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Explaining the Role of Domestic Factors in Shaping Foreign Policies: India and Pakistan in Comparative Perspective (2014-2020)

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ABSTRACT

Since 2014, India's domestic and foreign policies have reflected violent religious fanaticism and hyper-nationalism. If elected to power, Modi often stated that India would pursue a tough stance against Pakistan and would put Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) directly under the control of the Indian central government. This did not paint a positive picture. Since 2014, India's primary goal in foreign policy has remained to encircle Pakistan on all of its borders and isolate it from the rest of the world. Nearly all of the world's superpowers and the Muslim nations have encouraged diplomatic relations with India. India strategically employs all of the regional nations and global powers it has close ties to fight Pakistan. Without any regional or international pressure, it unilaterally changed the special constitutional status of Indian-occupied Kashmir. The reactionary foreign policy of Pakistan, on the other hand, did not rely on pre-emptive measures to fight India's foreign policy, which is primarily built on plotting against Pakistan. India consistently takes advantage of Pakistan's weak and nebulous international policies. This study aims to give a detailed analysis of the elements, in particular the internal or domestic ones that were responsible for influencing foreign policy decision-making in India and Pakistan between 2014 and 2020. Using Allison's models of foreign policy has identified the factors accountable for Pakistan's unproductive and responsive external policy in contrast to India's proactive and forceful external strategy. One of the crucial findings that this study identified is that the democratic system and political continuity in India are the significant elements providing a strong base for effective policy making and building strong institutions as compared to Pakistan where the absence of both these elements are contributing to institutional crisis as well as weak and passive decision making.

Keywords: BJP, RSS, Kashmir, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, United States, China, SAARC, SCO, OIC, CPEC, Gulf States, Middle East. Hindutva, Terrorism, Foreign policy

INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy decision-making is a difficult process that involves numerous parties and variables. States carefully consider all relevant factors relating to their internal and external dynamics before making any significant judgments on their foreign policies. However, the question of whether or not the internal political, social, and economic conditions have any bearing on a state's decision-making has always been the subject of a protracted and unyielding argument in academic circles. It is frequently argued that when a state participates in the anarchic international system, it is "expanding its native affairs" or "adjusting to its external environment." They should have the closest ties between them because

Pakistan and India are two close neighbours who share a common history and culture. Their conversations, though, have remained strained the entire time. Three significant battles between the two countries have been fought over Kashmir, which is crucially significant to them both. As strategic adversaries seeking for regional hegemony, the two South Asian regional powers continue to act contradictorily and destructively.

Pakistan has always been happy to offer reasonable suggestions, but India often responds negatively and finds new methods to harm Pakistan. Both states' long-standing concerns, such as the Kashmir issue, the Siachen and Sir Creek issues, water issues, border conflicts, and counterterrorism-related issues, have not been resolved

more than 70 years after their independence (Negi, 2019).

India has established positive ties with Iran and Afghanistan in order to completely encircle Pakistan because its foreign policy is firmly founded on hatred towards Pakistan. It has also improved relations with China in order to boost its economic ties with it. India is making great efforts to isolate Pakistan on a worldwide basis; as a logical and deliberate extension of Indian foreign policy, India is hurting Pakistan militarily by enhancing its military capability and posing a danger to Pakistan's economy. India gives Afghanistan a lot of consideration in its geopolitical and strategic planning. The declaration of Afghanistan's sovereignty over *Pashtunistan* has always had India's backing. India seeks to improve relations with Afghanistan in order to achieve dominance in the region (Dutt, 2019).

By nullifying articles 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution on August 5, 2019, India under the leadership of Narendra Modi has successfully changed the distinct constitutional status of Kashmir. There were no barriers in its path. The international community continued to back India, even though they were blind to the confinement of millions of Kashmiris living in Indian-controlled Kashmir. Pakistan's fragile economic state and lack of any solid external policy strategies prevented it from garnering significant support on the issue. Many states choose not to voice their displeasure with India's activities for a variety of reasons, including India's approaches to foreign affairs and its rapidly approaching US\$3 trillion economy.

The United Arab Emirates gave Prime Minister Modi its highest civilian order, and Bahrain soon after. Saudi Arabia, which wants India to continue buying its oil, said Kashmir was an internal problem. These nations have historically supported Pakistan and are important contributors to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which has traditionally opposed India on the Kashmir issue. However, Modi's aggressive foreign policy initiatives altered the course of India's mission. Russia, a long-time ally of India, applauded India's action. It was unlikely that France, which is currently making a concentrated push to sell its fighter aircraft to India, would act in any other way. Japan and U.S. also supported the move (Hughes, 2019).

