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Ukraine's security and Pakistan's security: mechanisms to overcome threats

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Abstract

The sphere of security plays an important role in the domestic and foreign policy of states. In this regard, the object of the study were security threats that determine stability in Ukraine and Pakistan. The authors used the method of comparative analysis to draw parallels between the security of Ukraine and Pakistan and identify possible ways to improve it. It is concluded that, both Ukraine and Pakistan are quite geopolitically distant, have different histories and state-building processes, but are affected by traditional and “non-traditional” security threats. Definitely, the main unifying factor for the states is the antagonistic or “enemy” state - India for Pakistan and Russia for Ukraine, which becomes a catalyst for the formation of national identity and unity of society. The conflicts in Pakistan (Kashmir, Baluchistan and Pashtunistan) and Ukraine (war in Donbass, illegal annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation) have had common consequences and mechanisms for overcoming them, which are implemented in the context of the internal and state policy of both Kiev and Islamabad.

Keywords: Ukraine and Pakistan security; security threats; Ukraine-Russia relations; Pakistan-India relations; international politics.

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La seguridad de Ucrania y la seguridad de Pakistán: mecanismos para superar las amenazas

Resumen

La esfera de la seguridad juega un papel importante en la política interior y exterior de los Estados. En este sentido, el objeto del estudio fueron las amenazas a la seguridad que determinan la estabilidad en Ucrania y Pakistán. Los autores utilizaron el método de análisis comparativo para establecer paralelismos entre la seguridad de Ucrania y Pakistán e identificar posibles formas de mejorarla. Se concluye que, aunque Ucrania como Pakistán están bastante distantes geopolíticamente, tienen historias y procesos de construcción del Estado diferentes, se ven afectados por amenazas de seguridad tradicionales y “no tradicionales”. Definitivamente, el principal factor unificador de los Estados es el estado antagonista o “enemigo”: India para Pakistán y Rusia para Ucrania, que se convierte en un catalizador para la formación de la identidad nacional y la unidad de la sociedad. Los conflictos en Pakistán (Cachemira, Beluchistán y Pastunistán) y Ucrania (guerra en Donbass, anexión ilegal de Crimea por parte de la Federación Rusa) han tenido consecuencias comunes y mecanismos para superarlos, que se implementan en el contexto de la política interna y estatal de tanto en Kiev como en Islamabad.

Palabras clave: seguridad de Ucrania y Pakistán; amenazas a la seguridad; relaciones entre Ucrania y Rusia; relaciones entre Pakistán e India; política internacional.

Introduction

The security sphere is an indicator of the level of interdependence not only of domestic and foreign policy of the state, but also an attribute of the construction of the region, where the national interests of its subjects collide.

Ukraine has identified the priority of its foreign policy to join the European Union not only as geographical unity with the European Community, but also in the political, economic and social spheres. Therefore, Ukraine's security is directly interconnected and interdependent with EU security. In parallel with Pakistan, it is possible to confidently assert that this state of South Asia region also has determinism in its policy: security of the state – security of the region.

Actualization of the European direction of Ukraine's foreign policy is connected with the 2014 Revolution of Dignity and the aggression of the neighbouring state – Russia against Ukraine (the annexation of the

Crimea and the hostilities in eastern Ukraine (Donbas). After the events of 2014, the reformation of Ukraine's security policy took place, realizing the importance of a military factor in the country's internal and external policies. The Ukrainian state faced new challenges and threats for itself – the terrorist-minded separatist alignments and the aggression of the neighbouring state.

In turn, Pakistan, as a South Asia state, also has such characteristic features as counteraction to the neighbouring state – India, in particular, using military methods, and the overcoming of the consequences of existing territorial conflicts as well. The consequences of the conflicts for Pakistan's security environment are common to Ukraine's realities – the anti-terrorist operation, the problem of internally displaced persons and the impact of all security threats on the social and economic spheres of the states.

Therefore, the authors aim to carry out a comparative analysis of the security of Ukraine and Pakistan. Firstly, it is necessary to thoroughly consider the threats and their sources, which are identified by states at the official level and objectively exist and destabilize the security and regional environment to which these states belong. Secondly, consider the conflicts in Pakistan (the problems of Kashmir and Pashtunistan) and the problem of Donbas in Ukraine in terms of the impact of conflicts on states and mechanisms for overcoming their consequences. The authors limited the chronology of study by the Russian Federation invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, because this event changed the objective field of security situation in Ukraine and reasons to compare with Pakistan.

