



FIFTH GENERATION WARS BETWEEN THEORETICAL ROOTING AND CONTEMPORARY APPLICATIONS (A STUDY OF THE CONCEPT, TOOLS, FEATURES AND MOTIVES)

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ABSTRACT

The fifth generation wars are attributed to hybrid wars with modern and smart warfare methods, and they are of great importance in the studies of researchers and specialists, as they target the sovereignty of states and disturb their social and institutional structure, and are usually practiced by major countries towards weak states with continuous conflicts, in order to employ their tools in a manner Great effectiveness through the groups and individuals who are dealt with and financed in the target country for the benefit of the aggressor country, without entering into a direct confrontation to preserve its position and not be subjected to international sanctions and accountability.

key words :wars, fifth generation, hybrid wars, modern wars, cyber, information

THE INTRODUCTION :Wars have an undeniable decisive role in the major international transformations in the history of the world, and the rise, stagnation and fall of civilizations and empires have always been driven by wars, from ancient times to the present day, as the wars that occurred in the history of the world witnessed a change in their strategies and were classified to this day into five generations of Wars are agreed upon by researchers and specialists, so the change in the concept of force led to a change in the perspective of war, and with the development and progress of knowledge and technology that contributed to the transition from the pattern of traditional wars based on destroying the opponent or occupying his land or seizing his resources through direct military confrontation, to Wars aiming at targeting and destroying minds and societies, fragmenting states from within, destabilizing their security and stability, and entering into conflict between the people and the state.Their convictions towards the political system, whether by misleading public opinion or recruiting them in the form of armed groups, and technological progress in fifth generation wars contributes to influencing the course of those wars, and the increasing interdependence between economic problems and security threats as a result of increased interdependence in the international economy, in addition to the role of networks and aircraft in These wars, and this is what makes them comprehensive tools and influence.

RESEARCH IMPORTANCE :The importance of the research comes to know the strategic progress in the concept of modern wars, which produced a new generation of wars, which is the fifth generation, especially since the world is witnessing various internal and external conflicts in different countries, in addition to the race and competition of major powers over areas of interests and influence that require



the development of new methods of warfare. commensurate with global changes and achieve its current and future ambitions and aspirations.

RESEARCH PROBLEM:The research problem is represented in the ambiguity of the nature of the actors sometimes and the difficulty of distinguishing whether they are states, groups or individuals, as they are indirect wars based on employing secondary elements and actors in waging them.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS:The research starts from the hypothesis that the fifth generation wars are modern hybrid wars, with a completely different strategy from other generations of wars in terms of the tools and features that characterize them.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY :This research is based on two approaches: the descriptive approach to explain the fifth generation wars and their features, and the analytical approach to study the tools of the fifth generation wars and knowing the most important motives that aim to achieve them.

RESEARCH STRUCTURE:It is divided into three sections, in addition to the introduction and conclusion. In the first section, we discuss the concept and tools of fifth generation wars, while in the second section we study the most important features of fifth generation wars, and the third section will be about the most prominent motives of this generation of wars, as follows:

THE FIRST TOPIC

THE CONCEPT AND TOOLS OF FIFTH GENERATION WARFARE

The tools and methods of warfare have turned from traditional to hidden tools and means that cannot be directly distinguished, so the real applications of fifth generation wars are indistinguishable from magic, and this is completely similar to Clark III's law.⁽⁴⁾, which states that "any technology that is sufficiently advanced cannot be distinguished from magic", so in this requirement we deal with the fifth generation wars in terms of concept and origin, in addition to the tools and methods used in them.

THE CONCEPT OF FIFTH GENERATION WARS:Also known as imploding wars from within, or hybrid warfare, and is an extension of asymmetric wars and insurrectionary wars, in which all conventional and non-traditional warfare methods are used, and include issues of politics, religion and society. Adversary to achieve its will, in addition to establishing networked alliances of states and non-state armed groups that are united by common interests that are often far from national and ideological goals, and the fifth generation wars are considered a war without restrictions in which all tools are employed.¹.