India's cordial relationships with major nations and regional governments from 2014 to 2020 were a direct result of her deft diplomacy and effective foreign policy.

However, as a result of these Indian initiatives, Pakistan today faces enormous challenges. The malicious ambitions that India has for Pakistan do not appear to be being thwarted by Pakistan's foreign policy. This study examines the internal factors behind Pakistan's ineffective and reactive foreign policy in comparison to India's effective and proactive foreign policy between 2014 and 2020 in light of Allison's theories of foreign policy decision-making.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The context of an investigation is established by the study's technique. A planned or codified approach used in science to test hypotheses is referred to as methodology. Given the wide range of the topic covered, it is fair to use a qualitative and interpretive research approach. The validity of the theoretical research will be improved because it will allow the researcher to delve deeply into the causes. It will be helpful for looking into constant data and information. For this initiative, academic interpretations and conclusions will be impartially assessed. Interpretive and qualitative research approaches place a strong emphasis on the ideas, hypotheses, convictions, and opinions held by experts and academics. The researcher will be better able to list all the important aspects fully.

Due to the nature of the research issue in question, which is based on a qualitative methodology, the study is set up to apply the method known as content analysis. To find trends in logged conversation, an inquiry technique called content analysis is used. Using both primary and secondary data, the study will come to conclusions regarding the key themes covered by the topic. The key information will come from interviews, official documents, Foreign Office records, annual reports, speeches and remarks made by various state leaders, charters and declarations, joint press releases, etc. The study will also use all secondary resources that are available, including books and articles that have been published in several journals, newspapers, and magazines, as well as online media, television, and commentaries. Together, primary and secondary data will be used in a thorough and organized way to grasp every facet of the topic and come to a successful conclusion.

The investigator will evaluate the collected primary and secondary data using the models of Graham Allison's foreign policy decision-making. Finding all the elements

will be made simpler for the researcher, especially the internal factors, such as the role of organizations, leadership, rationality in policy-making, bureaucracy, public opinion, national and international organizations, etc. in influencing foreign policy decision-making in Pakistan and India.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to the structure and purpose of the policymaking unit, Graham Allison has divided the decision-making style into three distinct models in his book *The Essence of Decision*. These include the Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM), Organizational Process Model (OPM), and Rational Actor Model (RAM). This study intends to apply these three different models of national decision-making on foreign policy in order to identify the factors that shaped the foreign policies of India and Pakistan and that contributed to India's hands-on and effective external policy in contrast to Pakistan's shabby and reactionary foreign policy between 2014 and 2020.

Rational Actor Model

States and individual decision-makers were supposed to be rational and cunning in the pursuit of their external policy decisions by the rational actor model (RAM) and the rational choice theory, respectively. States behave as whole entities; their decisions reflect the interests of the entire country. As previously said, domestic considerations are taken into account when making foreign policy decisions. The decision-maker is a rational agent who adopts the rational choice perspective while making choices. It undertakes:

- Policy choices go through a meticulously outlined process.
- The targets are established policy objectives.
- Cost-effectiveness is a key component in cost-benefit analysis, which is a deterministic factor.
- The finest solutions lead to the selection and institute of a course of action.

This procedure entails identifying the policy conundrum and properly defining it. Policy objectives are determined when the specific policy conundrum has been identified. The choice of the aim is followed by the identification of the substitutes. It also gives the decision-maker the ability to specify the options. The availability of options creates a situation where choosing between accessible options is difficult since all of the previously listed factors, such as

cognizance, personality, group thinking, and institutional feedback, can play a role (Allison, & Zelikow, 1999).

Bureaucratic Politics Model

The struggle for power and influence among various government departments and agencies has an impact on how decisions are made. Foreign policy is influenced by the bureaucrats' and diplomats' like-and-dislike politics. The creation, demeanor, and execution of external policies are all impacted by bureaucracies' standard operating procedures, modes of operation, and often even reluctance to exchange information across organizational boundaries. A type of politics within a government is the propensity for stagnation and a constrained space for innovation given the procedural rituals and bureaucratic callousness. Bureaucracies have a significant impact on initiatives and regulations. They create plans and strategies. They process information and have the capacity to manipulate it, which influences choice making (Allison, & Zelikow, 1999).

