



Shifting National Security Paradigm of Pakistan from Geo Politics to a Geo Economics Era



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Abstract *Pakistan being one of the most populous Muslim states, is characterized by unique features. It is home to the seventh-largest army in the world, but strangely enough, it stands in 2018 (slightly better than previous rankings) as one of the 20th most fragile nations of the world. Pakistan bears a key geopolitical position in South Asia, linking it with the Middle East, surrounded by Russia, China, India, and Iran as well. Traditionally, Pakistan's national security has been analyzed through geopolitical and geostrategic perspectives, but with the primacy of economic factors, the geo-economic approach has taken the lead in analyzing the national security of Pakistan. Most underdeveloped and developing countries heavily depend upon external resources and regional connectivity for economic development, but both can jeopardize their security in one way or the other. So Pakistan is no exception in this regard. That's why the article is going to analyze the hazards to Pakistan's national security by focusing upon the growing Pakistan China economic connectivity and Indian fears and apprehensions and Afghanistan's instability, and its prospective looming effect on China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).*

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Conceptual Framework

From conventional (realist) and Non-Traditional Security(NTS) standpoints, Islamabad and its inhabitants are opposed to intimidations originating from both interior and exterior performers (Spegele, 1996)(Issue, 2018). The practical players are overseas interference in the national businesses of the state and manipulating the distant dogma of the state. Adding the non-state actors, internal and external, the states are also operating as realistic

actors (Hasnat, 2011). Governmental and armed organizations, in actuality securitizing proxies, are responsible for hostage such purposeful performers. Both the outward and inward dangers to safety have twisted Pakistan into a sanctuary state (Lodhi, 2012). Since its commencement, Pakistan has been antagonized with outdoor risks on its western boundary and eastern boundary (Lavoy, 2005). On its east, India modelled

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unique hazards. Islamabad and New Delhi have 2912Km long Radcliff line, and Pakistan bonds a doubtful spongy 2430Km Durand line with Kabul on its West. Kabul is not prepared to receive this segregation of zone. Nevertheless, this British inheritance had its origins in 1893. Furthermore, Islamabad and Beijing have also a 523Km common boundary ([Brass, 2010](#)).

Geo-Strategic Constraints of the National Security Plan of Pakistan

Owing to the eccentric geostrategic, global strategic cultural mechanisms – cold war, unipolar world, Sino-US novel cold war outbreak, New Great Game, South Asian local tactical national machineries – India's supremacy drives, main muscles governments in the area, and nationwide tactical ethnic apparatuses like antiquity, political- legitimate, financial, socio-cultural, governance disaster, and army, the outdated safety has always outshined the NTS in Pakistan. ([Issue, 2018](#))

Moreover, since the foundation of Pakistan, a complete consensus-based domestic security strategy has never been extremely measured. The reassurance strategy bonded with the overseas plan has continuously endured under the scan of international and South Asian regional policies among foremost supremacies ([Faruqi, 2003](#)). Likewise, control policymaking is energetic in the description. Authority dogmas at the universal level founded comprehensive calculated philosophy, South Asian background and eventually established intentional public ethos in Pakistan. ([Lavoy, 2005](#))

In the modest inclusive and South Asian local planned milieu, safety urgencies of Pakistan have permanently been discovered active and experienced within numerous domestic confidence

primacies. ([Rizvi, 1993](#))([Z. Noorani, 1987](#)) There is a short-lived assessment of strategic restrictions at each level. In this context, Pakistan has traditional some deliberate local constrictions like poverty. ([Mahboob-ul-Haq, 1997](#)) These have continuously considered its safekeeping significances on account of its weakened budget. Some of the local strategic restrictions are reckoned as underneath.

For instance, Kashmir is an uncertain matter between Pakistan and India caused due to dishonorable Redcliff Award ([A. G. A. M. Noorani, 2014](#)). Pakistan has reinforced the original liberty drive in Indian occupied Kashmir began in 1989 in contradiction of Indian carnages ([Behera, 2007](#)). Numerous independent belligerent groups like Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, Jaish-e-Muhammad(JeM) and Lashkar-i-Tayba(LiT) commenced paramilitary fighting in anti-Indian hordes. ([Rashid, 2012](#)) After September 11, 2001, India originate a chance to lead publicity against the native undertaking for self-rule in Kashmir and associate it with violence. It prospered to announce the many self-rule aggressive clusters in Kashmir as extremist groups, predominantly JeM and LiT([Report, 2005](#))([Holland, 2012](#)).