Fifth generation wars are also known as conflicts with varying means of combat and are based on employing the human resources of the target country by forcing them into groups that spread all over the country to disturb public national security and harm the home front without leaving evidence of guilt on the aggressor country. ².

Dr. Wasim Ahmed Qureshi, a lawyer for the Supreme Court in Pakistan, provides a definition of fifth-generation warfare (as a secret deliberative manipulation of actors, networks, institutions, or countries to achieve a goal or a set of goals across the social, economic, and political fields, with an attempt to



avoid or reduce offensive or defensive actions and reactions to the parties. The aggressor, so it is a battle of perceptions and information, and the victim does not realize that she is fighting a war, as it is the most dangerous generation of wars of all time, because it is a hidden war and often difficult to define.³

As for the retired colonel of the US Marine Corps, Thomas Hamis, he knows the fifth generation wars (a war that shifts political and social allegiances to issues rather than states, and this is due to technological development and the tendency of individuals to express their issues via the Internet instead of social reality, and that they are wars characterized by the increase in the power of small groups and the use of hegemony Modern technology is the war of aircraft and networks. Networks provide sufficient information to carry out terrorist and sabotage operations. As for aircraft, they are an easy way to transport weapons and fighters, in addition to biological warfare as well, where biological weapons have the ability to kill many more people than a nuclear attack, unlike nuclear weapons that difficult to manufacture and relatively high cost)⁴.

The Educational Institute for Fifth Generation Warfare, which was established in 2010 AD in the United States of America, defines it as (an extension of the asymmetric and insurgent war, and the enemy uses all conventional and unconventional military means and tactics, weapons, political, religious and social reasons, and includes global strategic information operations campaigns for the twenty-first century, which are the Internet and its role in news over 24 hours, and can be conducted by organized or unorganized groups)⁵, Fifth generation warfare is fundamentally changing the nature of human conflict, illustrating the way in which these events are unique indicators of a future in which non-state actors are dominant.⁶ The concept of modern warfare generations was officially introduced in 1989 by United States Military Scientists William Lind with Colonel Keith Nightingale, and Captain John F. Schmidt (USMC), Colonels Joseph W. Sutton and Lt. Col. Gary I. Wilson, Five generations of warfare have since been defined and explained by international academics and military thinkers around the world, and those researches on global security have led to the definition of another new generation of warfare that is inherently hybrid The academic community believes that "hybrid warfare" has shown its manifestations and is constantly developing itself. Therefore, both 5GW and hybrid warfare require a different perspective than what we have applied so far to generations and other forms of war. Some researchers, including Thomas X. Anthrax in October 2001 in the United States of America on the Capitol building was the first attack of the fifth generation warfare, due to the massive investigative efforts that were made to find the perpetrators, although none of those involved were arrested⁷.

FIFTH GENERATION WARFARE TOOLS:The fifth generation wars are more distinctive than previous generations of wars because of the comprehensiveness of their tools and their diversity in the multiple forms of wars and conflicts that they employ in their targeting.



1_ Economic War: It is one of the most important tools of war, and aims primarily to achieve the economic interest of the state or the party in charge of it even in periods of peace. Other countries control the economic resources available to them or control the sources of their wealth in the available consumption markets to ensure their continuity in order to maintain their growth rates or their regional or global control. Monetary, and the entry of multinational companies whose role transcends the borders of nation-states that receive support from mother governments and interfere in the affairs of the host country at all political, economic and social levels.⁸

2_ Cyber war: It is one of the important means in the fifth generation wars and has become no different from the fields of air and land warfare and other elements of force and has entered within the military doctrine of countries by focusing on centralization of control and decentralization of implementation, and the low cost of waging electronic warfare is one of the advantages of this space, and countries have resorted to creating offensive weapons And defense and dissemination on a larger scale, which are weapons with electronic characteristics that have a superior ability to transcend global international borders through the spread of information and communication networks in record time. Therefore, military operations in cyberspace have become one of the important tools in fifth generation warfare⁹, As for the collection of intelligence information and operations targeting the opponent and his morale, in addition to the attacks that are carried out in cyberspace, all of them are launched through supply chains and the exploitation of human behavior, which is considered very dangerous in this war, in addition to planting malicious applications, and these weapons embody cyber warfare, as they represent advanced means with a strong impact It has a strategic potential that supports the unhindered and unrestricted spread of technical knowledge, which has led to its spread, and has become a serious threat that outweighs international efforts to secure cyberspace..¹⁰