Organizational Process Model

Choices are also developed within agencies. The usage of standard operating procedures (SOPs) is the main idea in the organizational politics model. SOPs often govern routine issues that low-level bureaucrats can handle. However, important decisions, such as developing a long-term budget, could be seen from an organizational perspective. Governmental decisions are typically founded on administrative norms or a priori principles, involve little uncertainty, and don't constitute a crisis. Graham Allison and Pfaltzgraff draw a number of examples of this kind of decision-making from the Cuban Missile Crisis. After laying the medium-range ballistic missiles in Cuba, the Soviets did not instantly try to hide them, despite being conscious of the US ability to use high-altitude U-2 surveillance planes. The Soviets did not preinstall radar or surface-to-air missiles to defend the missile spots. Allison perceives this as a perfect example of how SOPs and organizational decision-making work together. In this instance, SOP was a miserable disaster for the Soviets (Mintz 2010). (Alex Mintz, 2010).

It can be argued that each of the components of Allison's models of foreign policy decision-making can add something to the discussion of the core questions discussed in the article.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What domestic variables influenced Pakistan's and India's foreign policy decisions regarding one another between 2014 and 2020?
2. How did Indian external policy decisions oppose Pakistan's interests by isolating it on its perimeter and disengaging it from the worldwide community?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is very important because it will inform academia and decision-makers about the actual factors that made it difficult for Pakistan to pursue its foreign policy objectives. It will expose the causes of Pakistan's feeble and retaliatory external policy strategies, as well as its diplomatic tactics, particularly with regard to India. Additionally, it will inform policymakers and the academic community on the diplomatic objectives India is proactively pursuing against Pakistan, as well as the variables that contribute to India's successful and proactive foreign policy towards Pakistan.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

For any objective inquiry, a review of the most recent literature is essential. Research on the interactions between India and Pakistan between 2014 and 2020 is fascinating. On Indo-Pak relations and their foreign policy, there is a vast corpus of published and unpublished literature. In-depth discussions of India and Pakistan's geopolitical, security and economic disputes can be found in the literature on those relations. However, nothing is documented regarding the formulation of Indian and Pakistani foreign policies. Therefore, this study is focused on the internal elements that play a crucial role in influencing the foreign policy decision-making of both countries.

The rise of Prime Minister (PM) Narendra Modi to the highest political position in India has greatly heightened Indian hostility against Pakistan. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), led by Narendra Modi, has steadfastly supported Hindu nationalism, also known as Hindutva, which ridicules the secular beliefs that serve as the foundation of the Indian constitution. Modi's administration has chosen practicality in its external policy interactions with its neighbors and the Muslim world, with the exception of Pakistan. Since 2014, the BJP has undertaken a plan to isolate Pakistan on a global and regional scale. India also blamed Pakistan for the locally organized Kashmiri struggle movements and termed it as

state-sponsored terrorism (Kallimullah, 2019).

Regarding the Kashmir conflict, Pakistan's foreign policy lacked coherence, objectivity, and clarity. It was mostly a reaction to India's proactive external policy towards the Kashmir problem. As a result, Pakistan was unable to influence the world community in order to gather support for its point of view on the issue of Indian-occupied Kashmir (KAKAR, 2020).

India's foreign policy has evolved since 2014 in both content and approach. When Modi visited Riyadh in October 2019, Saudi Arabia upheld its neutral standpoint on the Kashmir problem and offered assistance to India in its battle against global terrorism. The UAE has also said that it is a local affair for India to decide to repeal Article 370 in Indian-occupied Kashmir. Also, China's proposal for the UN Security Council to consider the Kashmir problem was rejected by many important countries including the United States, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom in favor of India (Kumar, 2019).

Indian and Pakistani interests in Afghanistan are in conflict. India and Pakistan have been competing for geopolitical sway in Afghanistan. Pakistan is extremely concerned about India's unwavering efforts to expand its strategic presence in Afghanistan in the wake of 9/11. By taking into account the local realities, India has conducted active diplomacy and, to a great extent, has been effective in establishing pro-Indian lobbies in Afghanistan. Pakistan is moving very slowly to offset India's expanding socioeconomic influence and military presence in Afghanistan (Negi, 2019).

