

**FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING PROCESS: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN
(2014-2020)**



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(2025)**

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(2014-2020)**

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Ph.D. in Political Science in
the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of
Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad

By

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DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Ph.D entitled "*Foreign Policy Decision Making Process: A Comparative Study of India and Pakistan (2014-2020)*" is entirely my own work, that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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ABSTRACT

Since 2014, India has increasingly advanced a narrative positioning Pakistan as a central source of regional instability and terrorism through sustained diplomatic engagement and international discourse. This portrayal has contributed to reputational challenges for Pakistan, which has often been depicted in global forums as politically unstable, religiously intolerant, and a potential security concern due to the presence of non-state actors and its nuclear capabilities. These developments have carried significant political and economic implications for Pakistan.

India's foreign policy approach has reflected an assertive strategy, including efforts to diplomatically isolate Pakistan, while maintaining strong relations with major global powers and key Muslim-majority countries. India has leveraged these ties to promote its foreign policy objectives and has pursued actions such as the revocation of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution, altering the special constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir, without facing substantial regional or international opposition. Meanwhile, Pakistan has faced considerable difficulty in effectively countering India's narrative and garnering sustained international support for its position on Kashmir and other critical issues.

Internal political instability, institutional fragmentation, and a lack of coherence in external policy have further constrained Pakistan's diplomatic efforts. These challenges have been highlighted in international forums such as the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), where Pakistan's diplomatic influence was limited, even among traditional allies.

This research provided a detailed comparative analysis of the domestic actors and factors

influencing foreign policy choices in Pakistan and India. Utilizing qualitative approach with descriptive and analytical techniques, and drawing on both primary and secondary sources, the study discovered how internal political dynamics shaped external strategies. The major finding this study has reached at is that a strong democratic system, smooth transition of power, political stability, consistency of policies and adherence to constitution are the significant elements providing a staunch foundation for rational and effective external policies. In contrast, the absence of these crucial elements results in weak, inconsistent, and passive external strategies.

Key Words: Pakistan, India, Foreign Policy, Domestic Actors and Factors, Decision-making processes.

CERTIFICATE

It is certified that Mr. Muhammad Adeel Khan carried out his Ph.D thesis under my supervision on the topic titled “*Foreign Policy Decision Making Process: A Comparative Study of India and Pakistan (2014-2020)*” and obtained valuable findings. The work presented in the thesis is an original research work. This is the first comprehensive work on the topic. It is a useful contribution in the scientific literature from the scholars end.

Date: 08/05/2024

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my dearest daughter

Aqsa Adeel Khan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ASEAN: Association of South East Asian Nations
- ABHM: Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha
- BPM: Bureaucratic Politics Model
- BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party
- BJS: Bharatiya Jana Singh
- BRI: Belt and Road Initiative
- BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
- CPEC: China Pakistan Economic Corridor
- CMR: Civil Military Relations
- CMD: Civil Military Disharmony
- COAS: Chief of Army Staff
- CCC: Core Commanders Conference
- CPI: Communist Party of India
- CNP: Comprehensive National Power
- CARs: Central Asian Republics
- DCC: Defense Committee of the Cabinet
- DGISPR: Director General Inter Services Public Relations
- FOP: Foreign Policy of Pakistan
- FM: Foreign Minister
- FO: Foreign Office
- GHQ: General headquarters
- ICS: Indian Civil Services
- ISI: Inter-Services Intelligence
- IPRI: Islamabad Policy Research Institute
- IMA: Islamic Military Alliance

- INC: Indian National Congress
- IOK: Indian Occupied Kashmir
- IR: International Relations
- IT: Information Technology
- JKNC: Jammu and Kashmir National Conference
- LOC: Line of Control
- LTTE: Liberation of Tigers of Tamil Eelam
- MOFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- MEA: Ministry of External Affairs
- MOD: Ministry of Defense
- NSC: National Security Committee
- NSC: National Security Council
- NSA: National Security Advisor
- NDA: National Democratic Alliance
- NSAs: Non-State Actors
- OPM: Organizational Process Model
- PCNC: Parliamentary Committee on National Security
- PM: Prime Minister
- PMO: Prime Minister Office
- PILDAT: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
- PMLN: Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
- PPP: Pakistan People's Party
- PTI: Pakistan Tehreek-i- Insaf
- RAM: Rational Actor Model
- RAW: Research and Analysis Wing
- RJD: Rashtriya Janta Dal
- RSS: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
- SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

- SCO: Shanghai Cooperation Organization
- SEATO: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
- SP(India): Socialist Party of India
- SS: Shiv Sena
- TAPI: Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India
- U.S.: United States of America
- UN: United Nations
- UNMOGIP: United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
- UNO: United Nations Organization
- UNSC: United Nations Security Council
- USA: United States of America
- USSR: Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
- WMD: Weapons of Mass Destructions

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CHAPTER-1

1. INTRODUCTION

Determining a state's foreign policy is a complex undertaking that encompasses numerous stakeholders and considerations. Prior to making consequential determinations regarding their external strategies, states meticulously evaluate all relevant factors pertaining to their internal and external dynamics. Within academic circles, an enduring and unyielding discourse persists regarding the potential influence of internal political, social, and economic settings on a state's decision-making processes. In the context of the anarchic international system, it is occasionally posited that a state is either "expanding its domestic affairs" or "adjusting to its external environment" when it engages in actions (Alex Mintz, 2010).

Mahendra Kumar defines foreign policy as a carefully planned strategy for attaining objectives in the international arena, influenced by the ideology of national interest (Chandra and Arora, 2008: 68). A state's national interest serves as a guiding principle in determining its goals, and it pursue these goals by establishing connections with other nations. The state may achieve its planned objects either in a brief period or over an extended duration. Each state adopts its own approach to external policy based on its unique resources and capabilities (Shahid, 2006: 66). Cecil V. Crab Jr. further adds that foreign policy encompasses the means employed to achieve a nation's aims, as well as the objectives themselves. The interplay between the resources required to accomplish national goals and the goals themselves is a recurrent theme in the realm of statecraft (Khan, 2005:2). Pakistan and India, as immediate neighbors with shared historical,

cultural, and civilizational roots, might have been expected to foster close and cooperative relations. However, their bilateral interactions have remained persistently tense since independence. The two countries have fought three major wars, primarily over the disputed region of Kashmir, which holds strategic and symbolic significance for both states. Today, India and Pakistan continue to behave as strategic rivals, often engaging in antagonistic policies that undermine regional stability. While Pakistan has repeatedly proposed confidence-building and conflict-resolution measures, India's responses have frequently been perceived as dismissive or adverse, with efforts to counter Pakistan's interests on various global platforms. Despite over seven decades of sovereignty, several critical issues between the two countries remain unresolved, including the Kashmir dispute, the Siachen Glacier and Sir Creek disagreements, water-sharing conflicts, border skirmishes, counterterrorism concerns, and broader regional stability. The enduring strategic, political, and socio-economic tensions between the two South Asian powers have hindered efforts to build meaningful cooperation for their mutual benefit (Negi, 2019).

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) secured a decisive electoral victory in May 2014, marking a significant shift in India's foreign policy orientation. Under BJP leadership, India adopted a more assertive and security-focused approach, particularly in its dealings with Pakistan and the Kashmir conflict. A core objective was to redefine India's strategic posture in the region by reinforcing national security and projecting strength on the international stage. Concurrently, the government deepened economic and strategic partnerships with key global powers such as the United States, Australia, the European Union, and Japan, largely aimed at counterbalancing China's growing regional influence.

Despite geopolitical shifts, India also maintained its longstanding relationship with Russia, grounded in historical, economic, and strategic considerations. Additionally, the BJP government intensified engagement with Southeast Asian nations through its "Act East" policy, promoting regional integration and economic connectivity. A prevailing sentiment within the Indian leadership was that India's demographic weight, economic capabilities, and democratic credentials were underrepresented in major global institutions such as the United Nations Security Council, World Bank, and IMF. To address these concerns and elevate India's global standing, the government has pursued a proactive and pragmatic foreign policy since 2014 (Abhyankar, 2022).

Since 2014, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-led government has significantly enhanced India's global image, leveraging economic growth and active diplomacy. However, the rise of assertive Hindu nationalism has contributed to increased tensions in India-Pakistan relations, influencing India's policy stance toward Pakistan in a less favorable direction (Finnigan, 2019). Under the BJP, India has adopted a firm and, at times, uncompromising approach, aimed in part at diplomatically isolating Pakistan and challenging its socio-economic and security interests. Nonetheless, India's democratic structure and growing economic capabilities have enabled it to secure strategic advantages on the international stage. Its foreign policy has remained largely pragmatic and consistent, marked by efforts to strengthen ties with key Muslim-majority countries such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Iran, and Afghanistan. At the same time, India has actively cultivated strategic and economic partnerships with major Western powers, including the United States, United Kingdom, and France, thereby broadening its

global influence and reinforcing its position as a rising regional and global power(Khan, 2013).

India's external policy has been shaped by complex regional dynamics, including a historically adversarial relationship with Pakistan. In pursuit of its strategic and economic interests, India has cultivated cooperative relations with neighboring countries such as Iran and Afghanistan. These partnerships serve multiple purposes, including enhancing regional connectivity, accessing Central Asian markets, and counterbalancing Pakistan's influence. Notably, India has expressed concerns over the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), viewing it as a challenge to its regional standing and sovereignty claims, particularly regarding the segment of CPEC that passes through Gilgit-Baltistan. To this end, India has also sought to deepen economic and diplomatic ties with China, despite persistent strategic rivalries. Afghanistan occupies a significant place in India's regional policy due to its geographic proximity to Pakistan and its potential as a partner in counter-terrorism, trade, and connectivity. India has supported Afghanistan's territorial integrity and sovereignty, including its historical position on the Pashtunistan issue, as part of its broader effort to strengthen its influence and emerge as a major regional power in South Asia (Dutt, 2019).

The U.S.-India strategic partnership, exemplified by the Civil Nuclear Agreement and enhanced defense cooperation, reflects the deepening ties between the two states. A significant dimension of this partnership has been Washington's alignment with New Delhi on security concerns, particularly regarding Pakistan. The United States has consistently supported India's stance on Pakistan-based terrorism, especially following high-profile incidents. Notably, with strong diplomatic backing from the U.S., India

succeeded in securing a United Nations Security Council statement that, for the first time, explicitly recognized the Pulwama attack—targeting Indian paramilitary forces in Kashmir, as an act of terrorism. Furthermore, the United States acknowledged India's right to take reciprocal counterterrorism measures, as demonstrated by the Balakot airstrikes conducted by India in February 2019. These developments underscore the strategic convergence between the two democracies, particularly in matters related to regional security and counterterrorism (Samantha, 2019).

India has pursued a more assertive approach to its internal and external policies, most notably reflected in its unilateral abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution on August 5, 2019. These provisions had granted Jammu and Kashmir a special constitutional status, which was revoked without significant internal resistance. Despite the subsequent lockdown and restrictions imposed on millions of residents in Indian-administered Kashmir, the international community offered minimal criticism of India's actions. Pakistan, in contrast, struggled to garner meaningful global support for its stance on Kashmir, largely due to its economic vulnerabilities and limited diplomatic leverage. India's growing economic power approaching a \$3 trillion GDP has played a crucial role in shaping the muted global response. Key Muslim-majority countries traditionally allied with Pakistan, such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, refrained from condemning India; Saudi Arabia termed the Kashmir issue an internal matter, while the UAE awarded Prime Minister Narendra Modi its highest civilian honor shortly thereafter. Bahrain also followed suit with its own recognition. These nations, all significant members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), had historically

backed Pakistan's position on Kashmir. Similarly, Russia, a long-standing Indian strategic partner, voiced support for India's position (Hughes, 2019).

India's strengthened relations with major global powers and regional states can be attributed to its proactive diplomacy and coherent external policy strategy. In contrast, Pakistan has encountered significant challenges in responding to India's growing international influence. One of the key weaknesses of Pakistan's foreign policy lies in its inability to effectively articulate its position on global platforms or to counterbalance India's diplomatic initiatives aimed at isolating it. This shortfall is closely linked to internal political instability and a lack of policy consensus among key decision-makers. Pakistan's foreign policy apparatus has often been undermined by the volatile nature of its domestic politics. Rather than prioritizing national interests, political leaders and parties frequently pursue narrow partisan agendas aimed at appeasing their respective constituencies. This has led to fragmented policy formulation and diminished Pakistan's capacity to engage effectively with the international community (Abbas, 2020).

Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has consistently sought to maintain strategic parity with India in South Asia. However, it has often relied more on the passage of time than on proactive and sustained efforts to offer a compelling strategic alternative within the region. One of the most pressing challenges facing Pakistan is its limited ability to view global affairs through an economic lens. Its foreign policy continues to be shaped by a legacy of Cold War-era political and ideological frameworks, with an enduring emphasis on its geo-political relevance rather than on economic competitiveness. As the international order increasingly pivots around economic power and integration, Pakistan has struggled to adapt to this shift, falling behind in embracing the dynamics of global

capitalism and economic diplomacy. Compounding these challenges is the persistent issue of non-state actors operating within or from Pakistani territory, which has significantly damaged its global image and raised concerns about regional and international security (Altaf, 2022).

