which they have mostly achieved, was to focus on the demands of the audience in audience cognition assessments. The second objective was to evaluate the impact of media on most uses and pleasure models. Researchers

argue that because people use media for a variety of reasons, accurate assessment of media's effect can only be achieved by determining why they are used (DeFleur, & Ball-Rokeach, 1982).

Theory of technological determinism:

The theory of technological determinism is proposed by Marshal McLuhan in 1962. The theory states that, "media technology shapes how we as individuals in a society think, feel, act, and how are society operates as we move from one technological age to another (Tribal- Literate- Print- Electronic)." The term "technological determinism" refers to an approach that promotes the idea that educational technology use is influenced not only by the user and his environment, but also, and most importantly, by the technology itself. That is to say, technology is not inherently neutral in the learning process (Falah Zaeid, 2020).

According to Marshall McLuhan, the "content" of the media cannot be viewed independently of the media's technology. What these means say is affected by how media institutions portray themes and the audience to which their message is addressed, but the type of the media to which a person is connected creates societies more than the content of communication. Macluhan believed that great technological breakthroughs had a significant impact on society. According to him, enormous adjustments begin not only in social organization, but also in human sensitivities, as a result of the fundamental shift in technology communication. The material delivered by these means, he believes, determines the social system (Giegerich, 2016).

5th Generation with the perspective of India and Pakistan:

When it comes to India Pakistan scenario, it is also evident that both the countries are having an idea of it and they are somehow acting in a same manner but still it is not a popular and practicable formal idea to follow or to work upon. It is in its evolutionary process but it is a reality and having its feasibility, it is more like a war without definite methods or physical contact. The nature of 5GW is still uncertain. There is currently no widely accepted definition for 5GW. Unrestricted, or Open Source Warfare, is another name for it. This form, on the other hand, is fast gaining popularity all around the world. It is defined as the destruction of a specific target without the presence of a human. If this theory is right, 5GW tactics began with rifled-barrel artillery and naval firepower. Since the 9/11 attacks, the 5GW has been studied. It's defined as the use of "any and all means", it includes military influence but not the use of arms and ammunition. It is not a widely accepted phenomenon for the world as it was mentioned in previous years but not much debate and discussion done related to this fact. Main international political journals didn't give much space of their pages to this idea but it is a reality to act and face like in Pakistan India case, previously both the countries were trying to acquire weapons and advanced artillery but the difference between hardware of real war and tools of fifth generation is not the weapon but weaponisation. Aggressive Indian foreign and domestic policy is a prominent example of this warfare like it includes the exploitation of fault line ethnic, religious, socio-economic and geographical differences through unconventional war mode to disturb, control and destabilize Pakistan. Arrest of Kulbhushan Yadav was an evidence of Indian involvement to sabotage Pakistani security and solidarity through unconventional warfare. Pashtoon Tahaffuz Movement was another foreign tool to destabilize Pakistan as it is receiving funds from RAW and NDS Indian spy agencies working Afghanistan (Syed, 2019).

New dynamics such as hacking, subversive tactics, coercive diplomacy, and violence through asymmetric actors suggest a paradigm change in policy away from inter-state wars and toward fault line conflicts. This draws our attention to the fact that Pakistan is facing both kinetic and non-kinetic challenges from India. These states and non-state groups take advantage of Pakistan's flaws. There are a number of factors driving India's decision to use hybrid warfare tactics in the context of Pakistan's regional situation. The most important is Pakistan's nuclear capabilities, which is comprised of a triad of delivery systems based on land, in the form of missiles (Hatf series), in the air, in the form of Pakistani aircraft, and at sea, in the form of Babur cruise missiles. Another driver is China-Pakistan nexus, in terms of strategic alliance through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and related economic projects, and China and Pakistan's threatening role in the success of the US-Taliban peace deal in February 2020. Furthermore, the conventional power of armed forces, nuclear capacity, alliances and partnerships, the economy, and military cooperation amongst states with common goals encourage states to pursue additional means of destabilizing the opponent and Clausewitz mentioned this fact as "war is only the continuation of policy by other means" (Hoffman, 2017).