Since 2014, India has been engaging in direct diplomacy and contesting Pakistan's interests on all fronts. India was invited to the OIC meeting which was indeed its huge diplomatic victory over Pakistan. India achieved diplomatic success when practically all SAARC members abstained from the Islamabad summit. More to the point, Pakistan was placed on the FATF's "grey list" for financing terrorism on the eve of the Modi and US administrations. India has made innumerable diplomatic advances as a result of its active and forceful diplomacy. Pakistan's weak and regressive foreign policy strategies, on the other hand, prevented it from taking decisive measures to resist Indian plans. It is threatening for Pakistan, and that is why this exploration is very significant.

INTERNAL ELEMENTS DETERMINING INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Ministry of External Affairs (MEA)

MEA is India's primary overseas policy-making institution. It is the most important ministry in the government, and one of its key responsibilities is to deal with matters involving the country's worldwide relations. Since its establishment, it has successfully completed a range of assignments related to India's distant policy. Although other organizations and individuals have contributed to the process of creating external policy, the MEA is the official decision-maker and determines the trajectory of foreign policy. The MEA plays a significant role in data gathering, processing, and analysis for effective policy-making through its abroad missions (Menon, 2016).

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO)

It is one of the key decision-making institutions in India for foreign policy. Even though the Ministry of External Affairs is in charge of overseeing external affairs the PM's choice ultimately determines how any policy is developed. All key national security and international policy matters require prior approval from the PM (Kandula, 2019).

The National Security Council (NSC) and Ministry of Defence (MOD)

The NSC is the government of India's highest-ranking consultative body. It offers advice to the government on matters concerning external policy and national security in India. The NSC has lately appeared as a vital actor in the making of India's distant and safety policies, even though the PM and his cabinet make the ultimate decision on any noteworthy matter of external and defence policy. The Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), the Strategic Policy Group (SPG), and the National Security Advisory Board (NSAB) make up the National Security Council (NSC). Under the guidance of the NSA, NSC likewise aids in the development of other substantial government policies, such as those pertaining to financial and energy security that have a direct or indirect impact on India's national interests.

Protection of national territory and sovereignty is the main objective of the country's foreign policy. The MOD has thus played a crucial role in shaping Indian external policy. It acts as a coordinating organization for the government and military forces and offers the Indian government additional tactical advice regarding worldwide issues. The government regularly consults with the Defence Ministry when formulating policies on

strategic issues and national safety (Kandula, 2019).

Public Opinion and Pakistan Aspect

Numerous domestic problems and the rhetoric that surrounds them frequently act as direct influences on international policy. For instance, India's relations with Pakistan are conditioned by popular opinion and implied perception. No matter what the political stance is, the government must consider public opinion when dealing with Pakistan. The same phenomenon that we want to give Pakistan a jaw-dropping response was evident during Modi's election campaign when he was seeking the position of Prime Minister. Blood and water can't flow together. We'll fight back with equal force. India's anti-Pakistan sentiment is exploited during electoral campaigns, putting a domestic problem in the spotlight of foreign policy circles. India's internal affairs concern Pakistan, and this question meaningfully alters the course of external policy in India (Wojczewski, 2020).

India Democratic Structure

India's domestic prospect has been similarly appealing in terms of the persistence of democracy there. India stands out as a unique example of a functioning postcolonial democracy, which has made India's domestic political system appealing and fascinating to the rest of the globe. India continues to draw attention from the rest of the world via the lens of democratic development, holding the title of the largest democracy in the world. The structures involved in forming foreign policy continue to be impacted by India's regional politics, caste-based political system, and the significant influence of regional politics (Menon, 2016).

Part of Parliament

The Parliament is viewed as essential to democracy, among other things, for setting societal policies. In addition, the Indian constitution gave the parliament unmatched power to pass legislation for items on the union list, such as foreign policy. By utilizing a number of constitutional provisions, the parliament, which serves as both the people's representative and the nation's highest democratic institution, can have an impact on how external policy is decided. The Parliament still has a substantial role in determining India's external policy, despite the fact that bureaucratic organizations have historically dominated the process. Article 246 of the Indian Constitution divides legislative power between the

Union government and the states and gives the Parliament the power to establish legislation relevant to all aspects of the country's distant policy. The Parliament employs a range of powers, in addition to formulating policy, to have a great deal of influence over external policy choices. By exercising its financial authority, it can cut various allocations for the military, defense, worldwide aid, as well as other connected peripherals by using its monetary control (Kandula, 2019).