In Pakistan, both the military's direct and indirect involvement in the decision-making process and the conduct of political leadership have contributed to recurring political crises. Civilian leaders have frequently failed to resist unconstitutional interventions, often prioritizing personal or partisan interests over institutional integrity. Mainstream political parties have remained deeply engaged in power struggles, focusing on short-term electoral gains rather than addressing the structural and socio-economic challenges confronting the country. As a result, successive governments have expended much of their political and administrative capital on maintaining power, rather than formulating and implementing long-term policy reforms. The persistent absence of political will, a lack of commitment to democratic norms, and a chronic legitimacy crisis have significantly impeded the state's ability to make and execute effective decisions.

This research aims to analyze and evaluate the influence of key domestic actors and factors on the foreign policy choices in both the countries i.e. Pakistan and India.

1.1 Rationale of the Study

Since 2014, India has consistently pursued strategies aimed at undermining Pakistan's regional and international standing through well-calibrated diplomatic efforts and strategic planning. Beyond its actions on the global stage, India has also been engaged in covert operations within Pakistan, apparently seeking to instigate unrest and destabilize the country from within. These actions have largely gone unchallenged, with

India facing minimal resistance or condemnation from either regional stakeholders or the broader international community. Despite the revocation of Articles 370 and 35A in Indian-administered Kashmir and other measures perceived as hostile toward Pakistan, no major global power or influential Muslim-majority country has publicly opposed India's conduct.

One notable diplomatic rift occurred when Pakistan, for the first time in its history, boycotted a meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), an institution it helped establish. This protest was triggered by the OIC's decision to extend an invitation to India's Foreign Minister to speak at its 2019 conference in Abu Dhabi, despite Pakistan's objections. Additionally, Pakistan has faced sustained international criticism over the alleged presence of non-state actors operating within its borders. Its standard denials have gained little traction globally. Even Iran, traditionally seen as a regional ally has increasingly aligned with India and Afghanistan in accusing Pakistan of harboring terrorist elements operating across their borders.

India's strategic use of its expanding economic and diplomatic alliances has enabled it to isolate Pakistan on multiple fronts. In contrast, Pakistan's foreign policy apparatus has struggled to mount an effective counter-narrative or to garner sustained support from key international actors. This growing asymmetry in diplomatic effectiveness has generated significant strategic concerns for Pakistan. Against this backdrop, this research has analyzed the role of various domestic actors and factors that have influenced foreign policy decision-making choices in both Pakistan and India. The study specifically focused on the period from 2014 to 2020, evaluating how internal

dynamics within each country have shaped the formulation and efficacy of their respective foreign policies.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The research problem posed in this study is the contrasting foreign policy trajectories of India and Pakistan involving the key domestic drivers not only influencing the foreign policy choices in both the countries but also contributing to their differing levels of effectiveness. While the external factors influencing the foreign policy decisions are frequently discussed, domestic drivers such as the role of organizations/institutions, significance of the political system, number of processes, role of leadership and interest groups along with the influence of the political parties and societal groups etc., are often overlooked. This study has tried to uncover the domestic drivers of foreign policy making in Pakistan and India, influencing not only the foreign policy choices in both the countries but also marks the effectiveness of their respective external strategies. By employing some key models of foreign policy decision-making, this study has identified some crucial internal actors and factors that have played a significant role in shaping the external policy choices in India and Pakistan.

India's foreign policy, particularly with regard to Pakistan, has been driven by a strategic vision aimed at encircling and isolating Pakistan on both the regional and international fronts. This approach has encompassed efforts to undermine Pakistan's politico-security, and socio-economic interests. India's external policy has been marked by a proactive and calculated engagement with global and regional powers, forging strategic partnerships and leveraging diplomatic platforms to enhance its international standing. In contrast, Pakistan's foreign policy has struggled to navigate the complexities

of evolving regional and global dynamics. It has often lacked consistency and initiative, typically reacting to developments rather than shaping them.

India has actively lobbied for Pakistan to be recognized as a state sponsor of terrorism in multiple international forums, including the United Nations (UN), Financial Action Task Force (FATF), and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) etc. (Haidar, 2019). India's unilateral revocation of Articles 370 and 35A of its Constitution in August 2019, which stripped Jammu and Kashmir of its special constitutional status, faced little international resistance. This research is particularly significant as it critically explores the internal political, institutional, social and ideological dynamics that have shaped the foreign policy orientations of both the nations, offering a comparative perspective on the efficacy and outcomes of their external engagements in the period following 2014.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study has the following objectives;

- 1.** To analyze India's foreign policy actions aimed at diminishing Pakistan's influence on the international stage, particularly from 2014 to 2020.
- 2.** To explore the internal dynamics that has shaped the foreign policy choices in Pakistan and India.
- 3.** To uncover the role of domestic elements in contributing to differing levels of foreign policy effectiveness in both the nations.

4. To comparatively analyze the role of the domestic drivers of foreign policy in both the nations contributing to strengthening and weakening of their respective external strategies.
5. To evaluate the socio-political and economic implications of differing foreign policy choices for both the countries.
6. To propose constructive suggestions and reforms aimed at strengthening, proactively shaping, and enhancing the foreign policy choices.

1.4 Research Questions

The study deals with the following research questions;

1. How has India's foreign policy approach particularly since 2014 impacted Pakistan's socio-political and economic interests in the region and across the globe?
2. How do the domestic dynamics of Pakistan and India influence their foreign policy choices and priorities?
3. What influence did the domestic drivers of foreign policy in Pakistan and India have on the efficacy and outcomes of their respective external strategies?
4. How do the two countries' differing domestic contexts and priorities influence their foreign policy engagement with each other and with other countries across the globe?
5. What measures can Pakistan adopt to enhance its diplomatic space in the international arena and improve its foreign policy decision-making processes?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study holds great significance as it provides valuable insight for both the academia and policy-makers concerning the fundamental forces that have impeded Pakistan's progress in attaining its foreign policy goals. The study has identified the domestic actors and factors accountable for differing foreign policy choices in Pakistan and India. Additionally, it sheds light on the internal elements that fortify India's external strategies. By examining the domestic drivers of foreign policy, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the complex elements that shape a country's external relations. A comparative study of India and Pakistan has provided valuable insights into the similarities and differences in their foreign policy approaches. Findings from this research can be used to inform policy decisions, ensuring that foreign policy initiatives are grounded in a deep understanding of the domestic elements and their implications for external relations.

1.6 Delimitations of the Study

1. The study has focused on the period between 2014 and 2020, examining the foreign policy decisions made by Pakistan and India particularly during this time period.
2. The research has focused on the foreign policies of Pakistan and India, with a particular emphasis on their bilateral relations.
3. The study has concentrated on the national level, examining the decision-making processes and foreign policy outcomes of Pakistan and India.
4. The study has employed some specific decision-making models, like the cognitive/psychological framework along with the bureaucratic politics model, organizational process model, decision unit approach and cybernetic decision-making theory to analyze the foreign policy decisions of Pakistan and India.

5. The study has also evaluated the impact of foreign policy decisions on the socio-political and economic landscapes of Pakistan and India.
6. The study has relied on both primary and secondary sources, such as interviews, government documents, news articles, online sources, and academic literature, to gather data on foreign policy choices and outcomes.
7. The study has employed a comparative analysis approach, examining the similarities and differences in the foreign policy decisions and decision-making processes of Pakistan and India.
8. While the main timeframe under scrutiny in this study is from 2014 to 2020, however, it is important to note that the research was concluded and submitted in 2025; therefore it also incorporated the most recent and relevant data and sources available at the time.

1.7 Operational Definitions of Major Terms

Foreign Policy: According to Professor F. S. Northedge, it is the exercise of political power that entails the art of convincing other governments to utilize their lawful jurisdiction in a manner that aligns with the expectations of the concerned states. This process encompasses the interplay of various forces, both internal and external, that operate within the boundaries of a nation.

Diplomacy: As defined by K.M. Panikar, refers to the skillful practice of promoting one's own interests while maintaining respectful relations with other nations.

Decision Making: It refers to the systematic approach employed to identify problems, explore possible solutions, and ultimately determine the most optimal course of action to effectively tackle these issues.

Bureaucracy: The concept of bureaucracy pertains to a complex institution characterized by intricate hierarchies and procedures. These systems and procedures are intended to ensure consistency and regulation within the organization.

Policy Failure: It refers to the situation where a policy falls short of accomplishing its intended goals.

Military Coup: A military coup refers to the situation where the armed forces seize power and assume control over the governance of a country.

Standard Operating Procedure: A standard operating procedure (SOP) encompasses a comprehensive set of documented instructions outlining the sequential actions required to effectively execute a regular task. These SOPs serve as a framework, encompassing the policies, procedures, and benchmarks necessary for the organization to achieve its objectives.

Civilian Establishment:It refers to the civil structure and various organizations within a government framework that are authorized to carry out their functions in order to enhance state affairs and promote the well-being of the community.

Decision Equilibrium:It is the state achieved by decision-makers in competition, aiming to find the optimal policy option by accommodating different preferences.

Decision Process:It involves the steps of decision-making, which include identifying a decision, collecting information, and evaluating alternative solutions.

Establishment: It commonly refers to a powerful group or elite that holds authority or control within a nation or an organization.

Foreign Policy Prism: It is a strategic approach employed to establish diplomatic ties in order to safeguard a nation's interests. It functions as a tool to assess policy reactions and determine various interactions between states.

Actors in Foreign Policy-making: In the realm of foreign policy, the term 'actors' refers to the individuals or groups accountable for making decisions and executing actions.

Individuals refer to key decision-makers in foreign policy, including the President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and other pertinent officials.

Groups encompass government agencies, think tanks, and various organizations that contribute to or influence the development of foreign policy.

Organizations, such as international governmental organizations (IGOs) like the United Nations or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can also be actors in the foreign policy process, particularly when they have a vested interest in certain issues or regions.

Factors in Foreign Policy-making: Factors are the elements that influence the decision-making process, including both internal and external influences such as the domestic politics, national interests, international relations, and global trends.

Domestic politics, characterized by elements such as public sentiment, political parties, political system, role of leadership and interest groups, play a crucial role in shaping foreign policy choices.

National interests, encompassing security, economic objectives, and core values serve as fundamental motivators for foreign policy decisions.

The dynamics of international relations, including alliances, conflicts, and trade interactions, further inform a country's foreign policy strategies.

Geopolitical factors, including a nation's geographical positioning, available resources, and strategic significance, can greatly affect its foreign policy direction.

Global phenomena's such as globalization, advancements in technology, and the impacts of climate change can also have a bearing on foreign policy decisions.

1.8 Literature Review

The field of foreign policy making has garnered significant attention from scholars and has resulted in a substantial body of literature. This literature encompasses both theoretical and practical aspects, aiming to provide a comprehensive understanding of worldwide relations and politics. The academic community has particularly emphasized the interplay between external policy and the conduct of global relations. Certain scholars have dedicated their research to examining the processes involved in policy design and the decision-making mechanisms that shape foreign policy. In the subsequent paragraphs, the study demonstrates the valuable contributions made by different authors, academic scholars, researchers and intellectuals in the field of external policy making and the role of different actors and factors.

Hammond et al. (1980) provide an overview of decision-making theories, methods, and processes. While their decisional theory is limited to the single-system

case, where one individual makes decisions without complete information of the job situation, Behavioral Decision Theory (BDT) investigates how external and internal outcomes are related, aiming to uncover variations and the reasons behind them. BDT, proposed by psychologist Ward Edwards in 1954, emphasizes on subjective predictable utility and deviations from normative concepts like Bayes' proposition and utility theory, encompassing psychological decision model like many other scholars.

The work of Charles F. Herman, Charles W. Kegly Jr., and James Roseau in *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy* (1987) and Richard Snyder, H.W Bruck and Burton Sapin in *Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* (1956) has significantly contributed to the development of a comprehensive foreign policy decision-making framework. These scholars have focused on decision-making methods and their implications for external policy actions, emphasizing the constraints imposed by both domestic and external settings on decision makers. They view external policy as a dynamic variable that can be influenced by a multitude of factors shaping decision makers' perspectives on policy issues and recommendations. Snyder, in particular, highlights the significance of Case Studies as a scientific method for analyzing foreign policy, emphasizing the impact of organizational dynamics, psychological insights, and societal standards on decision makers' behavior.