And with the increase in global reliance on smart and modern technologies, and governments tend to adopt models of governments and smart cities, the world has become more exposed and vulnerable to cyberattacks, especially with the increase in the use of the Internet during the Corona pandemic to conduct business and distance education. Information through specialized programs, which causes a clear threat to national security and the danger of damaging the interests of individuals and states¹¹. Cyberspace also targets widespread control of vital state institutions, civil and military installations, and state systems by using information weapons to disrupt their work, disrupt security, and destroy military, civil, economic, and political information infrastructures to restrict the ability to make decisions and control the state's defense system.¹².

3_ guerrilla warfare (insurgency): This war relies on the strategy of military and political resources and their use to mobilize local citizens and force them into engaging in hit-and-run attacks, in addition to direct confrontation on the battlefield and destroying the power of the state in combat.¹³ , The motives of this war are to thwart the will of the political system and to thwart it and to maintain the continuation of the fighting. The goal in this war is not necessarily to overthrow or subjugate the



government, but sometimes the rebel groups resort to guerrilla warfare when they are weaker than the government forces, and at other times the rebels' strategy is to attack only when it is confirmed. From success through the overwhelming superiority of firepower, location and the element of surprise to the pursuit of limited goals, such as seizing weapons or to create a deviation from an action, and the use of popular campaigns as an educational tool and a propaganda weapon by revealing the state's inability and showing the possibility of challenging it, in addition to showing the failure of the state towards the population by identifying with their grievances and aspirations and placing the burden and blame for the bloodshed on the oppressive government as the clear aggressor¹⁴

This results in a collapse of morale, defections from the government, and an increase in the desire of the rebels to intimidate the security forces to tighten their control more. Thus, guerrilla warfare aims to formulate a long-term strategy to drain the political will of the state and its supporters abroad. It must also be mentioned that guerrilla warfare erupts in times of revolutions. And it overlaps with it, so it takes on a counter-revolutionary character and it is called (revolutionary guerrilla war), so it oppresses the masses and contradicts the real interests, and the occupier can organize guerrilla units from among the people because when a nation is conquered, people become sympathetic to each other and cooperate in helping to organize guerrilla units, This is what Mao Zedong mentioned in his book "Guerrilla War".¹⁵

In guerrilla warfare, the rebels depend on intelligence information and support from among the people. They depend on the people to organize battalions, combat units, sabotage and assassination campaigns, as well as secret political structures. These mechanisms can only be adopted if they are launched for the sake of the masses and in response to the social, political and economic oppression of the population, so their choice is rebellion and involvement. In an asymmetrical fight with the state ¹⁶.

4_ environmental warfare:It is resorting to the use of modern technology to negatively affect the natural state of rivers, oceans, earth's crust, polar ice sheets, air circulating in the atmosphere, and the ozone layer, with the aim of weakening or subjugating an enemy country by robbing or changing its natural environment., It seeks to deliberately destroy a field or forest as a means of depriving the enemy of the benefits of these environmental components, such as access to water, food, fodder, and building materials, and when a number of important rivers flow through more than one country, it provides an opportunity to divert or spoil the water before it reaches the downstream country with which it is at war. And cause a major disaster by making most of the areas that the river passes through, barren areas¹⁷ , Environmental warfare damages the celestial bodies, space, atmosphere, earth's crust, water oceans, animals and plants of the region.¹⁸.

