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The Influence of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) on Pakistan's Power Position – A Case Study on CPEC

Muhammad Saoud

Master of Science in International Relations
Noragric

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Pakistan's Power position – A case study on CPEC**

“To know a nation's geography is to know its foreign policy”

-Napoleon Bonaparte

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Muhasaou123@gmail.com

Department of International Environment and Development Studies (Noragric)

P.O. Box 5003 N-1432 Ås Norway Tel.: +47 67 23 00 00

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Declaration

I, Muhammad Saoud hereby declare that this thesis titled;

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It is my own research findings and investigations. This work has not been previously submitted,
printed and published in any university or research institute.

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Date.....

Acknowledgement

Studying at NMBU have come to an end. Writing a thesis International Relations has provided me with essential insights about world affairs and world politics. At times it has been challenging, yet I feel grateful for all the meaningful knowledge it has given me.

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Abstract

Geographically position plays a crucial role in states power ambitions. Sometimes geographical positions attract to other regional economic powers to use neighboring state strategic importance locations for their own strategic and economic benefits. Pakistan blessed with geographically an important location in South Asia, surrounded by many important countries. China the world 2nd largest economy, willing to reach in the energy-rich region; Gulf states, and towards the European and African markets and their natural resources. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) not even provides the shortest route to China in the Gulf region, but these mega-billion projects have the potential to influence Pakistan's national power elements. National power elements are a combination of hard and soft power elements. The CPEC has potential to increase Pakistan's hard and soft power elements. Hard power elements are geography, population, military, and economy. And soft power came through three sources, political values, culture, and foreign policies. Pakistan's weak and unstable economy, influence to remaining hard power elements. Due to a weak economy, 6th largest population and military are more behind, in term of prosperity and advanced technologies. The major investment brought in the shape of CPEC, which can play a crucial role to boost Pakistan's weak economy. Economic stability can play an important role to enhance remaining hard power elements, population, and military. Along with economic stability, the important location provided opportunities to Pakistan for enhancing its soft power capability. Pakistan's hard and soft power capabilities provided a significant platform to Pakistan for using smart power strategies. This study has described influence of CPEC on Pakistan's hard, soft and smart power.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BLA	Baluch Liberation Army
CARs	Central Asian Republics
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GDP	Gross Domestic Progress
LNG	Liquified Natural Gas
MOU	Memorandums of Understanding
OBOR	One Belt One Road
SEZ	Special Economic Zones
SLOGs	Sea Lines of Communications
SSD	Special Security Division
USA	United States of America
UAE	United Arab Emirates
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

The world is different than it was a century ago, globalization made the world even smaller, and connected it even more. These changes have led to stronger geopolitical and geo-economic relationships among countries. The geographic location of a country can play an important role in its economic and strategic relations with neighboring countries. Sometimes, a weak and unstable economic position of a country can benefit from its geography.

Pakistan is surrounded by many powerful countries, the two big and rapid developing countries China and India are bordering to the North and East and the energy-rich Muslim states, Iran and Afghanistan, are located on the Western borders. Pakistan is also in short distance to oil-rich Gulf states and Central Asian states. This important geopolitical location of Pakistan attracts China, the world 2nd largest economy (Aslam, Khan, & Rafi, 2016) to use Pakistan's geographical location to reach Gulf states for oil and gas. Pakistani land can also provide, China' short access to European and African markets. Pakistan and China are known to have strong diplomatic relations since the 1950s. Among many other problems, Pakistan's economic condition is weak and unstable. But being the 41st largest economy in the world, and due to a large number of a relatively young population, good geographical location and with the 6th world largest army, it has the potential to become a regional power (The News, 2016). Therefore, Pakistan has chosen to become a part of China's economic ambitions.

China's One Belt One Road initiative (OBOR) is an ambitious plan to expand connectivity through sea and land routes, which will connect Asian, African and European countries (Ahmed, 2018). The OBOR is essentially about revising and upscaling the ancient silk route between China and the rest of the world, which provides China access and allow it to accomplish its geo-economic and geopolitical objectives (Ibid.). This project consists of the development, infrastructure, and energy resources projects that play a vital role for both China and its partners. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is the flagship program of OBOR.

CPEC received the attention of scholars around the world because its geo-economic, geostrategic, and geopolitical implications are very important. Its strategic position is beneficial for China, and similarly, Pakistan can also take advantage to boost its economy. CPEC is a multi-billion-dollar

project that has the capacity to influence Pakistan's power position in the region. This thesis will explore the impact of CPEC on Pakistan's power position with the concept of hard and soft power. As Mearsheimer (2001) stated, wealth plays a very important role in building military power, and a strong economic state has the potential to increase its influence in all other power dimensions. Pakistan' keeps some national power elements, which plays a significant role in state power, like geography, population, and military (Morgenthau, Thompson & Clinton, 2006). Without economic stability, the rest of the power elements can not actively participate in state power as it should be. Along with hard power elements, the country must have soft power elements, like political values, culture and good foreign policies (Nye, 2008).

1.1 Problem Statement

Different theorists concur that power is an important factor for any state, and its relational exercise is one of the initial goals in international politics. In order to become powerful, states are prepared to take all necessary steps. Economic stability is the main concern of any country. In the past, it has been observed that some countries may have a big military giant like the Soviet Union, but because of their economic instability state failed after all (Szelenyi & Szelenyi, 1994). In the contemporary world, economic growth influences the power of any state. Economic growth enables, states to build up their economic and military capacities (Mearsheimer, 2001). China is a neighboring country of Pakistan with rapid economic growth and a need for more energy and new markets for their goods. Pakistan's geographical and strategic location encourages China to use its location and facilitate the multi-billion-dollar project of CPEC.

The project of CPEC consists of new development and infrastructure projects such as the buildings of new roads and railway tracks, construction of economic zones, development of Gwadar port, new dams and other energy production plants. While Pakistan has the 6th largest army and population in the world, it faces challenges due to its high unemployment rate and low education rate (Arshad, 2018), an underdeveloped army with lack of modern technology. Scholars suggest that CPEC will be a game changer for Pakistan's future development (Malik, 2015). The economic corridor does not only bring economic integration among regional and participants country, advances in geostrategic position, but it provides people-to-people contact, social and cultural cooperation. To know about CPEC influence on Pakistan's hard and soft power, require answer about how does CPEC influence Pakistan's economy, population, and military due to the changing

nature of the country's geographical location. And how does CPEC influence Pakistan's democratic and Islamic values and culture and policies in the region? with the availability of hard and soft power elements, for achieving the national objectives, Pakistan can use smart power strategies.

1.2 Research Question and Objectives

In 2019, CPEC is still in its initial stages, and it will be too early to assess the influence on Pakistan's economy. However, these and other aspects can preliminarily explore.

Research question: How does China-Pakistan Economic corridor influence the power position of Pakistan?

This research question has clear significance to explore CPEC influence on Pakistan's power position. Therefore, the aim of this research is to explore Pakistan's power position in the region in the context of CPEC. To learn about the influence of CPEC on Pakistan's power position, the concept of power will be defined in three different shapes of power: hard, soft and smart power.

Objectives:

- i. To explore CPEC's influence on Pakistan's hard power.
- ii. To explore CPEC's influence on Pakistan's soft power.
- iii. To evaluate the importance of smart power strategies for Pakistan in the context of CPEC.

1.3 Thesis Structure

To make this thesis more readable for the reader, this thesis is divided into seven chapters that introduce and state the problem of the study, provide background, the choice of methodology and literature review and present its discussion on findings and conclusion. The first chapter consist of an introduction, problem statement of the study, outlines the research question and objectives and the thesis structure. The second chapter provides a literature review, it consists of understanding about different power shapes, defining through realist and liberalist scholars. The third chapter provides details of the study's methodology, data collection and analyzing methods. Chapter four provides the contextual background to the study. Chapter five is the analysis of CPEC influence on Pakistan's national power elements (hard and soft power), and smart power. Chapter six provides, findings, and discussion of thesis while chapter seven presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

Chapter 2: Defining Power Concepts-Literature-Review

Introduction

This chapter consists of describing power in different shapes. Firstly, I need to describe power in general, and its importance in International Relations. After the concept of power under two relevant theories, realism and liberalism will be described, because both theories elaborate hard and soft powers. Realism can give a theoretical understanding of hard power and liberalism can offer a theoretical understanding of soft power. Furthermore, first, as an initial concept, we will discuss national power, because before going ahead it is necessary to explain about the concept of 'national power'. Secondly for a complete understanding of national power in this study, the concept of power will be described in shape of hard and soft powers. Additionally, (chosen) elements of hard and soft powers will be described, by explaining the importance of both powers for states. Lastly, the strategy of smart power will be described.

2.1 Power

Power is a universal element. In almost all theories and explanation of international relations and Global political economy, power is the main part (Guzzini, 2013). Since the last two decades of the 20th century, many theorists, scholars, and politicians have spent their time and lives about thinking power. They did a lot of work about the power and how it distributed within and among different societies and how power is used in the world of international relations. Great scholars, Confucius, Plato, and Aristotle emphasized how power should be distributed and institutionalized. Lampton argued about it as "Power is the ability to define and achieve one's purposes or goals" (Lampton, 2008, P.9).

In the international world of politics, by-passing of time, the notion of power is changing. Therefore, some theorist has talked about its as hard power and some described it as soft power. Joseph Nye argued about soft power concept, instead of military use, any state can meet its national goals through the influence of culture, foreign policies and with good political values (Nye, 1990). Before the concept of Joseph Nye's soft power, hard power was considered the best approach for increasing the power of any state. In hard power, the use of military and money are considered the main tools for the power of any state. (Morgenthau et al, 2006 & Mearsheimer,

2001). By using different power strategies, states can meet their goal efficiently, and use of power can be more accessible when it uses throughout the entire cycle of policymaking. In the world of international politics, many powerful states set their agendas and looking for their own interests. Thus, states can change their behaviour among regional countries, according to their interests.

Although, different theorists described power in different ways, we know that the concept of power has been a close element with the life of man and his interaction with the world since the start of civilization. According to Hans J. Morgenthau, “*the struggle of power is universal in time and space and is an undeniable fact of experience*” (Morgenthau et al, 2006. p. 36). Robert Dahl described ‘social power concept’ that how it influences on state policies. In which he argued about the power of human behavior, good relations among different individuals and groups can increase the power of any individual or group (Dahl, 2017).

Max Weber described power in Lampton’s book ‘Three faces of Chinese power’ as “power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which probability rests” (Lampton, 2008, P.8). Martin (1971), described power concept as ‘the ability of persons or groups to impose their will on others despite resistance through deterrence either in the form of withholding regularly supplied rewards or in the form of punishment, inasmuch as the former, as well as the latter, constitute, in the effect, a negative sanction’(p. 242).

Powerful states can play a significant role in the sense of role making and given special importance when the treatment of transnational problems is concerned. This applies to questions of world trade as well as to transnational security risks. Attempts to solve problems in these policies can be organized on the regional and global level. In both cases, some state actors play a more significant role than others during the cooperation and negotiation process, and they have more influence on the results in the region and as well as in the world. The reason can be the more significant military or economic potential of these actors, which they can use a tool of hard power. And as a tool of soft power, their legitimacy, diplomatic effectiveness, moral authority and their representative function for a region or group of states might generate advantages in international bargaining (Flemes, D. 2007). Using power at the right time and place, states can meet their

national goals. Baldwin (2016), argued as, “power analysis is simultaneously one of the oldest, but also one of the most promising approaches to study world politics for the years ahead” (p.18).

In the world of international politics, the nature of international politics shaped by power relations (Baldwin, 2012). The characteristic of power is important in all theoretical approaches, liberals and realist also consider power as a significant tool, through which states can achieve their national goals. Power plays, as a tool among different nations, it allows to state, how to get their national goals.

2.2 Grounding Power concept in Theories

In international relations, different theories are used by scholars to make sense of phenomena. Theories in international relations are concerned to explain and understand behavior or different actors in the international realm. Stefano Guzzini (2001) argues about the importance of theories to make sense of the social world; he states that

“... a theory is the condition for the actual possibility of knowledge. Without concepts that cut through the forest of empirical data, we would be unable to see the wood for the trees. Theories are not just the result but also the precondition for the possibility of empirical knowledge” (p. 99).

2.2.1 Realism and power

The realists are more pessimists about international politics. Realists looking for creating a peaceful world, but it is not possible in the harsh world of security competition and war (Mearsheimer, 2001). Realist thinks, the idea of a peaceful world is good, but it is not a practical one. Carr in Mearsheimer (2001) about realism, "tends to emphasize the irresistible strength of existing forces and the inevitable character of existing tendencies, and to insist that the highest wisdom lies in accepting and adapting oneself to these forces and these tendencies" (p. 17). For example, nuclear capability strains countries to take rational steps for peace and avoid war.

This dark view of international relations is based on three core beliefs. First, realist also treats, like liberals, state as the principal actor in world politics. Realists mainly focus on great powers, because great powers shaped international politics and they also caused of deadliest wars (Mearsheimer, 2001). Second, realists believe the behavior of great powers is influenced by the external environment, as compared to internal features. Realists think, there are no good and bad states because all great powers are looking for more power, instead of their culture, political system or

who runs the government. Third, realist believes, states have competitions for dominant the power (Ibid.). Moreover, this competition sometimes brings them to the war, which is an acceptable instrument for statecraft, but it keeps the destruction of society.

Thucydides described the conflict-based paradigm of international relations, in which key actors are states, security and power are main issues (Thucydides, 2009). Korab-Karpowicz described more Thucydides as, he emphasized that human nature is one of the important factors among human being for the struggle of power, because the human being is egoistic and self-interested, and these factors overcome on moral principles. (Korab-Karpowicz, 2010). Thucydides considered anarchy is the primary reason for war because the international arena is a self-help system. Thus, "each state is responsible for its survival and is free to define its own interests and to pursue power" (as cited in Korab-Karpowicz, 2010, p.4). Moreover, E.H Carr in his book 'The twenty years' crisis, warned about the neglect of power in the international political analysis (Carr, 1939). After the world war1, he analyzed, how all treaties of peace and cooperation among states were crushed in a short time by the realities of chaos and insecurity in the international system. Carr considered survival and competition are the main objectives among states for getting more power in the international realm. (Ibid.).

The realist in IR, over the years, come up with more approaches in mainstream accounts of world politics. An American economist Robert Gilpin talked about the power of economy; he emphasized that with good economic stability provides a better power position among other states (Gilpin, 1983). About power in the international world of politics, KN Waltz talked about the 'balance of power theory' among different states competition of survival and economic stability is very important. And in result states keep the balance of power between their rivals (Waltz, 2010). Also, in the anarchical world among states security is the central issue and for achieving security "...states try to increase their power and engage in power-balancing for the purpose of deterring potential aggressors" (Carr, 1939, p. 4). And this attempt becomes the cause of wars among different nations. In the contemporary world of politics, economic stability brings power in the state power, and for economic interdependence, now states follow the liberalist aspects of power.

2.2.2 Liberalism and power

Liberal has the roots of enlightenment, which comes from eighteenth-century Europe. During this period intellectuals and political leaders had a sense that reason could be employed to make a world

a better place (Mearsheimer, 2001). That is why liberals always hopeful for making the world safer and more peaceful. Most liberals believe that it is possible to reduce the chances of war and to increase international prosperity. Due to this, sometimes they are labeled as 'utopian' or 'idealist' (Ibid. p. 15).