Gautam Sen, in his work "*National Interest and National Security Policy Making: Prism for India*" (2017), emphasizes the significance of a national security plan in protecting a nation-state's national interest. In the realm of global relations, nation-states are the primary focus of analysis, engaging in bilateral and multilateral interactions at both regional and worldwide levels. While individual decision-making plays a crucial

role, an investigation of the elements influencing individual conduct can provide valuable insights. Nevertheless, the institutions within a state, which evolve over time, retain a critical importance. The effectiveness and efficiency of these institutions in governing state businesses are heavily dependent on the nature of the association between key bureaucratic institutions (civil and military) and the governmental elite.

Charles H. Kennedy, in his book "Bureaucracy in Pakistan" (1987), discusses this connection within the context of Pakistan. Kennedy suggests that throughout much of Pakistan's history, the complex bureaucracy has held significant power, leading to a bureaucratic polity. The failure to establish a reciprocal relationship between political institutes and the bureaucracy in Pakistan has resulted in an adversarial atmosphere among different state organizations. This failure can be accredited to many factors, including the bureaucratic mindset of civil servants, the relative incompetence of political leaders, and the agencies' autonomy without sufficient oversight from political leaders at the top hierarchy.

In the New Handbook of Political Science (1996), Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Kingemann have compiled a collection of articles by several authors that delve into the field of political science and organizations. Goldman argues that in order to gain a deeper understanding of an actor's behavior and make informed decisions, the emphasis should shift from analyzing the structure to examining ideas. Goldman emphasizes the significance of understanding the causes behind actors' predilections and perceptions, as these factors greatly influence the consequence of decisions. When comparing the bureaucracies of developed nations to those of third world states, it is evident that the

latter remain less developed. However, regardless of their level of competence, bureaucracies play a crucial role in the affairs of the state.

In his text "Bureaucracy: The Role in Third World Development" (1989), Malcolm Wallis elucidates the disparity between the political institutes and bureaucracy of Pakistan. Wallis highlights that Pakistan has experienced prolonged periods of military rule and control by civilianized military leaders. Even when the military is not directly in power, they still exert significant influence over the political system. This military domination has further widened the gap between the abilities of the civilian bureaucracy and the conventional political institutions. Nonetheless, Wallis recognizes that civilian bureaucrats remain significant in shaping state policies.

The academic emphasis has moved from examining the structure and players involved to the definite external policy choice itself, largely due to the groundbreaking work of Graham T. Allison in his seminal book, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (1971). This work posits the argument that events in the realm of external dealings directly influence the resulting foreign policy decisions. The analyst's goal is to uncover the reasons behind why a particular state of affairs elicited a particular response. According to Allison, these explanations are based on the intentional actions of key individuals within the government, who are the primary drivers of policy decisions. The argument is developed through three key propositions: 1) Specialists in the field of external affairs approach issues of foreign and military policy through implicit theoretical models that significantly shape their thought processes. 2) The conduct of nationwide governments is often explained using a single conceptual model, known as the Rational Actor Model. However, the introduction of two additional models, the Organizational

Process Model and the Governmental Politics Model, allows for more comprehensive interpretations and predictions. *Essence of Decision* (1999) by Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow serves as a comprehensive synthesis of all available proof regarding US external policy decisions.

Stephen Krasner, in his text "Are Bureaucracies Important" (1972), delves into the factors that influence foreign policy decision-making. He challenges Allison's argument that foreign policy outcomes are primarily shaped by bureaucratic actions and politics rather than rational development of national interests or political objectives of leaders. Krasner argues that this perspective, although seemingly convincing, is in fact ambiguous and perilous. It is ambiguous because it downplays the authority of the US president and risky because it weakens the foundation of democratic governance by absolving high-ranking officials of accountability and providing them with excuses for their shortcomings. In contrast, democratic theory posits that elected officials bear obligation for government actions. Krasner contends that the US president plays a pivotal role in decision-making by influencing bureaucratic channels through speeches, budget distributions, and the selection of White House personnel.

The primary task faced by analysts is to observe external policy decision-making processes with transparency. In his book, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy* (2003), Christopher Hill elaborates on how external policy decisions are made and the assessment of their feasibility is carried. The individual influences on external policy consequences reflect decision makers' perceptions of the subject and their expectations regarding a policy's implementation. Government executives engaged in external policy decision-making reach conclusions through a course known as bureaucratic politics, a

term coined by Graham T. Allison. Hill further refines this concept by suggesting that bureaucrats handle foreign policy matters based on their perspective and position within the hierarchy. This indicates that the perception of an issue and an official's hierarchical position can influence how bureaucrats approach decision-making.

J.N. Dixit's analysis of Indian external policy making in his text, *Makers of India's Foreign Policy* (2004), emphasizes the collaborative effort between a nation's elite and bureaucracy. According to Dixit, external policy is not solely shaped by the political elite; rather, it provides an opportunity for civilian and military bureaucrats to influence the ultimate policy results. The central theme of Dixit's work revolves around the process of policy making, which involves the political elite guiding the formulation, exploring different policy options while considering practical constraints, and ensuring that the policy serves national interests in the realm of global relations. While Dixit acknowledges the role of bureaucrats in shaping external policy, he does not delve into the specifics of how decisions are made and argued among the several key participants.

In his text "*Making of India's Foreign Policy, Determinants, Institutions, Processes and Personalities*" (1984), J. Bandyopadhyay delves into the intricacies of distant policy formulation in India. The author sheds light on various aspects of policy formation process, emphasizing the importance of assessing information, determining alternative options, analyzing policy substitutes, and providing assistance to the Foreign Minister. Throughout this process, the ultimate goal is to guarantee that the final consequences of the external policy align with the nation's interests, particularly in terms of nationwide security, national progress, and India's role in the global order. Bandyopadhyay highlights the significant influence of different Prime Ministers on Indian external policy,

underscoring the part of political elites in shaping this domain. However, the author does not delve into the complex realm of foreign policy analysis, specifically the decision-making processes involved in considering contending bureaucracies and their respective policy alternatives.

Valerie M. Hudson's article titled "Foreign Policy Analysis, Actor Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations" (2005) delves into the examination of the past, conceptual scope, and latest developments in the field of foreign policy analysis. This particular study is distinguished by its focus on specific actors, emphasizing the notion that all interactions between nations, both within and across borders, are fundamentally rooted in the decisions made by individual or collective human agents. Rather than centering on the state itself, the crux of this analysis lies in understanding the part of human decision makers in determining external policy. Consequently, the hypothetical integration within the realm of worldwide relations is propelled by the description of the condition as developed by these human choice makers.

Joshua S. Goldstein's inquiry on International Relations (2008) highlights the significance of the external policy procedure, which serves as a mechanism for decision-making. This process involves making modifications based on responses received from the global community. The process is guided by the objectives of decision makers, who establish specific milestones to be achieved.

Alarie Hudson emphasizes the importance of conducting external policy analysis at various levels. She identifies four levels of external policy analysis: international, state, group, and individual. Actors play a significant role at all stages of analysis. William C. Wolfforth argues that the Realist School is more pertinent due to its core suppositions

(groupism, egotism, and authority centrism) which are crucial for examining the part of specific actors in decision-making processes. Walter Carlsnaess outlines four phases of decision-making that decision makers go through to achieve a policy result. These stages consist of problem acknowledgment and framing, objective ordering, possibility planning, and choice evaluation.

The external policy of a nation is a manifestation of its internal factors that drive national interests and promote national thought. In his book "Iran in World Politics" (2010), Arshin Adib-Moghaddam provides valuable insights into the procedural and hypothetical aspects of understanding the external relations and national politics of post-revolutionary Iran. Adib-Moghaddam emphasizes the significance of domestic influences on external policy, while also acknowledging the impact of external entities and influential national leaders on Iran's internal decision-making practices. The author underscores the role of both ideological and physical factors in shaping political dynamics. Furthermore, Adib-Moghaddam delves into the role of Iranian leadership in transforming the Islamic Republic of Iran into a stronghold of the Shia crescent and a government governed by messianic zealots who aspire to attain nuclear capabilities.

The impact of structures on worldwide politics is undeniable, particularly when it comes to shaping the policy upshots and overall milieu at the domestic level. In his article titled "International Relations and Domestic Structures: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States" (2009), Peter J. Katzenstein extensively discusses the part of structures in this context. According to the author, domestic structures also play a significant role in shaping government policies. Governments are able to react to susceptibilities and adapt to changes, often without being heavily influenced by societal

pressure. Additionally, they generally do not encounter significant difficulties in controlling their bureaucracies.

In his publication titled "The Process of Foreign Policy Formulation in Pakistan" (2004), Javid Hussain delves into the intricacies of how external policy is formulated in the country. The author specifically focuses on the involvement of the Parliament and its Standing Committees in this process. Hussain highlights a significant aspect of foreign policy making in Pakistan, emphasizing that despite the provisions outlined in the Constitution of Pakistan, public representatives in the country do not actively contribute to external policy decision-making.

Foreign policy serves as the primary means of safeguarding a nation's interests, with policymakers aiming to secure their country's strategic objectives on the global stage. These objectives are typically pursued through a realist approach, which prioritizes practical considerations over idealistic notions and sentimental attachments, commonly referred to as *realpolitik*. In his text titled "Pakistan Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal" (2010), Shahid Amin highlights that Pakistan's decision makers have, on occasion, allowed themselves to be swayed by delusions and ad-hoc decision-making processes. This can be attributed to the lack of independent policy planning and inadequate involvement of think tanks, intellectuals, and academia in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy.

In his book, "Pakistan and a World in Disorder" (2016), Javid Hussain provides an evaluation of Pakistan's distant policy since 1947. He asserts that Pakistan's nationwide interests encompass the preservation of the country's freedom and territorial integrity, the attainment of a robust economic development rate, and the promotion of internal political

constancy and congruence. However, the allocation of resources towards meeting defense sector demands in the past has diverted the necessary means for economic growth in Pakistan, resulting in a lower-than-expected development rate. The effectiveness of external policy should be assessed based on its ability to fulfill national interests. This evaluation entails ensuring the alignment of distant policy with national safety and economic progress, reflecting the relative significance of internal and external goals, striking equilibrium between short-term and long-term goals, and adapting distant policy based on popular support. The last two features necessitate an accurate evaluation of the regional and global setting, with a focus on building monetary strength and technical expertise before pursuing ambitious external policy objectives through military power.

In his text "Neither a Hawk nor a Dove" (2016), Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri recounts his tenure as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. He sheds light on the influential role of the ISI in shaping the country's external policy. According to Kasuri, the involvement of the ISI in the Afghan Jihad and the secret operations backed by the CIA were concealed from the public in Pakistan. The ISI played a crucial role in getting and dispensing funds, arms, and tools to the Mujahedeen. As a result, they assumed a more prominent position in formulating the course of action towards Afghanistan. Furthermore, he argued that the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of a nation's foreign policy is intricately linked to its internal political and economic conditions. Consequently, it becomes the foremost responsibility of a government to honestly communicate the truth to its citizens and mobilize a unified national agreement in response.

According to Hein G. Kiessling's text, "The ISI of Pakistan" (2016), the ISI Headquarters holds the authority to make all significant decisions concerning foreign

policy. The ISI is accountable to the Prime Minister and maintains communication with the foreign office as required. However, the extent to which the prime ministers are informed varies depending on the specific circumstances of each case. Likewise, the collaborative effort of two ex-intelligence chiefs from India and Pakistan in the publication titled *The Spy Chronicles: RAW-ISI and the Illusion of Peace* (2018) provide insights into the operational methods and impact of these agencies on state policies within the realm of foreign affairs.

In his book titled "The Faltering State; Pakistan's Internal Security Landscape" published in 2017, Tariq Khosa provides his perspective on the dominance of the military in policy-making within Pakistan. According to Khosa, the security establishment holds a firm grip on power and is responsible for making crucial decisions regarding the numerous internal security contests confronted by the country. Notably, the military establishment exercises control over key aspects such as nuclear doctrine and external policy, particularly Pakistan's relations with the United States, Afghanistan, and India. Khosa's analysis delves into the core predicaments faced by Pakistan, emphasizing the country's strategic significance and the ability of its defense forces to adapt and thrive in a demanding environment.

The scholarly article titled "Modi's Foreign Policy Fundamentals: A Trajectory Unchanged " by Basrur (2017) analyzes the evolution of Indian foreign policy principles during the Modi administration. The author argues that Narendra Modi's ascension to the role of Prime Minister has sparked significant debate regarding the potential direction of Indian foreign policy under his governance. While various aspects of Modi's foreign policy can be evaluated in relation to major global powers, three overarching questions

are particularly critical. First, considering his reputation as a staunch Hindu nationalist, to what degree do Modi's ideological beliefs shape his foreign policy, especially concerning the application of national power? Second, how is India's approach to major powers conceptualized? Are there indications of a traditional balance of power strategy that aligns the United States and Japan against China? Lastly, how is Indian foreign policy structured to attain a more prominent position within the international system? Most importantly, does Modi represent a significant departure from his predecessors? Evidence suggests that there is no substantial alteration in the application of power influenced by "Hindu" elements in Modi's foreign policy; rather, his strategy towards major powers demonstrates continuity (although with some variations) that emphasizes strategic partnerships, and that statecraft aligns with the approaches adopted by former Prime Ministers.