The climate change and resource interdependence literature shows how climate variability and change can affect the relationship between water, energy and food and lead to exacerbating human insecurity, internal security, the emergence and spread of diseases and epidemics, as well as the continuous spatial spread of diseases across different geographical contexts. There is a growing number



of scholars of security studies, especially security. Nationalists interested in understanding the interaction between climate change and terrorism, because climate exacerbates existing poverty, social tensions, environmental degradation, and weak political institutions. In the context of post-natural disasters, this confirms the existence of a complex relationship between climate change and terrorism, that is, climate change enables terrorism to play its role in climate change through a feedback loop such as the impact of climate change on forest fires and vice versa.¹⁹

Al-Qaeda's threats herald a new weapon for the arsenal of terrorism, with the deliberate preparation of forest fires and other wars to terrorize society and destroy untold economic damage.²⁰ Thus, the nature of environmental warfare transcends borders and its effects are not limited to one country without others, as it constitutes a comprehensive threat to the Earth.²¹

5_ The drug war: It is considered one of the most popular wars Through the drug trade in the world, especially in the recent period, in order to influence people, especially young people, and the most prominent example of that is the United States, which began to encourage this trade and export it in all its forms, and in various ways to countries that wish to control it or dominate its national wealth.²² In some literature, the drug war is called (the silent war), as it is being waged between countries and drug-trafficking mafias. Countries resorted to monitoring and following up drug cultivation and seeking to eradicate it, and discovered that they are facing fierce, organized gangs and supported by international mafia gangs that outperform governments, especially since drug mafias are considered a state. within a state²³

The spread of drugs weakens the political entity of the state, which is unable to extend its authority over its territories in light of the spread of drugs in areas that are not subject to the authority of the state for tribal or geographical reasons, and there is a close interdependence between international terrorism and illegal trade, including drugs. Its security and this also exposes its political entity to turmoil, and something like this happened when Latin South America sought the help of foreign forces to get rid of gangs cultivating, producing and smuggling cocaine, in addition to that drug dealers and smugglers are considered to be feeding separatist movements in the world because drug dealers do not have a religion to believe in or belief or a sense of belonging But their goal is illegal material gain, and they have all the willingness to sell themselves and their countries and divulge information and secrets to the enemies in order to allow them to pass and smuggle drugs, and this makes the smuggler and the drug user an easy prey for the enemy and his intelligence²⁴

Drug money can make countries poorer, as the flow of money has long-term consequences, most of which are negative when drug revenues are linked to the state's economy. In light of this, legal commercial establishments are forced to exit the market because they are not benefiting, and the emergence of an illegal economy leads to weak law, facilitates corruption, and promotes the drug sector.²⁵



THE SECOND TOPIC FEATURES OF FIFTH GENERATION WARFARE

Hybrid wars are the basic nucleus of fifth generation wars, and they coincide in features and motives very accurately, but they both have the same goals and objectives. They are modern wars that differ in their formulation with conventional wars in one way or another. Therefore, in this requirement, we will address the most prominent features and motives of fifth generation wars according to the literature. put forward by specialists in military and political affairs.


First _ Characteristics of fifth generation wars:The crystallization of the features of the fifth generation wars was the result of the combination of several political, economic, social and technological factors that mainly contributed to defining the features of this war, which are as follows:

1_ Prevalence of gray areas (fading borders):It is the main feature in the fifth generation wars It is meant by the competitive interactions between state and non-state actors, and their location is in the middle between war and peace, so the borders between them fade away, so it is characterized by the dominance of ambiguity about the nature of the conflict and the parties to the conflict, and this leads to uncertainty about the appropriate policy that should be followed, just as there is no need in gray wars to Achieving victory in a quick and decisive time, but rather focusing on working to achieve the desired final goal of the war, which is either the defeat of the opponent or the dismantling of the state, and during the fading of borders there are overlaps between what is considered a weapon and what is considered a non-weapon, and between what is considered the battlefield and what is not considered land. Criminal acts are mixed with military actions, between combatants and non-combatants, and between the state and other actors without the state²⁶

The gray areas often operate in a formal phase of peace and their conflicts center around the heart of civil society to formulate destabilizing goals whose costs will accrue directly to the affected population, and the dilemma posed by the gray areas is even more egregious, because an entire population can act as a massive human shield.²⁷ Some gray area interpreters see its starting point as factual assertion

For the existence of conflict dynamics far from conventional wars, so in the widely agreed approach between