The evolving nature of war necessitates the evolution of military doctrines from conventional policies to sub conventional and then unconventional responses in the difficult task of fighting hybrid enemies in the current setting of Pakistan's global strategic position.

2. Method

This study is analytic in nature, as it makes use of and evaluates already accessible facts and information. Like other military studies, this study does not claim to be comprehensive in its analysis, but it does attempt to provide policymakers one path forward. The research paper discusses the trends of the fifth-generation war in Pakistan and India's newspapers using the qualitative research method. The researcher used content analysis as the tool for data collection. The news stories published addressing the topic of "fifth generation war" were collected and analyzed.

Due to a lack of resources, it was not possible to acquire primary data for this study, so data from secondary sources was used instead. Data was gathered from a variety of secondary sources, including books, periodicals, talks, and lectures, as well as the internet, newspapers, articles, and journals. The data is analysed using a critical approach and a qualitative discussion method.

Sampling

The researcher conducted the content analysis of an English-language newspaper, 'The Dawn' from Pakistan and 'The Times of India' has been selected from India. The two widely circulated English-language newspapers were selected with the help of purposive sampling technique during the time frame of two years, i.e., 2020–2021.

Hypothesis:

- H₁: Pakistan is highly susceptible to the fifth generation war against India
- H₂: India places less emphasis on the Fifth Generation War against Pakistan.

Fifth Generation war between India and Pakistan in the perspective of Regional Security: A Study of Daily Dawn and Times of India's News Coverage. (January 1st,2020 to December 31st,2021).

3. Findings and Discussions

Content analysis of Daily Dawn and the Times of India Findings

Table 1

Times of India - January 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - January 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 2

Times of India - February 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 29	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - February 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 29	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 3

Times of India - March 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - March 2020										

News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 8	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
9			✓					✓		✓
10 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 4

Times of India - April 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - April 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 5

Times of India - May 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - May 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Fifth Generation war between India and Pakistan in the perspective of Regional Security: A Study of Daily Dawn and Times of India's News Coverage. (January 1st,2020 to December 31st,2021).

Table 6

Times of India - June 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - June 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 7

Times of India - July 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - July 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 8

Times of India - August 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - August 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 17	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
18	✓							✓		✓
19 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 9

Times of India - September 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - September 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 8	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
9	✓						✓			✓
10 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 10

Times of India - October 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - October 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 11

Times of India - November 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - November 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Fifth Generation war between India and Pakistan in the perspective of Regional Security: A Study of Daily Dawn and Times of India's News Coverage. (January 1st,2020 to December 31st,2021).

Table 12

Times of India - December 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - December 2020										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
3			✓				✓		✓	
4	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
5	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
6			✓						✓	✓
7	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
8	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
9	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
10	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
11					✓				✓	
12 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 13

Times of India - January 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - January 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 4	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
5			✓				✓		✓	
6 to 10	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
11	✓						✓		✓	
12 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 14

Times of India - February 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 28	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - February 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 28	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 15

Times of India - March 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - March 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 13

Times of India - April 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 16	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
17				✓			✓			✓
18 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - April 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 14	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
15			✓				✓		✓	
16 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Fifth Generation war between India and Pakistan in the perspective of Regional Security: A Study of Daily Dawn and Times of India's News Coverage. (January 1st,2020 to December 31st,2021).

Table 14

Times of India - May 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - May 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 3	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
4			✓				✓			✓
5 to 29	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
30	✓						✓			✓
31			✓						✓	

Table 15

Times of India - June 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 3	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
4				✓			✓		✓	
5 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - June 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 16

Times of India - July 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - July 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 6	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
7			✓				✓		✓	
8 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 20

Times of India - August 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - August 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 15	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
16			✓			✓			✓	
17 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 17

Times of India - September 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Fifth Generation war between India and Pakistan in the perspective of Regional Security: A Study of Daily Dawn and Times of India's News Coverage. (January 1st,2020 to December 31st,2021).