Dr. Nitin Prasad's 2017 work, *Changes in India's Foreign Policy towards Pakistan*, offers an in-depth analysis of India's diplomatic strategies, particularly focusing on its longstanding relationship with Pakistan. The author highlights that Pakistan has consistently been a focal point for India's foreign ministry, which has often had to navigate complex issues arising from this relationship. The historical context includes four wars and various conflicts, such as Rann de Kutch and Siachen, alongside the ongoing militancy in Kashmir that has resulted in significant loss of life and numerous terrorist incidents throughout India. The division of India and Pakistan, rooted in the two-nation theory, has led to the marginalization of Muslims in India, further exacerbating tensions, particularly over the Kashmir dispute. Since the 1980s, particularly following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan's alliance with the United States has fostered

anti-Soviet terrorism, which Pakistan has strategically leveraged against India, thereby deteriorating bilateral relations. The foreign policy initiatives of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who assumed office on May 26, 2014, are also examined in this context. While the book is grounded in empirical research, it transcends mere academic inquiry by providing an analytical framework intended to shape and inform opinions on the critical factors influencing decision-making in Indian foreign policy, with the goal of reducing irrationality in its execution.

The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy (Malone, Mohan, & Raghavan, 2015) offers an extensive overview of India's foreign policy. As India increasingly engages with the global economy and contends with strategic competition from China, it has aimed to enhance its relationships with nations in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East, while also seeking to strengthen ties with major global powers. However, as illustrated by this collection of succinct and authoritative essays, New Delhi has struggled to forge strong connections with its immediate neighbors, which could serve as a platform for exerting greater influence. Additionally, India has not effectively integrated into international institutions concerning trade, finance, arms control, or climate change. The military lacks strategic guidance from civilian leadership, and there is minimal coordination among its branches. The nuclear weapons program is based on autopilot, and the national arms agency has been unable to develop advanced indigenous weaponry. This book addresses these issues and opens numerous intriguing avenues for future research.

Within the realm of theoretical literature concerning the evolution of foreign policy analysis and decision-making methodologies and structures, this research seeks to

explore the internal elements influencing the foreign policy choices in India and Pakistan. By offering a distinct perspective, it offers valuable insights into comprehending the intricacies of foreign policy making in Pakistan and India, consequently enriching our comprehension of their achievements and shortcomings.

1.9 Research Gap

The literature discussed in the preceding paragraphs highlighted various external policy conceptions and analysis paradigms. Different perspectives on the development of foreign policy were thoroughly examined and elucidated. However, there exists a conspicuous void in the existing body of literature concerning the analysis of numerous domestic elements and their influence on foreign policy decision-making in Pakistan and India. This gap emphasizes the necessity for a thorough inquiry into the formulation of foreign policy in both the nations, as well as the role played by various internal actors and factors in the foreign policy effectiveness of both the countries.

1.10 Research Methodology and Research Design

In order to elucidate the intricacies of the decision-making processes within the realm of foreign policy, it becomes imperative to dissect and analyze its complex nature. For this purpose, the study has employed qualitative research approach with descriptive and analytical techniques. These methods are used to gather and analyze non-numerical data, focusing on meaning, context, and interpretation. These methods have been adopted to examine and logically analyze the facts, information, discussions and statements etc. to make a critical assessment of the role played by various domestic drivers of foreign

policy decision making in Pakistan and India. A comparative study design has been adopted. In the comparative study design, a wide range of data has been collected concerning the domestic drivers of foreign policy decision making in both India and Pakistan, which was comparatively analyzed. A comparative study design is a methodical approach to examining, evaluating, and comparing various groups, conditions, or phenomena in order to acquire knowledge, detect regularities, and make inferences about the relationships, distinctions, or causal connections. The qualitative and descriptive research approach proved to be valuable in uncovering profound insights into the research inquiry, leading to a comprehensive understanding of the ways in which the internal actors and factors influenced foreign policies choices and its efficacy in India and Pakistan.

1.11 Data Collection

Qualitative data has been utilized in this research study in accordance with the nature of the relevant study issue. The conclusions have been drawn about the significant issues under the topic using both the primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data involved interviews, governmental documents, records of Foreign Office, Parliamentary reports, data released by official think tanks, statements and speeches of various state leaders, charters and declarations, conference proceedings as well as joint press releases. The study also employed the secondary sources available in the form of books, articles published in numerous journals, newspapers, and magazines, online sources, policy reports by various think tanks, television commentaries and public opinion surveys. Together primary and secondary data has been utilized in an all-inclusive and

organized manner for understanding every single aspect of the topic and conclude it in a productive manner.

1.12. Sampling

The researcher has conducted various interviews including those of the political leadership, Parliamentarians, civil and military bureaucrats, foreign policy specialists, academicians as well as serving and retired diplomats. A purposive sampling method was employed for this research, with approximately 20 interviews being carried out based on unstructured and semi-structured pattern.

Purposive sampling, also known as judgment sampling, is a deliberate and non-random selection method (Tongco, 2007, p. 12). According to Adler and Clark (2008, p. 121), this sampling technique involves the selection of units based on the judgment of the examiners in order to investigate specific characteristics and features of the population, while adhering to predetermined rules and parameters. According to Patton, it is exploring perspective on specific matter or topic (2002, p. 3). It supported the researcher to have an in-depth view of the external policy formation in Pakistan and India.

The selection of secondary data sources was made considering their applicability, reliability, and credibility in addressing the research objectives.

1.13. Data Analysis

The analysis of the collected data in this study was carried out using content analysis method, a method well-suited to the qualitative nature of the research. Content Analysis is a powerful tool for systematically uncovering patterns, themes and meanings within textual, visual, or auditory communication. It bridges description and interpretation, offering rigor and structure while allowing researchers to delve into the

nuances and context of their data to answer complex "how" and "why" questions. Given the qualitative nature of the research, content analysis enabled a systematic and objective examination of a wide range of primary and secondary sources, including official statements, policy documents, speeches, media reports, and scholarly literature. This method facilitated the identification of recurring themes, discourses, and patterns related to the domestic drivers of foreign policy in both countries. By interpreting and categorizing textual data, content analysis provided a structured means to uncover the influence of internal actors and factors, such as political leadership, civil-military relations, and institutional dynamics on foreign policy choices.

1.14. Organization of Chapters

1. Introduction
2. Foreign Policy Decision-making Concept, Process, Types and Roles
3. Theoretical Framework
4. Historical Background
5. Indo-Pak Foreign Policies in the Post-Cold War Era
6. Assessment of India and Pakistan's Foreign Policy in the Post 2014 Era
7. Role of Internal Actors and Factors in Influencing India's Foreign Policy Making
8. Role of Internal Actors and Factors in Influencing Pakistan's Foreign Policy Making
9. Comparative Analysis
10. Conclusion, Findings and Recommendations

1.14.1 Brief Overview of Chapters

The study has been divided into ten separate chapters.

The first chapter, being the introductory one, gives the background and overview of the study. It further discusses the rationale, statement of the problem and review of existing literature of the research. This chapter also discusses the objectives and significance of the study as well as the research questions and major definitions of important terms. Research methodology being the integral part of the research has also been thoroughly discussed in this chapter along with the delimitations of the study.

The second chapter analyses the concept of foreign policy and processes of decision making. In the beginning it conceptualize and defines the term “foreign policy” and “foreign policy decision making” and then discusses various structures and actors involved in foreign policy decision-making. This chapter also analyses the processes, actors and factors involved, as well as objectives and stages of foreign policy making along with the types of decisions.

The third chapter discusses some key theories of foreign policy decision making in detail. The researcher utilized these theories to conduct a thorough analysis of how different domestic variables influenced the foreign policy choices in India and Pakistan.

The fourth chapter deals with the historical background of the study. It emphasizes the role of various domestic elements that have previously influenced the foreign policy decision making choices in both the countries i.e. India and Pakistan.

The fifth chapter examines the foreign policies of India and Pakistan in the post-Cold War period.

The sixth chapter, being the important chapter of the study, examines the sequence of events related to the effectiveness of the foreign policy choices made by India and Pakistan in the post 2014 era.

The seventh chapter documents the key internal elements (actors and factors) involved in shaping India's foreign policy choices. While the first part of the chapter discusses the role of the actors in shaping the country's foreign policy decisions, the second part examines the impact of factors in determining the external policy choices of India.

The eighth chapter documents the key internal elements (actors and factors) involved in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy choices. While the first part of the chapter discusses the role of the actors in shaping the country's foreign policy decisions, the second part examines the impact of factors in determining the external policy choices of Pakistan.

The ninth chapter, being the main chapter of the study, draws out the comparative analysis between the domestic drivers determining the effectiveness of foreign policy choices in both the countries i.e. Pakistan and India.

The tenth chapter, being the last chapter of the study, outlines the summary and conclusion. This chapter also presents several findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER-2

2. FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING CONCEPT, PROCESS, TYPES AND ROLES

2.1 Concept of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy encompasses the set of strategies, methods, and courses of action adopted by a country to promote its national interests on a global scale. Foreign policy entails not only the internal processes involved in policy formulation but also the external processes that shape a nation's stance in international affairs (Richard C, 1954).

Foreign policy involves the actions carried out by an independent political authority, which falls under the exclusive responsibility of sovereign states (Morin and Paquin, 2018: 3). However, foreign policy decisions are not made in isolation purely on an international level. Each decision regarding foreign policy encompasses a significant domestic component. When diplomats from different countries showcase their external policy behavior, they have to justify their international decisions and actions to their domestic audience and constituents. As a result, this dynamic leads to a more inclusive decision-making procedure. Thus, foreign policy development is not only limited to "traditional" foreign policy actors; other government agencies are also involved. Moreover, actors from other nations also play a role in influencing the political dynamics that surround foreign policy formulation. Consequently, the analysis of foreign policy presents a challenging task in understanding the interactions among states, institutions, and individuals within a complex and evolving global context (Kirisci, 2009: 41).

In the current global context, there is an increasing interconnectedness between foreign and domestic policies. Traditionally, action taken by a nation beyond its own

borders was classified as foreign policy. However, the relationship between national and global affairs has now become more apparent. The process of globalization and regional integration has blurred the lines between domestic and foreign realms of political involvement. The growing number, international influence, capabilities, and impact of non-state actors, such as national and transnational non-governmental organizations, have played a crucial role in strengthening the link between domestic and foreign policy. As a result, this challenges the conventional notion of foreign policy as a distinct domain that fundamentally differs from all other areas of politics and public policy (Carlsnaess, 2013). The present condition is viewed as an element of the "democratization" process in foreign policy, making it more open to public scrutiny. As a result, contemporary literature suggests that foreign policy, traditionally linked to a nation's actions, can also be relevant to different entities. Therefore, it is entirely feasible to analyze the foreign policies of corporations, regional governments, and non-state actors (Smith, Hadfield, & Dunne, 2008).

Public administration revolves around the making of policies, which are crucial for charting a course of action. These policies provide essential guidelines that aid in the planning, implementation, and achievement of desired objectives, while also ensuring that activities remain within a prescribed framework. Consequently, policies give purpose and structure to the objective at hand. Despite being a longstanding concern for social scientists and the general public, there exists significant disagreement regarding the definition of public policy. There are two distinct definitions available, with one being broader and the other narrower. The narrower definition concentrates on the direct consequences of specific governmental choices, while the more comprehensive definition

encompasses both governmental and non-governmental elements that affect these choices. Policies can take on different forms, including legislation, executive orders, or other official actions. They can be general or specific, broad or limited, public or private, simple or intricate, qualitative or quantitative, discretionary or detailed, explicit or implicit (Hermann, 1980).

The term "policy" denotes a specific plan of action that is embraced and followed by a government, political party, or any other organization. It can also encompass any plan of action that is considered beneficial or practical. As per David Easton, policy can be seen as the results generated by the political system, while public policy is described as the authoritative allocation of values for the entire society. Anderson proposes that policy should be regarded as a relatively stable and definitive plan of action taken by an individual or group of individuals in dealing with a problem or issue of concern. Parson perceives policy as an attempt to establish a logical basis for action or inaction. Public policies, conversely, refer to the policies that are embraced and executed by governmental entities and officials. These policies are devised by the "authorities" within a political framework, such as leaders, bosses, executives, legislatures, courts, bureaucrats, analysts, and royals. As per Easton's perspective, these individuals actively engage in the day-to-day affairs of the political system and are acknowledged by most members as being accountable for these matters. They undertake actions that are generally acknowledged as binding, as long as they adhere to the limits of their roles. Dye characterizes public policy as the decisions made by the government regarding what actions to take or refrain from taking (Richard C, 1954).