1. Research Objectives

The aim of the research was to carry out a comparative analysis of the security of Ukraine and Pakistan, using a category of threats as a determinant of estimation of security situation and policy of both countries.

The aim involved the following research objectives:

- Consider the threats and their sources, which are identified by Ukraine and Pakistan at the official level and destabilize the security and regional environment to which these states belong, dividing them on traditional and non-traditional types.
- Analyze the peculiarities of conflicts in Pakistan (the problems of Kashmir and Pashtunistan), the problem of Donbas in Ukraine and some non-traditional aspects of security, based on the evolution of relations with the antagonist state (India to Pakistan and Russia to Ukraine)

- Find out similarities between security of Ukraine and Pakistan (internal and external levels), estimating mechanisms of overcoming the aftermaths of conflicts.

2. Methods and Theoretical Background

The methodological basis of the study is based on a variety of fundamental scientific methods (problem-chronological, systemic) and methods of political science in the prism of the paradigm shifts of neorealism and constructivism. The systemic approach is a background of the study and allow to consider the security of Ukraine and Pakistan as elements of national and regional levels of international relations. The method of comparative analysis makes it possible to reveal the results of comparisons between the states.

State security is interdependent with the concept of “threat”. B. Buzan, a representative of the school of neorealism in international relations, is a supporter of a dualistic approach to the classification of threats to national security: the territory of the state “may be under internal threat, as well as threats may come from outside the state” (Buzan, 1983:83). From the point of view of national security, B. Buzan (Buzan, 1991) distinguishes between military threats (seizure of territory, invasion, occupation, change of government, manipulation of policy), economic threats (exports, import restrictions, price manipulation, debt default, currency control, etc.), and environmental threats.

Chinese researcher Xiong Guangkai explains two big groups of threats, calling them “traditional” (connect with the political and military spheres) and “non-traditional” (terrorism, drug smuggling, serious infectious diseases, piracy, illegal migration, and environmental, economic, financial and information security threats) (Xiong, 2009).

State security is linked to the concept of state identity. The state determines its regional identity by forming images of “I”, “others” and “we”, which was explained in the study of the Norwegian constructivist I. Newman. “Others” are states that have opposing interests, as a result, a different identity. This judgment is similar to the notions of “enemy” and “threat” in the security system. In turn, the clash of values forms a common regional identity in the format of “we”, becomes a tool for cooperation in building a complex of regional security (Taran, 2013).

If there is a conflict of identities, then there are territorial conflicts (Patraty, 2011). This statement describes the conflict situations in both Pakistan and Ukraine. According to S. Huntington's concept (Huntington, 1993), there is a “clash of civilizations” between Pakistan and India – Muslim

and Hindu, as well as the religious factor underlying them. In particular, Ukraine's orientation towards European integration (European civilization identity) is a difference from the Russian identity ("Russian World") and the idea of Eurasianism.

Note that the current state of affairs in South Asia, according to Professor McGill University (Montreal, Canada) T.V. Paul (Paul, 2006), is defined as a feature of asymmetric conflicts in international relations. Pakistan, from the point of view of T.V. Paul, acts as a "weak" state: the peculiarity of domestic policy (signs of a "garrison" state, the existence of terrorist groups and lack of national identity), military-strategic goals (nuclear "deterrence" of India as an "enemy") and having a strong ally (China).

At the same time, Pakistani researcher I. Ahmed stressed that Pakistan will be able to continue its existence in the format of "garrison" state as long as donors are ready to provide all the necessary resources (Rumi, 2013).

In Ukrainian (and in the world') science, this question remains in the field of little-studied problems (see, for example, works: I. Horobets (Horobets, 2018; 2019a; 2019b), M. Napang, S. Nurhasanah and S. Rohman (Napang *et al.*, 2019) and etc.

It should be noted that the asymmetry of relations and the asymmetry of the conflict are inherent in the security of Ukraine, as a state that has an antagonist – the Russian Federation, as a global player in the international arena, and a state that has a significant military advantage over Ukraine.

According to the security situation, Ukraine and Pakistan can be described as states that contribute to the transformation of the regions to which they belong in the format of regional security complexes (Kotlyar *et al.*, 2020). However, this study will be based on an analysis of threats and their consequences for states in the format of national security (internal situation and counteraction of the antagonist on a bilateral basis).