The Impact of Media and Public Pressure

The Indian media is essential in influencing public opinion and state policy with reference to a far-off and tactical policy issue. For instance, it is simple to attribute any incident in India to Pakistan. A recent example of this was the attack on the Gurdaspur Indian police station. The bias of the Indian media in framing and blaming Pakistan for terrorism was reinforced shortly after the attack. Additionally, media from both the West and India have linked terrorism to other world issues. For instance, trade and security are related to the problem of terrorism. Indian media is taking a blatantly aggressive and antagonistic stance towards Pakistan, which is persuading the Indian administration in the area of foreign policy.

In India, the media not only affects government decisions on international issues but also shapes popular opinion in favor of those actions, particularly when it comes to Pakistan. For instance, the print media in India is making a deliberate and sustained effort to influence public opinion in a specific direction. Ending the peace talks between India and Pakistan and imposing sanctions on Pakistan are supported by the Indian public, which is advantageous for the BJP government domestically and particularly during elections (Saffee, 2016).

Role of Leadership

As was the case with India between 2014 and 2020, populist leadership can have a big impact on a country's foreign policy. India today has a more politically stable administration than it had in the past, credit goes to a charismatic leader like Modi who has been pursuing external policy in an emphatic manner. With the BJP's electoral victory in 2014 and the arrival of Narendra Modi as Prime Minister, India saw the rise to power of a genuinely populist leader, which unquestionably has important implications for the "style" and processes of developing foreign policy. Populist leaders establish new

channels of communication with the people they represent, particularly when it comes to international affairs. As India witnessed between 2014 and 2020, in such circumstances, the public interpretation of a nation's interests and the dominant ideology of the populist may win over traditional foreign policy ideas or established conventions (Plagemann, & Destradi, 2019).

Economic Sovereignty and Development

India's standing in the world had risen as a result of economic expansion. Not because of its size, population, or dominant position in Asia India is known for. It is well known around the world due to its potential to become an economic superpower. Economic independence is the most important component in determining foreign policy. India had to liberalize its markets in 1991 in order to comply with its strategy, but ever since then, the country's economy has expanded significantly. India attracts many nations because of its robust economy. Today, India is enjoying good ties not only with the GCC states but also with other Muslim countries of the world. It uses its strong economy as a tool to achieve its foreign policy goals (Horimoto, 2017). India was successful in getting the patronage of many major states for its illegal actions in Indian-occupied Kashmir as a result of its huge economic influence. Using its economic might it always tries to isolate Pakistan in the comity of the world.

Technological Advancement and Military Power

Economic expansion and technical development are closely intertwined. Thus, scientific advancement also benefits countries that are economically successful. India's technological dominance has put it in a position to play important roles in international affairs. In terms of overall military power, India ranks third in the Army, fourth in the Air Force, and sixth in the Navy. India also has a lot of nuclear power available to it. The dominance of India in space is well known. Equipped governments have more freedom to formulate their external policy without external influence (Horimoto, 2017).

Hindu Nationalism

Hindu patriotism has become a strong counter-narrative to Indian nationalism. It called into question, criticized, and proclaimed incompatible tenets of unified culture with historical antecedents. Hindu chauvinism uses an oppositional framework to bracket all other individualities in an effort to stifle cultural diversity. Hinduism is

proclaimed by Indian diplomats to be the world's most spiritual religion. The Pakistani policy is affected by ideological factors. Given that it has a sizable Hindu support base, the BJP tries to present itself as a severe nemesis towards Pakistan. The BJP, like other significant parties in India, is composed of both ardent idealists and flexible realists. Sometimes a flexible, pragmatic approach is replaced by inflexible, ideological politics (S. S. Rehman, personal communication, Jun. 14, 2022).

INTERNAL ELEMENTS DETERMINING PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

Following are some internal elements that influence Pakistan's foreign policy.

Religious Ideology

People have the incentive to mold their destiny in accordance with ideology. Pakistan's external policy has been heavily influenced by ideology. The Islamic worldview served as the foundation for Pakistan's formation. Being a Muslim State, Pakistan's primary philosophy is Islamism. As a result, Pakistan's Islamic ideology plays a key role in influencing the country's distant policy. When developing Pakistan's external policy, these key ideas must be taken into account. One excellent illustration is the fact that all Pakistani governments continue to place the utmost value on maintaining positive relations with Muslim countries. Pakistan refuses to recognize Israel, which was created in accordance with Jewish principles. In addition, Pakistan routinely expresses worry about the cause of free Palestine (Bibi, & Yousaf, 2020).