Uneven Afghanistan has grave consequences for Pakistan's safety and regional security as well ([Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018](#)) as it is specified that Washington used Kabul as a proxy state against Moscow, and after the failure of the latter, it was gone in debris without compelling any realistic footsteps for its reform([Armitage, Berger, Markey, & Relations, 2010](#)). It has developed property for proxy wars and anti-regional clouts. India is exasperating to practice Kabul as a proxy state against Pakistan through its espionage activity, Research and Analysis Wing. ([I. Khalid, 2011](#)). Being neighbor of Afghanistan, Pakistan

cannot endure as a taciturn viewer to observe the compensations of its public concentrations. It has been trusted to include in a proxy war against India in Afghanistan through its emissary activity, Inter-Services Intelligence. ([Holmes & Dixon, 2001](#))

From Geo-Strategic to Geo-Economic Dilemma

Economic requirements have progressively surpassed strategic deliberations in regional economic partnership. ([Wigell & Vihma, 2016](#)) Concerning South Asia, China and Pakistan's interactions, since the end of the Cold War, grounded more on economic deliberations and less on security apprehensions. ([Rakisits, 2015](#)) Moreover, liberalism and neo-liberalism as political viewpoint and economic dogma have approved numerous ups and downs. ([Larner, 2003](#))

Therefore, in this appraisal, the voyage through which liberalism and neo-liberalism had stimulated based on this article analysis. This scholarship is completely on empirical evaluation of liberalism and neo-liberalism, the beginning, traditions, fruition and of the analyses of the philosophies. Hence, the learning is constructed on an investigation of a widespread literature review from theoretical to academic and pragmatic facts. The technique of examination engaged in this revision is literature content investigation with a careful demonstration of the outcome.

Indeed, the primary principle of financial liberalism anxious on four opinions. The first one is the fiscal scheme currents logically by itself as it is prearranged by the unseen hands, and no way of interference is essential by the state ([Baldwin, 1993](#)). It is God's dealing to outline the course of the bargain for the contentment of human beings, not of the

accountability of atmosphere ([Kymlicka, 1991](#)). The second concept of monetary liberalism is the total self-denial of the state involvement in the budget ([Dongier et al., 2003](#)). Personalities have to be advanced to do everything, and the economic arrangement creates its own normal course by itself. The single obligation of the state is to control rule and command, keeping wellbeing, formation and conservation of not-for-profit organizations such as colleges, clinics, etc. ([Maneschi, 2004](#)).

The third argument of economic liberalism is the economic classification is determined by the self-interest of people. The delivery of harvests and facilities by manufacturers is for the sake of their own compensations, not for the requirements of clientele ([Larner, 2003](#)). What is more, this self-centeredness of people generates robust promise in between and more transported monetary happiness of countries that is measured as a complete benefit ([Keynes, 1937](#)). The fourth confidence of economic liberalism is market competition pilots the economic imperative. Each person is permitted to contest in the marketplace through his goods and skills, and this transports agreement of the all-inclusive society to indicate protected life within steadiness of values without the supremacy of one fantastic performer and conclusively chiefs to the appearance of what we demand capitalism ([Hancher & Moran, 1989](#)). Moreover, classical liberalism, which is devised from the workings of Adam Smith and his colleagues, supports its creed on the emancipating of persons to contribute through all the behaviors of any financial action and drops the character of the state to only cultivating the frolicking arena and departed the advertising opposition for the marketplace forces ([Hutton & Giddens, 2000](#)) ([Arrighi, 2007](#)) ([Bartkus & Hassan, 2006](#)).