Therefore, analysing Pakistan's security environment and Ukrainian one, it is possible to classify security threats to each of the states, dividing them into "traditional" and "non-traditional" ones.

For Pakistan's security, it will look like this:

- traditional threats (territorial conflicts with India and Afghanistan, Pakistan and India nuclear confrontation);
- "non-traditional" threats (terrorism combined with Islamic extremism and separatism leading to hostilities, as well as illegal drug trafficking and the problem of Afghan refugees).
- For Ukraine it will be the following variant:
- traditional threats (aggression of Russia and the warfare in eastern Ukraine);

- “non-traditional” (the existence of terrorist-minded alignments of the Donetsk People’s Republic (DPR) and the Lugansk People’s Republic (LPR), the problem of internally displaced persons, “gas” wars with the Russian Federation).

Thus, Ukraine and Pakistan are diverse states with their own achievements, but they have something consolidating the states – threats and their consequences.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Traditional and “non-traditional” threats: evolution of relations with the antagonist state

It should be emphasized that the first consolidating factor in the context of security threats, both for Pakistan and for Ukraine, is the neighbouring state. For Ukraine – Russia, and for Pakistan – India.

As for Ukraine, the National Security Strategy of Ukraine, approved by the decree of the President of Ukraine of September 14, 2020 (President of Ukraine, Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 392/2020, 2020), stated the actual threats to the national security of Ukraine, among which of the top priority are Russia’s aggressive actions aimed at attrition of Ukrainian economy and undermining of social and political stability with the aim of abolishing the statehood of Ukraine and capture its territory. Thus, Kyiv officially recognized Russia as a real threat to the national security of Ukraine.

Army plays an important role in Pakistan’s policy. In particular, on the pages of “HILAL” (Pakistan Armed Forces’ Magazine), India is defined as a state that represents a traditional threat. “In the case of India, there should not be any confusion in terms of achieving peace, security and stability. Any weakness in this regard will increase the chances of India aggression” – notes Professor Rasul Bakhsh Rais (Lahore University of Management Sciences) in the “HILAL” magazine (Rasul Bakhsh Rais, 2015).

In turn, the confirmation of India as the primary threat to Pakistan’s security in National Security Policy of Pakistan 2022-2026: “The political exploitation of a policy of belligerence towards Pakistan by India’s leadership has led to the threat of military adventurism and non-contact warfare to our immediate east” (National Security Policy of Pakistan 2022-2026, 2022:36).

India’s deterrence in the nuclear-missile sphere is topical for Pakistan’s foreign and regional policy. As for Ukraine and its relations with Russia, the nuclear sphere is not currently included into the means of counteraction,

since Ukraine voluntarily gave up its nuclear arsenal in 1994, and signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons (Uatom, 2020). Although, some Ukrainian politicians and experts are now appealing to the fact that if Ukraine had nuclear weapons - Russia would not have carried out aggressive actions against our state.

In the opinion of the authors, between Pakistan and Ukraine and their relations with the antagonistic states, India and Russia, it is possible to find certain common features using as the criteria the nuclear and energy factors (as “non-traditional” threats). For example, a catalyst showing the periods of aggravation of relations between Pakistan and India are the nuclear crises, as a consequence of the Kashmir issue aggravation, and, accordingly, the strain of relations between Ukraine and Russia can be traced through the so-called «gas» wars.

Nuclear crises between Pakistan and India, which are directly related to the existing Kashmir territorial affairs between the states. Russian scientist M. Braterskiy (Braterskiy, 2003) identifies the following crises:

The first nuclear crisis (1983-1984) was the initiation of nuclear programs in India and Pakistan. During India’s “Brasstacks” military exercise, Pakistan moved troops to the state Punjab border. The conflict was resolved, but it has demonstrated the readiness of official Delhi to a preemptive warfare and strikes aimed at eliminating Pakistan nuclear facilities.

Nuclear crisis “Zarb-i-Momin” (1990). Along with the start of the largest military exercise in Pakistan’s history, “Zarb-i-Momin”, the guerilla movement in Kashmir intensified. India accused Pakistan of supporting terrorists and carried out military strikes on rebel training camps. In response, Pakistan threatened to use nuclear weapons. An active role in resolving of the conflict was played by the United States.