The Impact of Political Parties and Leadership

Leaders and other high-ranking government officials have a key role in the creation and implementation of foreign policy. Additionally, these individuals have had an impact on the world we currently live in. The significance of many leadership attitudes continued in Pakistan as well. For instance, under President Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan joined the American "war on terror". Furthermore, it resulted in a financial contribution from the US, which assisted President Musharraf in withstanding domestic criticism even if many people disagreed with his choices in external policy. Similarly, the administration of Mian Nawaz Sharif aimed to strengthen ties with India and promote peace in Afghanistan. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-

N), the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf are the three dominant political parties in Pakistan. They have their own specific agendas on how to pursue the external affairs of Pakistan. Because of the bureaucratic polity that has developed over many years, a strong relationship exists between the political elite and the military. The military has a significant stake in creating and supporting political parties (Mufti et. al, 2020).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The MOFA continues to serve as the main center for planning, developing, and implementing foreign policy. It answers to both the Foreign Minister and the Federal Secretary of MOFA, who is also referred to as the Foreign Secretary. The Foreign Secretary acts as the focal point for all activities pertaining to foreign policy and is frequently the most senior diplomat. After careful deliberation and collaboration with all parties (primarily with the Ministry of Defence, Interior, Finance, Economic Affairs Division, Commerce, as well as the Military Establishment), its primary duty is the development of policy alternatives (Ali A., 2020).

Indian Factor and Kashmir Question

The partition of the Indian subcontinent that followed the British Empire's abrupt departure and the unresolved territorial disputes it left behind, particularly in Kashmir, Junagadh, and Sir Creek, has been a recurring source of tension between India and Pakistan. The most hazardous of them all turned out to be Kashmir, which not only caused wars between the two neighbors but also aided in the nuclearization of the Indian subcontinent. Over time, the danger from India dominated Pakistani officials' thoughts, requiring them to balance their strategies by enlisting support from other countries as well. Academics generally concur that India's influences had a substantial impact on Pakistan's foreign policy and the alliances it picked. As a result, India has been a significant element in Pakistan's foreign policy ever since its founding (S. A. Khan, personal communication, Apr. 18, 2022).

Geostrategic Position

Pakistan's geopolitical setting is unstable, and its neighbors are predominantly hostile, which compels it to fulfill the unavoidable obligations of upholding its territorial veracity and sovereign independence. Pakistan is strategically situated at the intersection of South Asia,

West Asia, Central Asia, and Western China. It provides access to Western China, Central Asia, and the Arabian Sea in the shortest amount of time. Unluckily, proclamations that the country is hastening to improve its geostrategic or geo-economics strategy are not supported by the nation's deteriorating economic indices. Due to its geostrategic position and "middle power" status, Pakistan played a significant role in the area during the Cold War, the post-Cold War, the aftermath of 9/11, and the era of the Belt and Road Initiative (Ali, 2022).

Economic Uncertainty

Pakistan's high level of debt has made it more susceptible to economic shocks and reduced its political standing in reference to foreign lenders. Additional causes causing the reduction in foreign exchange reserves include Pakistan's dual deficit inflation, a shortage of foreign currency inflows, and a sharp increase in the price of repaying foreign debt. Inadequate crisis management skills, a careless society, and a careless state all contribute to the problem's escalation. The effects of the monetary crisis cannot be controlled since when a country experiences a financial crisis, it also affects its politics, external policy, governance, as well as rule of law. The poor state of Pakistan's economy makes it impossible for it to pursue its external policy goals. In the world stage, India's viewpoint on several issues is more significant than Pakistan's. By using Pakistan's economic glitches, India has been able to win the backing of many western nations, including several Muslim ones (Hussain Z., 2019).

Role of Parliament

Due to Pakistan's frail institutional structure and democratic credentials, the country is currently experiencing major threats to its democracy. The Pakistani parliamentary system of government has experienced many ups and downs. The state's democratic framework constantly battles the remnants of anti-democratic elements. Following the discussion and debate, the Parliament frequently approves or suggests revisions. The opposition is free to scrutinize and criticize the ruling party's external policy decisions in front of the Parliament. Unlike other democratic countries where Parliament is the central authority in making decisions, in Pakistan it is not the case. The decision-making process in Pakistan mostly excludes the elected members of the

Parliament particularly when it comes to foreign policy decision-making (Abbas, 2020).