Liberalism's bright view of international politics is based on three main beliefs, which are common in many theories (Mearsheimer, 2001, 15-17). First, liberals argue, states are the main actors in international politics. Second, liberals emphasize, internal characteristics are more important as compare to the external environment, and these differences have main impacts on state behavior (Moravcsik, 1997). Liberalists believes that some internal arrangements are preferable like democracy, as compare to dictatorship. That is why liberals have 'good' and 'bad' states in the international system. Good states have policies against war, and they always try to avoid wars, but bad states are the cause of conflict with other states and try to use force for their interests. Third, liberals avoiding war for getting power, but for this purpose, they use political and economic ways. According to liberals, bad states engaged in wars for power, but good states are not doing like this (Howard, 1978).

Liberals considered individuals are more important for the state, with limited intervention rights, its state responsibility to look after their citizens and protect them from any harm (Larmore, 1999). According to liberalists, the rule of law, democracy, liberty, freedom of speech, free market, etc., are considered their main steps (Hobhouse, 1964). According to power concept through the economy, liberals considered 'free markets and interdependence', strengthened states power position (Keohane & Nye, 1987). About the importance of the economic role in peace process explains as "The natural effect of commerce is to lead to peace. Two nations that trade together become mutually dependent: if one has interest in buying, the other has an interest in selling; and all unions are based on mutual needs" (Braddon, 2012.p. 4).

In theoretical terms, power defines by realist and liberals differently. Both theoretical approaches consider states as the main actor, and how it plays a role by the influence of internal and external features. For more details, both theories can be cover by defining power concept by dividing 'power' in hard and soft power (as shows figure 1), in which, we can understand, optimistic and pessimists' ways of power (Nye, 1990, Mearsheimer, 2001 & Raimzhanova, 2015).

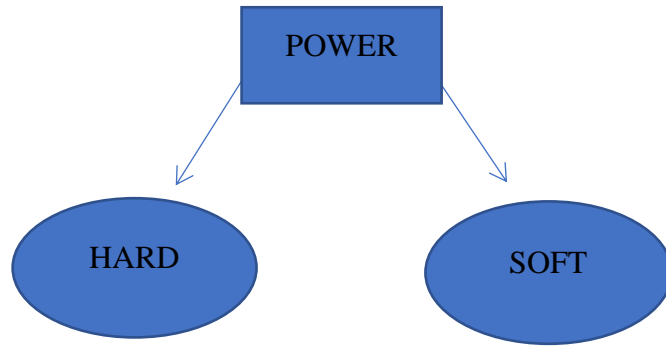


Figure 1: two shapes of power, hard and soft powers.

Source: Self created (as cited in Raimzhanova 2015, p. 6).

2.3 National power

In international relations, since we are concerned more about the behavior of states rather than individuals, from then it is essential for us to understand the concept of national power. National power or state power can be described as "a mix of strategic, military, economic, political and psychological strengths and weaknesses of a country or a state" (Sarkesian & Connor, 2006). Hans J. Morgenthau was the famous realist scholar of the 20th century, he said in international politics for achieving national objectives, power is more valuable. He more argued, how any nation takes power in the international contemporary world, for this he talked about those elements which are necessary for getting power or behalf of those elements any nation called itself as a powerful nation (Morgenthau et al., 2006). Morgenthau described these elements in his famous book 'Politics among nation' and identified the elements of national power as "Geography, natural sources, industrial capacity, military preparedness, population, national character, national morale, quality of government and the quality of diplomacy" (Morgenthau et al, 2006.p.p. 111-162). After the context of national power definitions, we can say that national power is the sum of all resources available to a nation for achieving their national objectives.

It is important to understand that; historically military strength was considered as the main element of any nation or state. Forgetting and sustaining military strength other elements are also important. By examining the history, we can understand that military alone cannot win, it considers only one element of national strategy and along with it many other factors work for the strategy to succeed (Ahmad, 2012). Although the military strength of a state is an important factor of the national power, there are some other main factors as well which describe the national power of the state.

Combination of these all factors, commonly known as the 'elements or instruments of national power' (Ibid. P. 86), determine the power of a state. As the presence of one or few elements alone cannot guarantee for national power, same as the absence of any element does not become important for a decline in national power. For example, the huge area of India, Brazil or Saudi Arabia, and big populations of India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the industrial growth of Belgium, and the first-class army of Switzerland cannot make them big powers (Ibid.).

Context of National Power in this research study

In this study research, I initially chose the idea of Morgenthau about the national power elements. Even though he described the elements of national power, and it was not clearly defined in terms of hard and soft power. As some of his fellow liberalist and realist scholars, like Joseph Nye and Mearsheimer, defined in shape of soft and hard powers. Therefore, I continue this study research by describing hard and soft power elements. Which provide a clear understanding of the power in two different theoretical approaches. As discussed in the previous section, liberalist argues about the importance of hard power and liberalist argue about soft power elements. Hence, for getting the complete understanding about national power elements, this study is going on hard and soft power concepts. Lastly, outcomes of hard and soft power will be evaluated by using the Nye's smart power concept.

2.3.1 Hard power

Realists consider world as an anarchical place, where every state is looking for their survival, in result states like to increase their power capability. Figure 2 describes that hard power consists of four pillars; military, economy, population, and geography (Morgenthau et al., Nye, 2009 & Raimzhanova, 2015, p. 7).

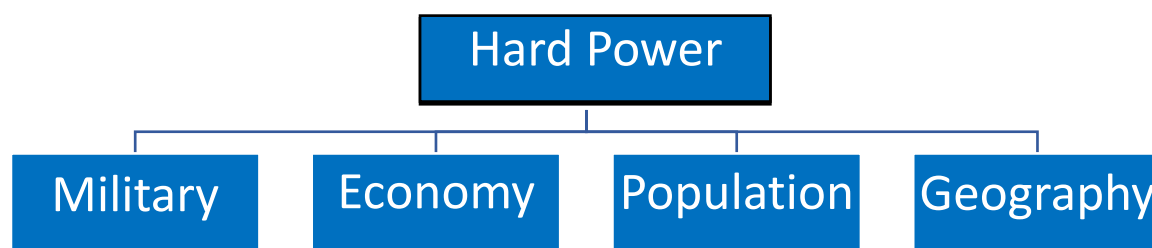


Figure 2: Four shapes of Hard power, Military, Economy, Population and Geography.

Source: Self created (as cited in Raimzhanova 2015, p. 7).

Hard power considers, "the ability to use the carrots and sticks of economic and military might to make others follow your will" (as cited in Nye, 2004, p. 181). Hard power can involve coercion via threats or inducement via payments (Ibid.). John Mearsheimer talked more about the importance of hard power; safety is the main issue among states, that is why states are looking for more power for their safety (Mearsheimer, J. 2001).

Military strength considered the main tool of hard power, and it plays a more effective role when money comes within it. More money comes, as a state's economy is increasing, thus good and stable economy consider a significant part of hard power elements. Especially, in this changing world of politics, when states more following liberals' approach, this realist approach of power is still working. For example, when we see the use of force from the United States of America (USA) on Afghanistan and Iraq and economic sanctions on Iran and North Korea shows the presence of hard power strategy. About this situation, Bially Mattern's lament that "when it comes to the practice of world politics, we received the wisdom that guns and money are "hard" instruments still largely holds; and coercive resources works most effectively" (Mattern, 2005. P. 583-612). Supporters of hard power think power is the capacity and ability to resolve the problems, thus state creates violence and war for getting more power (Pallaver, 2011).

Along with military and money, geography and population are also considered elements of hard power. Geography provides the strategic position of any state to utilize its military and economic tactics to increase power. More population is necessary for increasing the military capabilities, more men power can arrange big military. Upper discussed all elements of hard power will be described in following sub-sections, in which I will provide an overview about all these elements of hard power. This overview will provide understanding to the reader about the importance of hard power.

Geography

The most stable element of hard power, on which power of the state depends is geography. For example, the continental territory of the United States is separated from other continents by bodies of water from east and west sides and this is the main factor which determines its position in the world (Morgenthau et al, 2006). Ahmad (2012) defined geography from 'The Oxford Dictionary' as "the study of the physical features of the earth and human activity as it relates to these" (p. 86). By studying geography, some factors are increased its values, such as location, size, topography

and even climate are important. Among these factors of geography, location plays a vital role in determining interstate relations. Due to the importance of geography in international relations, resulted as a new field of study as 'Geopolitics'. Hence, geographical importance plays a vital role in the state's policies. Ahmad (2012) states,

"Pakistan and Iran are on the U.S. wish list for their location (besides natural resources) astride the oil-rich Persian Gulf, access to Central Asia with its vast natural resources and proximity to China" (p. 87).

By studying history, its observed that geography play important role to increase power. Like, UK and USA used their strategic location to become powerful states. The long coastline and less chance of attack from land borders, forced them to invest in their navies which became the main instrument of army projection around the world. Not even big countries can take advantages from its location, but strategic location increased importance of small states, like, strategical location in Malacca Strait, a tiny state of Singapore become an important regional actor and prosperous nation. Similarly, some areas and choke points also become very important in the power game due to their strategic location. For example, Straits of Malacca, the Persian Gulf, Bab-al-Mandab, the Suez Canal, and Panama, etc., and it plays a very vital role in the regional power positions (Ibid.).

Besides location, the size (and topography) of any state plays an important role as a factor of national power. The large size makes possible the support of a large population and control on large resources. The large size of the state provides strategic depth and strategy options and have the space of more activities and more natural resources, such as agriculture, farming, energy reserves, or scientific experiment. For example, the large size of Russia is difficult for invaders, but another hand large size of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was difficult to control within unity. According to Napoleon, "the policies of all powers are inherent in their geography" (Ibid. p. 88). Additionally, about the size; Morgenthau (2006) argues, in the case of nuclear war state separated its vital assets in ample space, and it can avoid from complete destruction of its population.

This study is about Pakistan, and to know about its geographical position is important for reader. In the south Asia, Pakistan's geographical position, raised its value for other neighbor states. Pakistan is located among two big markets, China and India. Both bordering respectively, North and Eastern sides, and on the western side two Muslim states, Iran and Afghanistan are located.

Also, close distance to Gulf states, and in the north-west are central Asian states. Furthermore, it has coastline with the Arabian sea, which is part of the Indian ocean.

Population

Population as mentioned is another main element of hard power. As a power element, population does not refer only to the number of people in a country, it includes nature and quality of the residents of a state. And it described by using such parameters as, "size, age distribution, geographic distribution, ethnic/religious makeup, quality of individuals, etc." (Ahmad, 2012. P. 89). The larger population is a key parameter, but it is not the complete guarantee as a component of hard power. In the context of geopolitics, quality, quantity, morale, will of people, demographic shifts and population pressures are the important factors of this hard power shape. For instance, Winston Churchill addresses this on March 22, 1943, he said,

"One of the most somber anxieties which beset those who look thirty, or forty, or fifty years ahead, and in this field one can see ahead only too clearly, is the dwindling birth-rate. In thirty years, unless present trends alter, a smaller working and fighting population will have to support and protect nearly twice as many old people; in fifty years the position will be worst still. If this country is to keep its high place in the leadership of the world and to survive as a great power that can hold its own against external pressures, our people must be encouraged by every means to have larger families" (Churchill in Morgenthau et al, 2006. P. 140).

Even though a large population potential for great powers is important, but the availability of skilled people for many tasks are more important. This is because in those tasks providing food, and security (military) to economic and industrial development and other social activities are important. Due to the availability of skilled and useful people, the USA is the sole superpower, as compared to China and India, which have a larger population than the USA. The historical increase in American power comes through major immigration towards it between 1824 to 1924 (Morgenthau et al, 2006. P. 137-140). This population made it more glory and a successful nation as compared to Canada and Australia, which are comparable in territory and development level but too less in population. There must be a balance between population and resources because fewer resources made a large population as a liability on the state. About the current shifting power from west to east, Ahmad (2012) explained as,

"The current shifting of power from west to east owes, besides other factors, to the population trends in the eastern countries, as well, which have the substantial workforce available at their disposal" (p. 89).

Along with having a large population, potentially useful and skilled population in the right age group (between 20-45 years of age) is very important (Ibid.). Overpopulation, as compared to resources and land of any state is also made problems for them. In the case of Pakistan, having with a large no of the population but cannot provides their citizens quality of life. With a weaker and unstable economy, its population is become a burden on the government, instead of increasing state power. One side, lack of education, unskilled and unemployment are the major problem of Pakistan, and other hands rapid growth of its population, are just increasing problems. While on the other hand, China exercises strict birth-control rules, but India has not been able to control its birth ratio soon will pass China as a populist country on earth. This problem hindering India' economic growth, and still half of its population is leaving under the level of poverty (Ibid.).

Military

Military strength, since humans on earth, have been the most important and visible symbol of the country's hard power. In the world of international relations, the proverb 'might is right' is right and perfect in current scenarios. Powerful states show the unjustifiable use of force for pursuing their national interests, and this is the clear sign for the importance of this factor. After the world wars, it was assumed that the world had seen enough destruction, and establishment of the United Nations would provide peace and progress to humanity. However, the lust of humans for power and ego of revenge, the United Nations only become a tool in the hands of powerful states (Freedman, 2015).

Military strength keeps material and non-material factors, which plays a significant role and they are initial for the more powerful military. Ahmad (2012) described these factors as,

"Material factors include such as economy, industrial development, technology, resources, number of men available to fight, etc. And non-material factors such as leadership, quality of the fighting force and their training, the morale of both the force an entire nation, and support of the nation to their forces (P. 96).

For being a military as an effective hard power tool, involvement of these all factors are necessary. When overwhelming influence on national policies comes by the military, countries tend to lose balance and to spend more on their military establishment, which causing an effect on other factors. The collapse of USSR happened due to this and the economic disability in the US is a cause of its extra military adventures all over the world (Ahmad, 2012). In the military, Morgenthau (2006) talked about three more significant factors which are necessary for good military strength; he stated about technology, leadership, and quantity and quality of armed forces.

The importance of technology is the most critical factor in the advancement of the military. Those countries which are not working on the technology in the defense industry, they are dependent on other countries for the provision of latest military hardware and software. The technological difference in military strengths defines victor and loser. Undoubtedly, the current power of the USA military is because of its advanced technology, which assures its superiority around the world. Negligence of advanced technology in the military, only a strong economy, and natural resources play a significant role. In addition to material means, the quality of the fighting force and its leaders increase military strength. Even though in this technological era, the personal charisma of military leaders is becoming less important, but their training, ability to judge the situation, decision-making on time, and sensible use of available resources remain dominant (Ahmad, 2012 & Morgenthau et al, 2006).

Another significant factor of military strength is the quality and quantity of its fighting force (Ibid.). Morgenthau states as, along with quantity if the force is trained and its war arsenals are more advanced, it is called useful military force for any state (Morgenthau et al, 2006). He more emphasized, on the advancement of technology instead of quantity. The future shall belong to smaller, better equipped and better-trained forces.

In the case of Pakistan, it has world six largest armies, but lack of advanced technology and a weak economy, it stands more behind in weak army category. Corrupt politicians are the major cause of the weak economy in the country (Amin, Ahmed, & Zaman, 2013), the weak economy comes in result of a weak military. In this condition, Pakistan needs to take crucial steps, which can grow its weak economy and can increase military strength.