Nuclear tests of 1998 and the Kargil crisis. In the spring of 1999, Pakistan troops crossed the control line, separating the Pakistan and India zones of Kashmir, and captured some Indian posts in Kargil. The United States put pressure on Pakistan and the conflict was resolved.

Crisis of 2008. The events of the 2008, terrorist attack in Mumbai, which led to new allegations from the official Delhi of Pakistan’s support of separatists in Kashmir.

Events on January 2, 2016 may also have the features of the 2008 format nuclear crisis. This was an attack of jihadists from the “Jaish-e-Mohammad” terrorist group on Indian air force base in Pethankot, located in the Indian state of Punjab. After that, the round of bilateral talks at the level of foreign ministers between Pakistan and India was broken off.

In turn, the events of February 14, 2019, according to Dr. Adil Sultan Muhammad (Adil Sultan, 2020) – Balacot Crises – related to the terrorist attack in Pulwama (Kashmir district controlled by India), where 40 Indian soldiers were killed. The responsibility for the attack was claimed by the terrorist group “Jaish-e-Mohammed” (banned in Pakistan, but has some permanent posts on the Pakistan territory).

Such crises between Pakistan and India had and have a direct impact on the regional security system in South Asia and have encouraged both states to increase their nuclear-missile potential.

Energy crises between Ukraine and Russia, in turn, have an impact on the stability in Europe. The effects of such crises, “gas” wars between states, are similar to those observed between Pakistan and India, in particular, as part of the diversification of energy sources supplying. In Ukraine, it is a decrease in the gas volume procurements from Russia and the search for new partners, and in Russia, it is the construction of the pipelines “Nord Stream” and “South Stream”.

The “gas” war of 2005-2006 began when in March, 2005 Russian “Gazprom” demanded from Ukraine (National Joint Stock Company “Naftogaz of Ukraine”) to pay for gas from 2006 at prices close to the European ones (about \$250 per 1 000 m³). On January 4, 2006, both parties succeeded in signing an agreement that ended the practice of barter trade (gas transit in exchange for gas supplying).

Ukraine-Russia gas conflict of 2008-2009. 2009 is characterized by the fact that from 9:00 a.m. January 1, 2009, Gazprom cut off gas supplies to Ukraine. On January 18, 2009, after the five-hour talks, Prime Ministers Vladimir Putin and Yulia Tymoshenko agreed to resume gas supply to Ukraine and EU countries. According to new gas contracts, the reference price for Russian natural gas for Ukraine was \$450 US per 1 000 m³.

Russia-Ukraine gas war of 2014 – aggravation of contradictions in gas supplying between “Naftogaz of Ukraine” and “Gazprom” against the background of political relations between the RF and Ukraine after the events of EuroMaydan. From April 1, 2014, “Gazprom” raised the price of Russian gas to Ukraine from \$268.5 to \$485 per 1 000 m³ (Espresso, 2014).

February 26, 2018, the last «gas» aggravation of relations between Ukraine and Russia took place (*Gas War of 2018*). Russian gas monopolist lowered the pressure in the pipeline, and that did not allow hydrocarbons to be supplied to Europe, although Ukraine had not been buying gas directly from Russia since 2015. Such «gas manipulations» can be regarded as the undermining of Ukraine’s prestige in the eyes of European partners, because, despite the aggravation of Ukraine-Russia relations, Ukraine continues to supply Russian gas to Europe (Vasylchenko, 2018).

Despite the differences in the instruments of realization of the confrontation between the states, both Ukraine-Russia and Pakistan-India have a certain common ground in this counteraction – “non-traditional” component – “gas dependence” and “peaceful atom”.

The threat of territorial integrity violation because of a significant number of territorial disputes also is very important for official Islamabad.

The above-mentioned conflicts take place both in the north and in the south of the country. South conflict region – Kashmir (Pakistani Azad Kashmir and Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir). The North conflict region is the place of Pakistan territorial dispute with Afghanistan (Pakistan’s province Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). The official Islamabad has to find common ground with the separatist groups of eastern Balochistan province, which is on the border with Afghanistan and Iran (Grare, 2013).

For Ukraine, starting from 2014, the main threat is the similar to Pakistan – conflict with the neighbouring state and the opposition to the separatist-minded terrorist groups formed in eastern Ukraine by the DPR and the LPR, which are fighting by military means against Ukraine with financial and military support of Russia.