According to Mr. Shahid Hamid (2017), a former Federal Minister for Defence, Pakistan's parliament should be the final arbitrator among the decision-making bodies due to its dominant position in democracy, but tragically it is not given the respect and weightage that it deserves. All of this leads to frequent disagreements between political parties and between civilian and military leadership about sensitive matters.

Role of Military

The military protects the interests of the state, and the administration formulates foreign policy to further its objectives. The military may on occasion help the state to advance its national goals. The military manifests a great interest in the formation of external policy and the decision-making process in this setting. For instance, in Pakistan, the military expresses great interest in legislative matters. And this involvement may be seen in the country as a result of multiple military coups and indirect military interventions. The military's primary goal is to safeguard Pakistan's national security, and according to Pakistan's military leadership, foreign policy must take into account the needs of the national security. Therefore, despite Pakistan's democratic government, the military disapproves complete civilian control of Pakistan's foreign policy, particularly in areas of interest like India, Afghanistan and Kashmir. Since the military is tasked with defending the country's sovereignty and general security, it has a tendency to view internal political concerns through the lens of an external threat (Siddiqua-Agha, 2017). Uncertainty and disagreement between Pakistan's civil and military leadership, are responsible for a number of historical failures, particularly witnessed in 1971 and 1999. Pakistan's fragile external policy is a result of number of issues, but the most significant is how civil and military conflicts have shaped the nation's foreign policy (Karim, 2018).

Public Opinion

Worldwide and domestic public opinion always has an impact on government decisions. Pakistan is a democratic nation; thus, political leaders are also concerned with how the public will respond to particular distant policy decisions. Political leaders occasionally have the ability to influence public opinion to support their external policy decisions. For instance, the people of Pakistan are

concerned about issues related to India, particularly with regard to Kashmir. Due to historical, emotive, and ideological causes, the public is consistently willing to support the government's decisions to confront the Indian threat (Bibi, & Yousaf, 2020).

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

- Since domestic and international policies are interwoven, any issue with Pakistan's foreign relations is probably the result of issues with its internal policy. Influential institutions or groups that are strongly embedded in Pakistan's political system primarily serve their own interests while bare minimum satisfying the needs of the public and having the power to determine the national mission of Pakistan. As a result, they have been able to develop a strategy that will make it simple for them to reclaim control. Pakistan's state is weakened by a system that is monopolized by the elite and disregards the needs of the people. It has led to non-institutionalized, individualized governance, which has reduced the accuracy of decision-making. A weak nation becomes reliant on others, which causes its external policy to regularly advance the strategic goals of those nations at the expense of its own. Foreign policy dependence is stifling and compulsive. It undermines the nation's capability to shape new partnerships and exposes it to exploitation because of the reliance syndrome that has long existed. Take a look at how Saudi Arabia and the U.S. have battered Pakistan's dependency on external support. Dependent foreign policy relies on the mercy of other states. As a result, a country is left on its own when its services are no longer required. Pakistan must assume its own external policy strategies, but this is impossible without major domestic reforms that require a change in the balance of power between the elite and the general public as well as between the military and civilians. In addition, it requires that the focus of external policy be changed from security to development (Ahmad, 2015). A well-off Indian external plan will, by definition, make the outside settings essential for India to accomplish its crucial goals, which contain guarding its physical security and autonomy in decision-making, improving its economic prosperity and technological capability, and founding its claims to specific statuses on the international stage. India has outpaced Pakistan in terms of external policy since 2014 due to its financial, political, cultural, as well as

technological expansion. India's freedom and upgrading of its external policy have been maintained by a number of internal variables, including regular policymaking, robust civilian institutions, a stable political environment, and economic growth (T. Hussain, personal communication, Sep. 5, 2022).