Economy

Strong economy considered, more effective factor as hard power element. It has ability to influences another element of power; natural or social, stable or unstable, tangible or intangible. The economy can cover other individuals' factors like industrial capacity and technology. Due to its importance its gradually taking over from the military as a main influenceable element on another nation or state. No country can maintain its strong military by spending a lot of money, which comes from a strong economy. Even though the country has good geography, a large reserve of natural resources, and large no of armed forces, but without a strong economy, it cannot maintain territorial integrity (Ahmad, 2012 and Morgenthau et al, 2006). Same as in the case of Pakistan, many armed forces, good and meaningful geography, with huge available and suitable land for agriculture, and with some stable natural resources, weak economy dragging it in all steps.

The USSR was the big military power, and geographically it consists on 'heartland' area, which according to Mackinder was the key for world domination; it has almost all resources, but it collapsed due to its weak economy. China is a developing country and is considered as a more influential country in the world after the US, and it got this position due to its strong economy. About this as Mearsheimer (2001) states, "Today, the United States is increasingly worried about China, not because of its military, which is still relatively weak, but because China has more than 1.2 billion people and a rapidly modernizing economy. Should China become especially wealthy, it could readily become a military superpower and challenge the United States" (p. 56). This concern shows that a strong economy is necessary for a strong military. The importance of Gulf states in the region and in the world is due to their oil economy. Globalization and dependence of nation to each other economically and this factor rises the more importance as compared to other all power gain elements (Ahmad, 2012).

In the previous era, the role of the economy was limited and countries more worked on their military strength, and relations with other countries were dependent on the military might the country itself and the military power of its friends and allies. However, now the economy becomes an important tool that increases non-military hard power. Economically strong countries can exercise their power through trade, loans, aid and grants and influences on poorer countries by using carrot and stick (Ibid.). Increasing economic interdependence caused the more important of the economy as an important element of hard power.

2.3.2 Soft power

In the last decade of the 20th century, Joseph Nye Jr used the term 'soft power' and described it in detail. He argued in international world power is not simply the sum of economic and military powers, but now soft power uses attraction instead of coercion for shaping the preferences and opinions of others (Nye, 1990). We can see the face of liberalism in term of soft power elements. Democracy, institutions, interdependence, and respect of other values, through uses of these liberals' elements among others, states are pursuing their national objectives through soft power (Nye, 1990 & Gallarotti, 2015). Instead of the use of hard powers, nowadays, countries getting more international level identity through peacemaking and state-building policies. Alan Chong (2007) more argued about soft power as: "Foreign policy traditionally has a wide range of hard and soft power instruments at its disposal to navigate the global state of nature but given the political uncertainties of opinion presaging action in global information space, soft power, as the long-term propaganda of community discourse, assumes equal importance to hard power" (p. 162).

Many democratic and economic stable countries involve in economic aid all around the world. For example, Norway, with less than 6 million population, neither military giant, is well known all over the world due to its soft power strategies. The United States is the major supporter of soft power, and by using different channels, it is increasing its soft power. The US use this option, through Mass media, democracy, human rights, and economic help throughout the world. China is pursuing a strategy of soft power steps, to increase its power influence, especially by investing money in development and infrastructure in less developed countries.

In international politics, the resources that produce soft power, mainly come through the values an organization, or country spread by its culture, either its shows in internal practices and policies or its relations with others. However sometimes it's difficult to control and employ soft power for the government, but it does not mean it will lose its importance. That's why the projection of soft power is considered more difficult as compared to hard power. even though initially it is difficult, but its benefits will be longer and bring interdependence among states. A former French foreign minister, who observed that the American are powerful because they can "inspire the dreams and desires of others, thanks to the mastery of global image through film and television and because, for these same reasons, large numbers of students from other countries come to the United States to finish their studies" (as cited in Nye, 1990, p. 8).

Sources of Soft Power

Joseph Nye says that soft power comes from its different resources and significantly use of those resources. Those resources allow soft power to play an active role in world politics. Whereas hard power comes through country's economic, technical and military might, soft power comes through the attractiveness of its culture, by spreading political ideas and through different policies (as cited in, Lin & Hongtao, 2017, p. 71-72). In the contemporary world of politics, each country uses different sources of soft power, according to Nye (2008) explained three resources of soft power as shown in figure 3, the more expressed as,

"The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture (in place where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)"(97).

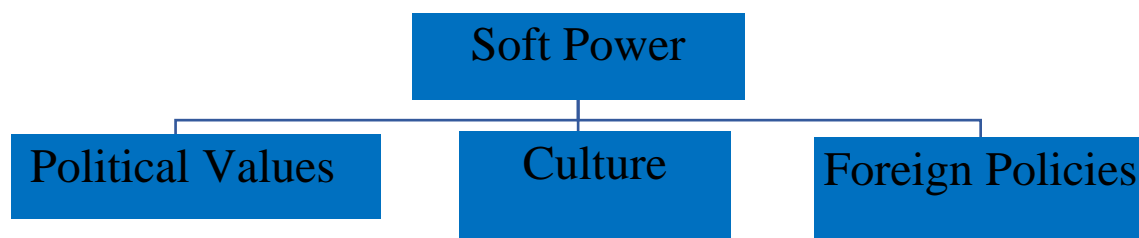


Figure 3: Three sources of Soft power, Culture, Political Values, Foreign Policies.

Source: self-created, adapted from (Raimzhanova 2015, p. 8)

Political Values:

Joseph Nye (2008), discussed, political values as a core element and this component can address the way of any country's soft power (as cited in, Lin & Hongtao, 2017). A country cannot be truly strong if it does not have a powerful ideological system. This ideological system consists of values and appeal, which are an important component of soft power. Furthermore, Nye analyzed, democracy and human rights values become crucial components of soft power. He more argues as "...western democratic countries show democratic priorities and people believe democracy can bring free and equal life. Gradually, democracy becomes universal values" (as cited in, Lin & Hongtao, 2017, p. 71). The USA and European Union (EU) are the main promoters of liberal's

values like, western democratic and human rights values, which increase their soft power influence, especially in developing and fragile states.

China, however, adopted some liberals' aspects, but it owns separate Marxism and economic pragmatism ideologies (Yan, 2018). About China's Marxism ideology, the Chinese government has stated, Marxism is guiding such as "... developing this culture, we must follow the guidance of Marxism, base our efforts on Chinese culture... We must continue to adapt Marxism to China's conditions, keep it up-to-date, and enhance its popular appeal" (as cited in Yan, 2018, p. 7). And this ideology is different from liberals and Islamic values, Islamic values stand with freedom, equal rights for men and women (Mazrui, 1997). But in China, human rights and freedom concept cannot be seen as in the liberal world (Kent, 2013), and the ideology of Muslim world is more different as compared to China's ideology.

Culture:

Culture provides support to the political values of any state. As Nye (1990) states; "Culture is the set of values and practices that create meaning for society. It has many manifestations. It is common to distinguish between high cultures such as literature, art, and education, which appeals to elites, and popular culture, which focuses on mass entertainment" (p. 11). Through the effective role of culture can attract and absorb others and plays an important role in the country's influence. The USA is a major example of using the culture source for increasing its soft power. Freedom of speech, liberty, human rights, and equality can be seen in American culture. America's popular culture is very famous in the world like "America dominates movie, television and electronic communication through ambition and equal trends. Information and popular culture have already increased worlds' attention and openness on American values" (Lin & Hongtao, 2017, p. 72)

Islamic culture keeps its own different aspects as food, social and economic relations stand it different queue against Liberal and Marxist cultures. In the comparison of Pakistan and China's culture, we can see a major difference in religious social values. One side, China is mostly consisting of non-religious population, with communist ideology, and another side majority of Muslim-religious people, with Islamic ideologies. However, in the term of cultural and ideological values, there is a huge difference between Pakistan and China, but geo-economic and geostrategic cooperation can bring both nations closer.

Foreign Policies:

Foreign policy is the method of increasing the country's soft power. Foreign policy is another element of soft power in domestic and on the international level. For making good state's policies, its culture and political values bring significant role, as Yan (2018) stated, "Diplomatic policy, a way of realizing a country's cultural and political values, brings about a country's values recognition and international states through practice" (p. 71). Therefore, the US more attractiveness depends on its foreign policies.

Government policies for internal and external matters are another potential source of soft power, its government policies which provide many national objectives to the state. Foreign policies are soft power tool among states, for achieving national interests (Nye, 2008. Pallaver, 2011 & Raimzhanova, 2015). In the era of globalization and information technology, soft power is increased its importance as compared to hard power. Foreign goals cannot achieve only on the sources of hard power, for this purpose soft power is necessary, according to Nye it can be described as five major points: "economic interdependence, transnational actors, nationalism in weak states, the spread of technology, and changing political issues" (Nye, 1999. P. 160).

China is spreading influence in the regional and non-regional states through its economic development and investment strategies. China is following not interfere policy in the internal matters of other states and bring prosperity and stability through economic development (Yan, 2018 & Lin et al, 2017). However, China is increasing its policy towards energy-rich countries or economic weak countries. China is increasing its relations, especially more strongly with those countries who are part of China's economic ambitions. Pakistan and China keep long term relations, even though both countries had border dispute, but after the border agreement in 1963, relations of both countries are continuously increasing in a good way. Pakistan has its own different policy among other regional states, which brought its national interests.

The achievement of national interests is the main driver of the foreign policy of any country, and so it also aims of Pakistan's foreign policy. Since independence, Pakistan national interest has been struggling for security and economic development, thus Pakistan's foreign policy has a concern about security and economic development. The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam, defined country foreign policy like this: "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We

believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world" (Fatima, 2019, Paragraph. 5).

Thus, Pakistan's major goal of its foreign policies are its security and development, which brings it closer to China. Along with the promotion of peace and prosperity policies in the region, Pakistan shines its foreign policies with other regional states. Like after the breakup of the former Soviet Union, Pakistan was the second country after the Tukey, who accepted Central Asian Republics (CARs) after their independence and assigned with trade and integration treaties (Khan, 2006). Pakistan, especially buildup its relations with its neighbor Muslima brother countries like Iran, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and other Gulf states. And always tried to keep peace and stability in its neighbor countries.

2.3.3 Smart power

The new term of power introduced in 2004 by Nye in the shape of smart power, as figure 4 shows it's a combination of both, soft and hard powers.



Figure 4: Smart power, combination of hard and soft power.

Source: self-created, idea adapted from (Nye 2004 & 2009).

After getting the meaningful results from soft power, successful results of smart power concept have taken significant attention of scholars in policy making and analyzing the power concept (Gallarotti, 2015), and this term is used to attain the objectives of foreign policy. Joseph Nye introduced 'smart power' term to counter the misperception that alone soft power or hard power cannot produce effective foreign policy (Nye, 2009). In this transformed international system, soft and smart power will play a significant role over international outcomes as compared to hard power strategy (Wilson III, 2008). He analyzed more about smart power as,

"Genuinely sophisticated smart power approach comes with the awareness that hard and soft power constitute not simply neutral 'instruments' to be wielded neutrally by an enlightened, all-knowing and independent philosopher king; they themselves constitute separate and distinct institutions and institutional cultures that exert their own normative influences over their members, each with its own attitudes, incentives, and anticipated career paths"(Ibid., p.115).

Now a day, the world becomes less suitable for instruments of hard power, for example, force and threats are more important for those actors that are worried to the limitations of hard power and those opportunities which created by the new global environment to use soft power. Due to smart power, world leaders will be able to make a wider national influence in this changing world. Therefore, many changes stand out in this world. Every government has the desire to find a proper balance among military and non-military aspects of power. Moreover, there are some reasons for taking these steps;

First, the cost of threading and using force among nuclear powers are very dangerous. Due to nuclear arsenals, war is almost unthinkable between two nuclear powers, because both can face too much lost. Furthermore, advanced conventional military technologies hindered even conventional war, because the result will be too expensive. That's why, with the combination of hard and soft power resources allowing nations to achieve sustainable security in the long run (Gallarotti, 2015. P.251). Second, the growth of democracy has changed the use of hard power concept. In democratic states, governments are answerable in front of people in the case of using force. People have power over decision-makers, and they can stop them by generating protests (Ibid.). Democratic principles influence on national leaders towards the use of soft power.

Third, modernization and the close socio-economic and political interdependence decreased the use of hard power (Ibid. p. 252-53). Globalization increases socio-economic relations among different nations, and national and transnational actors are more useful for interdependence network. Availability of interdependence has reduced the use of hard power for achieving national interests. Fourth, in the modern era, people are more sensitives about their economic fates, now the world is influenced by economics and due to economic interdependence, the use of hard power is decreasing (Ibid.). Under democratic rules now society is more concern about their economic stability, and in result elected governments always like to work for the betterment of society. Fifth, the growth of international organizations and regimes in post-war period nations are attached in

cooperation. In result, nations are increasingly functioning in a world of law and norms and working beyond them will be costly for states. These institutions have raised the minimum level of behavior in international politics, in result raised the importance of soft and hard power uses (Ibid.).

In the case of Pakistan, one side, it has a rivalry situation with its neighbor India since independence from 1947. Both countries have nuclear arsenals, and they fought four wars about the territory issue of Kashmir. Both countries spend billions of Rupees on their defense budgets, and most of the both countries' population are living below the poverty line. And another side, Pakistan's have not too many good relations with two Islamic bordered countries, Iran and Afghanistan, but only have very good relations with China with some Gulf states, like Saudi Arabia and UAE. For bringing peace and prosperity in the region, economic cooperation can bring prosperity and peace in the region.

Summary:

This chapter provided an overview of the understanding of various definitions of power concepts. First, I explored the concept of power, how it can be understood and its importance in international relations. Then I looked at power in two different theoretical approaches; liberalism and realism. Liberalism described that any state can achieve their national goals by using soft power, and realist stated that hard power is the way of achieving national goals. Furthermore, this chapter defined what is a national power, and as national power divided in this study in hard and soft powers, provided a deep understanding of chosen elements of both power shapes. Finally, I highlighted why some states prefer to choose smart power strategies.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will include description of qualitative research approach, justification of research method, research design which applied to sample and analyze data, and different methodological approaches implemented to carry out this study. Explanation of ethical consideration, which have used during conducting research as well as limitations of the study, will also be elaborated.

3.1 Qualitative Research approach

In this research qualitative research method was used. Because, for conducting this research it's important to identify most useful and relative methodological approach.

3.2 Justification of the method

Bryman (2016) has well explained the qualitative research approach focused on understanding a phenomenon, which is relevant according to the study. The aim of this research was to formulate the research question (s) and tried to understand the possible answers in this area. As compared to quantitative research, qualitative research produces meaning from the analysis of words rather than quantification of numbers (Bryman, 2016). The qualitative research process is not fixed, but it is flexible and adjustable for research objectives (Bryman, 2016).

In this study, the qualitative research approach suits it for several reasons. First, this approach commonly seeks to answer by "why" and "how" types of questions about human experiences. In the qualitative research method, it is flexible to adopt more than one method or source of data to explore social phenomena. Its unstructured nature allows adopting different methods for data collection and analysis.