Daily Dawn – September 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 5	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
6			✓				✓			✓
7	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
8			✓				✓			✓
9 to 22	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
23			✓				✓			✓
17 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 22

Times of India – October 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Daily Dawn – October 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 18

Times of India – November 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Daily Dawn – November 2021										
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News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 30	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 19

Times of India - December 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Daily Dawn - December 2021										
News position						News Source			Tone	
Date	F. pg	B. Pg	N. Pg	Int. pg	Ed	HOS	Govt. off	civilian	C.L	R.L
1 to 31	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Daily Dawn (2020-2021)

2020

In total, six news stories referencing the 'Fifth Generation War' were found from the daily Dawn during the course of the year 2020.

A news story published on August 19th2020, at the occasion of a news conference discussing about the government's achievements on the completion of two years, chaired by the former Prime Minister Imran Khan at the media center of the Press Information Department. During the news conference the members mainly discussed about the increasing fifth-generation war threats from India. Discussing about Pakistan's foreign policy, according to the foreign minister, Mr. Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Pakistan has not only challenged India's goal, but has also successfully portrayed its perspective throughout the world. This has aided the formation of new strategic alliances, as seen by China's involvement with India in Ladakh and Nepal's rejection of India's imperialistic plans.

On September 9th 2020 a news story published quoting the Army chief Qamar Javed Bajwa highlighted the necessity of defending the country from "fifth generation warfare and hybrid operation by anti-Pakistan elements against Pakistan's critical interests"

The army commander was speaking at the Corps Commanders Conference, where attendees learned about, Covid-19, Operation Radd-ul-Fasad, locust control methods, and the regional condition, among other things. "In light of the changing strategic and regional environment, COAS emphasized the necessity to improve combat readiness levels. COAS emphasized that fifth-generation warfare and hybrid adaptation by anti-Pakistan elements against Pakistan's national security interests must be

Fifth Generation war between India and Pakistan in the perspective of Regional Security: A Study of Daily Dawn and Times of India's News Coverage. (January 1st.2020 to December 31st.2021).

protected in accordance with government policies "Maj Gen Babar Iftikhar, the director-general of the Inter-Services Public Relations, wrote in a tweet. (Dawn, 2020)

"India may replicate a Pulwama-style drama at any time to deflect attention away from domestic difficulties," he added, adding that the country was contemplating an operation along the LoC and Military Boundary. (Dawn, 2020)

On December 3rd, 2020, a headline by DG ISPR stated, 'Pakistan Being Subjected To 5th-Generation Warfare in 'Massive Way' But We Are Aware of Threats.

According to Major General Babar Iftikhar, the commander of the military's propaganda wing, India is engaging in a vast game of 'fifth-generation warfare' to hinder Pakistan's route to success, largely by targeting the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Pakistan's worldwide image. Misinformation efforts against Pakistan on social media are a "big problem," but the government is responding by being transparent and disseminating genuine information.

"Unfortunately, it's a massive assault, and it's a big element of fifth-generation war." "We are aware that Pakistan is being subjected to a large number of hybrid applications," stated the director general of the Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR).

When asked for an example of irresponsible reporting, he cited the recent explosion in a Karachi building, which was portrayed as a "civil war" in India. "As a result, the Indian media has lost a lot of credibility, and the rest of the world is noticing," he added.

Another news story published on December 6th, 2020 highlighted the phenomenon of fifth generation war citing the former prime minister Nawaz Shareef, "From 2017 up to this point, in the most trying times for the nation, the way you have bravely worked, fought the army that was established in the name of fifth generation war, and faced challenges for the rule of law all of this is a magnificent chapter of our battle," he said.

"Undemocratic elements have begun propaganda using social sites that Nawaz Sharif's ideology is supporting the country's adversaries," he stated.