In parallel, one can observe a slightly similar situation in Pakistan, where a paramilitary separatist organization Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) operates in the province of Balochistan with the purpose to establish the sovereignty of Balochistan. After a series of attacks using explosive devices, in 2006 BLA was declared a terrorist organization by the Pakistan and British governments (Sahni, n.d.).

In 2010, Prime Minister of Pakistan Y.R. Gilani officially stated that he had a dossier proving that India was involved in Balochistan conflict, but the Indian authorities denied the statement (Sajjad Syed, 2015). The British intelligence also shares the opinion of Pakistan that New Delhi is secretly sponsoring Balochistan rebels to put pressure on Pakistan (Dawn, 2006).

Ukraine has also repeatedly stated the financing and support of the DPR and LPR separatists by the Russian party (so-called humanitarian convoys and cargo from Russia) (Ipressa.ua, 2017). The province of Balochistan in Pakistan is rich in gas deposits, while Donbas in Ukraine is rich in coal and shale gas. Therefore, these regions for each of the states are of great economic importance.

The Pakistan Government is considering the possibility of foreign participation in conflict resolution under the aegis of the United Nations. In turn, in July 2017, former President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko declared that Ukraine would insist on placing the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Donbas on acceptable for Ukraine terms (UNIAN, 2017). It is necessary to say that both Pakistan (the problem of Kashmir) and Ukraine

(the Russian aggression in the east of Ukraine and the annexation of the Crimea) raise the issues of conflicts at the UN General Assembly meetings, which are criticized by both India and Russia.

3.2. Conflicts in Pakistan and Ukraine: the aftermaths and mechanisms of their overcoming, or how to find positive in the negative

The existing conflicts in Pakistan lay the groundwork for the formation of the “Pashtunistan-Kashmir” axis in the security environment of the state, which testifies to the high level of conflict in South Asia. Pakistan is gaining the status of a “middle” state, while responding to both threats, and Islamabad’s policies depend not only on stability in the state, but also on strengthening security mechanisms in the region. After all, a stable Pakistan is an important link in ensuring not only regional but also global security (Tykhonenko, 2017).

Conflicts in Pakistan and Ukraine impact on the state and its internal stability. It is necessary to highlight the areas that affect these conflicts and are both common to Pakistan and Ukraine and have certain mechanisms of overcoming the aftermaths of conflicts:

- conducting of the Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO);
- army modernization;
- the existence of the “enemy state”, which assists in forming a single national identity;
- the problem of refugees (Pakistan) and internally displaced persons (Pakistan and Ukraine);
- fragility of the state as the result of conflicts.

It should be emphasised that the mentioned consequences of conflicts are closely interrelated with each other, and the aftermaths of the conflicts, surprisingly enough, have a positive impact on the state as well.

• *Conducting of the Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO)*

Speaking about the ATO, it is necessary to emphasize some features and give some explanations. In Pakistan, anti-terrorist operations are quite common and, as the practice of recent years shows, are effective as mechanisms of overcoming the terrorist threat in the state. Such operations take place in the provinces of Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The purpose of the operation is to “mop up” the territories of militants of terrorist organizations such as “Al-Qaeda”, “Taliban”, “Lashkar-e-Jhangvi”, “Haqqani Network” etc.

In particular, Operation “Zarb-e-Azb”, which was launched in 2014 on the territories of East Waziristan and FATA, is considered as being the most successful. The casus belli for the military operation of the Pakistan army (30,000 soldiers) were the attack of militants on the Jinnah International Airport Karachi (Mujtaba, 2014). Concerning Ukraine, the battles for the airport in Donetsk were among the heaviest and the most furious at the initial stage and during the first phase of the ATO (Sushynskyi and Podilska, 2020).

April 13, 2014, the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine headed by the Acting President of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchynov decided to start the ATO (Decree “On the Urgent Measures to Overcome the Terrorist Threat and Preserve the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine” (Law of Ukraine, 2014) was signed April 14, 2014 – the official launching of the ATO).

The difference between Pakistani concept of ATO and Ukrainian one is that it takes place in Pakistan using coordinated military methods against terrorists under the command of the Chief of Army Staff (land forces of the Pakistan Army) – R. Sharif, and from 2016 – Q. Bajwa with the involvement of other types of troops and Pakistan Rangers. In Ukraine, the ATO was subordinated only to the Security Service of Ukraine (SSU) without the right of the military (according to the Minsk Agreements) to use heavy weaponry and to break the ceasefire.

Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the Law “On Peculiarities of State Policy on Ensuring Ukraine’s State Sovereignty Over Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Luhansk Regions” (February 24, 2018), which stated that the Russian Federation was recognized as an occupying state, while territories in the East of Ukraine were recognized as temporarily occupied.

The general command by the forces and means of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in Donbas would not be exercised by the SSU, but by the Joint Operational Headquarters of the Armed Forces, the general leadership of which would be carried out by the President of Ukraine as the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Also, the post of Ukraine’s Commander of the Joint Forces was introduced (Pryamyi, 2018).

Therefore, the existence of ATOs in Pakistan and Ukraine has a somewhat different background, however, operations are conducted against separatist groups that possess weapons and are fighting against the state and the civilian population using terrorist methods.

- ***Army modernization***

It should be noted that Pakistan can be characterized as a “garrison” state according to some theoretical background. Pakistan is constantly

modernizing its army. According to the Global Firepower Index, a competent authority in the state's ranking and modernization of the armed forces of all countries of the world, in 2022 Military Strength Ranking Pakistan is the 9th on the list, and Ukraine is the 22th (Global Firepower Index, 2022).

The third Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 became the reason for modernization of the army in Pakistan and, consequently, the acquisition of nuclear weapons. In the 1970s, Prime Minister of Pakistan Z.A. Bhutto said that "...we will eat grass or leaves, even go hungry, but we will get our own (nuclear weapons)" (Moore, 1993:2). It is necessary to say that in Chapter 1 of the "Pakistan Army Ordinance" of 1965, with the amendments of 2001, it is noted that Pakistan reserves the right to use nuclear weapons of all types to protect national security (The Pakistan Arms Ordinance, 1965).

After the events of 2014, Ukraine began to revive its Armed Forces and upgrade its military-technical base. Ukraine continued to increase its defence budget. The corresponding indicator of financing the security and defense sector in 2021 was 5.92%, and in 2020 it was 5.45% of GDP (Radio Svoboda, 2021).

Therefore, the similar effect of the conflicts for Pakistan and Ukraine is, oddly enough, a positive impact on the modernization of the army and the defence capability of the state.

- ***Forming a national identity and overcoming the impact of the conflicts on the social sphere***

It should be mentioned that the fact of the existence of an "enemy" state, an aggressor state became the element of consolidation of the society, raising of a patriotic spirit.

At the documentary level, the Government of Pakistan in 2014 made a step towards the consolidation of the society by developing an action plan till 2025 "One Nation – One Vision" (Pakistan 2025. One Nation – One Vision, 2014).

President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyi in his address to Ukrainians on the Day of Unity on January 22, 2020, noted about unity of Ukrainians not only through common traditions, culture and religion, but also other values that are acceptable for every corner of Ukraine and according to which, in the future, Ukrainians could be identified in every corner of the planet (Zelenskyi, 2020).

The feeling of patriotism for one's state becomes a catalyst for the unity of society.

In Ukrainian realities of 2014, the army was not ready to repulse Russia's aggression in full, and therefore civilians (patriots and volunteers),

conscripts, who subsequently got ATO participant status, took part in military operations. Such citizens were included in the population group that the state cared for through the Centers for Assistance to the Anti-Terrorist Operation Participants.

The State performed some actions for the ATO participants to get land plots gratuitously, sanatorium-and-spa treatment and rehabilitation, as well as social and professional transition. Also, on the territory of Ukraine, the volunteer movement was started with the purpose to assist the military in the ATO zone (products, necessities, weapons), and the ATO participants. In particular, it was the Public Union “All-Ukrainian Association of ATO Participants “Ukrainians-Together!”. Various events, meetings with the heroes ATO participants were organized with children and students for raising the patriotic spirit (Ukraintsi Razom, 2016).

In Pakistan, since the gaining of independence, the army had and has a strong position in the state and such civilian support of ATO is not typically for Pakistan.

However, if we talk about the counteraction with antagonist state, it implements not only in military sphere. Very indicative was the fact of re-imposing a ban on Indian television content in 2018 when I. Khan became as Pakistan Prime Minister. Note that Ukraine, after a Russian aggression (although with some delay), also banned the broadcasting of media content from the Russian Federation, which is a demonstration of the use of common methods of counteraction to the aggressor state, both in Pakistan and in Ukraine (Kotlyar *et al.*, 2020).