Experts explain the gray area as a logical contradiction, that is, as a set of positions, tools, and strategies that are neither “white” (peace, goodwill) nor “black” (open, hybrid or conventional warfare), a conclusion that “hybrid threats” do exist but It has not yet led to open war, but it announces the existence of latent conflicts of interest as well as the unease of (some) players involved in the status quo, and through this the challenges of the gray area can be understood as an aggregation of diverse conflicts that show common characteristics, and it is worth noting that the combination These challenges do not imply a single solution, because each situation contains actors and aspects that are unique in general, and gray area challenges rise above everyday geopolitical competition in



peacetime and are aggressive and depend on perspective and ambiguity as the world's leading superpower and de facto guarantor of the current world order.²⁸ The important aspect lies in the most important methods applied within the gray zone, such as terrorist attacks, assassination, extortion, hostage-taking, espionage and sabotage, in addition to financing and manipulating political groups in a targeted country, electronic attacks, political conflicts, propaganda, electoral influence and economic coercion (through the economically dominant party in the system). international political), and may sometimes include the use of military deterrence as well as conventional and unconventional military operations²⁹

Thus, the spread of gray areas is the threads of a political game that others do not see, and it contains coercive actions outside the natural geopolitical competition between countries that surround their goals with ambiguity and the exploitation of deniable secret actions to be a state of uncertainty in order not to reach direct armed conflict, and dealt with a report published by By Gatestone Institute of America Gate stone Institute of Colonel Richard Kemp, the former British military commander, said that the activities that are applied in the gray zone are often carried out by states using proxies, including terrorists, by terrorist organizations themselves for the purpose of harming, coercing, influencing or destabilizing states. targeting or undermining the international status quo, often designed to intimidate and deter a target state through the threat of further escalation³⁰

2_ Follow the hybrid wars:Hoffman is the first to establish the term hybrid war to describe the nature of the conflict that crystallized after the Cold War, describing it as a set of different war patterns that include conventional capabilities, unconventional tactics, and terrorist actions that include indiscriminate violence, extortion, and chaos of crime. He then expanded the concept to include complex campaigns that gather Between minimal conventional operations, special operations, and cyber, space, and offensive activities, "hybrid warfare" blends the lethal force of state conflict with the fanatical and protracted fervor of irregular warfare, insurgencies that use ambushes, improvised explosive devices, and forced assassinations, as well as state integration of high-tech capabilities such as countermeasures. For satellites with terrorism and electronic warfare directed against financial targets³¹

NATO also described a hybrid war as an interaction or fusion between traditional and unconventional power tools and sabotage tools, and these tools are mixed in a simultaneous manner to exploit the opponent's weaknesses and achieve synergistic effects. There are two distinguishing features of hybrid warfare. First, the line between war and peacetime has become blurred. This means that it is difficult to define or discern the threshold of war. War becomes elusive as it becomes difficult to activate. Despite being easier, cheaper and less dangerous than motor operations, the second distinguishing feature:Hybrid warfare is about ambiguity and attribution. Hybrid attacks are generally characterized by a lot of ambiguity. This ambiguity is intentionally created and expanded by mixed actors in order to complicate attribution as well as response. That is, the target state is either unable to detect a hybrid



attack or unable to attribute it to a state that might be done or sponsored By exploiting the thresholds of detection and attribution, the mixed actor makes it difficult for the target state to develop policy and strategic responses against it³²

This form of hybrid warfare is a complex, rapidly transforming and non-linear environment in which there are a large number of actors, each pursuing their own desired end states.³³, And with this perspective of war

Hybrid establishes an environment that is complex, rapidly changing and non-linear in character, because of the existence of an environment in which a large number of actors and each party seeks its own desired end results, some may be state actors or non-state actors acting as agents (clients) of states, while others may represent Criminal elements or segments of society consider themselves deprived of the existing political system, so the hybrid war is, in short, a strategic investment in war and security at a lower cost, and this is by fighting with the lives and money of others, whether they are citizens of the country or mercenaries or contractors of transnational private security companies or Even from some of the organizations globally classified as terrorist³⁴