On December 10th, 2020, news published with the headline, "Army put on high alert amid threat of Indian strike". The news further stated that according to an official, India is planning a "false flag operation" to divert international attention away from a many of its internal conflicts, including the recurring farmers' protest, atrocities committed by Indian forces in occupied Kashmir, adversaries with minority and international institutions and media criticism of its policies. (Dawn, 2020)

An editorial was published on the Indian Disinformation on December 11th, 2020 linking the revelations of The Disinformation Lab as a part of fifth generation warfare tactic. The campaign's long-term goal lends weight to the phrase "fifth-generation warfare," as it intends to cement pro-India perception while spreading anti-Pakistan perception throughout the world using media manipulation. The Indian network has worked diligently since 2005 to get sympathetic backing from international organizations such as the EU and UN, with the twin objective of consolidating India's influence and image in the globe while harming the reputation of other countries.

2021

The extracted relevant news stories in the daily Dawn 2021 shows total eleven news stories discussing about the 'Fifth generation war' in the whole year.

A news story on January 5th, 2021 published addressing with the headline "Rallies for media workers' rights held across country". The content stated that PFUJ Secretary General NasirZaidi spoke out against the government's anti-media tactics during a demonstration next to the National Press Club in Islamabad. "In the guise of the so-called fifth generation and hybrid warfare, which itself is destroying the core fabric of society, media houses, journalists, and politicians are being persecuted," says the report.

In the wake of Dis info Lab revelations, On January 11th, 2021, a news story with a headline of 'If PDM Comes To Rawalpindi, We'll Offer Them Tea: Dg ISPR' stated that India practiced a propaganda using the fifth-generation warfare in addition to the CFVs. "Recently, incontrovertible proof has come up as a consequence of the EU Dis info-Lab report," the ISPR leader added.

A news story on April 15th, 2021, talked about the issue regarding Justice Faiz Isa who complained about the initiation of fifth generation war against him and his family. He blamed Justice Asif Saeed Khosa for stabbing him in the back.

On May 4th 2021, Mr Malik stated that Pakistan and India had opposing views on peace and political settlement. He emphasized that peace with India could not be bought at the cost of concession on Kashmir. He questioned if the diplomatic channels procedure would cease India's fifth-generation warfare against Pakistan, its detrimental involvement in Afghanistan, and its resistance to Pakistan at global forums such as the FATF, referring to claims from various sources regarding the economic advantages of peace with India.

On May 30th 2021, ISI 'completely isolates' itself from the journalist's assassination. These persistent charges against the ISI demonstrate that the ISI is a primary focus of a fifth-generation war perpetrated by an organized conspiracy," the statement stated, a day after journalist organization staged protests against the rising number of attacks on journalists.

A news story on July 7th, 2021 stated, President Alvi claims that India is utilising Afghan land for hybrid warfare against Pakistan. "India is plotting against Pakistan to destabilise it by sponsoring insurgent factions to carry out terrorist activities," the president remarked at the 7th National Workshop on Baluchistan. He went on to say that India will "fail in these nefarious schemes" since Pakistan's military forces were more than prepared to deal with security threats, particularly the fifth-generation conflict.

On August 16th, 2021, daily Dawn publishes the statements of the former Information minister Fawad Chaudhry. It said the government will establish a media regulation authority. The fifth generation conflict and hybrid war are not just theories; they are happening right now.

On September 6th, 2021 at the occasion of the defense day celebrations, the Army chief addressed the ceremony stating Pakistan's military services are well equipped still to deal with both foreign and domestic challenges. The fact that certain people are being exploited by anti-state groups is a cause for concern for all of us. In simpler words, this is known as hybrid or fifth-generation warfare. Its goal is to suffocate Pakistan's roots and undermine the country's integrity.

Fifth Generation war between India and Pakistan in the perspective of Regional Security: A Study of Daily Dawn and Times of India's News Coverage. (January 1st,2020 to December 31st,2021).