- ***The social component of the security factor in Pakistan and Ukraine***

According to the dates of ReliefWeb (humanitarian information service provided by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) on April 30, 2021 in Pakistani territory locates 1,44 million registered afghan refugees (Relifweb, 2021).

In Pakistan-Afghan relations, the problem of refugees is not purely bilateral. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is involved in the negotiation process between Pakistan and Afghanistan, providing both advisory and material assistance and facilitate.

The Pakistan Government has been making significant efforts for many years to satisfy the needs of internally displaced persons. Registration has given hundreds of thousands of people the opportunity to get asylum, cash grants, food, water, sanitation and medical services. At the state level, the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions (SAFRON) coordinates the changes in society caused by violence, in particular, the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs

and Gilgit Baltistan regulates the policy concerning internally displaced persons from the state of Azad Kashmir when the situation on the ceasefire line with India is escalated.

Ukraine faced the issue of internally displaced persons, their registration and assistance to such persons in 2014. According to the Unified Information Database on Internally Displaced Persons of the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, the number of registered internally displaced persons (IDPs) who moved from the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, as well as the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol as of December 31, 2021 – 1 476 148 people. It should be noted that in 2022 after Russians invasion of Ukraine this total raised to 8 million people (Ministry for Reintegration, 2022).

In comparison with Pakistan, the problem of internally displaced persons is less topical in Ukraine for the certain reasons. Pakistan is a Muslim state, where the religious factor is an important factor in the gender division of society and the habitation of women and men. In addition, in Pakistan takes place a constant process of internally displaced persons returning to the territory of permanent residence after its “cleansing” from militants and terrorists by the Pakistan army.

It is worth pointing out that, the problem of Afghan refugees in Pakistan is also great importance. Afghan refugees are closely linked to drug trafficking in Pakistan. Although there are general agreements on counteractions against drug trafficking, such as the Tripartite Agreement between the Islamic Republics of Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan aimed to strengthen border cooperation and drug control, however, the struggle at the national level is in the forefront (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010).

As noted in the report of the National Institute for Strategic Studies, in connection with Russian aggression in 2014 and the activities of the DPR and LPR, Ukraine began to be characterized as a state that international terrorist organizations may use as “transit” for their activities. The Security Service of Ukraine has already revealed the facts that Ukrainian territory was being used by international terrorists. This issue becomes urgent in the context of justification of possible aggressive actions of the Russian Federation (air strikes or the official bringing of Russian armed forces into the territory of Ukraine) in the guise of counter-terrorism (Reznikova, 2017). As of 2022 we can see such aggressive Russian invasion of Ukraine.

- ***Social unity and coexistence under the pressure of instability***

Above mentioned implementation of Pakistan-India relations and Ukrainian-Russia one in the format of “friend / enemy” is not unfounded

and is formed by the relevant situations of both domestic and interstate nature.

In particular, on August 5, 2019, the Indian government announced its intention to lift the special status of the Indian-controlled part of the disputed region of Kashmir, sent thousands of troops there and cut off telephone and Internet communications in the region. This event has exacerbated bilateral relations between Pakistan and India as a nuclear power to the highest level, as evidenced by the consideration of the Kashmir issue at a closed meeting of the UN General Assembly for the first time in 50 years.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan I. Khan stressed the pro-fascist orientation of the Indian government and the deliberate oppression of Muslims living in Jammu and Kashmir (Khan, 2019). A campaign has been launched in Pakistan in support of Kashmiri people living in the Indian states of Jammu and Kashmir. On August 30, 2019, Pakistan hosted a nationwide Kashmir Hour (Dawn, 2019).

An action in support of the Crimean Tatars – “Crimea is Ukraine” has been held in Ukraine since 2014. Emphasis is placed on the non-recognition of the legitimacy of the Russian referendum in Crimea and its annexation, and condemns the persecution of the inhabitants of the peninsula who oppose the Russian government, especially the Crimean Tatars. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine constantly issues notes of protest and condemnation of Russia’s actions in Crimea (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 2020).

- ***Fragility of Ukraine and Pakistan as result of security instability***

According to former Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, Husain Haqqani to overcome all of the above-mentioned negative internal political characteristics and factors of influence on the foreign policy of Islamabad it is necessary to do the following:

If the Pakistani establishment decides to turn the corner, it would have to embrace a new national narrative for the country. To do so, it would have to change the defensive national narrative about Pakistan’s creation, *raison d’être* and prospects of survival” (Haqqani, 2014: 112).