Succeeding this an addition of classical liberalism, neo-liberalism originated with the identical belief of emboldening denationalization of economies track by persons which license the intercontinental struggle of facility and upshot facility. ([Arneil, 2006](#)) This qualifies the budget to flourish and brand charges lower and also progress the competence of manufacture and provision distribution of challenging practices([Chomsky, 1999](#)). Neo-liberalism emanated in reaction to the 1970s, and 1980s monetary catastrophe and the disagreements were the participation of the administration should be exterminated, departing the budget to market services, reduction of exchanges and deregulation, privatization and releasing limitations of markets since the state commanded expansion caused financial fiasco([Jacques, 2012](#)). Alike, the assumption of neo-liberalism is launching a strong base of private possessions and snowballing the protagonists of self-contained corporations to indicates and alleviates the bargain([Baker, 2005](#)). The state has confined part of changing arrangements in the market of neo-liberalist creed and all supply circulations and promoting actions are modified and developed by the free stream of wealth and each individual is worried on its own concern and also yield any of the dangers in the bazaar ([WEF, 2017](#)). The welcome movement of money between segments, districts and nations is invigorated under the jurisdiction of neo-liberalism. Alike, the barricades of charges, revengeful duties, ecological regulators and place obstacles have to be exterminated, and this commanded to the unrestricted antagonism of isolated originalities, which in chance would outcome competence of construction and facility transport([G. C. Gonzalez, Karoly, Constant, Salem, & Goldman, 2008](#)). The attitude of neo-liberalism appears from the philosophy of classical economists and reinforces the

escaping of state involvement in the economy([Harvey, 2007](#)). The market can launch vigorous procedures by itself if it is departed alone, deprived of the hand of the state([Thorsen, 2010](#)). The purpose of the state should be restricted to controlling harmony and defending it, apparently. Conferring to the rationality of free-market supported by neo liberalism the difficulties of inflation, low economic progress and inactivity, the economic simmers and disturbance are all owing to administration interference([Thorsen & Lie, 2006](#)). Altogether the profitable disappointments and catastrophes are because of exterior features of management interference not the domestic ones and the market has its own parameter machinery if we fled it trustworthy to activate by itself. In general neo-liberalism is a model of political economic exercise that recommends human happiness that can be progressive by the self-determination of specific commercial abilities and categorized by open business and durable estate privileges. The character of the state is to reserve and generate the recognized agendas which are essential for the presentation of the free marketplace budget([Saad-Filho & Johnston, 2005](#)).

Further, Geo-economics is expressed in two dissimilar comportments: “as the liaison between economic strategy and vicissitudes in national influence and geopolitics; or as the economic penalties of developments in geopolitics and national command. Both the philosophies that ‘commerce tracks the banner’ opinion to what is screamed geo-economics” ([Baru, 2012](#)).

Under this backdrop, the article argues currently how geo-economic perspective is leading at the international stage comparatively with geostrategic competition, and it is said that in the 21st Century; only those states can survive if

they have ability to progress in economic domain and preserve their citizens at domestic, regional and international level.

National Security through Economic Gain

In fact, the CPEC is an essential growth structure and strategic movement. While Beijing and Islamabad have been nearby associates for years, the CPEC is a replication of strengthened and prolonged two-sided collaboration at a time of increasing Chinese geopolitical determination and determined apprehensions about Pakistan's security and enlargement ([Shakeel Ahmad Ramay, 2016](#)). "The CPEC is envisioned to encourage connectivity across Pakistan with a linkage of roads, railways, and tubes supplemented by energy, industrial,

and other infrastructure expansion schemes to discourse dangerous energy deficiencies wanted to increase Pakistan's financial development ([Zubedi et al., 2018](#)). Ultimately, the CPEC will also simplify trade alongside an overland method that attaches China to the Indian Ocean, connecting the Chinese city of Kashgar to the Pakistani port of Gwadar ([Center, 2018](#)). In this backdrop, Pakistan and China planned for the CPEC in April 2015, when they contracted fifty-one contracts and memoranda of understanding on Chinese investments, adding \$46 billion over the next ten to fifteen years. Some schemes are previously happening, incorporating highways and energy projects where accomplishment is projected by the end of 2016" ([Hussain, 2015](#)).