In light of the hybrid wars, accusations were exchanged between the United States of America and Russia of waging a hybrid war, and Russia also used the hybrid war in Ukraine and Crimea, and it must be mentioned that the hybrid wars include a strategy called (chaos theory). Described at the time as creative, constructive, or managed chaos, and this chaotic pattern was used to describe the events of the Arab Spring to destabilize stability from outside and non-governmental actors in Syria and Iraq, because the hybrid war in its essence is characterized by chaos that begins like a virus that overturns the social system of the target state when the masses and semi-gangs fail From seizing power or threatening the government to step down, systematic chaos begins as the final solution to hybrid war³⁵

Therefore, the principle of the approach became indirect in the introduction of military forces after the formation of the local environment to provide an operational barrier in which the aggressor appears to be maintaining peace, but in fact he is carrying out his military operations and helping the restored state of the invaded country to destroy its values that pretend to respect and support peace in it openly and wage war against it. secretly³⁶ , Hybrid war attacks are often inflicted on weak states by a coalition of great military powers that enjoy strength, control and qualitative superiority in equipment that makes the target countries easy targets to control, undermine and destroy the center of their resistance.³⁷.

3_ Formation of broad alliances:These alliances occur before or during the launching of the fifth generation war, and the specialists describe it in this case as (the mixed war). The war is viewed from the allies' point of view as a commercial deal when sharing a main interest, and therefore the fact that fifth generation wars tend to be long wars and willpower Politics is often a major factor in such conflicts, and so the power of these alliances or allies favors a mixed actor in order to bear in mind that it is facing a more capable opponent. Possible increase in friendly losses³⁸ , The formation of broad alliances in the fifth generation wars is not limited to states only, but rather takes the concept of



alliances further, as it includes entities below states and other transnational entities, in addition to individuals and groups called lone wolves that launch terrorist combat operations without being involved in a terrorist organization.³⁹

So in this case, alliances provide reinforcements for the legitimacy of procedures, exchange of information, achievement of the desired results, and mutual benefit, especially when alliances are for a specific cause, as they save effort, time, and risk-sharing. Alliances also lead to increased media attention on the issue that the alliance is facing, and thus spread and reach a wider audience. Particularly when the alliance is with civil society organizations such as trade unions, universities, research centers and the media, all of which contribute to a wide spread and help deepen the political and economic impact. Organizations are sometimes used to change policies and laws on a specific issue by bringing together members and actors who support and defend them. Alliances go further

Using social networks on the Internet to search for individuals who could be included in the coalition, as well as bringing in individuals for direct interviews who had previously worked with them.⁴⁰ Therefore, non-state actors have a major role, and this is what "Zbigniew Brzezinski" emphasized when he said (that the role of the state began to decline as a basic unit in the international community and in the life of the individual, and this decline dates back to the end of the Cold War when non-state actors emerged at the expense of the latter and this The main force of change, especially after it has become

International banks, multinational companies, and radical and terrorist groups with a global dimension are more active than the political concepts of the state), that the necessity of forming wide spreads of alliances is due to the existence of movements that are characterized by a nature based on intellectual foundations affecting belief, customs, and traditions that are the focus of collective thought and proceed towards projects that go beyond The military force is divided into dimensions with social and political influences that are formed in the form of hotbeds to implement its plans wherever there are groups that support and support it. It is looking for a pattern of victimization to lure its followers and supporters to mobilize collective thought towards their interests at the expense of the just causes of the people, as it has no fixed land, no people, and no fixed government like states to complete. Targeting or putting pressure on them. As for national liberation movements, they are in fact based on bases that often have local dimensions. They may resort to regional or international dimensions to promote and internationalize their project through separate actions here and there and to put pressure on the international community orThe regional environment in order to find quick solutions to the stage of injustice to which their beliefs or land are exposed⁴¹

Thus, states turn to secondary actors in implementing their foreign policies without resorting to the use of direct military forces whose cost is high. Therefore, most of the time, regular military forces do not directly interfere in fifth generation wars, but rather take it upon themselves to resort to non-state armed actors for the task of intervention and be In various forms, such as terrorist blocs, armed groups



that play the role of the opposition, and criminal gangs, most of which are supported by states, but indirectly.⁴²