The internal environment of the state, its security, stability, social security and economic development are structural elements that shape not only the state of the state and the processes in it, but also the vision of this state by others. It would be analysed the level of state fragility. The independent research organization The Fund for Peace has developed criteria and

presented the overall Fragile State Index 2021 (Fiertz, 2021) rating of all countries. For our study, the table highlights Ukraine and Pakistan. Ukraine was included to category “Warning” (position number 91 in 2021 year and number 92 in 2020) and Pakistan – “Alert” (position number 29 in 2021 year and number 25 in 2020). There is such interdependence – higher number – more stable situation in the country.

Table No. 01. Fragile State Index (Ukraine, Pakistan)

	Security Apparatus	Factionalized Elites	Group Grievance	Economic Decline	Uneven Economic Development	Human Flight and Brain Drain	State Legitimacy	Public Services	Human Rights and Rule of Law	Demographic Pressures	Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons	External Intervention	Total	Change from previous year
Ukraine	6.7	8.0	5.7	6.8	3.2	5.8	6.8	4.5	6.0	4.3	4.2	7.8	69.8	0.8
Pakistan	7.9	9.0	8.8	7.1	5.3	6.2	7.3	8.0	7.3	7.9	7.5	8.2	90.5	-1.6

Source: Fiertz (2021).

Conclusion

Threats to the national security of Pakistan and Ukraine have a common basis in the military-political sphere. In particular, the main external threat to both states is the neighbouring state. In the case of Pakistan, the main antagonist in the region is India, and for Ukraine is Russia, which has been an objective fact since 2014.

Threats to national security are classified as traditional and “non-traditional”. For Pakistan, the traditional threats are territorial conflicts with India and Afghanistan, the Pakistani-Indian nuclear confrontation, and the “non-traditional” ones are terrorism combined with Islamic extremism and separatism, which leads to hostilities, as well as illegal drug trafficking and the problem of Afghans refugees. For Ukraine, this classification can be applied in the following format: traditional threats – Russian aggression and the war in eastern Ukraine, and “none-traditional” – the existence of terrorist separatist groups DPR, LPR, the problem of internally displaced persons, “gas” wars with Russia.

The authors emphasize in the article that the consequences of conflicts and mechanisms for overcoming conflicts have become common for Ukraine and Pakistan. Firstly, attempts to unite society and create a single national identity, raising patriotism. Secondly, conducting anti-terrorist operation, which in Ukraine's one transformed in Operation of Joint Forces and modernisation of army.

Thirdly, and the most commonly for states – the social aspects of the impact of conflicts and mechanisms for overcoming their consequences. All these common features have influenced the stability of the state and made it in some aspects as a “weak” state.

As a result of the study, the authors substantiated the following idea. Both Ukraine and Pakistan should not only counteract to threats, but also reform the state policy, improve living standards of the population and create a positive image on the international scene.

“Allah does not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves”. This Quran Surah, which the Pakistan government has taken as an epigraph to the framed by the 2030 “Agenda for Sustainable Development” (Pakistan in the 21st century: vision 2030, 2007:30), is somewhat consistent with the Ukrainian proverbs sounds like, “God helps them who help themselves”.

Despite the difficult socio-economic situation in Pakistan, the authorities use the geopolitical position of the state to receive financing and investments from other states. In particular, these are states, whose national interests include cooperation with Pakistan – the United States and the People's Republic of China. “Deterrence” of India in Afghan direction has one more explanation and direct implementation in the relations between Pakistan and the People Republic of China. The territory of Pakistan is part of the Chinese “Belt and Road Initiative”. Ukraine is also a part of such Beijing's initiative.

Ukrainian favourable geopolitical position gives it the traits of a “bridge between the West and the East”. These features should be used more effectively by the Ukrainian authorities in attracting investments that will develop our country, and it will not just be in the status of ally for the EU and the US in “deterrence” of Russia.

Therefore, both Pakistan and Ukrainian authorities should pursue more flexible and effective policy on the domestic scene. In addition, they should not only wait for assistance from the outside, but also overcome corruption, develop industry and economy. It is necessary to create such an image of the state so that it would be interesting to others and known all over the world not only because of its crises.

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