On December 17th, the revelation of the Indian propaganda network, the Disinfo lab pulled the curtain of the sustained news story highlights the latest discovery by EU Dis info Lab of India's enormous anti-Pakistan misinformation and propaganda network has shown a well-organized, systematic, and long-running campaign to vilify Pakistan worldwide. The major objectives of this nefarious effort appear to be, to defame and denigrate Pakistan in global forums and media; also to shape the worldwide and domestic narrative on Pakistan. Following two goals of the Indian operation (one that is classified as 'fifth-generation' or 'hybrid' warfare) are to attack Pakistan's people. Firstly to create a rift between the civilian population and the military forces, secondly to lower the morale of the Pakistani people.

On September 8th, 2021, Haleem Adil sheikh the former Leader of the Opposition in the Sindh Assembly HaleemAdil Sheikh denounced the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and its provincial administration of "patronizing narcotics (mafias)." He delivered his remarks at the 'Anti-Drugs and Narcotics Conference'. He referred to drug trafficking as "part of the fifth generation war" intended towards corrupting Pakistani youngsters.

On September 23rd, 2021, Asad Umar asserted following the JCC conference that if China's investment in Pakistan rises, so does the need for security. CPEC is a target for various groups throughout the world, according to the planning minister, "especially our eastern neighbor whom it stings and there is no question about it."

He went on to say that the targeting wasn't only limited to physical attacks, but that "this is the age of fifth-generation hybrid warfare which includes bogus news on social media and foreign channels."

Times of India (2020-2021)

2020

No news published in The Times of India during the year of 2020.

2021

The selected news stories from The Times of India 2021 indicate a total of two news items in the whole year discussing the 'Fifth Generation War.'

A news story on June 4th, 2021 published with the headline of Protests erupt in Pakistan when a journalist is assassinated Such persistent claims against the ISI indicate that the ISI is a target of the fifth generation war, which is being waged under the cover of a planned conspiracy: stated ISI.

On April 17, 2021 a news story published in the context of India -Japan unity against China. The headline stated, 'In Biden's first meeting, the US and Japan present a united front against China'. Biden and Suga said they will collaborate further on fifth-generation internet development and testing, as well as potential sixth-generation technology.

Please Write the method used in the article with details. Place Tables and Figures in the article.

Discussion

Since recently, the concept of 'fifth-generation warfare' has been the talk of the town. In Pakistan, the dispute was discussed on multiple venues by various people within the year 2020 alone. According to

their importance, the newspaper prioritized the news articles and put them on the front or national page of the newspaper.

Extracted and related news articles and editorial clearly reflect that Pakistani media is somehow mentioning the 5G warfare and Indian intentions related to the phenomenon but Indian side is completely silent in this regard. Two leading newspapers have taken for the analysis Dawn and Times of India, in daily Dawn, there was news related to the Indian engagement in a big campaign of 5th generation warfare which is going to restrict Pakistani economic and social prosperity through China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The chief of military media wing Maj. Gen. Babar Iftikhar identified Indian misinformation campaign against Pakistan and said that Indian social media has now become a major challenge but Pakistan is facing this issue through disseminating credible and transparent information. ISPR director General said that they are completely aware of the massive hybrid application towards Pakistan. (Dawn, December 2020).

The Director General of the ISPR and the Chief of the Army Staff, Qamar Javed Bajwa, have raised the threat of a fifth-generation conflict from India on several occasions, using harsh language. The news from the COAS was shown on the main page, while the news from the DG ISPR was featured on the national page. On the national pages, three civilians (former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, a cabinet member and a former minister) took a firm stance on the matter. An editorial using critical language was published throughout the year.

In the year 2021, two government officials spoke resolutely about the fifth-generation conflict. When speaking about the fifth generation conflict, the federal minister of information and broadcasting took a critical tone. Military authorities, the ISPR chief, and the COAS all spoke out against the conflict three times. The possibility of fifth-generation warfare was emphasized by the Supreme Court Justice in a highly serious manner. Pakistan's president has raised serious concerns about the prospect of fifth-generation conflict. The front page of the newspaper was taken over by a handout from Pakistan's information ministry, which used a critical tone.