Source: Xinhua News Agency

Plus, accepting the CPEC necessitates appreciation for China's safety anxieties, particularly those curtailing from its restless western area of Xinjiang ([Shichor, 2005](#)). Beijing met political violence at Xinjiang's ethnic Uighur community with a lingering safety manifestation and thrust for economic enlargement arrangements ([Bhattacharji, 2009](#)).

These labors associate Pakistan because Uighur militant clusters, like the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM), have requested shelter in the Pakistan-Afghanistan boundary zones, wherever they have recognized associations with al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan ([Ahmad, Hameed, & Shahzad, 2017](#)). China observes the ETIM as a stubborn

hazard that is targeting China and condemning Chinese stakes in Pakistan (Haider, 2005). In this framework, the CPEC signifies an intercontinental allowance of China's exertion to transport security through fiscal expansion. As far as investments are concerned in Pakistan, it would surely be envisioned to generate occupations, decrease the anti-state response, and produce public capitals for extra developments in law and order (S A Ramay, 2016). By undertaking the danger of jihadi administrations in adjacent Pakistan, China promises to recover its own land. Therefore, although the CPEC is frequently represented as a transference passageway, security anxieties will tend to execute bounds on the cross-border drift of people and commodities, at the slightest in the short to medium term (Wenwen, 2018). Pakistan's governing citizen and military forerunners also escalate the financial, political, and safety prospects that the CPEC bargains with economic liberalism (Javaid & Javaid, 2016). Pakistan wants nonstop speculation to offshoot economic growth, but stakeholders have commonly shied away from it over the past epoch. If conveyed, China's investing strategy characterizes more than double all foreign direct investment in Pakistan since 2008. China's investments in energy infrastructure are particularly opportune. Domestic request outperforms stock by a regular of 4,500 megawatts (Chen, 2011).

"On the flip side, resource scarcities and delivery difficulties lead to regular blackouts and cost as much as 2 percent GDP development a year. These dilemmas will deteriorate as Pakistan's populace of closely two hundred million enlarges at a rate of almost 2

percent yearly (WEF, 2017). Deprived of the formation of fresh employments, nevertheless, the state's adolescence will include the absence of creative passages for their dynamism, in a state fragmented by dogmatic, cultural, and radical cleavages and occupied by systems of radicalism and aggressiveness, the basic for mounting economy receipts on superior meaning (Lieven, 2012). Diplomatically, Pakistan's presiding civilian management distinguishes that by transporting a variety of "early harvest" schemes, it will have a healthier gamble of engaging countrywide elections scheduled for 2018. From a security standpoint, Pakistan's military front-runner's trust that if Chinese investments can crack around the nation's drooping economic affluence, they will also support the state against contestants, both foreign (India) and domestic" (anti-state insurrectionary) (Xi, 2015).

Contests for Economic Development of Pakistan

Security predicament is a period recycled in IR and mentions to a position where two or more situations are strained into engagement, conceivably even conflict, over wellbeing apprehensions, even though none of the conditions truly wish skirmish (Herz, 1950). Fundamentally, the safety problem happens when two or more conditions respectively sense vulnerable relative to other countries. None of the states craves relationships to worsen, let alone for war to be professed, nonetheless as each state turns regimentally or tactfully to mark itself more protected, the other states understand its activities as intimidating (Mearsheimer, 1995). A sarcastic sequence of unintentional aggravations arises, stemming from an appreciation of the battle, which might

ultimately lead to exposed fighting. It has also agonized callous political battle in control to outside interventions in the process of the 1979 Soviet invasion and the 2001 U.S. outbreak([Kaplan, 2011](#)).

Pakistan is expressively and honestly overstated by the foreign battering in Kabul. Pakistan is confronting a diversity of security intimidations; interior intimidation, an Indian warning, and the danger from Afghanistan([Relations, 2010](#)). In order to understand Pakistan's security quandary, it is needed to surprise our conversation with examining the Afghanistan actually position, overseas interference in Afghanistan, Pak-afghan relation, Pakistan's foreign strategies concerning Afghanistan, the confrontation undertaking and emigrant difficulties, and afterwards estimate the retreat condition([Markey, 2013](#)).