The process of formulating decisions in foreign policy can be broadly characterized as the deliberate and systematic planning and implementation of political actions that are grounded in the immediate, intermediate, and long-term interests of a nation within the global arena. These interests are identified and selected by policymakers with the ultimate objective of safeguarding the survival and prosperity of the nation. While these actions often involve routine political activities that yield predictable outcomes, they can also arise from pre-established strategic plans that are devised through meticulous calculations of national interests, drawing upon extensive political experience and traditional priorities. Decision-making constitutes a fundamental component of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), encompassing various stages such as identifying problems, framing issues, perceiving objectives, prioritizing goals, planning for contingencies, and evaluating options. The decision maker, whether an individual or a group, is the central component of the process. The examination of decision-making approaches in foreign policy centers on comprehending these decision makers, their incentives, psychology, and the context in which they function. Additionally, it involves analyzing the mechanisms and procedures employed in decision-making. Together, these factors shape the circumstances that impact foreign policy choices and, consequently, the broader foreign policy of a nation (Hudson, 2014).

2.2 Actors and Structures in Foreign Policy

The notion of "foreign policy" is inseparably linked to the presence of individuals and systems and their reciprocal relationship. This interplay between individuals and systems leads to a mutual transformation of both. In his influential essay, Alexander Wendt highlighted two crucial points: Firstly, human beings and their organizations are

deliberate actors whose actions contribute to either maintaining or altering the society they are a part of. Secondly, society is comprised of social relationships that shape the interactions among these deliberate actors. Consequently, these points imply that human agents and social structures are, in some form, theoretically interdependent or mutually implicated entities. Similarly, within the global context, numerous entities participate in the formulation of foreign policies, and their characteristics, beliefs, thoughts, and behaviors are influenced and shaped by frameworks existing at both the national and international levels. Conversely, the intentional actions of these entities also bring about changes in the nature and composition of these frameworks (Wendt, 1987: 388).

2.3 Foreign Policy Objectives of States

Foreign policy objectives refer to the specific outcomes that a nation seeks to accomplish through its external policy actions. These objectives encompass a variety of overarching aims, including ensuring national survival, security, and defense, as well as promoting a certain set of beliefs and enhancing societal well-being. Furthermore, external policy objectives may also include the pursuit of power and influence at the global level. The making of foreign policy objectives ideally involves a thorough analysis that aims to align a country's priorities, objectives, and aspirations with the necessary strategies and resources required for their achievement. The capabilities of a country act as the essential means through which these objectives can be translated into reality, serving as the connections between the desired outcomes and the available resources (Ralph G. Carter, 2017).

During the course of this process, a significant role is played by both internal and external factors. Internal constraints, such as domestic politics and public opinion, along

with external constraints, such as international norms and the actions of other states, shape the frameworks within which foreign policy objectives are addressed. Furthermore, perceptions and expectations, both within the state and among its counterparts, guide the actions taken to achieve these objectives. To ensure a comprehensive understanding and determination of foreign policy objectives, a three-level situational analysis is conducted. This analysis involves examining the international system, including prevailing dynamics and trends, assessing the state's own capabilities and resources, and evaluating the capabilities and intentions of other states with which it interacts. By conducting this thorough analysis, policymakers can gain valuable insights into the complex dynamics of the international arena and make informed decisions regarding the formulation and pursuit of external policy objectives (Alden and Aran, 2017).

2.4 Levels of Analysis in Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is a complex and intricate procedure that involves the engagement between different entities and their immediate context, whether it is within a nation or across borders. To gain a comprehensive understanding of foreign policy choices, scholars have acknowledged the significance of considering the boundaries between a state's internal or domestic environment and the external environment. As a result, foreign policy analysis is conducted at three distinct levels: the international level, the national or state level, and the individual level. The notion of levels of analysis was introduced to the field of International Relations by Kenneth Waltz in his influential publication, "Man, the State and War," which was released in 1959. Waltz's objective was to identify the underlying causes of international conflicts by delineating different frameworks that elucidate human behavior, the internal structure of states, and the

existence of international anarchy. These frameworks correspond to the three levels of analysis: individual, state, and international.

The initial stage of examination, known as the international level, concentrates on elucidating foreign policy decisions by taking into account the dynamics of the international system. From this standpoint, the international system is regarded as the primary, and possibly the exclusive, determinant of choices made in foreign policy. This level of analysis delves into various aspects, including the characteristics and regulations of the international system, the distribution of power among nations, and the participation of international or transnational organizations. Furthermore, it considers the number of poles or centers of power within the system. By scrutinizing foreign policy through these diverse levels of analysis, scholars strive to offer a comprehensive comprehension of the factors that mold and influence a state's choices in foreign policy. This multi-level approach permits a more intricate and all-encompassing examination of the intricate interactions between actors and their surroundings in the domain of foreign policy (Alden and Aran, 2017).

The examination of state-level dynamics necessitates taking into account a variety of factors, including a country's geographical size, geopolitical positioning, available resources, economic strength, and population size. Additionally, it is crucial to consider the nature of the state, including its political system and institutions. These elements play a vital role in categorizing states as small, medium, or great powers, and they give an advantage to those states that have greater capabilities in terms of material dynamics when pursuing their foreign policy objectives. However, it is important to acknowledge that the material aspects of states are not the only determinants in state-level analysis.

Other dynamics, such as the state system itself, may have a more significant influence. For instance, according to the democratic peace theory, states with democratic regimes are less likely to engage in conflicts with each other. Furthermore, Singer argues that state-level analysis leads to more positive outcomes as it provides a more comprehensive and detailed understanding of the different actors within the international system. This approach facilitates the formulation of valid comparative generalizations (Singer, 1961).

According to Hudson (2014), failing to consider the individual level would lead to a motionless and barren world lacking invention, persuasion, and answerability. In contrast, Singer does not classify the individual level as a separate level of analysis, but rather incorporates it within the state/nation level. Singer defines state level analysis as the study of the mechanisms by which national objectives are determined, the diverse internal and external factors that shape these mechanisms, and the institutional framework from which they emerge (Hudson, 2014: 8).

2.5 Process of Foreign Policy Decision-making

The process of foreign policy involves the decision-making, which includes the choices made by individuals, groups, and coalitions that influence a nation's actions internationally. As a result, making choices on external policy requires governments to examine current issues, evaluate policy decisions, and take necessary steps to address important matters and promote national interests. This process helps to clarify the reasons behind governmental actions, the expected results of decisions, and the possible alternatives and their consequences. Hence, the study of external policy mainly aims to explore the structure, approach, and development of decision-making (Alden and Aran, 2017).

The foreign policy analysis distinguishes itself from other forms of analysis by focusing on processes rather than results. Decision-making is typically described as the action or procedure of selecting among different options. In this regard, decision-making involves the ongoing and complex process of recognizing problems, considering several alternatives, and choosing the most appropriate course of action to tackle those challenges. Distant policy choices are often likened to a chess match, as illustrated by Allison in his seminal book "The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis," where foreign policy is frequently analogized to moves, sequences of moves, and games of chess. Without any understanding of the rules and mechanics of chess, a casual observer might perceive a chess player's moves on a screen as a calculated strategy aimed at achieving victory. However, upon closer examination and after observing multiple games, a discerning observer could potentially discern a pattern of moves that suggests the chess player is not an individual but rather a collection of semi-independent organizations working together. Each organization would operate under its own set of established procedures, moving their respective pieces accordingly (Allison, 1971).

The formulation of foreign policy involves a complex process that involves various resources and developments through several specific stages. Beginning with problem identification, there are four main phases that can be observed in the foreign policy decision-making process.

2.5.1 Identification of the Problem: Perception, Images, and Information

Decision makers lack the ability to independently uncover problems or opportunities; it is essential for them to acknowledge these issues. The process of problem identification consists of three separate phases. Initially, decision makers must

be exposed to a stimulus from their external environment. Following this, they must comprehend and interpret this stimulus, ultimately determining whether it represents a problem or an opportunity within the realm of foreign policy. This specific stage holds great importance as the accurate recognition of a problem allows for the implementation of appropriate measures to mitigate it. Conversely, the failure to identify a problem during this stage can pose a threat to national security and future ambitions (Pearson and Rochester, 1992).

2.5.2 Interpretation, Determination and Evaluation of Alternatives

The decision maker is tasked with analyzing and interpreting the available information to gain a comprehensive understanding of the current situation and to pinpoint potential alternative courses of action. This interpretative process is influenced by the decision maker's personal beliefs and past experiences. Nevertheless, to achieve a thorough comprehension and definition of the situation, the decision maker must seek additional information. This supplementary information is typically supplied by the bureaucracy, which may interpret it based on its own organizational interests, as noted earlier. Regrettably, this filtering mechanism can at times result in a misinterpretation of the situation, a common occurrence in the realm of foreign policy decision making. After the decision maker has analyzed and clarified the situation, they need to move forward with identifying the available alternative options. Nevertheless, the making of these alternatives is limited by various factors, including time and resources. Especially in times of crisis, decision makers face time constraints in generating a diverse set of policy options. The next step involves evaluating these alternatives. Each option must be comprehensively evaluated in terms of its expenses and advantages, as well as its

alignment with the distant policy objective. Furthermore, the potential future repercussions linked to each option must also be carefully considered (Pearson and Rochester, 1992).

2.5.3 Selection of the Best Option

After considering different alternatives, the next step is to choose the most favorable option. This phase is extremely important because selecting a biased or incorrect policy would hinder the overall objective of optimization. It is important to mention that decision-making tends to favor a "satisfying" alternative rather than a "maximizing" one, which goes against the suggestions of the Rational Actor Model (Pearson and Rochester, 1992: 220). Furthermore, in the event that the decision-making process takes place within an organizational setting, there is a tendency towards opting for a "less risky" alternative. Although an individual decision maker might lean towards making risky decisions influenced by their own tendencies, a group decision-making process typically leans towards a more cautious alternative (Pearson and Rochester, 1992: 220-221). At this phase, the decision-maker unavoidably considers political factors. Unlike administrative concerns, political considerations are of importance to decision-makers whose position relies on their electoral capacity, especially in democratic systems. In the majority of instances, governments view their re-election as a matter of national interest and thus refrain from making decisions that would be unfavorably perceived by the general public (Halperin and Kanter, 1992: 404-405).

2.5.4 Implementation of the Decision

After the policy choice has been chosen, the decision maker commonly entrusts the task of executing the decisions to the appropriate departments and agencies. It is essential

that all relevant entities are well-informed and receive the decision promptly to ensure effective understanding and prevent any gaps in communication. It should be emphasized that misunderstanding or misinterpretation can have a significant impact at this point, potentially causing a divergence from the original purpose of the decision. The individuals responsible for carrying out the decision may construe it based on their own viewpoints, resulting in a mismatch between the decision and the actual policy implementation. Especially in the context of major decisions, top-level decision makers often establish the basic framework while delegating the specifics to the bureaucratic process. Hence, it is important to closely observe the outcomes of the implementation to evaluate the decision's efficacy. Creating a feedback system is vital for this purpose. Favorable feedback from both external and internal sources signifies the success of the chosen policy and the need for its continuation. Conversely, unfavorable feedback indicates a deviation from the original decision, necessitating a reassessment or exploration of other options (Nicholson, 1992: 56).

2.6 Actors and Factors Influencing the Process of Decision-making

Foreign policy decision making is a complex and intricate process, as previously stated. Numerous players, managers, and institutes play a role in this process. The factors that drive this process can be broadly classified into the external, societal context, governmental framework, the roles assumed by policy-makers, and the individual characteristics of the policy-making elites. The subsequent discussion will delve into the various external and internal elements that exert influence on the decision-making process.

2.6.1 The External Environment

The external environment pertains to the physical surroundings that extend beyond the boundaries of a specific nation. This includes other nations, various global institutions, and the interactions between them. Nations are tasked with upholding their commitments stemming from their bilateral ties, their involvement in international groups, and the alliance structures they are part of. Additionally, nations must also factor in the influence of global public opinion, which can shape their foreign policies through feedback. Presently, nations are interconnected and interdependent across all spheres, from political to economic and social realms. As a result, they must consider these intricate connections when devising their foreign policy approaches. The external forces impacting a nation's foreign policies can be divided into two categories: actor-centered forces and systemic forces (Rosenau, 1996).

Actor-based influences pertain to the immediate reactions that emerge from other states in connection to the chosen foreign policy path. These influences carry considerable significance since they have the potential to result in policy failures if a state miscalculates the expected response of a third country. For example, when a state decides to engage in military intervention during a crisis unfolding in a different nation, it must take into account the reactions of neighboring countries and other systemic dynamics. If neighboring countries unexpectedly decide to intervene and align themselves with the nation being intervened upon, this will lead to a detrimental misjudgment for the intervening state (Snyder, Bruck and Sapin, 1969: 203).