In this desk study, based on secondary data, the investigation of the case of CPEC and influences the power of Pakistan were elaborated. The desk study was chosen, because this research is about the influence of CPEC project, which is now on initial stages, and instead of field work mostly related information will be easy access through desk study. The literature review has helped in building the aim of this study. The data was collected by interviewing two participants (participant 1 was a professor from the International relations department and participant 2 was a guest student of post-doc) from Karachi University (Pakistan). Both participants were given information about

CPEC related issues. which I did not found clearly in secondary resources. Participant 1 talked about China's soft power effects, facing dominating communist culture impacts on Pakistan's Islamic culture and democratic values. And participant 2, talked about provincialism in Pakistan, which may hinder significant outcomes from CPEC, he argued about Baluchistan situation, where mainly land and resources are from Baluchistan but getting fewer benefits from CPEC projects.

3.3 Limitations of Qualitative approach

As the qualitative method has some positive features, the same as it has negative features. Critiques on the qualitative method cover three areas. First, its findings rely on the researcher's subjective interpretation. That's why, this method is too subjective, and due to its subjective interpretations, the possibility of important findings might be overlooked or excluded. Second, qualitative study frequently based on small sample units, and due to small sample units, it's difficult to apply data findings on other relevant cases. Thus, the scope of its findings is restricted to other researchers to work on the same study. Third, it is sometimes difficult in qualitative research, what the researcher did and how she/he got a study conclusion. (Bryman, 2016 & Christoffersen et al., 2011). For good and significant qualitative research needs quality and reliability in the research process.

3.4 Quality in Qualitative research

Trustworthiness

Quality in any research method is one of the important aspects of the study. Therefore, all researchers are concerned about the quality of research while they are conducting it. Reliability and validity, both are common tools for assessing the quality of qualitative/quantitative researches (Bryman, 2016). Reliability and validity provide criteria to bear connotations of measurement in qualitative research. Bryman (2016) and Christoffersen et. al (2011) suggested trustworthiness evaluation of the quality of qualitative research. These four criteria can be used to evaluate the quality of a qualitative study.

Credibility

Credibility defines many possible accounts of social realities. Credibility will ensure that the research process is acceptable for those people to whom the study is relevant. For this research must be carried out according to best practices, and to obtaining confirmation by the social world. Here I used two techniques to ensure credibility, respondent validation, and triangulation. The first

one is "...a process whereby a researcher provides the people whom he or she has conducted research with an account of his or her findings" (Bryman, 2016, p.385). The second one is a process in which a researcher adopts more than one method or source of collecting data for achieving more confidence in findings (Bryman, 2016, p.386). for bringing credibility in this study research, I chose triangulation in, interviews and in secondary data. And for analyzing data I combined content and case study analysis methods for answering the research question and for required objectives.

Transferability

Qualitative research's findings are about the social world, in which transferability is about producing enough detail about a culture. That is why, a reader has enough data or information to judge possible transferability of the researcher's findings in different aspects of the social world (Bryman, 2016, p. 384). This research gives details about hard and soft elements of power in Pakistan, and due to these effective elements, how CPEC will influence the power position of Pakistan. Under the umbrella of literature about power and theories about it, the reader can judge the influences of CPEC project on Pakistani power position.

Dependability

Dependability in qualitative research is the same as reliability in quantitative research, and this relates to investigating data (Bryman, 2016). Dependability in qualitative research, data can be providing an open and detailed description of the research process and all data and methods which I used for analysis.

Confirmability

In qualitative research, recognizing that complete objectivity is impossible, only the researcher's act will increase faith in the research process. Confirmability in qualitative research, including the reader in the research process, avoid letting personal values and wrong theoretical interpretation can influence the research process and findings (Bryman, 2016, p.386). Findings in this study come through careful analysis and discussion of secondary sources. The content in chapter 4 and 5 will lead towards the conclusion of this study.

3.5 Research Design-Case Study

In this research paper, a qualitative research approach was used, and it's known as social research as well. In social research, the research design is the framework for data collection and analysis of collected data. In this research, a case study research design was applied. A case study is an empirical, detailed and intensive study of any single case; the aim is to investigate relevant phenomenon within its actual context because the borders between context and the phenomenon are unclear (Christoffersen, Johannessen, & Tufte, 2011). In the case of study research, simple of the case can be identified in different ways; such as a location, a group of people, an event or an organization. In this case study, the case analyzed to CPEC. In the case study, the unit of analysis should be clear and outlined. The research focuses on CPEC and aims to analyze the influence of CPEC on Pakistan's power position by examining hard and soft power elements. After hard and soft power elements, smart power strategies were evaluated.

3.5.1 Data collection

Data collection in qualitative research is different from quantitative research. Quantitative data collection is generally revolving around probability sampling, but data collection in qualitative research methods revolve around purposive sampling (Bryman, 2016). Purposive sampling is a simple way to the collection of relevant data for a given case study. Data collection in the case study is flexible, and I used this advantage at the time of choosing a case study research design. Therefore, the opportunity for typical case sampling was taken. According to Bryman (2016), typical case sampling is "Sampling a case because it exemplifies a dimension of interest" (p. 409).

The typical sampling approach is suitable for this research because the aim of this research is to explore the influence of CPEC on power position of Pakistan by exploring hard and soft power elements. Thereby, typical case sampling can help to gather meaningful information about the case. Generally, the research question can be good guidelines for sampling the beneficial data.

3.5.2 Secondary data

In this research, the data collected through secondary resources. I collected secondary data from archives, government documents, books, policy reports, mass-media outputs, internet sources, magazines, and scientifically reviewed articles. Different sources of collecting secondary data cannot be reliable equally, about the reliability of secondary sources, Bryman (2016) argues about this problem. He argues that sources as mass-media outcomes are less reliable as compare to

scientifically reviewed articles because mass-media outputs mostly unclear and therefore the authenticity of mass-media can be questionable. Thus, in this study is based on mainly scholarly books, journals, and articles, and took less information from mass-media sources. Because, with peer-reviewed articles, authorship is easier to establish. In this study about CPEC, mainly data used from google scholar, instead of mass-media. Google scholar is reliably providing good and related information (Bryman, 2016). Bryman (2016) also argues about the secondary sources; the researcher plays an important role in carefully evaluate those secondary sources. At the time of evaluating secondary sources, the researcher should ask from himself/herself four questions, as Bryman states;

1. *Authenticity*. Is the evidence genuine and of questionable origin?
2. *Credibility*. Is the evidence-free from error and distortion?
3. *Representativeness*. Is the evidence typical of its kind, and if not, is the extent of its untypicality known?
4. *Meaning*. Is the evidence clear and comprehensible?" (Bryman, 2016, p. 546).

With following all Bryman's advice in mind, I have evaluated and reviewed all secondary sources data which I collected from a combination of academic articles, books, and official documents channels.

3.5.3 Interviews

In qualitative research, interviews are probably more common for collecting data of research. Bryman (2015) argues about this reason "ethnography usually involves a substantial number of interviews, which undoubtedly contributes to the widespread use of the interview by qualitative researchers" (Bryman, 2015: p,466). Collecting the data in qualitative research through interviews is flexible and this way is attracting to interviewers for getting data through this social interaction process. Qualitative and quantitative researchers like different methods of interviews. In a quantitative method, the researcher uses structured interviews process, in which at the begging researchers set of fixed questions and ask in a close-ended way. Structured interviews in quantitative research method are more valuable, as Bryman (2015) states that "to maximize the reliability and validity of measurement of key concepts because the researchers have a specified set of research questions to be investigated." (p, 466).

In contrast, qualitative researchers use unstructured and semi-structured interviews. The main difference between these two types, unstructured interviews consists more of conversation, in which interviewer might only have prepared one question and lets to interviews respond freely. However, in semi-structured interviews, the interviewer has pre-pared interview guide in which initial research ideas are more open-ended, and it provides flexibility to emphasize the viewpoints of interviewees on the spot (Bryman, 2015). In this research, mainly data was collected through secondary sources and fewer data from primary sources. However, only getting data from secondary sources will not enable me to find out the answer of research question and objectives, and I felt some other source to get some more knowledge which may push me towards the end.

I already have planned to visit Pakistan in last week of December 2019, it was family visit, but it provides me the opportunity to collect some interviews from professors and students from Karachi University (International Relations department). There I got two interviews, one from post-doc student who was writing on CPEC and he claimed that two of his articles will be published in April 2019. And another interview from professors of International relations department, because nowadays CPEC is the more talkative topic in Pakistan, thus, most of the study topics in international relations department linked to CPEC and I got related information and data from there, which described in point 3.1.1. Firstly, I used unstructured way of interviews, mainly when collected interview from a professor, and described the aim of my study research and research question, and objectives. In conversation mode, I got some relevant knowledge about my study objectives. I had a notebook and written major points of an interview in it, which given me new information. Secondly, at the time of interview from post-doc interviewer, I made semi-structured interview design and with his permission, recorded in my cell phone.

3.5.4 Analysis

In qualitative research, there are many ways and types of data analysis. Among all, the mixed method and triangulation approaches are popular. Triangulation allows more accurate and comprehensive analysis, it can be defined as in this approach multiple viewpoints generate more accuracy (Kohlbacher, 2006). Triangulation can be implemented on a different level in research. Firstly, when the researcher uses different sources of data, as I did in this study. Secondly, when the researcher takes both qualitative and quantitative steps during the analysis process. Lastly,

when we include more than one method for analyzing, such as I used content analysis and case study analysis (Bryman, 2016; Kohlbacher, 2006).

The content analysis method is useful for analyzing data and check theoretical issues for better understanding the data it can be possible by uncovering and underlying themes (Bryman, 2016, Kohlbacher, 2006). This process consists of three steps: preparation, organizing, and reporting. In the case study approach, "data collection and analysis are developed in iterative process" ;(Kohlbecher, 2006. P. 10). And argued one of its advantages that it allows for developing theories based on empirical evidence. In this case study, I combined these two approaches to the analysis process. I approached the data as suggested by Elo and Kyngäs (2008) in an open coding matter. Open coding is included writing down headings in the text while reading it, in result reading through the text again to enable me to describe all aspects of the content. During the coding process, I tried deferent ways to find meaning, like organizing data according to central themes in 'Power' literature, and also organizing data according to the context of Power in CPEC, including selected hard and soft power elements. During this process, different categories appeared and enabled me to interpret data.

3.6 Ethical considerations

In social research, rules and principles of ethical responsibilities also apply as like any business. Bryman (2016) described main areas of ethical responsibilities in social research in four aspects; "1. Whether there is harm to participants, 2. Whether there is a lack of informed consent, 3. Whether there is an invasion of privacy, 4. Whether deception is involved" (p. 125). All researchers, in social research, should consider these four aspects carefully to that, any step of the research process not be harmful to participants, never be lacks informed consent, not to invades privacy or not to deprives anyone. In this research, I always care about some main steps to ensure my ethical responsibility as a researcher. Most important and firstly, I have followed the principles of citing data which I used in the study to credit the source. Secondly, during the interviews, I made sure to get verbal informed consent from all five participants one by one. That, without their permission I cannot share those all knowledge which I got from them. Even though, my research does not reveal any sensitive personal information that may harm or deprive anyone.

3.7 Thesis limitations

During the research process, researchers may face some problems, which can be influenced by research results. In qualitative case studies as Bryman (2016) noted, this study raises challenges in terms of external validity. These challenges affected the ability of study for other cases. According to Bryman's argument, finding in this study is not necessarily acceptable for other power getting ways through any mega project. A discourse analysis of Power in different shapes via some hard and soft power components could have been a suitable approach for this study. This discourse analysis would allow me to understand the impact of certain power components. And how those power elements will be more effective through CPEC and will increase the power of Pakistan. Case study approach enabled me to look deeper into CPEC's context, and how it will influence the power position of Pakistan, describing 'power' is this study's primary objective.

Chapter 4: Background of Study- The Context of CPEC

Introduction:

This chapter provides background knowledge about the ancient Silk Route and its re-emerging in the shape of One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative. China-Pakistan trade relations must be introduced because this thesis is based on the economics of these two countries. Thus, this chapter also provides a brief introduction to China-Pakistan trade relations. Furthermore, this chapter provides the related information about CPEC, what is this? And its details, to understand its worth to influence Pakistan's power elements. Finally, a section is about 'Gwadar port', through evaluating, the importance of Gwadar port for China, Pakistan's geographical position will be described in south Asian region.

4.1 The Ancient Silk Routes

Its universal trend that, human beings have always moved from one place to other places, connected through trade with neighbors, exchange goods, skills, and ideas. For a long time, Eurasia was interlinked with different paths of trade and communications routes, this linked network is known as the Silk Roads; it contained routes across land and sea, along which silk and many other goods were exchanged between different countries and people across the world. This ancient route covered 8000 km from Eastern China to Eastern and through Western Europe (UNESCO, 1993). And it was established around the start of the first century before the Common Era (100 BCE) (Ibid.). This ancient route not only included Chinese and European, but regions of Central Asia, and the Middle East and people from Huns, Mongols, Iranians, Arabs, and Turks. This silk route acted as a channel of communication between these diverse cultures, during its 1600 years of existence (Ibid.).

The term of 'The Silk Road' came from German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen in the late 19th century (UNESCO, 1988), and this shows that mainly it used for silk trade, from China to other rest of world. However, these silk routes were used for many centuries, but by using sea routes between Asia, Europe and Africa reduced the importance of land Silk route. After centuries of the decline of China's position in trade matters, now again in the 21st century, it becomes the second largest economic power in the world (China Daily, 2018). Thus, in the search of new

markets and energy reserve in Asia, Europe and in Africa, China is re-building the ancient Silk Route.

4.2 Defining One Belt One Road (OBOR)

China's President Xi Jinping announced two announcements in September and October 2013 respectively. First was made in Kazakhstan, where he announced the 'Silk Road Economic Belt' and second announcement made in Indonesia, where he announced the 'Maritime Silk Road', and together these both know as 'One Belt One Road (OBOR)' (Bhoothalingam, 2016). Other land base pillars of OBOR as shown in (figure 1), China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor (CMREC), Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIMEC), China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor (CIPEC), China-Central and West Asia Economic Corridor (CCWAEC), (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and the new Eurasian Land Bridge (NELB) (Rahman & Shurong, 2017).



Figure: 5. Routes of OBOR initiative, different corridors & project. Both routes (Silk road economic belt & Maritime Silk road) meet via CPEC at Gwadar port, located close to Gulf region.

Source: (Eurasia Review, as cited in, Rahman & Shurong, 2017).

The CPEC joined both (Economic Silk belt and Maritime Silk road) at Gwadar port, located close to the Persian Gulf and Middle East countries.

This initiative of OBOR focus on bringing together many regions around the world as, (Du & Zhang, 2018) described " China, Central Asia, Russia, Central and Eastern Europe, and Western Europe, linking China with the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea through Central Asia and West Asia, and connecting China with Southeast Asia, South Asian and the Indian Ocean" (p. 190).

About the importance of 'OBOR' in Chinese official statements, this project represents a modern reinvention of the ancient Silk Road that highlights "mutual trust, equality, inclusiveness, and mutual learning, and win-win cooperation," and it has "far-reaching strategic significance with a global impact" (Johnson, 2016. P. 1). However, this project is now on its initial stage, as the completion of all economic corridors and its go on vision, Chinese official sources claimed, it directly benefiting a population of 4.4 billion or 63% of the global population, and this accounts of US\$21 trillion annually GDP, equal to 29% of world wealth (Ibid., p. 1). This project connects more than 65 countries, and 75% of known energy reserves (Cheng, Song, & Huang, 2017).