Afghanistan's volatility and outcomes on Pakistan

Pakistan is facing a variety of shelter threats; an inner hazard, thorough fanatic peril, an Indian threatening, and the menace from Afghanistan. There are plentiful effects that comprise Pakistan encouragement difficulties([Rashid, 2012](#)). Since the late 1970s, Afghanistan has experienced a callous civic fight in enlargement to foreign associations in the shape of the 1979 Soviet infiltration and the 2001 U.S. invasion([Leffler, 2003](#)). When we comprehend Pakistan's wellbeing predicament, it is essential to examine the Afghanistan multilayered location, the skirmish responsibility, afghan partisan opposition, Afghan emigrant nuisance, Talibanization, and then evaluate the reservation situation([Ahrari, 2000](#)). Surely, the Indian reason cannot be marginalized in crunching Pakistan's security dilemma. India is a boundless danger for Pakistan's liberty and respectability. Kashmir scuffle

is a reason between Pakistan and India. Pakistan is expressively and honestly embroidered by the aloof capture in Afghanistan([Gupta, 1997](#)). The eleven years of the conflict in Afghanistan was an unfaithful past for the national confidence. In the 2001, US attack in Afghanistan produce a Taliban entrance in Pakistan. Pakistan has deep social, sacred and rigid kindnesses with Pakhtoons in Afghanistan. A strange percentage of the Taliban is old-style Pashtuns; Pashtuns are a considerable bordering in Pakistan and rule the Pakistani militia([Jalālza'ī, 2006](#)). Similarly, communal backing for the Taliban turns very eminent in the North-West Frontier Province. Correct grounds (Taliban) are infuriated to execute their platform on Pakistani ethos and confront the Pakistani construction([Rashid, 1999](#)). From the summer of 2007 to late 2008, more than 1,500 people are eliminated in insanity. Pakistan presently, arguing ferocity from her land and is supplementary the Afghan harmony development, is playing a part of a substance, supporting links between the Afghan construction and the Taliban reign([Z. Khalid, 1987](#)).

Moreover, Afghanistan accuses Pakistan of the settings and worries to device the gory rebellion in Kabul. The present equipped organization has very astutely strong-minded this difficulty building no modification between 'good Taliban and bad Taliban' and flinging systematically well-appointed performance against them([Ahmed, 2012](#)). Pakistan has followed an enormous military repugnant Zarb-e-Azb in North Waziristan Agency to blossom all the destructive attires from their last territory in Pakistan. Pakistan fortified powers are realized on their eastern edge; some collections are besieged guerilla happenings in North Waziristan and some

are domineering the safety dangers in urban zones of Pakistan([Wikipedia, 2013](#)). Pakistan, right from the beginning, has annoyed to accomplish permanency and concord in Afghanistan. Therefore, Pakistan also needs a considerable position in the modernization and expansion agendas in Afghanistan. She is of the opinion that Afghan peacetime practice should be Afghan preserved and Afghan controlled by connecting the Taliban dresses([Burki, 2010](#)). Pakistan analyses that Afghanistan herself should discourse her safety dilemma, but Afghanistan needs Pakistan to combat the intimidation in Afghanistan too. Certainly, the Indian influence cannot be unnoticed in scrutinizing Pakistan's sanctuary dilemma([Small, 2010](#)).

Indian Apprehensions

The challenge of nuclear weapons by both India and Pakistan in May 1998 scripts the obvious nuclearization of a prevailing battle that has happened since 1947([Mohan, 2015](#)). The phase since 1998 has been manifest by an unstable nuclear discouragement that has been in episodic catastrophe, New Delhi's disappointment to provide on its political potentials, interpretation for human rights damages, and curtail the loss of administrative privileges, along with Pakistan's efforts at helping and assisting armed aggressiveness in the state, have factually added to the Kashmir rebellion([Behera, 2007](#)). Each of these has otherwise squeezed on numerous units of Kashmiris. To obtain objectives in Kashmir, Conflict resolution, therefore, is faraway more complex and problematic currently than ever before. The trouble also originates from the detail that the presiding command in New Delhi does not treasure it domineering to administratively undertake the Kashmir matter or discourse it jointly with Pakistan: this