Systemic factors are commonly divided into two primary categories: structural and non-structural factors. The configuration of a system is a critical determinant in molding

and at times restricting the foreign policy alternatives accessible to nations. The impact of structural factors varies depending on the structure of the global system, whether it is bipolar, multipolar, or global. In a bipolar system, for example, nations tend to align themselves with one of the two dominant blocs, and their foreign policy choices are significantly influenced by the fundamental values and principles of their respective bloc. Conversely, non-structural factors encompass alterations in the power dynamics among major nations, the growing bargaining power of weaker nations, and changes in international norms. The behavior and choices of states in the international arena are greatly influenced by various factors. It is crucial to differentiate between structural and non-structural factors to comprehend how the system's structure and other influential elements affect states' foreign policy decisions. Policymakers can effectively navigate the complexities of the international system and make well-informed decisions that are in line with their national interests by taking these factors into account (Rosenau, 1996).

2.6.2 The Internal Environment

Foreign policy, while primarily focused on external affairs, is closely connected to the internal workings of a country. The internal landscape includes the political system as a whole, such as political parties, interest groups, and public opinion etc. This internal environment plays a crucial role in shaping the decision-making process.

2.6.2.1 The Structure of the Government

The institutional structure of a government plays a significant role in shaping the decision-making process. Irrespective of the type of political system in place, the responsibility for making foreign policy rests with the executive branch. Consequently, the decision-making body is typically the governmental entity that holds the executive

power. This pattern can be observed across various systems, including presidential, semi-presidential, and parliamentary systems. In a presidential system, the President wields the executive power, whereas in semi-presidential systems, both the President and the Prime Minister share this authority. Conversely, in parliamentary systems, the Prime Minister assumes the primary executive power. Thus, when it comes to formulating foreign policy, the executive, whether it is the President, Prime Minister, or both, serves as the pivotal decision-making unit (Frankel, 1963: 25-26).

The impact of the legislature on the decision-making practice concerning external policy is not as extensive as its influence on domestic politics. The degree of this influence varies across different countries and is contingent upon the constitutional framework in place. Generally, parliaments primarily play a role in confirming foreign policy decisions rather than actively formulating them. Although parliaments possess the authority to reject these decisions, governments typically prefer to consult with them beforehand. In terms of scrutinizing the actions of the executive branch, it is not the entire parliament that assumes this responsibility, but rather the opposition, which is usually in the minority. Consequently, the parliament's checking power in relation to foreign policy is limited to the efforts of the opposition. Hence, legislatures are limited to acting as a tool for questioning foreign policy choices, and their effectiveness in this role is determined by their capacity to raise these matters in parliamentary debates. Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that debates concerning foreign policy are frequently restricted by the prevalence of the notion of "national interest," which hinders the opposition's capacity to actively participate in such discussions (Soysal, 1964: 258-269).

The primary responsibility for foreign policy rests with the executive branch. The Minister of Foreign Affairs plays a crucial part in shaping foreign policy. Traditionally, the head of government chooses the Foreign Minister from individuals they prefer to collaborate with. However, in contemporary times, the impact of Foreign Ministers in decision-making processes has waned, leading to a reduction in their decision-making power. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and their ministry now mainly function as implementers rather than decision-makers. Nonetheless, there are instances where Foreign Ministers can take on a significant role in crafting foreign policy based on their personal interests, experience, and influence within the government. In such scenarios, these Foreign Ministers can influence the overall framework of foreign policy and serve as key decision-makers (Wendzel, 1981: 423).

2.6.2.2 The Bureaucracy

Decision makers in every state function within a bureaucratic system, which has a profound impact on their decision-making process. The existence of bureaucracy in foreign policy reflects the need for expertise and is designed to streamline the gathering, analysis, and distribution of information to the relevant individuals in a timely fashion. Bureaucracies primarily exert their influence on foreign policy by filtering information. Decision makers heavily rely on the information presented by the bureaucracy, and the nature of the information they receive is determined by the choices made within the bureaucratic structure. Furthermore, bureaucracies also play a role in shaping foreign policy by providing specific recommendations to decision makers. Decision makers are constrained in their choices as they are presented with options that are in line with the bureaucratic organization's preferences. It is important to note that decisions are not

solely influenced by the bureaucracy, as the information and policy options provided to decision makers are typically biased. Decision makers receive information from multiple sources, each with its own biases, which can offer a more comprehensive view to the leader. Additionally, the implementation of policies can significantly impact foreign policy decisions, potentially changing the original objective of the policy (Jervis and Art, 1992).

2.6.2.3 Public Opinion

Public opinion has a considerable impact on the formation of foreign policy to some degree. The viewpoint of the public regarding foreign policy can be classified into three distinct categories: the general populace, the attentive public, and opinion leaders. The general populace comprises individuals who do not possess a specific interest in foreign policy and tend to approach it from an emotional perspective. Conversely, the attentive public represents a smaller segment of the population who actively participates in and possesses substantial knowledge about foreign policy. Opinion leaders, a minority group, possess not only knowledge about foreign policy but also the capacity to exert influence, provide guidance, and reflect the viewpoints of the general public. These influential figures can encompass politicians, business executives, community leaders, journalists, educators, celebrities, and sports personalities. In specific circumstances, policymakers take into account public opinions when the public is particularly attentive to a particular situation. This consideration can directly impact the decision-making process. Additionally, in democratic nations, public opinion acts as a legitimizing factor for policies implemented by decision makers. Leaders also exercise caution regarding potential negative consequences they may encounter in the next election if they disregard

the public's opinion. Furthermore, decision makers believe that if a chosen policy garners support from the public, its likelihood of success will increase (Rourke, 2008).

2.6.2.4 Interest Groups

Interest groups, which are private organizations made up of individuals with common policy views, work to influence the government to adopt these views as official policy. While interest groups have traditionally had a stronger influence on domestic policy than foreign policy, they are increasingly playing a larger role in shaping foreign policy in democratic countries. Cultural groups, a specific type of interest group, are composed of individuals who are connected by shared religious beliefs, ideological goals, or cultural needs. Economic organizations, conversely, represent another significant manifestation of interest group engagement. In light of the increasing global trade, these organizations strive to exert influence on their respective governments in order to secure support for their interests abroad. Conversely, issue-focused groups constitute another classification of interest groups, which do not center on particular socio-economic elements such as ethnicity or economics. Instead, they attract individuals who unite under a shared policy objective (Trice, 1978: 238).

Interest groups do not have formal authority in the policy-making process, thus relying on government officials with the necessary authority to translate their policy preferences into actionable results. As a result, interest groups concentrate on pinpointing the timing and location of decision-making processes and subsequently devising the most effective communication strategies to engage with policymakers. In order to accomplish

this, interest groups utilize strategies that can be classified into two main categories: direct and indirect methods of influencing policy decisions.

Indirect strategies encompass the use of external elements, like public sentiment, by interest groups to impact policy choices in their political sphere. Interest groups have the ability to utilize various non-governmental organizations, the media, and public sentiment to exert indirect sway. Conversely, direct influence tactics are aimed at policymakers. However, a multitude of empirical research suggests that the efficacy of interest groups in molding policy decisions through direct influence methods remains ambiguous (Rourke, 2008).

2.6.2.5 Leadership

The decision maker or leader holds a pivotal role in the decision-making process, being ultimately accountable for the final decision. The leader's personality and cognition also influence the decision-making process. Tangible effects may only be noticeable in times of crisis when significant social and political changes take place or in political systems where decision-making rests solely on the leader, excluding a well-established bureaucratic structure. In all other scenarios, the leader's influence on the decision-making process is indirect and contingent on various factors, including their level of interest and expertise on the matter at hand. The higher the leader's interest and knowledge, the lesser is the influence of their personality on the decision. If the decision maker has a strong understanding of the matter at hand, they will not rely solely on their own preferences when making a decision. By being well-versed in problem-solving techniques and able to link the issue to other areas through a historical lens, as well as demonstrating intellectual depth and foresight, the decision maker's personal traits will

play a smaller role in the decision-making process. Additionally, when the decision maker feels accountable for the decision, they are more inclined to use rational criteria in their decision-making process (Verba, 1969: 221-222).

The consideration of decision makers' personality in relation to the structure and circumstances of a problem holds significant importance. During times of crisis, personal traits can become more pronounced due to the presence of time constraints, stress, and limited information. In the case of decision makers possessing a narcissistic personality, which is characterized by a self-centered focus on their own thoughts and emotions, their decision-making process is likely to be solely influenced by their own judgments, disregarding the perspectives of others. Foreign policy decision makers encompass individuals occupying positions within the government and bureaucracy. Therefore, the decision-making process of individuals is shaped by their bureaucratic roles, impacting how they process information. These roles define the duties associated with their bureaucratic position. Decision makers' behavior in making choices is guided by these roles, ultimately affecting their decision-making behavior. Hence, decision makers might align their actions with organizational priorities, despite any inconsistencies with their personal beliefs (Berman, 1998: 6-7).

The decision-making course is impacted by the political culture of the decision maker. Political culture has a significant influence on external policy decision making, which can be divided into direct and indirect influences. Direct influence of political culture shapes the decision maker's perceptions, subsequently affecting their views on their own nation. Political culture plays a crucial role in defining how the decision maker interprets national interest, security, peace, and other relevant aspects of foreign policy.

Although political culture is a key determinant of the decision-making context, its effects are primarily indirect on the decision-making process. The direct effects are related to the decision maker's psychological environment, while the indirect effects are linked to the instrumental environment. Ultimately, whether direct or indirect, political culture plays a critical role in shaping foreign policy decisions by influencing the decision maker's perceptions of their own nation and others, and by guiding their behavior in similar circumstances (Cagriri Erhan, 2018).

2.7 Types of Decisions

Foreign policy decisions exhibit a distinctive nature due to their non-conventional characteristics, which are contingent upon the particular circumstances surrounding them. Mintz has classified these decisions into five discernible categories: one-shot (single) decisions, interactive decisions, sequential decisions, sequential-interactive decisions, and group decisions. Each of these decision types embodies a distinct methodology (Mintz and DeRouen, 2010: 15-21).

2.7.1 Individual Choices or Single Decisions

Single decisions are commonly referred to as one-time choices and are rare in the context of making decisions in foreign policy because of the sequential structure of global relations. Nevertheless, it is feasible to assess an individual choice made in a particular scenario as a one-time decision. For example, despite the decision to abstain from joining an international agreement following a sequential process, it can still be evaluated as a one-time decision (Mintz and DeRouen, 2010).

2.7.2 Interactive Decisions

Interactive decisions involve scenarios in which numerous individuals participate in the decision-making process, affecting each other's choices. The decisions made are interdependent, influenced by the actions of all parties involved. For example, when a government has to decide on a proposal, like a peace treaty, put forth by another country, it falls within the realm of interactive decision-making. This is due to the fact that the consequences of the decision influence not only the country's own future but also have repercussions for the other state in question (Mintz and DeRouen, 2010).

2.7.3 Sequential Decisions

Sequential decisions involve a series of interrelated choices, including determining whether to engage in Syria, increase or decrease the number of troops, choose between withdrawal or continuance, and eventually, define the endpoint of the operation. External policy decisions are predominantly distinguished by their sequential and interactive attributes. These decisions adhere to a particular order or sequence, while concurrently involving numerous actors who are impacted by the process of decision-making.

2.7.4 Group Decisions

Group decisions primarily depend on collaborative decision-making processes. Irrespective of the leader's authority and impact, the responsibility of foreign policy making is never solely bestowed upon one person. The development of foreign policy always encompasses the dynamics of a group, which can range from smaller to larger groups (Hudson, 2007).

Another method of categorizing foreign policy decisions is to group them into macro, micro, and crisis decisions, which offers a simpler and more direct approach.

2.7.5 Macro Decisions

Macro decisions are characterized by their predictable nature and lack of reactivity towards sudden or unforeseen circumstances. These decisions are carefully crafted over a considerable period of time and involve the active involvement of various domestic political actors. Instances of macro foreign policy decisions encompass the reevaluation of diplomatic ties with a specific country or region, the determination of defense spending levels, and the establishment of policies pertaining to nuclear armament (Pearson and Rochester, 1992).

2.7.6 Micro Decisions

Micro decisions, also referred to as administrative choices, hold a significant position within the realm of foreign policy. These decisions are characterized by their limited scope, minimal level of risk, and are typically handled at lower echelons of the foreign policy hierarchy. Examples of such decisions encompass granting visa authorizations, addressing requests from embassies, coordinating arrangements for hosting foreign missions, and so forth. It is crucial to emphasize that micro decisions are closely intertwined with macro decisions. For instance, in the scenario of deteriorating relations between two nations, the routine visa policies and arrangements, falling within the domain of micro decisions, may undergo modifications contingent upon the reversal of bilateral relations (Pearson and Rochester, 1992).