OBOR can be viewed as the most important driver for China's long-term development strategy, tool of foreign policy and more useful for its own economy. In the OBOR initiative, which consists on new roads, bridges, railway tracks, dams, seaports, and economic zone along with different economic corridors, will provide to use its own existing well-developed engineering and constructions capabilities, materials and equipment and self-developed technologies (PwC, 2016). This project has the capability of jointly building the "community of shared interest, shared destiny and shared responsibility" with all countries who exist along with this project and part of it (Zhu, 2018). In the era of globalization, peace and prosperity in the world are the interdependencies between the countries within cooperation.

OBOR is connecting China with its surrounding countries directly or indirectly. China is already economically collaboration with South-East countries through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) plate form, and through OBOR China will engage more with those states. In South of China, China's border is attached to Nepal, Bhutan, Bangla-Daish, India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan (Ibid.). Besides with these countries in South of Asia, Indian Ocean plays a very important role in global trade, it facilitates two-third of the global oil shipment from Western-Asian like Gulf states towards many East-Asian countries (Khalid, 2007). In South-Asia, China's has strategic objectives, mainly to secure its economic interests. China is looking at its economic interests, because it is world's second largest economy, the largest trade power, the largest foreign

exchange reserve and the second largest energy consumer, and its dependency on foreign trade more than 50%, dependent it on global resources and trade (Zhu, 2018, p. 116).

Geographically China has land borders with the largest numbers in the world, with 14 countries, in which 1/3 around the 5000km length of the border is with South-Asian countries (Ibid.p.171). By looking its geographical layout, in East, China has the longest coastline with Western Pacific, and in West, the Xinjiang area of China is the border with Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and other oil countries in Central Asia (Ibid.). The Xinjiang area borders with Pakistan, from where China can get access to the Gulf region. According to the geographical location of Pakistan, China is working on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) for fulfilling her energy requirements. This project is not even boosting trade relations between Chin & Pakistan, but also with the other regional countries.

4.3 Pak-China trade relations (A brief history)

The most prominent neighbor of South Asia is China, and it follow the economic investment policy in regional and non-regional states, for increasing its power influence. With enormous economic growth, China is playing a central role in every area of international relations as a center of growth. About China's economic strategy, Tennakoon, (2012) argued as, "since 1978, she has pursued a policy of gradual transition from a centrally planned economy to a market-based economy coupled with an 'open door' policy that involved substantial liberalization of international trade and investment regime" (p. 129). China implementing this approach by improving port connections, more roads, up gradation of border infrastructure and deepening political and trade relations are rapidly increase the China-South relations in every aspect (Javaid & Javaid, 2016). Therefore, China is spreading its strategic and economic interests throughout the regional states, for this purpose, it is developing ports to expanding markets for goods and services and increasing its influence in natural resource regions. (Ibid.).

Pakistan is important country of South Asia, and with China it shared common interests and goals in regional peace and stability. Pakistan and China established trade and commercial ties in the 60s, and between them, the first bilateral trade agreement was signed in 1963. In 2006 and later 2009, both countries signed the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) (Ibid., p. 128). China is Pakistan's second largest trading partner after the US, and now through with mega investment in Pakistan's economy, China considers as greatest economic hope for Pakistan's weak and unstable economy. With shared

interests both countries signed numerous agreements in the field of economic cooperation and free trade (Ibid.).

After 9/11, changes have been seen in the regional and international situation, being a part of 'War of Terror' Pakistan's economy was declining, and foreign investment reduced due to security situation in Pakistan. And that time China took a new phase of understanding and cooperation and invested billions of dollars in the Pakistan.

4.4 China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

After the end of the bipolarity, as the end of former the Soviet Union, the process of globalization got motivation, and geo-economic got more attention over geo-strategic priorities. In result, new models of bilateral, regional and global economic integrations within the domain of economic globalization, added significance increase in economic development (Kalim, 2017). For achieving the goal of economic development this framework is useful in all over the world. Pakistan and China have also realized the importance of this bilateral trend and both countries institutionalize their bilateral trade. And now we can see this bilateral step in the shape of CPEC.

During the visit of Pakistan in April 2015, Chinese president Xi Jinping announced about major Foreign direct investment in Pakistan. Initially, this investment estimated US\$ 46 billion for CPEC, and the whole project will be completed until 2030 (Afridi & Khalid, 2016). About initiative of CPEC, Afridi and Khalid more argued as, "The CPEC is a holistic, comprehensive package of competitive economic initiatives from China, just the energy projects once initiated will kick-start an industrial boom in Pakistan." (p. 660). Therefore, China and Pakistan signed 51 memorandums of understanding (MOU), along with the plan of CPEC (Javaid & Javaid, 2016). This bilateral trade process with deeper economic cooperation through linkage in trade, energy, communication, infrastructure, and connectivity will strengthen the process of economic development and a prosperous destiny may be shared (Ibid., p. 128).

As the above suggests, CPEC has the potential to generate new employment opportunities and open the door for new economic activities in the region. CPEC is not only providing the way of trade between China and Pakistan, but it will focus in many ways as Hussain (2016) stated "It will focus on technical and economic cooperation, construction of rail and road networks, and construction of industrial zones, new trade linkages, new oil and gas pipelines, and cables projects. It will also

increase social connectivity among people and exchange of ideas at political and cultural level" (p.149).

The whole project of CPEC will be completed in three phases, first phase will be finished in 2020, second 2025, and third in 2030 (Javaid & Javaid, 2016) At the plate-form of CPEC, Pakistan and China, combined working on many projects, related to energy generating plants, and many infrastructure projects in all over the country. Table 1 describes estimated cost for all projects differently, it shows 21 projects of energy (Hydro, coal, wind, nuclear), and four projects of transport infrastructures (rail and road) and eight projects related to Gwadar port (including special economic zone).

Table 1: CPEC projects with an estimated cost

Sr. No.	Sector	No. of Projects	Estimated Cost (Million \$)
01	Energy	21	33,793
02	Transport Infrastructure	4	9,784
03	Gwadar	8	792.62

Source: Board of Investment, Government of Pakistan (2019).

However, the CPEC is the initiative of China, and in the term of geostrategic and geo-economic, it will provide many benefits to China, which I describe in the next section. Besides this, CPEC has more potential to boost Pakistan's economy (Ibid.), and Gwadar port can become an economic hub for regional and non-regional countries.

4.5 The importance of Gwadar port for China

Gwadar is closer to the Gulf region as compare to Karachi, and its located in the same coastline of Arabian sea. The deepest port of Gwadar keeps geo-strategic and geo-economic interests for China, before the construction of Gwadar port as Sering states, "...China always found its security interests compromised due to its incapability to monitor the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean region (Sering cited in, Kalim, 2017, p. 467). And Chinese aware that Pakistan can only provide the shortest and feasible entrance to the Persian Gulf (Ibid.). Security in the Persian Gulf is very important for China, as figure 2 shows, in 2017 China imports 52% its oil from this region (Rahman

& Shurong, 2017) and rest of 48% import from rest of the world. This strategic point pushed Beijing to construct Gwadar in order to safeguard its energy supply from the Gulf region and maintain its presence in the Indian Ocean to monitor US and India's naval activities (Kalim, 2017).

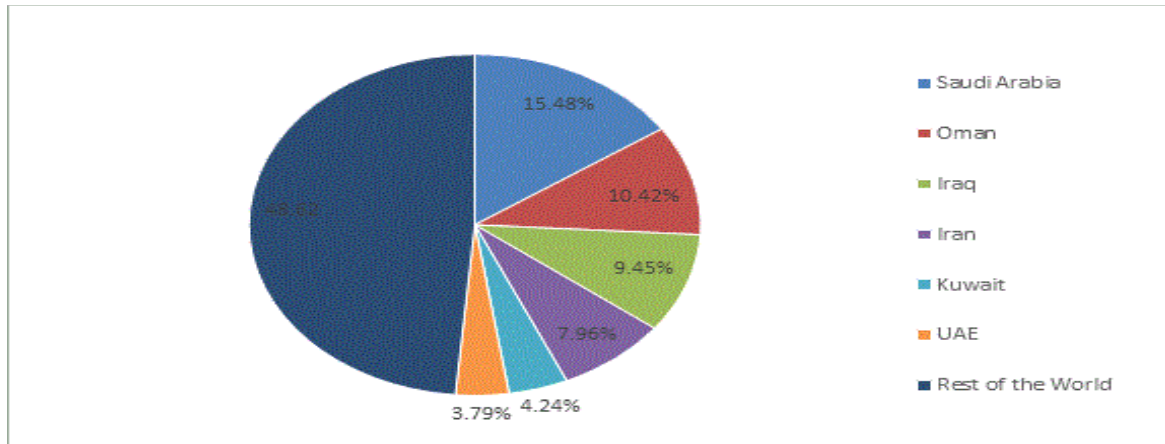


Figure 6: Chinese Oil imports, 52% oil import from Middle East region

Source: (World’s top export, as cited in, Rahman & Shurong, 2017).

As China receives its 52% oil from the Middle East and 30% receiving from Africa and passing through the Indian Ocean via Strait of Malacca (Kalim, 2017). Before launching the Gwadar port, it was a weak point for China to passing through Strait of Malacca, in the presence of Indian and US Naval forces (Ibid.). Two major naval powers around Strait of Malacca strategically is not in the favor of China. Because in case of war with the US and India, or in case of piracy, China's oil supply route can be blocked. Not even oil shipment but other trade shipments can be affected, which will affect China's economy. Not even strategically, but also important for economically and logistically, trade and oil supply through Gwadar port to China's industrial mainland significantly reducing the distance from 16000 to 2500 km (Ibid.). Shipments through Strait of Malacca takes more time to China's western region as compare to Gwadar port.

Geographically, China divides into eastern, central and western parts (Saeed, 2011). After economic reforms, the Chinese government more focused on the eastern part which is also known as the coastal region. Almost 60% of China's western region, along with some part of central its behind from as compared to the eastern region, in term of development and economic progress (Kalim, 2017). Also, in the Xinjiang province, China's largest and less populated province, facing Uighurs movement of self-determination (Malik, 2012). Chinese ‘Go West’ strategy will be useful

for this province, as development and economic activities create prosperity in this region. And this situation can reduce the separation movement of Uighurs (Ibid.). Through building industrial zones in this province, China can get the nearest access to CARs, Afghanistan to fulfill its energy requirements not even in western part but much for other parts (Ibid.).

With taking many benefits from CPEC, China is also working to imports of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) from Iran (Kalim, 2017). To fulfill its natural gas demand increased in China, due to its rapid economic growth, driven it to become the third largest importer of natural gas (Ibid.). That is why, China is encouraging the construction of West-to-East gas pipelines in 2002, to fulfill its gas energy requirements in demanding areas (Ibid.). However, CPEC has much worth to benefits China's step towards the more economic giant.

Summary

The ancient Silk route was the economic route from Eastern China until the ancient Roman Empire, and it created economic integrations with different regions along this route. The CPEC is an important part of the OBOR. The initiative of OBOR is China's strategy to re-emerge of the ancient Silk Route. Through OBOR many countries are attached to one platform. The port of Gwadar is considered very crucial for China's strategic and economic ambitions. Through this project, China can develop its western region, which can reduce the security problems from Uighurs Muslims. For access to Gwadar port, one side, China is working on CPEC projects, which are necessary for Pakistan's weak and unstable economy and another side Gwadar port will provide many strategic and economic benefits.

Chapter 5: CPEC and Pakistan's National power elements

Introduction

This chapter consists of CPEC influence on Pakistan's national power elements. As I described national power elements in hard and soft power shapes. Thus, this chapter will analyze, CPEC influence on four pillars of Pakistan's hard power, geography, population, military, and economy. Furthermore, this chapter will analyze CPEC influence on three sources of Pakistan's soft power, political values, culture, and foreign policies. Lastly, this chapter will provide Pakistan's smart power strategies with the perspective of CPEC. In which ways CPEC will influence Pakistan's power elements, this chapter will give detail about it.

5.1 CPEC and Pakistan's hard Power elements

CPEC is the multidimensional projects, it does not only provide China's access to Gulf states, but it has worth to influence Pakistan's hard power elements. Point 2.3.1, has given the brief introduction about the recent situation of Pakistan's hard power elements. In this study, mainly Pakistan's hard power elements are unstable and weak to utilize their actual power capabilities. In the following section, CPEC influence on Pakistan's hard power elements will be discussed. To explore the influence of CPEC on mainly Pakistan's weak and unstable hard power elements.

5.1.1 CPEC and Geography of Pakistan

Geographically, Pakistan is surrounded by many important countries and places. In Eastern side is India, the world second populist country and rising economy with average of 8% annually growth (The Economic Times, 2018). In South, it has 1100 kms coastline with Arabian sea, which provides way to Indian Ocean (Malik, 2012), in West, borders with oil and rich of natural resources two Islamic states Iran and Afghanistan (Ibid.). In South-East, closed to oil rich Gulf states are located. In North, Pakistan border with 2nd largest economy, China, and through China or Afghanistan easy access to Central Asian Republics (CARs) (Ibid.).

As Malik (2012) argued, “geographical environment is considered as one of the important factors influencing the development of human society. The most critical element of the environment is sea, which occupies almost three-quarters of the surface of earth” (p. 57). Therefore, for taking advantage from Pakistan's geographical location, and to getting access in Indian Ocean and Strait of Hormuz, China is building Gwadar port in Pakistan.

The deep seaport of Gwadar is in the Pakistani province of Baluchistan, known as rich in natural resources. Baluchistan shared its borders with Iran and Afghanistan. Gwadar is the small city of Baluchistan with a population of 227, 984 having 12, 637 square kilometers area (Malik, 2012). Gwadar is located at the mouth of Persian Gulf and near to world trading route, named Strait of Hormuz. Pakistan declared its as 'Gwadar Port' in 1964 (Kataria & Naveed, 2014). Gwadar port has potential for getting the status of a center piece as it located on the gate of Hormuz, it can compete with the United Arab Emirates UAE ports by providing land routes to Caspian region. About the importance of Gwadar Port, former Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf said,

“if we see this whole region, it is like a funnel. The top of the funnel is this wide area of Central Asia and also China’s western region. And this funnel gets narrowed on through Afghanistan and Pakistan and the end of this funnel is Gwadar port. So, this funnel, futuristically, is the economic funnel of this whole region” (Malik, 2012, p. 57).

After fully functional, Gwadar port give access to landlocked countries of Afghanistan, and all Central Asian Republic to deep water sea. Location of Gwadar port declared its regional hub, because it is in the center of Middle East, Persian Gulf, South East Asia, Afghanistan, Central Asian republics, and Iran (Kataria & Naveed, 2014). CPEC is starting from the Kashgar¹ city of Xinjiang autonomous region, entering in Pakistan at Khenjrab pass, passing all provinces of Pakistan and end in the Gwadar port (Afridi & Khalid, 2016). Location of Gwadar port is attractive part not only for China in all CPEC projects, but it can worth to become as Pakistan’s economic hub in the region. China is launching CPEC project in Pakistan for using its Gwadar port.

Even though, through China’s huge investment, geographically Pakistan will get many advantages, but on other side, China have taken Gwadar port for 40 years lease initially (Marex, 2017). Which shows China’s influence on Pakistan’s important seaport, and this can decrease the benefits of Gwadar Port for Pakistan. However, it is a Pakistan’s geographical position which can play significant role to increase its remaining national power elements, which will be described as hard and soft power elements.