seems to be an emerging strategy of the government, definitely. This lack of a yearning to determine the Kashmir battle both inside with Kashmiris and jointly with Pakistan comes from the Bharti Janta Party's (BJP) own conceptual views([Lyon, 2008](#)). The BJP administration in New Delhi advances the Kashmir problem either by exploiting a Pakistan viewpoint (asserting that the Kashmir revolution is sustained by Pakistan) or from a Hindu-Muslim outlook([Chawla, History, Centre, & Pakistan, 2016](#)). This matter of allegory is not only stopping the BJP from stretching out to the Kashmiris but also aggravates its negotiations with Pakistan on the Kashmir question. Moreover, cooperation in economic and military arenas between China and Pakistan has been a longstanding dialogue that generates anxiety for India. The discussion about the expansion of the seaport of Gwadar in Pakistan as a Chinese marine headquarters also postures a danger to the security of India([Rizvi, 1993](#)). Besides, Pakistan has been measured as the opponent of India for a prolonged period. The Gwadar port is not merely an apparatus to prosper the Chinese BRI drive but also part of China's naval policy of "String of Pearl"([Pehrson, 2006](#)). Furthermore, China's attention in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has established an honestly destructive navigational control plan in the IOR([Garofano& Dew, 2013](#)). The attendance of the Chinese fleet as a new-fangled artist in the IOR has the possibility to cause India into a sanctuary dilemma disorder. Under these environments, it is exact conceivable that an armaments competition between India, China and Pakistan in some lengthen will be expected([Bose, 2009](#)). Plus, Gwadar has an extraordinary tactical position for roughly a few states. For Pakistan, Gwadar is a harmless and very helpful

port for being a operating hub associated with its foremost port of Karachi, which is too nearby to India, so it is quite hazardous if the connection between the two countries being deteriorated ([Butt & Butt, 2015](#)). Gwadar, also very calculated for China in some ranges. First, as a transportation argument for mercantile vessels from China to Africa. Secondly, as a strategic theme for China to display the Persian Gulf, which is a central foundation of 60% of China's energy necessities([Shaikh, Ji, & Fan, 2016](#)). Third, the port is also very considered for China to decrease the trade space to Central Asia([Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013](#)). Because of these facts, India's anxieties is a direct geostrategic and economic security threat to Pakistan.

Conclusion

The theoretical and practical findings of the article have declassified that neoliberalism as an economic policy is not just, as the notion itself might propose, but a new revitalization of liberalism. Neoliberalism is possibly best observed as an ultimatum for overall authorization for the skilful labors and their companies. And the 21st epoch has seen a standard change from strategic association to the founding of economic collaboration among republics around the world — the national attention and safety of the state being the elements of this collaboration.

In this skeleton, the research exposed thought-provoking evidences that the

CPEC is also supposed to be not only Pakistan's economic gift but also Chinese gadgets in its geo-economic determined. Thus, geo-economics reproduces the interdependence of worldwide and nationwide markets. If fruitful, the CPEC could deliver significant assistances to Pakistan's geo-economic future. As economic growth is vital to national security, and hence the development should be deliberated an opportune expansion. That whispered the inventiveness would also increase apprehensions, particularly from India and other nationals concerned about mounting Chinese forcefulness. Indians are worried about Beijing's objectives in South Asia. Gwadar Port is professed in India as less probable to develop a vivacious fiscal center than to assist as a marine base for China's prolonged blue water navy and actions in the Indian Ocean. Besides. Kabul instability can create a hindrance to achieve economic gains for Islamabad's policymakers. This would necessitate starting a novel interchange with both Pakistani and Chinese spokespersons. Adding more, U.S. administrators should practice their dialogues with Pakistani colleagues to safeguard that CPEC-style defense for Chinese companies and stockholders. In a nutshell, then the CPEC will consume the greatest gamble of changing Pakistan's geo-economic viewpoint if it also catalyzes a surf of distant share from neighboring, regional, and global states.

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