2.7.7 Crisis Decisions

Crisis decisions are often made in situations marked by high levels of risk, an urgent requirement for swift action, and a small group of key decision-makers, predominantly consisting of top-ranking officials. In essence, crises entail a serious issue

that necessitates the undivided attention and engagement of top leaders within a specified timeframe. Among the extensively studied crises in the realm of crisis decision-making, the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962 involving the United States and the Soviet Union is notably one of the most thoroughly scrutinized instances (Pearson and Rochester, 1992: 203).

CHAPTER-3

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Defining the theoretical framework of a research is crucial as it connects the investigation to previous literature and sets its direction. Without a theoretical framework, academic search becomes unattainable; it acts as the essence of the research. Decision-making is a multifaceted and ever-evolving process. Leadership, the structure of the policymaking unit, the policy development environment, and other internal and external factors all play a role in shaping the outcomes of decisions. Notably, due to the constant changes in the local environment, it is unrealistic to expect identical decisions from the same decision-making entities. This chapter has tried to examine some key foreign policy decision-making theories considering domestic influences. While external policy is typically associated with global relations involving multiple states and international organizations, the domestic setting plays a crucial role in shaping decision-making processes.

The domestic influences such as the political system, role of bureaucracy and institutions, leadership capabilities, interest groups and non-governmental organizations along with ideology and public opinion etc. significantly influence the

direction of a state's external policy. The dynamics of foreign policy decision-making are significantly influenced by the interaction patterns among various institutions. For instance, in Pakistan, the strained relationship between the civilian authorities and the military establishment directly influence the foreign policy decisions, often limiting the influence of civilian leaders. In contrast, India's foreign policy is mostly shaped and executed by the political executive, the National Security Council, and the foreign policy dealing Ministry. During the congressional period in Indian foreign policy, there was a notable emergence of personality cults surrounding figures like Nehru and Indira Gandhi, which resulted in a foreign policy decision-making process that largely excluded institutional contributions (Chandra, 2017). By focusing on the domestic sources, this chapter seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of how these internal variables influenced the overall trends and specific actions taken by a state.

The study has adopted the following models as a theoretical framework to explain the role and interaction of/among cognitive, psychological, societal and structural elements in the process of foreign policy decision-making as well as to analyze the role of these elements in the effectiveness of the policy outcomes.

3.1 Foreign Policy Decision-making Process and the Role of Individual-level Variables (Cognitive/Psychological)

The intellectual roots of decision-making concept can be traced back to the eighteenth century and even earlier. In 1738, Daniel Bernoulli laid down the foundations of this theory. The twentieth century saw the theory being further developed, drawing inspiration from the game theories formulated by John Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern. Anthony Downs also made significant contributions to the theory in 1957 by formulating governmental decision-making in economic terms. Subsequently, in the late 1950s and

early 1960s, writers such as William Riker, James Robinson, and Herbert Simon enriched the decision-making approach in the field of political science. This approach remained dominant in the study and research of sociology, psychology, and economics for an extended period (RC Snyder, 2002).

The initial effort to incorporate decision-making analysis into the examination of foreign policy was pioneered by Richard Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin. Their aim was to elucidate the theoretical investigation of the behavior of actors in the realm of international politics. The decision-making approach serves two primary objectives. Firstly, it involves pinpointing "crucial problems" within the political sphere where changes occur, decisions are taken, and actions are implemented. Secondly, it entails a methodical examination of decision-making behavior that culminates in action. Consequently, the decision-making approach directs attention towards decision-makers as the key actors and the state as the unit of decision-making. It is evident, therefore, that the actions of the state are perceived through the lens of decision-makers' actions. The decision-making approach emphasizes the necessity of analyzing the behavior of decision-makers through action-analysis, viewing them as "actors in a situation." It highlights the significance of how these actors perceive the situation, serving as the foundation for decision-making. This approach operates under the assumption that the essence of political actions is rooted in how decision makers, as actors, interpret their circumstances and construct their understanding of the situation based on anticipated actions and the rationale behind those actions (Richard C, 1954).

It delves into the key figures in foreign policy-making, analyzing their roles in shaping national policies and responding to international circumstances. As a result, it is

commonly argued that a deeper comprehension of international politics can be achieved by examining the decision-making processes through which policymakers select a course of action from various options. The decision-making approach suggests that individuals' rationality is constrained by a multitude of factors, including psychological, societal, and cognitive influences, as well as the processes involved in acquiring knowledge, experiences, values, belief systems, and so forth. The decision maker's understanding of foreign policy is heavily influenced by a multitude of factors, including social, political, demographic, cultural, historical, ideological, and institutional conditions. These various dynamics converge to shape the decision maker's perceptions. The objective of analyzing these perceptions is to comprehend and elucidate the reasoning behind foreign policy decisions, as well as the underlying dynamics that drive these perceptions. Perceptions become particularly crucial when the decision maker holds misconceptions regarding the intentions of other nations or their own country's capabilities. Additionally, the nation as a whole may also possess its own set of perceptions about its identity and role, which can impact the decisions made by foreign policy makers. The cultural context of society plays a significant role in shaping these perceptions. Furthermore, culture also influences the cognitive processes through which the decision maker acquires knowledge and information (RC Snyder, 2002).

According to Sprouts, understanding the decision-making process of individuals in positions of power is crucial, as it is influenced by a variety of factors. These decision makers are not isolated entities but operate within a larger framework that includes historical, geographical, cultural, political, economic, and demographic aspects. Michael Brecher's research aligns with this perspective, as it explores the interplay between these

factors and decision making. Additionally, the societal context of decision making involves analyzing national attributes such as culture, geography, economics, political institutions, military power, ideology, and demographics. These attributes significantly shape the strategies employed in foreign policy formulation (Sprout, 1957).

Ozdamar argues that due to both internal and external pressures, leaders carefully weigh the benefits, costs, and priorities of domestic politics and external policy. He emphasizes the importance of human factors in leadership, suggesting that leaders who do not face political survival threats are willing to sacrifice personal security for the advancement of foreign policy objectives. Sprouts highlight the impact of decision-makers' psychological environments, cultures, and ideologies on foreign policy formulation. Isyar identifies cognitive abilities, intelligence, information processing, and emotions as crucial elements that shape a leader's values. Erisen introduces the additional factor of leaders' perceptions of their opponents' intentions and potential strategies, which he asserts is a significant determinant influenced by the psychological environment of leaders (Sprout, 1957: 309-328).

Winter and Stewart's study on cognitive and psychological aspects in foreign policy analysis emphasizes the significance of leaders' life experiences in influencing their foreign policy decisions. The distinction between the "survival approach" and the "personal attribute approach" is crucial in leadership analysis. The former suggests that leaders make foreign policy choices based on their pursuit of power, linking their decisions to their survival in power within the international arena. Conversely, the "personal attribute approach" delves into leaders' inclinations towards the use of force, psychological characteristics, beliefs about the world, and personal backgrounds, often

explored through operational code analysis. Ultimately, political psychology serves as a valuable tool in comprehending the decision-making processes of political leaders (Hermann, 1980: 7-46).

Jervis's seminal work, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (1976), posits that decision-makers frequently misinterpret reality as a result of cognitive constraints and psychological biases. Leaders tend to integrate new information into their established beliefs, often disregarding evidence that contradicts those beliefs. They frequently depend on information that supports their current perspectives. In a similar vein, leaders draw broad conclusions from historical events, such as the influence of the Munich Pact on Cold War deterrence strategies. Jervis illustrated that misinterpretations frequently stem from uneven assessments of actions: for instance, a state's defensive actions, like an increase in military capabilities, can be viewed as aggressive by rival states, thereby exacerbating security dilemmas.

Jervis emphasized that leaders operate through belief systems, which are organized mental constructs that influence their perception of the world, filtering information and guiding their decision-making processes. Decision-makers tend to focus on information pertinent to their immediate issues, exemplified by Cold War leaders concentrating on nuclear threats. They frequently attribute the actions of others to intrinsic hostility rather than considering situational influences. Such biases can result in self-fulfilling prophecies, as illustrated by the domino theory that propelled U.S. interventionist policies (Jervis, 1976).

Jervis examined the role of cognitive biases in intelligence failures, highlighting instances such as the CIA's erroneous assessment of Iran's 1979 revolution and the claims

regarding Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. He argued that policymakers often manipulate intelligence to support their desired policies, as seen in the rationale provided by the Bush administration for the Iraq War. Jervis's theories suggest that foreign policy is not simply a matter of rational decision-making; rather, it is a multifaceted interaction of mental frameworks, misconceptions, and historical influences, which is crucial for comprehending both historical conflicts and contemporary issues (Jervis, 1976).

The individual level in foreign policy decision-making does not always involve a single decision maker. Instead, there are instances where a small group of individuals collectively make decisions regarding foreign policy. Some scholars argue that foreign policy decisions cannot be attributed to a single person, but rather are the result of group dynamics. In these situations, the analysis centers on how group members perceive foreign policy issues and the motivations that drive their decisions. Similar to examining individual decision makers, psychological factors are carefully considered in addressing these issues. Conversely, certain decision-making theories argue that focusing solely on the individual or group decision maker is insufficient, as organizational processes and bureaucracies also play a significant role in shaping foreign policy outcomes (RC Snyder, 2002).

The concept of Poliheuristic, introduced by Alex Mintz, serves as an alternative framework for foreign policy decision-making. Essentially, it expands upon the bounded rationality model proposed by Herbert A. Simon. Within this decision-making framework, political leaders or executives tend to forgo extensive long-term evaluations of various policy options, opting instead for a simplified approach that divides the problem into two distinct stages, as outlined by Mintz. According to Poliheuristic theory,

policymakers engage in a two-step decision-making process that involves (a) eliminating alternatives deemed undesirable based on significant criteria and (b) choosing an option from the remaining alternatives while maximizing benefits and minimizing risks (Mintz, 2004).

The primary characteristics of Poliheuristic decision-making encompass the significance of domestic politics, the avoidance of non-compensatory losses, the pursuit of satisfactory outcomes, a non-holistic approach, and the prioritization of political survival. The term 'Poliheuristic' can be dissected into 'Poly,' signifying many, and 'heuristic,' referring to the shortcuts employed in foreign policy decision-making during crises or when precise alternatives are required. This framework allows for the objective application of both bounded rationality and rationality. Initially, complex foreign policy dilemmas are simplified by discarding irrelevant or unacceptable alternatives based on the context. Subsequently, a select few of the remaining alternatives are chosen rationally, focusing on the generation of optimal results or the maximization of benefits while minimizing losses. In contrast to other foreign policy decision-making theories that stem from economics and public administration, the Poliheuristic model is fundamentally political, deeply rooted in the psychological paradigm of political leadership, which seeks to mitigate domestic political losses at the expense of foreign policy decisions (Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen Jr, 2010).

The utilization of Poliheuristic theory allows for the simplification of intricate scenarios, enabling the selection of the most favorable alternative to mitigate domestic political instability. This objective assessment of the optimal choice within a limited timeframe is a unique characteristic of the Poliheuristic framework. According to Alex

Mintz (2004), the non-compensatory variable of political loss aversion within Poliheuristic theory can be applied in various contexts, including threats to a leader's survival, significant declines in public support for a policy, potential electoral losses, domestic opposition, risks to governmental stability, intra-party rivalry, challenges to the government from internal or external sources, looming crises affecting coalitions, governments, or regimes, threats to a leader's political authority, dignity, honor, or legality, as well as civil unrest such as protests and riots, along with the influence of veto players, such as key parties in parliamentary systems (Mintz, 2004: 9).

George Simmel and Lewis Coser are distinguished sociologists who introduced the 'Ingroup-Outgroup hypothesis,' which elucidates the behavior of leaders who shift public focus towards external adversaries to mitigate internal conflicts. This strategy of diversion helps to alleviate domestic political instability by redirecting attention from internal issues to foreign threats. Typically, such actions are undertaken by politically vulnerable leaders who carefully assess the potential outcomes of their decisions prior to implementation. DeRouen Jr. analyzed these diversionary dynamics and found that military action is more likely during periods of high unemployment; as such actions can enhance a leader's approval ratings. Consequently, military interventions abroad serve to distract the public from economic vulnerabilities (Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen Jr, 2010: 130).

Alistair Smith posits that this diversionary tactic is often employed when a leader's popularity wanes or when they are embroiled in scandal, allowing leaders of strategically strong states to launch attacks on weaker opponents without the need for justification. A similar pattern is observable during domestic political campaigns, particularly in general

elections, where leaders seek to project strength and garner public support. Thus, the diversionary theory is crucial for understanding the decision-making processes of individual leaders in light of domestic political challenges (Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen Jr, 2010).

The political landscape and the governing system within a state are of paramount significance, as they delineate the authority granted to decision-makers. This political context profoundly influences the decision-makers thought processes. Engaging in a two-level game, the decision-maker must navigate the pressures of international relations alongside domestic limitations. Typically, the head of state or government, or the group of individuals holding decision-making authority, are driven by two primary objectives: the desire to maintain their power and the aim to uphold policy coalitions. The domestic context is particularly significant, as decision-makers often seek to achieve domestic objectives through foreign policy initiatives, while at other times, they may strive to keep these two spheres distinct, intentionally preventing foreign policy decisions from encroaching upon domestic issues and agendas (Peri, 2018).