¹ The capital city of Xinjiang, where China is building Special economic zones (SEZs)

5.1.2 CPEC and Population of Pakistan

A large amount of educated and skilled population is necessary for greater country power. According to 2017 census, Pakistan's population is more than 200 million (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2019) and the majority are under 30 age. With a large no of the youngest population, Pakistan is more behind in economic and human development among many countries. Due to a weak economy, the State of Pakistan is facing an important national power element of the population, as a burden, resultingly ratio of unemployment is increasing on an annual basis. Even though, a country blessed with many natural resources, one of the largest irrigation systems, four seasons, coastline, and large army (Pakistan insider, 2011). But a weak economy, unemployment, and low education standard are hindering Pakistan's population as an effective national power element.

According to some scholars in Pakistan, the CPEC is considered as a game changer for Pakistan, this project keeps worth to overcome on many challenges in Pakistan (Butt & Butt, 2015, Malik, 2015 & Kalim, 2017). By the completion of energy projects and development of new infrastructure, growth of the industrial sector and small traders are interlinked with national or international markets. The CPEC is not the only a project of the road of connectivity, it will provide integration among people in different regions of the country. According to the study survey, new development of infrastructure and creation of economic zones estimated to the creation of 700,000 new jobs between 2015 to 2030 (Haq & Farooq, 2016).

A large number of populations allows Pakistan to keep the 6th largest army in the world (Statista, 2019). But with weak in economy and technology, need assistant from developed countries. Along with CPEC, China's is looking to more establish Pakistan army to stand against Indian rivalry. Moreover, along with CPEC project, the population of Pakistan will have opportunities to establish their standard of education, health, security, and technological skills. As many new centers opened for skill education, the opening of the new hospital along with CPEC domestic routes, more check posts, and monitoring system are allocating in domestic routes (Ijaz, 2018 & Abrar, 2016). Construction of new economic zones encourages more chance to the building of new cities along with CPEC. This demographic change of population can increase Pakistan's strategic position. More proportions of the population will reduce the pressure on current populated cities like Karachi and Lahore.

About the importance of population is linked with other components of hard power like Economy and Military, advancement in an economy direct effect on the standard of people's life. And more people can provide more men force to new industry and for different branches in Military as well. In the case of CPEC, more assistance from Chinese officials can increase the ability of Pakistani professionals. And this experience can help to Pakistani officials to work for other domestic projects.

5.1.3 CPEC and Military of Pakistan

In the study of international relations, few topics are more important. Military power is widely considering as very important variable in international relations, because the use of it, creates disputes and shapes relationships among states even when it is not used (Beckley, 2010). About the importance of the military, Beckley (2010) stated as, "...military power influences patterns of international cooperation, trade policy, economic development, identity construction, and of course, war causation and termination" (p. 45). He more argues that there is a strong correlation between economic development and military effectiveness (p. 73). More economical strong countries can achieve stronger military capability. Economic stable countries can create more effective military, through modernization and technological cooperation with other powerful states.

Military strengths consider very important pillar of Pakistan's national power. Pakistan has world 6th largest army, and 6th largest nuclear arsenal with 145 nuclear warheads (Statista, 2019 & Arms Control Association, 2018). But according to Global Fire Power in Army strength ranking (2019), it stands on 17th rank. Even though behind from Egypt and Iran, and this gap can be filled through good economic growth and military cooperation with any powerful and advance country like USA, Russia or either China. Pakistan has long military and economic relations with the USA, in the past, for military equipment Pakistan most rely on the USA. But according to independent arms research institute (SIPRI) Stockholm International Peace Research Institute shows data between 2008 to 2018, China supplied weapons worth \$6.4 billion and the US supplied \$2.5 billion to Pakistan (as cited in Pubby, 2019). Showing Pakistan military shift towards China. Pakistan needs arm forces capabilities to play important role in insurance of good security situation in the country. And in the result of peaceful atmosphere, all economic outcomes will be possible from CPEC.

As discussed earlier, CPEC is a very important part of China's OBOR initiative. And due to the Gwadar port strategical position, it's very important for China to keep the CPEC route secure.

therefore, it is best for China to increase, Pakistan's military strength. One side it helps China to fulfill its economic ambitions and another side, Pakistan's military strength will get more India's concern towards it, instead of China. As, one of Chinese army general argues, 'Pakistan is China's Israel' (as cited in Small, 2015), means its strength can be used as fear for other common rivals, like India. China and Pakistan consider all-weather friends and they have already military cooperation programs. China helped Pakistan during times of need to build its military and economic capabilities. Especially helped to build Heavy Mechanical Complex in 1968, Ordnance factory in East Pakistan Got separation from West Pakistan in 1971, now known as Bangladesh.

in 1970, and Aero-nautical complex (Curtis, 2009). Even though China and Pakistan have already military cooperation, but CPEC brought them close for common economic ambitions. Thus, now China is helping Pakistan to produce ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and a multi-role combat aircraft (The Economic Times, 2018). China is also helping in the production of FC-1 Xiaolong lightweight and multi-role aircraft which known in Pakistan as JF-17 Thunders, a good example of joint military cooperation (Ibid.). About this military cooperation, EFSAS (2017) analyzed as, "Besides CPEC being an economic project, it also holds a military agenda; it unites China and Pakistan's military and, to some degree, attempts to legitimize their various disputed ownership over disputed areas" (p. 10).

After the 9/11, against the war on terror, Pakistan stood with US-led forces, which raised the insurgency situation in all over the country (Javaid, 2015). Successful operations against terrorism all over the country in different years resulted in the reduction of terror activities (Ibid.). In all operations against terrorism, along with other armed forces, Pakistan military played a fundamental role (Ibid.). Even though Pakistan's faced massive terrorists' attacks, but after 2014, the security situation is improved and terrorism decreased by 66% as it was before 2014 (Ali, 2019).

This improvement in the security situation encouraged massive Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the shape of CPEC (Malik, 2015). But Baluchistan is facing insurgency problems along with CPEC projects in the province. Gwadar is a part of Baluchistan and it's very important for the Pakistani military to keep secure all CPEC projects, which are threatened by Baluch separatist groups and from Baluch Liberation Army (BLA) (Ibrar et al., 2016). Militants are funding from foreign countries to sabotage CPEC, that Pakistan cannot take advantages from this mega-billion project (Ibid.). Security is important for Chinese workers, who are working on 34 CPEC related projects

(Raza, 2017). Pakistan has successfully raised a special security division (SSD) of 15000 army persons deployed in six different zones to secure all Chinese workers on their working sites (Ibid.).

The CPEC provides an opportunity to China and Pakistan to increase their naval cooperation in different fields, as joint exercises and training against counter piracy in Arabian sea and in deep sea areas. About the importance of naval cooperation Ashraf (2015) stated as,

"The US is courting India with the declared purpose of assigning the lead role in the Indian Ocean, which is unacceptable to both China and Pakistan. In fact, India's cozying up to powers that China is suspicious of compels China and Pakistan to strengthen their alliance further. China-Pakistan strategic naval partnership centered on Gwadar will scuttle the Indo-US ambition of dominating the Indian Ocean" (as cited in, Butt & Butt, 2015, p. 30).

As China got 40 years right to use Gwadar port, it seems that with strong military potentials can provide China a way into Gulf countries and a chance to establish a naval base on the Arabian sea in the future (The Express Tribune, 2015). One side this step may increase naval cooperation between China-Pakistan and can contribute to the balance of power in the whole region (Butt & Butt, 2015). But on the other hand, presence of the Chinese Army, especially at Gwadar base, will raise the questions on Pakistan's sovereign position in the region. Furthermore, this step will affect Pakistan's friendly relations with Gulf states, and with the US, who keeps a presence in the Gulf region to secure its own fuel supply. Strategically, Gwadar port is very important, because Pakistan has little strategic depth from east to west (Malik, 2012, p. 58). Due to the establishing of Gwadar port, strategic depth increases as this port is more 460 km away from Indian naval bases as compare to Karachi port (Ibid.). Thus, this new port of Gwadar will provide strategic importance to Pakistan. In case of war with India, it's easy for India to blockage Karachi port, as it did in 1971 war. Gwadar port will help Pakistan to monitor the Sea Lines of Communications (SLOCs), which are in the Persian Gulf and the bottleneck at Strait of Hormuz (Ibid.).

More wealth comes through economic progress, and more wealth and large population play important role to creation of military power as Robert Gilpin states: " Wealth is important because a state cannot build a powerful military if it does not have the money and technology to quip, train, and continually modernize its fighting forces" (as cited in Mearsheimer, 2001, p. 61). Thus, the CPEC, with many economic ambitions, keeps significant importance for Pakistan military strength.

5.1.4 CPEC and Economy of Pakistan

The CPEC provides an excellent opportunity for improving Pakistan's economic situation, by the completion of all recommended projects, especially energy, infrastructure, and development projects. Since its announcement, CPEC is a major policy initiative which taking more attention in Pakistan. Pakistan's former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has repeated in many occasions that the project of CPEC will be a game changer for Pakistan and for the region. In the CPEC project, many new economic steps are taking in different parts of Pakistan. As Pakistan proposed the creation of 29 industrial parks and 21 mineral zones along with three different routes of CPEC. Among them 27 granted the Special Economic Zones (SEZ), in which most advanced is Gwadar SEZ, covering 9 km² area (Singh & Magray, 2017).

One side this economic corridor keeps many opportunities for Pakistanis, but other sides, it raises the question where Pakistan have worth to utilize these opportunities? Like, lack of skilled workers, proper distribution of sources among all provinces and low standard of domestic goods. As mentioned in section 4.1.4, one side, with US\$ 46 billion investment, it has more worth to boost Pakistan's economy as it was an initial investment in 2015, but later it increased up to US\$ 62 billion (Siddiqui, 2017). But another side, it's not a grant, it's a loan which Pakistan will have to return with interests. More about these multi-billion packages, Esteban (2016) stated as, "... a billion packages of the project contained in the CPEC offers an exceptional opportunity to Pakistan for tackling some of the main barriers hindering its economic development: energy bottlenecks, poor connectivity and limited attraction for foreign investors" (p. 1).

A major component of this investment is allocated for energy projects, for the betterment of energy-system capacity and the transmission and distribution network. According to plan, these projects will be complete till 2020, will be enough for Pakistan energy requirements. Because, now Pakistan is facing a major shortfall of energy and country cannot facilitate its people and run industries (Afridi & Khalid, 2016). As 21 projects are related to the energy sector, under the CPEC project its constructing in different regions of the country. For this purpose, coal, hydro, gas, solar, wind plants are working in the energy sector. By creating energy sector, Pakistan can overcome on its energy crisis, which estimated the cost to the economy is 2% to 2.5% of Gross Domestic Progress (GDP) annually (Ibid, p. 1).

After energy projects, more funding will go to infrastructure, transport, and communication. Better connectivity will create new opportunities for development in Pakistan, and it will be good for economic growth. As Esteban (2016) state, "...the poor performance of the transport sector costs the Pakistani economy 4% to 6% of GDP every year" (p. 2). Along with other plans in the CPEC project, improvements in transport routes, like roads, railway tracks will ensure significant improvement in transport and trade. For this purpose, many mega projects are in progress, like upgrading of Karakorum Highway and railway track from Peshawar to Karachi. (Rehman, Hakim, Khan, & Khan, 2018). After the completion of all mega projects, under the flag of CPEC, will reduce the distance, saving extra time, connecting domestic industries with Gwadar port and easy access to Chinese markets. Through Gwadar port, Pakistan will get new access routes for Europe and African markets. Additionally, it will boost up tourism sector in northern areas of Pakistan, and to new markets in CARs (Ibid.).

To establishing domestic markets and small industries, CPEC provides them access to different domestic or international markets. Proper linkage and quality transport system play a significant role to raise the national economy. Under CPEC, there are three routes (Western, Central and Eastern) passing through different areas of Pakistan and joining Gwadar to Kashgar (Ahmar, 2014).

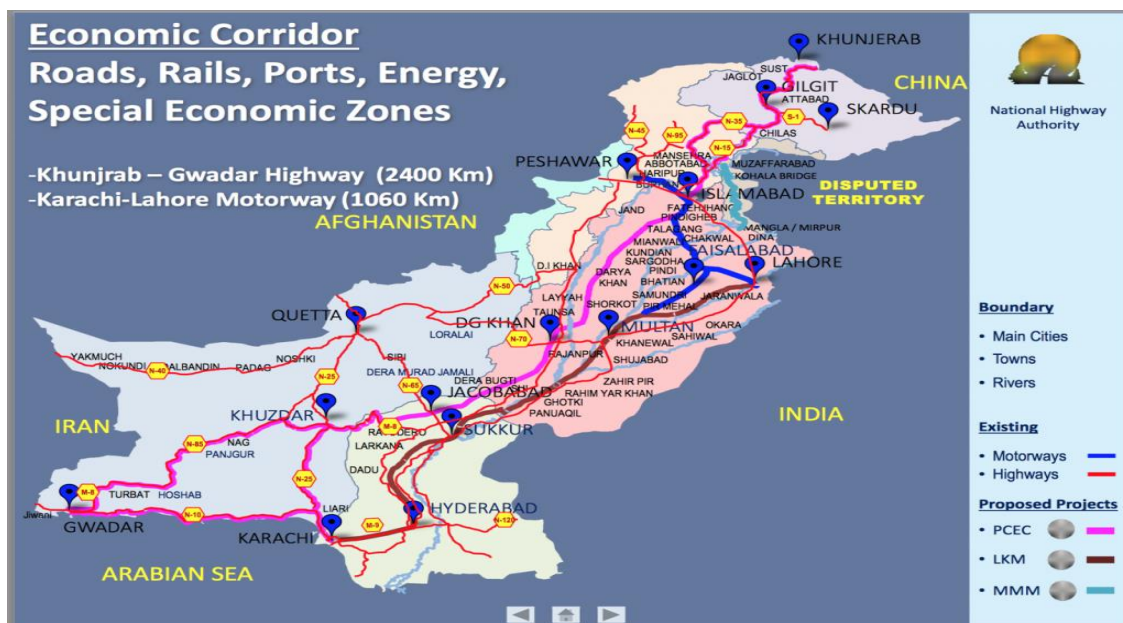


Figure. 7: Proposed map of the CPEC through three different routes

Source: (Ahmar, M. 2014, p. 40). 1

According to figure 5, after entering CPEC in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa from Khunjerab pass and Gilgit-Baltistan, it will go through in three routes. The first western route is entering in Baluchistan via Dera Ismail Khan (DIK) and passing through Quetta by connecting small cities of Baluchistan and end at Gwadar port. The second (central route) is entering from DIK to Dera Ghazi Khan onwards to Dera Murad Jamali and passing Khuzdar and ending at Gwadar port. Third rout (eastern route) entering in the province of Punjab, passing Lahore, Multan, and Sukkur, from there it enters through traditional highway to Baluchistan and go through Khuzdar towards Gwadar port. another alternative route is going from Sukkur to Karachi and from there linked with Gwadar port (Singh & Magray, 2017). For making a more comprehensive connection China is also working on Karachi-Lahore motorway, as a part of CPEC. It shows the participation of all regions of Pakistan to take the benefits of CPEC. These improvements in the domestic transport sector, can be worthful for Pakistan GDP, as Pakistan is facing annually huge losses due to poor road infrastructures.