Thus, the broad alliances through the actors of the states have a major role in employing them for the foreign policy of the states, and in this regard Marcel Merle defines the international actor as "every authority, apparatus, group, or even a person capable of playing a role in the social field, that is, on the international stage, In this case, playing this role may require taking a decision or doing something, or even just exercising influence over those who hold the decision-making power or those who hold the reins of material power, and the actor plays his role in international relations through foreign policy."⁴³

4_ Absence of institutional character: Wars have been known before in the past that they occur by entities characterized by an institutional nature, regardless of whether those entities are armies or rebel groups that possess a center of gravity and stand out in morale, logistical, political and popular support, and the existence of legal and moral justifications, and this contributes to the destruction of the central enemy force that paves the way for the destruction of institutions. In full and achieve victory, but in the fifth generation wars, the matter differs because they are network wars in which the center of gravity is absent, in addition to the absence of official leadership, but it depends on individuals who walk according to individual instructions and not information from a central organization, and they also work in a decentralized capacity as well, and thus generation wars are The fifth is of a comprehensive nature that affects society and the state together.⁴⁴

It is not surprising that the fifth generation wars are not institutionalized, whose main feature is ambiguity, so their threats are a dynamic phenomenon whose borders are extremely difficult to define. On the contrary, it is difficult to detect, due to the use of non-governmental agents to carry out operations, but behind the scenes of these wars there is an integrated set of capabilities of states. coordinated with it to completely transform the general scope of the target state from peace to war⁴⁵.

Thus, the fighting in these wars is decentralized and the irregularity of the armed groups is the dominant feature in them, as they are not considered professional or regular armies, which has become an actual reality in many countries, especially Syria, Yemen and Libya. This is not all, but in addition to that, the fifth generation wars sometimes have more From a front, fluidity, and multiplicity of parties and parties with mainly non-military tools, and overlapping with the security, intelligence, public, political, and media space. The virtual world overlaps with the real world, and the regional space with the international one to form complex networks that are not clear and clash with each other. Therefore, it is described as a network war that is dominated by the nature of brutality, chaos, and destruction. Proxy wars are cross-border, and it becomes difficult to determine the nature of the opponents and confront them in order to target them⁴⁶



CONCLUSIONS:

- 1_ The wars of the fifth generation are the wars of the third millennium in the twenty-first century. Strategies were adopted in the wars of the superpowers, and they are considered more influential than conventional wars and previous generations of wars.
- 2_ They are hybrid wars, and they are a mixture of all the tools of war, whether traditional or modern, soft and hard, whose purpose is to violate the sovereignty and systems of states and make them a failed state.
- 3_ The fifth generation wars include a variety of activities and cover the use of various tools to destabilize society by influencing the decision-making process in it, by spreading chaos, rebellion, interference in electoral processes, disinformation, false news, drone attacks, electronic attacks, and financial influence.
- 4_ The fifth generation wars emanated from several political, economic, social, cultural and technological variables that contributed to changing the strategies of conventional wars and the trend towards wars characterized by ambiguity and hazyness due to the difficulty of identifying the perpetrator and getting out of legal accountability.
- 5_ It is based on ideas and beliefs, as it is intellectual, psychological and ideological wars, in which it relies on groups, individuals, armed gangs and terrorism to achieve its goals, based on religious justifications and the justification for the exclusion and marginalization of minorities and the grievance of other societal groups.

SUGGESTIONS:

- 1_ Applying good governance policies and making it a priority for the political system in the state.
- 2_ The governance system in state institutions and the provisions of electronic systems to protect them from cyber attacks.
- 3_ Restore confidence between the people and the political system by strengthening the sense of national identity by granting rights and moving away from the policy of exclusion and marginalization.
- 4_ Criminalization and condemnation of fifth generation wars by international law and the imposition of sanctions on countries proven to be practicing such wars.
- 5_ Spreading awareness among the various groups of society about their rights and their duties towards the state so that society is not exploited to spread rebellion and chaos.

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