When we analyze the data of an Indian newspaper, 'The Times of India', it became a challenging scenario as there was not even a single news story, or any government or civilian's statement regarding the conflict of fifth generation warfare was published for the entire year.

Things appeared a slightly different for the year 2021 because the newspaper has published two news stories addressing the threats to India for the fifth generation war. Even then the news story discussed about the Pakistani scenario referring to the assassination of a journalist and the threat of fifth generation war for Pakistan. In news story the Biden and Suga were reported to sign agreement against China to they would step up joint development and testing of **fifth-generation** internet as well as the sixth-generation technologies of the future.

Hypothesis Testing:

- H₁: Pakistan is highly susceptible to the fifth generation war against India
- H₂: India places less emphasis on the Fifth Generation War against Pakistan.

Hypothesis 1

- H₁: Pakistan is highly susceptible to the fifth generation war against India.

Fifth Generation war between India and Pakistan in the perspective of Regional Security: A Study of Daily Dawn and Times of India's News Coverage. (January 1st.2020 to December 31st.2021).

Newspaper	Year	N	Total
The Dawn	2020	6	N=17
	2021	11	

Table 20

N=number of news stories

Interpretation

The majority of the news about the fifth generation warfare conflict has been reported in Pakistan's Daily Dawn, as seen in the findings and accompanying discussion. Figures in Table 1 elaborate that 6 news stories were published in the daily Dawn during the year 2020, while 11 news items were published during the year 2021 on the conflict of the fifth generation war between Pakistan and India. This demonstrates Pakistan's great concern for the fifth generation war against India, urging the country to be on high alert for the dangers of fifth-generation warfare. The findings support our first hypothesis that 'Pakistan is particularly susceptible to India's fifth-generation conflict.'

Hypothesis 2

- H₂: India places less emphasis on the Fifth Generation War against Pakistan.

Newspaper	Year	N	Total
Times of India	2020	0	N=2
	2021	2	

Table 21

N=number of news stories

Interpretation:

Meanwhile, the situation in India looks to be entirely different. The figures in table 2 show only two news items published in 2021, while there were zero news stories in year 2020. This shows that India gives no importance to the threat of a fifth generation war between India and Pakistan. For the entire year 2020, The Times of India has been silent on the subject. Furthermore, only twice in the year 2021 did it address the issue of fifth-generation conflict, and even then, the news was not about India; the second and last news were about America and Japan confronting China. This demonstrates the country's apparent indifference to the Fifth Generation War, confirming our second hypothesis that 'India places less emphasis on the Fifth Generation War against Pakistan.'

4. Conclusion

The new idea of 5G warfare and its implications for India and Pakistan showed that they are fully aware and indulged into it but in case of India, it is not much identified and publicized as it was proved after analyzing two leading newspapers of Pakistan and India. After data analysis and evidence examination, it has clearly proved that India and Indian media is not giving much importance to the 5G warfare trend as with the comparison of Daily Dawn and Times of India, it is evident that Pakistani political faction, military and establishment all are concerned about the gradual shift towards 5G as Daily Dawn is showing 17 news items related to the discussed theme but Times of India is showing only 2 news related to 5G warfare between India and Pakistan. Hence, both the hypothesis have proved as first one is, Pakistan's attitude is highly sensitive towards the 5G warfare between India and Pakistan and the second one is, India is giving less importance to this modern information tool.

Pakistan's media and state actors are pursuing the trend and they are quite vocal of the 5G fact but India apparently does not exhibit any openness and diversion of its defense attentions towards hybrid war although it is undergone following and practicing through different channels as they are evidently doing defaming and negatively portraying the counterpart, it means that India is equally aware of the changing warfare trends but it is not showing its concerns and implications.

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