- Unfortunately, Pakistan is an example of a civil-military system that is broken, as shown by its political history. Understanding this conundrum is vital to comprehending a state's fate in dealing with its internal and external threats. A total of four military coups have been observed by Pakistan, where India, a significant rival, has been complacent and firmly rooted in the democratic political system. India has demonstrated strong levels of trust between its military and civilian governments. As it approaches its 75th anniversary of independence, India has proven itself as one of the few post-colonial nations with a vibrant democratic rule (Ahmad, 2015). Pakistan's unbalanced equilibrium has led it to several internal and external problems, particularly in terms of security and economy. The bulk of national security issues necessitate an integrated strategy and approach, and the military and civil sectors must continue to collaborate on planning and execution. In the globalized world of today, where security is viewed through the prism of all-encompassing governmental authority, this criterion is even more crucial. However, Pakistan's circumstances are different. In Pakistan, the civil and military establishments each have their own conceptions of the national interest of the country and methods for resolving problems either at home or abroad or involving national security. Different policies thus regularly fail, harming the country's standing internationally as well, particularly as witnessed in the case of non-state actors, war against terror, Taliban issue, relations with India, and relations with Afghanistan etc. India consistently alleged Pakistan of spreading terrorism and was successful in achieving the backing of many other nations due to Pakistan's infirm and divided foreign office (Shams, 2016)
- India pursues the advancement of its national interests under all conditions, even if it necessitates the use of coercive measures, when necessary, while maintaining a pragmatic realist line to its external policy. India has worked to establish and portray itself as a strong country since 2014, able to lessen or even eliminate the negative effects of structural constraints and their historical

bequests hampering the growth of the country's external policy in the preferred direction. Local, regional, and global realities must be deeply ingrained in effective external policy. A foreign policy that is detached from daily affairs would not only fail to realize its goals but also run the risk of seriously harming the nation it is intended to defend. Because of their misguided haste to attain high but unreachable goals or just to gratify the public, Pakistan's rulers have traditionally often overlooked this significant component of a rational foreign policy. As a result, the country experienced severe setbacks on the political, financial, consular, and military fronts (Husain, 2019).

- The Indian state enjoys a high level of popular trust and it has aided the Indian foreign policy. The Indian administration has made it the highest goal since 2014 to make sure that building trust among residents is an essential part of governance. It may be concluded that Indians have a respectable level of faith in their officials and leaders with regard to foreign policy given the country's developed political system, political stability, strong institutions, and seamless democratic transition (Chong, 2019). On the other hand, Pakistan experiences significant issues with governance, corruption, absence of accountability and fairness, lack of public engrossment in policymaking, political uncertainty, clashes amid institutions, lack of continuity and constancy, power politics for vested benefits, and elite culture, among other things. As a result, a significant portion of the population has little faith in state institutions. Due to the absence of public support for governmental initiatives, Pakistan is currently going through extremely difficult times both domestically and internationally (Kugelman & Hussain, 2018).
- For the purpose of realizing a realistic and upbeat future vision, Pakistan's nationwide safety, economic, and external policies have not been synchronized to form a coherent whole in the form of a magnificent national plan. Short-term contemplations have displaced long-term goals and purposes while developing foreign policy. It has customarily focused on tactical modifications to everyday events rather than considering the strategic orientations of policy in quest of a stirring vision of the future and long-term ends. Global policy has been harmed by abstruse and upside-down nationwide priorities. In favor of pressing short-term security apprehensions, long-term security, which relies on the nation's economic progress and

technological prowess, has been neglected (Chaudhry, 2022). The recent substantial diplomatic outreach by India was not merely a show but rather a carefully thought-out attempt to integrate foreign policy with economic growth and rejuvenation. This comprehensive diplomatic engagement increased India's worldwide prominence and brought about financial support and alliances for the country (Chand, 2022).

CONCLUSION

The political structure and external policies of the nation determine the kind of state. Although a state's interactions with the worldwide community determine its authority, competence, and integrity, a comparison of India and Pakistan offers an excellent study of the benefits and drawbacks of the two governments' actions. The study demonstrates that internal rather than external influences actually drove the declared external policies. Therefore, it has been concluded that a shattered civil-military paradigm, debilitated democracy, an uncertain political transition, lack of consistency and effectiveness as well as political instability are some key components accountable for Pakistan's passive and weak external strategies. India has weaknesses too, but they are less obvious since it constantly chooses a course of action that advances its national interests. India has evolved into a country with a true political and economic foundation, as opposed to one that is essentially made up. Making logical decisions is influenced by the political environment and system. The political context in which the head of state operates serves as the foundation for his or her reasoning. Decisions' reasonableness can be interpreted based on the circumstances and context. India being a democratic and politically stable country provides basis for a sound decision-making in relation to both internal and external affairs.

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