In the globalization era, among countries better communication routes will enhance connectivity and trade options. For this purpose, China-Pakistan fiber cable laid by Khunjerab pass to Rawalpindi along with CPEC with a total distance of 820km (Latif, Jianqiu, Ullah, Pathan, & Latif, 2017). This digital connectivity provides a clear opportunity for Pakistan to advance its information and communication skills (Ibid.). This fiber project can help Pakistan to overcome poor technological infrastructure and economy of the country. Through this technological project, Pakistan can improve its 'Information Technology' sector, remove the criticism of Baluchistan and develop a better relationship with neighbors, especially with India in e-business (Ibid.). Successful completion of this project, Pakistan can improve its information and communication sector, will be able to attract foreign investment which can increase national GDP. About this digital connectivity Latif et al, (2017) state as

"The economy of Pakistan needs foreign investment to stimulate economic growth. The digital corridor will provide a good opportunity to attract investment from Chinese companies in the ICT sector" (p. 8). Through this digital corridor, Pakistan can improve its communication sector, will easily approach not only with China but with other CPEC and OBOR member states. Resultantly, all states can take the way forward of trade-related information.

One sides with the significant economic benefits the whole project of CPEC consider 'game changer' for Pakistan' economy, but the other side many economists consider it as China's 'Debt-trap' (EFSAS, 2017). China is using Pakistan's strategic position through huge investment, and when Pakistan will not be able to return it, China may take its Gwadar port, as China did in Sri Lanka. When Sri Lankan government failed to return of China's loan, which it got on the high-interest rate, in result, China took the lease of 'Hambantota port' for 99 years (Ibid.). A free trade agreement with China, bring many concerns for small traders. Because, the local markets can be more flooded by low-cost Chinese goods, which can be more dangerous for Pakistan's domestic industries.

Finally, after analyzing CPEC influence on four elements of Pakistan's hard power, the study shows a significant impact on their positions. Geographically importance provides an opportunity to become an economic hub in the region. Pakistan's young and unemployment populations can get major opportunities for jobs, and education. Pakistan's military also influences from benefits of CPEC. One side Pakistan military plays a crucial role in the success of this project, and another side along with economic cooperation, military cooperation with China enhance Pakistan's military strengths. The study explored, through CPEC most influences hard power element is economy, good improvement in the economy will enhance other hard power elements. Along with many benefits, some concerns observed about CPEC ambitions. The low educated and unskilled population cannot run the CPEC projects successfully, in result foreign skilled workers can get more jobs in different projects. China's military base at Gwadar port can raise a question on Pakistan's sovereign position, and China's debt trap policy can be harmful to Pakistan's economy.

5.2 CPEC influence on Pakistan's Soft power

Influence of CPEC on Pakistan's soft power elements, bring significantly changes in country's power attempts. As I discussed in theoretical part, that liberals more emphasize towards soft power as compare to realist, because realist more looking for hard power steps. CPEC can provide best platform for Pakistan to increase its soft power strategies. As in previous section, I described influences of CPEC on Pakistan's hard power elements, same as in the following section I will describe CPEC influence on Pakistan's soft power elements. In the following section, three sources of soft power, political values, culture and foreign policies will be described. According to Joseph

Nye's idea, political values as the core element, culture as the support, and foreign policy as the method, will be discussed.

5.2.1 CPEC and Political Values of Pakistan

By looking at the country's complete official name 'The Islamic Republic of Pakistan' shows its political values dimensions. Islamic values and democracy are the two main pillars of its constitution. One side its democratic values helps to settle with the Western liberal world and another side its Islamic values close it to Muslim countries. Along with democracy, Pakistan is working with international institutions and its foreign policy also promoting peace and human rights. But with CPEC perspective, nowadays Pakistan more attraction is towards China, an authoritarian state, means non-democratic, and it is also a non-Muslim country. But economic interdependence linked both countries at one platform.

CPEC is the multi-billion projects, which crossing throughout all provinces of Pakistan. Under democratic values, the government announced the equal participation of all provinces (Hameed, 2018). The positive thing of CPEC project is completely participation of both Chinese and Pakistanis governments own this project, and both countries trying to facilitate to each other during this project (Ibid.). Pakistani government took responsibility to protect foreigner workers, thus the Pakistani military is playing a very active role to secure foreigner and national workers. The Pakistani government is looking for peace and stability with its neighbor states and promoting its human rights agreement with international institutions. Like Pakistan is facilitating peace talks of US-Afghan Taliban and recently released the prisoner an Indian pilot as a peace gesture (Fatima, 2019).

By using its Islamic perspective, Pakistan can play an important role between two Islamic countries Iran and Saudi Arabia, as both are participating in CPEC. Not even with Gulf states, but Pakistan can play an important role in the Islamic state of Afghanistan, to bring peace in the country. Central Sian Muslim states are known as ancient centers of Muslim culture and history. And through CPEC, Pakistan can enhance its relations with Central Asian Muslim states, and this may result in tourism and people integration from both sides. Additionally, Pakistan's political values provide a way towards, people to people cooperation with Muslim states, which can bring peace and economic prosperity in the region. And peace and stability are crucial for economic stability in the region.

Lastly, the domination of Chinese influence on Pakistan's values, have potential to curtains Pakistan's democratic and Islamic values.

5.2.2 CPEC and Culture of Pakistan

Culture plays an important role to build up a positive image of any country in the world of politics. As Joseph Nye talked about the importance of culture and considered it as an effective tool of the soft power of any state.

In the ancient era, ancient trade routes between the East and the West have run the development and transfer of culture, religion, and art. These ancient routes used for trade of goods, but that routes also helped in exchange for ideas and languages among different countries. The ancient Silk road was linked from Eastern side China and India to the Western side with the Roman world, is known as a good tool for cultural exchanged between different civilizations and regions (Spearhead Research, 2017). Through ancient Silk Road, Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, and Manichaeism were spread as the result of these interactions (Ibid, p. 3). After the revival of the ancient Silk Road, as OBOR initiative keeps potential to increase the cultural and people to people integration throughout this initiative. The southern part of the new Silk Road, which passes via Pakistan is called CPEC, predicted to have a significant influence on Pakistan's socio-cultural condition. As shows concerned about participant 2, communist values are totally different from the Islamic and democratic values of Pakistan, and this close relationship can be ruined Pakistan's values.

In the case of CPEC, in which Pakistan is increasing its regional position as an economic hub, and through this platform Pakistan has the opportunity to spread its culture as a tool of soft power. The more opportunity for use of this soft power tool is with China, as Pakistan is directly engaged via CPEC. It is an important prospect of CPEC for both countries because it will enhance people-to-people contacts and can increase cultural cooperation among people, which is important for this project and significant to build a harmonious neighborhood. During the visit of Pakistan in 2015, President Xi Jinping stated as,

"It is the people who advance the progress of nations and history. The support of our peoples is an inexhaustible source of force fostering China-Pakistan all-weather friendship and all-round cooperation. We should use the platforms of sister cities, cultural centers, and media organizations to conduct diverse events of celebration. China and Pakistan should continue to send 100-member

youth groups to visit each other's country and encourage more contacts and exchanges between young Chinese and Pakistanis. In the next five years, China will provide 2,000 training opportunities for Pakistan and train 1,000 Chinese language teachers for Pakistan" (as cited in Butt & Butt, 2015. p. 31).

The CPEC opened the door for both China and Pakistan to increase people to people contact, after the visit of president Xi, many language centers opened in many cities of Pakistan to learn the Chinese language, which will be helpful for taking a job in CPEC related Chinese companies. Thousands of Pakistani students enrolled in Chinese universities and colleges. Many cultural programs have been arranged by both cultural departments in different cities of Pakistan and China (Niazi, 2017 & Spearhead Research, 2017). However, CPEC has the potential to bring both nations close and integrate them but learning Chinese language only for getting jobs in CPEC projects, can hinder to English education in Pakistan. Because, to learning the Chinese language, the ratio of Pakistani's students rapidly increases (Bacha, 2017). Now English is the Pakistan official language, and in all major educational institutions are providing education in English. Furthermore, much new research and education are provided in English, not in Chinese. Far from English education can result in Pakistani youths to keep behind in new research and advanced education.

Through CPEC China is increasing more it is cultural, social and people to people activities as compare to Pakistan. Because, China is the populist country, and world 2nd largest economy, and has major shares of investment in the CPEC. In socio-cultural perspective, this platform can be more useful for China, but at the same time, the positive aspect of this collaboration could be the main source of getting knowledge and new innovations, which are the main source of progress and growth (Niazi, 2017). Beside with Chinese integration, CPEC provides Pakistan to the opportunity of attracting regional Muslim countries by using the card of religion. As through CPEC, Central Asian Muslim states, Afghanistan, Iran, Gulf states will connect to each other via Pakistan. Economic stability can bring peace and prosperity in these Islamic countries, especially in Afghanistan, Iran and the Gulf region. With being an economic hub, if all ambitions will be fulfilled, as a Muslim country Pakistan can help to overcome in other regional Muslim countries issues.

5.2.3 CPEC and Foreign Policy of Pakistan

In the recent era of globalization, brings new challenges and threads along with security and weak economic issues. And for this new approach is required to address the new challenges. That's why China believes to overwhelmed on these challenges is not the military approach, is considered the best approach is to the promotion of economic, social and cultural ties among regional countries. Therefore, China launched the OBOR initiative and engaged Pakistan with CPEC (Fatima, 2019). And this economic cooperation platform providing Pakistan to enhance its relations with other participant countries like Central Asian Republics, Russia, and Eastern European states.

The relation between China and Pakistan are consists of more than five decades. Pakistan acted as the diplomatic bridge between China and the US when China was isolated in the world. After the 9/11, when Pakistan's was facing many terrorist attacks, resultingly, loss of Pakistan economy, declined of foreign investment and also country stuck in energy crisis (Fatima, 2019 & Kalim, 2017). China decided to invest in Pakistan to overcome on all-weather friend's domestic economic and development problems, especially on energy crisis. About the new cooperation era under CPEC is changing the scenario of Pakistan's power politics in the region. Now Pakistan's foreign policies are more about economic and cooperation to bring prosperity and peace in the region.

After the launching of CPEC, a broader shift of Pakistan's foreign policy is noted. CPEC creates new objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy, as Fatima (2019) describe some of mainly in line as (1) develop friendly relations with all countries, especially immediate neighbors; (2) safeguard national security and geo-strategic interests, including Kashmir; and (3) ensure the optimal utilization of national resources for regional and international cooperation" (Paragraph. 9). After launching the CPEC, the importance of Pakistan's national power elements is increasing the value of its foreign policy among the other regional countries.

The CPEC is not only the bilateral project between China and Pakistan, but it has more potential to impact on regional countries. Improvement in the security situation in Pakistan, now CPEC is the attractive destination for foreign direct investment (FDI) (Fatima, 2019). Therefore, now for joining the CPEC many countries are willing to read, like, Iran, Tajikistan, and the United Kingdom. And Pakistan also invited some countries to join CPEC like, Turkey, Russia and Saudi-Arabia (Ibid.). Pakistan can improve its relations with CARs to provide them access to warm water

seaport, and also can play as a connectivity role between India and CARs. It is the first time in Pakistan, when all parties are stand on one agenda, to support the project of CPEC (Ibid.).

The main essence of Pakistan's foreign policy is to promote regional integration and stability. Since independence, economic dependence on US and security concerns that established Pakistan's foreign policies. But after the signing of CPEC with world second largest economy has shifted Pakistan's foreign policy drive, along with CPEC, major economic cooperation, military cooperation also raised (point 5.1.3). Now standing with world 2nd largest economy has raised the status of Pakistan in the global world order (Fatima, 2019 & Iqbal, 2018). With connecting China's OBOR initiative, through CPEC, Pakistan is pursuing efforts towards regional stability and peace. And this step can bring significant outcomes from economic ambitions.

Therefore, Pakistan has initiated a friendly gesture towards two rivals' countries- Iran and Saudi-Arabia to join CPEC (Fatima, 2019). The Kingdom of Saudi-Arabia has announced the setup of oil-refinery at Gwadar port, and Iran declared that its own port Chabahar is not a rival to Gwadar port. Pakistan encourages the steps of both countries for greater regional interests, and this step of integration may help to reduce conflict in the Middle East region (Ibid.). Before CPEC, Pakistan security concern was India-oriented, but now Pakistan has sent out a message of peace, despite India's aggressive (Ibid.). Because Pakistan sees, cooperation among China, Pakistan, and India, can create more prosperity in the region (Iqbal, 2018).

Furthermore, Pakistan and China also invited to Afghanistan to join CPEC, as Pakistan is pursuing its policy to create a stable and peaceful neighborhood. Pakistan also facilitates the round of peace talks between the US and Afghan Taliban, as compare to its previous role to engage in a proxy war in Afghanistan (Fatima, 2019). These all steps show, a new way of Pakistan's foreign policies because stability and peace in the region are good for Pakistan economic growth under CPEC.

After analyzing CPEC influence on three sources of Pakistan's soft power, brought significant results. One side Pakistan's political values are more differ from Chinese political values, which can more effect on Pakistan's Islamic and cultural values. And another side, through CPEC, Pakistan will get the platform to increase its Islamic values with other regional Muslim states. Pakistani students are more willing to get jobs in CPEC related Chines companies and firms, and more willing to learn the Chinese language instead of English language. Through economic cooperation, changes in Pakistan's foreign policies now seen more pro Chinese.

5.3 CPEC influence on Pakistan's Smart Power

Joseph Nye has mentioned this shape of power is very important in this political era. When hard and soft power individually is less effective for achieving national interests than the strategy of smart power can play a significant role. In the case of CPEC, Pakistan and China both have equal chances to play smart power strategies for each other and for other beneficiaries, and regional states like CARs, Afghanistan, Iran, India, and Gulf states.

Through Gwadar port, Pakistan and Chinese military can keep close eyes on SLOCs and on the Indian Ocean. And, Pakistan can take advantage of India, when the Pakistani military has close access on Indian oil shipment routes, which passing through Strait of Hormuz. By adopting smart power strategies Pakistan can achieve its many national interests through CPEC platform.

Pakistan can use this project smartly against, its rival India. Involvement in CPEC will bring Iran and Afghanistan closer to Pakistan. Common economic interests can encourage Iran and Saudi Arabia to settle their conflicts. India does not want to be a part of CPEC, because, India thinks its passing through the disputed area of Kashmir. And due to Pakistan's geographically location will encourage India to solve its conflict issues with Pakistan. Pakistan can provide only land access to India to reach in Afghanistan, Iran, and CARs.

Both India and Pakistan have nuclear capabilities, both involve in four wars since their independence. CPEC has potential to encourage both countries to settle their conflicts and adopt the economic way of prosperity and peace in the region.

Summary

This chapter provided detailed description of CPEC influence on Pakistan's hard, soft and smart power. The CPEC influenced on all hard power elements, geography, population, military and economy. Throughout this chapter, along with positive impacts of CPEC, some negative impacts have observed. Furthermore, this chapter provided significant impacts of CPEC on Pakistan's soft power elements. Communist culture and values observed as some major concerns for Pakistan's democratic and Islamic values. This chapter also provided information about changing foreign policies of Pakistan. Finally, this chapter provided information about those opportunities for Pakistan, which can increase its smart power options.

Chapter 6: Findings and Discussion

Introduction

This chapter defines the findings and discussion sections. Mainly, I collected findings from secondary sources, and with the addition of two interviews. Furthermore, this chapter consists of a discussion about CPEC influence on Pakistan's hard and soft power elements. Lastly, the evaluation of the CPEC influence on Pakistan's smart power will be discussed.

6.1 Findings

This study finds that the project of CPEC, still in construction phases, about its positive or negative impacts on Pakistan's power position, cannot fully be described yet. However, the importance of CPEC for Pakistan's power elements in the future will analyze based on findings, which came through secondary resources and from two interviews. Pakistan's national power elements have significantly taken influence from CPEC, like the geographical position of Pakistan can provide an opportunity to become an economic hub in the region. One side, Gwadar port can play a significant role to increase Pakistan's economic and strategic position in the region. And another side, China needs to use Gwadar port's strategic position for its own interests.

Pakistan's keep more young population. Even though Pakistan has a young population, but the majority are less qualified and unskilled. One side this population strength can be useful for Pakistan's economy and military through coming new opportunities of jobs, on the platform of CPEC. But another side, this strength can make more burden on Pakistan's economy, in case if more jobs for foreigners. Because don't have capable, professional and qualified men force for new and advance projects along with CPEC. Along with economic cooperation, China and Pakistan are increasing their military cooperation. However, through this military cooperation, Pakistan is increasing its military strength, but this act is taking it far from its former military supporter of the USA. Besides it, Pakistan military strength plays a significant role in success CPEC projects, by providing security to foreigners and national workers. Pakistan's economy is the main beneficiary of CPEC, billions of dollars invested in the different project throughout Pakistan will raise its economic growth. However, mega investments have seen in CPEC projects, but these billions of dollars will return to China with interest in the selected time period. China's debt trap is seeing a major concern in CPEC related investments. Through the equal distribution of CPEC projects

among provinces, encourage them to participate in the progress of these all projects. The CPEC can bring economic interdependence among participated states through the platform of OBOR.

The CPEC will bring people to people connects cultural and language transformation between China and Pakistan. Chinese emerging economic involvement in Pakistan will more dominate Pakistan social and cultural lives. Through CPEC, Pakistan can increase its new soft image not even in the region, but in the world. Pakistan's significantly use its democratic and Islamic values with regional states. The Chinese language can be reduced English education and result in a lack of new and advance education standard. Islamic culture and values can provide Pakistan to more close relations with regional Muslim states. One side Pakistan is increasing its relations with China, which changes Pakistan's foreign policies from the USA towards China. And another side, Pakistan is facing domination of Communist culture and values on democratic and Islamic values. As being an economic hub, and Gwadar port strategic position, Pakistan will get the opportunity to use its smart power strategies in the region. Through Gwadar port, Pakistan can establish more Islamic brotherhood relations with many regional Muslim countries, and this position allows Pakistan to solve other regional Muslim states rivalries, like Iran and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan's important position also encourages India to reduce conflicts with Pakistan and go forward for economic cooperation.

6.2 Discussion

The previous chapter described how CPEC will bring changes in Pakistan's national power elements. The realist sees, power as a major aim of any state, which is very necessary for survival it in anarchical world. The elements of hard power, mainly described by realist, who consider them very important for national power. Liberals mainly argue about soft power elements, like foreign policy, economic interdependence, etc. More insist to avoid war and solve their problems through negotiation. In the case of CPEC, it keeps a significant position to influence Pakistan's hard power and soft power elements and make it an economic hub. This plate form influences Pakistan power position in regional Muslims and non-Muslim states and provides the best opportunities to use its smart power strategy.

6.2.1 CPEC influence on Pakistan's Hard Power

The project of CPEC keeps the significant capability to influence on Pakistan's hard power elements. Geographically, it can provide easy access to CARs, and Gwadar port has worth of being an economic hub of the region. For being on the close access on the Strait of Hormuz, through Gwadar port Pakistan will get strategic and significant position on its rival India. Through Gwadar port, China takes more advantages as compared to Pakistan, as seen in a recent situation. China with spending billions of dollars, getting many economically and strategically objectives by using Gwadar port. The use of Gwadar port is looking not safe, especially for foreigners, as attacks from militants' groups are experiencing in the Baluchistan province. China's army presence at Gwadar port will raise a question on Pakistan's sovereignty, and its relations with other regional states. Through CPEC, Pakistan is harnessing its geo-strategic location into a geo-economic advantage.

The population of Pakistan can get more benefits through CPEC projects. This project has the capacity to influences Pakistan's population strength in the right way. Economic stability brings more worth to use, the youngest and 6th largest population in the right direction. Even though, now most of the population facing unemployment, low education standard, fewer health facilities, and less purchasing power. But CPEC influences Pakistan population's those all problems significantly, by developing new schools, hospitals, and domestic infrastructure. The domestic infrastructure of the road will provide better connectivity among different regions and bring opportunities for small traders to enhance their business. By fulfilling the energy requirements, can have a direct impact on unemployment problems. By starting new economic zones and textiles, re-opening of closed industries, and new transport infrastructure will strength domestic trade markets by providing small industry connectivity in domestic and international markets, will result on millions of new jobs in the country. It will not possible for getting professional and high-level jobs till, Pakistan population will not get a skilled and professional education, which can meet the requirements of international level. Otherwise, it seems like that, for these all positions will be hired by foreign skilled and professional workers. Does through CPEC, Pakistan will solve its gap of skilled and professional jobs from native workers? This problem needs to take crucial steps towards the solution. Even though, work on this problem is started along with CPEC, as Chinese ambassador argues that CPEC has brought brilliant job and education opportunities for Pakistani youth, he also distributed the scholarships to study in China, for 220 Pakistani students for the year of 2016-17 (Abrar, 2016).

But this weakness needs to take crucial steps all over the Pakistani educational system by the government itself.

Wealth considered most important for increasing Army strength. Pakistan's 6th largest army is still more behind from its position, on Global level. Needs more technological capability, result in more advanced military arsenals. For rising China's economic leadership on the global level, it needs to secure its economic and fuel routes, thus China is working with its participant's countries to enhance their military strength. In the case of CPEC, which is the flagship project of OBOR initiative, needs for security, which only came through by a strong Pakistan military. Especial Pakistan's military security division is allocated for Chinese workers, for their security. But Pakistan needs to solve the local militants' concerns, who are fighting against Chinese presence in Baluchistan. By providing them an equal proportion of local natural resources and providing them jobs in CPEC projects. Till the cooperation in making military arsenals, is acceptable, but in case, as the previous chapter shows concern of Chinese military base at Gwadar port, can be a direct influence of Pakistan's relations with Gulf states and with the United States of America (USA). Pakistan keeps its relationship with its former ally the USA, with whom Pakistan has a long history of military and economic cooperation. Pakistan needs to avoid all those steps, which can damage its relations with its former ally the USA.

The CPEC is a mega economic project, an estimated US\$62 Billion is in investing procedure. Consider a new debt trap for Pakistan. About this concern, a former Pakistani ambassador in World Trade Organization (WTO), has written, that according to the State Bank of Pakistan, in 2017 Pakistan's debt servicing amounted to \$5 billion, of which only \$500 or about 10% went to China (Ahmad, 2018). Even though it is low in initial years, but it will take a long time to return this all money with interests' rate. It can only be possible when Pakistani government will take crucial steps to take its positive advantages, instead of making it controversial among provinces, and need to increase its capacity building for fully benefited by this economic project. This project is building the new infrastructure of roads and building new energy sector, in case of finish on estimated time with calculated capacity will increase Pakistan's GDP 2 to 2.5% annually. For fully benefitting to the local population, especially in Baluchistan need to provide equal opportunities to increase their economic prosperity. Connectivity among domestic small industries can boost their economic condition and through CPEC they can send their goods in international markets. Behind the running

of economic benefits, during road infrastructure and development of mega projects, can be careful about the right of indigenous people. The Pakistani government must facilitate them according to their rights.

Lastly, the chosen hard power components are influencing through CPEC, though out this study, in most parts of CPEC, Pakistan's hard power will get benefits. Geographically location provides Pakistan's to become an economic hub in the region, and through economic prosperity transform itself into a powerful state in the South Asian region. Pakistan's population and military are also influencing through CPEC. By development of all those projects which discussed in table 1, will bring more jobs and opportunities for Pakistan's youngest generation. Along with economic cooperation, military cooperation with China, Pakistan can increase its military capabilities. For being a central location in the region, economic activities throughout Pakistan, resulting in Pakistan's economic growth. And as Mearsheimer (2001) stated, wealth is an essential factor to enhance other national power elements and in case of CPEC, Pakistan has mainly opportunities to enhance, its remaining weak and unstable hard power elements.

6.2.2 CPEC influence on Pakistan's Soft Power

As a Muslim and democratic country, Pakistan is engaged with China, not from now but from many decades. CPEC causes more people to people contact. However, the Muslim values are more different from China's communist values, may create more difficulties among two different nations. Pakistani Muslims are looking to Uighurs Muslims conflict with China's government and need a peaceful solution of their Muslim brothers in China. CPEC provides a way to build close relations with its regional Muslims countries, like Iran, Afghanistan, and central Asian Muslim states. Pakistan, now being experienced as working for peace and stability and for human rights in the region. The dream of economic stability only is fulfilled through peace and stability in the regional states.

Cultural integration, and people to people contact, more will come through CPEC. Through CPEC, Pakistan directly joined with regional Muslim states, and further much more socio-cultural attraction towards China. As the Chinese language consider as a crucial tool for getting a job in CPEC related companies. This change can affect Pakistani students interests in the English language. As English is crucial for learning worlds more advanced subjects, and this turn may bring Pakistani students far from new and advance research. The more increasing ratio of marriages

between Pakistani and Chinese people, having with a huge gap of Islamic and Communist values, may influence the values of Pakistani society.

The project of CPEC brought major changes in Pakistan's foreign policies. As discussed earlier, a major change in Pakistani foreign policy can be seen, as now it's more depends on China in its economic and military matters. This change in Pakistan's policies may bring it far from its former allies and supporters, especially the USA. Pakistan needs to follow rational steps, by keep balance between former and new strategic allies. For the peace process in Afghanistan, now Pakistan facilitates the US and Afghan Taliban to carry on peace process talks. Extraordinary, foreign policy is witnessed when Pakistan released an Indian prisoner pilot as a peace gesture, and the new central government of Pakistan offered to India for peace talks, on all conflict-related issues. Furthermore, Pakistan offers to Saudi Arab and Iran to solve their conflict, which is causing a war in Yamen.

Lastly, though out the study, results show CPEC brings significant changes in Pakistan's soft power. Upper discussion shows, along with some reservations about the increasing presence of communist ideology, Pakistan can enhance soft power by using democratic and Islamic values. Furthermore, Pakistani culture can get more influence from Chinese culture, Chinese language and food are increasing their position in Pakistan society. Through the CPEC platform, Pakistan's foreign policies show significant influence, peace and prosperity in the region are now Pakistan's main concerns. Peace in the region, increase more economic activities, which can provide chosen objectives from CPEC.

6.2.3 CPEC influence on Pakistan's Smart Power

The CPEC provides, wide ground for using its smart power strategies. As discussed in the theoretical section, smart power is a combination of hard and soft powers. Being with hard and soft powers, the use of smart power is considering a rational step of any country. In the case of CPEC, Pakistan can use geographical location as a tool of smart power, through Gwadar port, and close to SLOCs will increase its significant values among other regional states.

China needs Pakistan's geographical position, in result Pakistan will take its economic stability via huge investment of Chinese companies in Pakistan' energy sector, and different economic zones will bring millions of new jobs, and also Pakistan will increase its IT sector through fiber line project. Pakistan's foreign policies steps will be strengthened Pakistan' political position on the global level. And this position has given Pakistan to establish its relations on an equal basis with

India. India needs land route towards Afghanistan, Iran, and CARs, and this problem only Pakistan can solve. Therefore, this cooperation between Indian and Pakistan will increase the chances of peace prosperity in the region. Saudi Arabia and Iran are two Muslim countries, and both Additionally, Pakistan mediating between Saudi Arabia and Iran to set on the table to solve Yamen conflict. In the case of peace in Yamen, will consider the best step of Pakistan towards peace and prosper region.

After the discussion of CPEC influence on Pakistan hard, soft and smart power elements, study founded CPEC projects as crucial steps towards peace and economic stability in the region. As described four national power elements as hard power components and soft power components also came from Morgenthau, but for clear definition and understanding, they all mentioned in two different categories, likely hard and soft powers. Furthermore, throughout the study, Pakistan's national power elements significantly got advantages along with some reservations.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore the influence of CPEC on Pakistan's national power elements. In this thesis, the concept of national power divided into hard and soft power elements. Additionally, evaluated the influence of CPEC on Pakistan's smart power, described opportunities for Pakistan to use its smart power strategies. Hard power, elements geography, military, population, and economy play a significant impact on Pakistan's power position in the region. Pakistan blessed with ideal geography among the regional states and due to a geostrategic and geo-economic position in the region, Pakistan can get many benefits from CPEC. One side, Gwadar port provides short and easy access to China in the oil-rich Gulf region, for energy resources and way forward to African and European markets for trade of goods and for more energy resources. And another side, CPEC has potential to boost Pakistan' economy and in result, Pakistan's other hard power elements; population and military will get advantages from it. CPEC will bring more jobs through new economic zones, and by developing energy plants, which can re-open closed textile industry. And along with economic cooperation, military cooperation with China will enhance Pakistan's military capabilities.

By analyzing CPEC influence on Pakistan's soft power elements, like, its democratic and Islamic values, Pakistani Muslim culture, and its foreign policies in the region, are changing by passing time. Significantly, CPEC provides a platform to Pakistan to exercise its Islamic values to become more close relations with Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia Muslim states. The CPEC as a flagship project of OBOR will provide strategic advantages against India, changes policies of Pakistan will encourage India to come within peace dialogues. Peace can bring more prosperity in a rapidly developing region. Along with benefits, CPEC keeps some obstacles in case of enhancing Pakistan's hard and soft power elements. China's debt trap, Chinese increasing involvement in Pakistan territory, provincialism, communist culture and ideology and rapidly shift of foreign policy from the USA to China are some weak points for Pakistan. These obstacles can hinder the positive effects of CPEC on Pakistan' s national power elements. The project of CPEC keeps multiple advantages and disadvantages for Pakistan, it provides a variety of new steps, which can provide Pakistan to enhance smart power.

Recommendation-a way forward

In this section, I evaluate some recommendations for new researcher about writing on the same topic in the future and there are some suggestions for Pakistan, to overcome challenges which are coming through CPEC projects. These observations are based on this study, which I found during research, and it can be very helpful to save this project from failures and go ahead to increase Pakistan's power position in the region.

As mentioned earlier, that now CPEC is on an initial basis, and much more works are left, so now it's not possible to finalize any arguments about its importance. Even though study findings and discussion provide a much clear picture of CPEC influence on Pakistan's national power elements. And provide a way of understanding towards CPEC role in Pakistan's future power position. Moreover, in future researcher can work on some hinders which I observed during this study, which may destroy the dream of economic prosperity in the future. Like the need to more work on China's debt trap, communist cultural values, caused by provincialism, and the importance of skilled education.

For taking significant benefits of CPEC, the government of Pakistan first increase education standard, which can provide skilled and educated national men power. Pakistan also brings active economic policy office, to define debt trap reservation and its solutions if any. Central government should provide an equal share of CPEC projects among all provinces. Furthermore, Pakistan should keep equal balance in the former ally, the US and new ally China. Pakistan's government also keep control of cultural transforming and keep its foreign policies to bring peace in the region.

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Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
Noregs miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Postboks 5003
NO-1432 Ås
Norway