Decision-making occurs within a domestic context that incorporates contributions from various institutions. The choices made in foreign policy are often shaped by institutional influences and, at times, by groupthink dynamics. When individual decision maker or small group of people have more say in the foreign policy formulation, cognitive biases and psychological factors play a crucial role. For instance, John F. Kennedy's personality and cognitive style were pivotal in alleviating the tensions during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. Similarly, Jawaharlal Nehru's awareness of India's military inadequacies during the 1962 India-China conflict significantly influenced

India's military strategies and subsequent militarization under Indira Gandhi. The cognitive perspective underscores the importance of human reasoning and the intricate psychology involved in the decision-making process (Jash, 2021).

3.1.1 Application to India's Context

Cognitive elements, including beliefs, perceptions, biases, and decision-making heuristics, significantly influence the formulation of Indian foreign policy. These psychological factors affect the manner in which leaders analyze information, evaluate threats and opportunities, and react to international challenges.

India's foreign policy has frequently been influenced by the personal beliefs and cognitivescaffolding of its leaders. Jawaharlal Nehru's commitment to moral diplomacy and anti-colonial solidarity was instrumental in shaping India's non-aligned position during the Cold War. His perception of India as a "moral leader" emphasized ethical principles over pragmatic considerations. Additionally, Nehru's faith in the concept of "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai" (India-China brotherhood) contributed to his inability to foresee Chinese aggression, underscoring the impact of cognitive biases such as optimism and overconfidence. In a similar vein, the current Prime Minister Narendra Modi's approach, characterized by direct leader-to-leader interactions (often referred to as "hug diplomacy"), illustrates his cognitive preference for establishing personal connections to further strategic objectives. His focus on India's ancient cultural and civilizational links, as exemplified by the "Act East Policy," reflects a worldview that connects historical context with contemporary soft power (Simi, 2014).

The cognitive legacy of non-alignment remains influential in India's doctrine of strategic autonomy, which emphasizes the evasion of formal alliances while balancing

relationships with major powers such as the U.S. and Russia. The defeat suffered in 1962 during the conflict with China continues to inform India's perception of threats, resulting in either excessive caution, which is evident in the slow development of infrastructure along the China border or the disproportionate reactions, as seen in the 2020 clashes in Galwan. India's conceptualization of China as a persistent threat, extending beyond mere border issues, fosters collaborations like the Quad (comprising the U.S., Japan, and Australia) and drives investments in infrastructure across the Indo-Pacific region. Furthermore, a consistent "Pakistan prism" influences India's counterterrorism strategies, leading to actions such as surgical strikes and a refusal to engage in dialogue following the 2019 Pulwama attack (M.H. Syed, Personal communication, Nov. 10, 2022).

The significant foreign policy choices made by Prime Minister Modi following the Pulwama incident distinctly illustrate his Hindutva-centric ideology and self-serving approach aimed at preserving his political dominance within the domestic political landscape. His security strategy in South Asia has exhibited aggressive military posturing that threatens regional stability. Furthermore, his allegiance to the RSS's agenda for the purification of India from non-Hindu populations is evident in his domestic policies. Regarding the Kashmir issue, his decision to revoke the special status of Jammu and Kashmir through the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution revealed a contradictory stance on promoting India as a secular democracy (M.H. Syed, Personal communication, Nov. 10, 2022).

India's PM Narendra Modi's approach to foreign policy making reflects a populist stance that is anti-pluralism and elitism. The concentration of decision-making power as well as Modi's distinct tenure as Chief Minister in Gujarat stands out as one of his most

notable traits and stands in stark contrast to the leadership style of his predecessor, Manmohan Singh. The Prime Minister's Office under Modi since 2014, which also includes the National Security Advisor, directly oversees foreign affairs through the Foreign Secretary (Jaffrelot and Tillin, 2017: 187). Ever since Modi assumed office, the Ministry of External Affairs has faced the challenge of acquiring information about the Prime Minister's foreign visits, because most of the times decisions have already been made without consulting the MEA. The MEA has mostly been excluded from the arrangements for significant travels, which are frequently disclosed through an alternative channel controlled by the Bharatiya Janata Party (Haidar, 2016).

Modi's approach to Kashmir (IIOK) is deeply rooted in the hardline ideology of the RSS, which views Hindu Nationalism as fundamental to India's independence. He not only pursued the aggressive agendas from his 2014 election campaign but also demonstrated military strength post-2016 by asserting the intention to dismantle the Jaish e Muhammad (JeM) network in IIOK and conducting surgical strikes in the Pakistani region of Azad-Kashmir. Following the Pulwama incident, India attempted to breach Pakistani territory, resulting in the loss of two pilots and three aircraft due to Pakistan's retaliatory measures. Subsequently, Modi intensified nationalistic sentiments within the Indian parliament, leading to the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution, which stripped native Kashmiris of their privileges and imposed a lockdown in the region (IIOK) (Bagwe, 2019).

Modi's leadership, decision-making approach, and personality, combined with a strong adherence to the ideology of Hindutva, significantly influence the formulation of India's foreign policy. Since 2014, Modi's proactive and assertive diplomatic panache

mirrors his distinctive individual traits. Specifically concerning Pakistan, his administration has pursued a policy of diplomatic isolation.

3.1.2 Application to Pakistan's Context

Cognitive factors, including beliefs, perceptions, biases, and the psychological profiles of leaders, significantly influence Pakistan's foreign policy choices, often emphasizing identity, threat perception, and historical memory, rather than focusing solely on structural or material aspects.

The foreign policy of Pakistan has also been significantly shaped by the cognitive scaffolding of both its civilian and military leadership. Zia-ul-Haq's approach to Islamizing foreign policy positioned Pakistan as a "fortress of Islam," fostering alliances with the Afghan mujahideen and Saudi Arabia, while also embedding anti-Indian and anti-Soviet narratives to rationalize militarized strategies. General Pervez Musharraf's post-9/11 alignment with the United States was motivated by his desire to balance national survival with global significance. Similarly, Imran Khan's anti-Western populism portrayed Pakistan as a victim of "Western hypocrisy," opposing U.S. drone operations and promoting dialogue with the Taliban (Mairaj ul Hamid, 2023).

Groupthink in military establishment heavily influence Pakistan's foreign policy decision-making. The Army's preeminence in shaping foreign policy fosters echo chambers that stifle opposition; for instance, the Kargil conflict in 1999 was orchestrated without the involvement and consent of civilian authorities. The military's perception of India as a perpetual enemy legitimizes the processes of militarization, nuclear armament, and proxy conflicts, even in times of economic hardship. While the civilian leaders such as Zardari and Sharif frequently pursue economic relations with India, the military's

threat assessments hinder any advancement in this direction (A. A. Chaudhary, Personal Communication, Dec. 10, 2021).

Pakistan's foreign policy is fundamentally shaped by its asymmetric rivalry with India, which is deeply influenced by the historical traumas of partition and subsequent conflicts (1947, 1965, 1971, and 1999). The perception of India as a perpetual enemy serves to rationalize the country's militarization, nuclear development, and engagement in proxy warfare. Additionally, the utilization of religious identity to forge alliances, such as with the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and to legitimize support for jihadist groups in Afghanistan and Kashmir illustrates a cognitive association between faith and national security. The military's pursuit of "strategic depth" against India through influence in Afghanistan has been a consistent strategy since the 1980s, despite the negative repercussions, including the rise of Talibanization and terrorism (Haqqani, 2017).

Cognitive elements influencing Pakistan's foreign policy are significantly shaped by historical traumas, ideological narratives, and the ingrained mentality of the military establishment. Although these elements contribute to the consistency of Pakistan's identity-based approaches, they simultaneously sustain recurring crises, such as terrorism, political instability and economic downfall.

3.2 Foreign Policy Decision-making Process and the Role of State-level Variables (Political System, Decision Making Unit, Bureaucracy, Organizational Procedures/SOPs and Feedback Processes etc.)

Political, bureaucratic, and organizational limitations are intrinsic to the process of foreign policy decision-making. Although these constraints also promote accountability and preserve institutional knowledge, they may also hinder creativity and responsiveness.

Grasping these dynamics is essential for identifying policy shortcomings and formulating effective strategies. Political limitations emerge from internal power frameworks, the dynamics of leadership, and the necessity to uphold legitimacy. Bureaucratic limitations arise from the inertia, rivalry, and disjointed decision-making processes prevalent in government agencies. Different competing bureaucracies tend to emphasize varying objectives, influencing the flow of information and shaping the perceptions of leaders. These bureaucratic entities frequently exhibit resistance to significant change, favoring established policies instead. To safeguard their careers, bureaucrats may shy away from taking risks, resulting in conservative policy recommendations. Additionally, organizational constraints are rooted in the structures, routines, and cultures of the institutions responsible for policy implementation. Rigid procedures can hinder timely responses to emergencies, while constraints related to budgets, personnel, and expertise further limit available options (Alex Mintz, 2010).

The process of decision-making is also influenced by the interaction pattern among various institutions. For example, in Pakistan, the divide between civilian and military authorities significantly influences foreign policy decisions, often limiting civilian input. Conversely, in India, the political executive, the National Security Council, and the foreign policy apparatus are primarily responsible for formulating and executing foreign policy decisions. During the congressional period of Indian foreign policy, there was a notable emergence of personality-driven leadership, exemplified by figures such as Nehru and Indira Gandhi, which resulted in a diminished role for institutional contributions in the decision-making process (A. A. Chaudhary, Personal Communication, Dec. 10, 2021).

The discourse surrounding rationality in foreign policy is perpetually active. Both the rational actor model and rational choice theory posit that states and individual decision-makers operate in a rational and calculated manner when making foreign policy decisions. These theories treat states as unitary actors, with decision-making processes reflecting national interests. However, this preoccupation with rationality among realists has faced significant criticism from theorists and scholars in the field of foreign policy analysis. Critics argue that foreign policy decision-makers do not consistently behave rationally; instead, their choices are profoundly shaped by domestic and external constraints. The complexities inherent in this decision-making process can lead states to adopt foreign policy options that are merely satisfactory rather than optimal (Alex Mintz, 2010).

Below are some of the key models this study has adopted to elucidate the influence of structural elements in the formulation of foreign policy decisions.

1. Graham Allison's Organizational Process/Behavior Model (OPM/OBM)
2. Graham Allison's Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM)
3. A Decision Units Approach to Foreign Policy Decision Making
4. Cybernetic Theory of Decision Making

3.2.1 The Organizational Process/Behavior Model (OPM/OBM)

In the present era of globalization, the process of decision-making has become increasingly complex. The challenges faced by decision-makers are now so intricate that the sole involvement of governmental leadership falls short in effectively formulating policies to tackle them. To ensure accurate judgments in this regard, the need for a productive and multifaceted organization is paramount. Graham Allison has put forth two additional models of decision-making to address this concern, namely the organizational

process model and the bureaucratic politics model, wherein multiple stakeholders and organizations collaborate to arrive at decisions.

It is essential to understand the procedure to effectively apply the OPM. Allison argues that governmental actions should not be viewed as the consequences of deliberate decisions made by individuals, but rather as the "outcomes of large institutions standard operating procedures based on consistent behavioral patterns." Allison constructs a model of administrative behavior based on multiple actors operating within the confines of bounded rationality and limited information, drawing from organizational theory. Allison identifies five specific departures from perfect rationality (Graham T Allison, 1999).

- 1) Factored issues (problems are factored into dissimilar parts)
- 2) Satisfying (choice maker satisfy rather than improve)
- 3) Exploration (agencies examine using standard procedures which limit options)
- 4) Ambiguity Evasion (Agencies address uncertainty by devising alternatives, subsequently implementing slight modifications, alongside accommodating choices and establishing a solitary obligatory decision)
- 5) Repertoires (Several initiatives are put in place to limit feasible alternatives)

Allison elaborates on the subsequent five components to substantiate arguments within the framework of OPM. Multifaceted issues within organizations are divided into smaller segments that are assigned to distinct entities rather than being handled by a single entity as a whole. Within organizational procedures, the concept of satisficing replaces maximizing, indicating that the alternatives with the highest probable outcome are chosen while the remaining options are not thoroughly evaluated, limiting the available choices. This stands in opposition to the rational actor model (RAM), where the

rational player fully exploits and enhances their selection. Allison has presented an additional four concepts that connect objectives, opportunities, and choices. These include: 1) Addressing conflicting goals by achieving them sequentially, known as quasi conflict resolution. 2) Focusing on short-term persistent anomalies and negotiating with the situation, referred to as ambiguity avoidance. 3) Searching for solutions to problems based on uncertain guidelines, termed as problematic quest. 4) The transformation of objects, guidelines, and search processes, known as structural learning.

Allison posits that within governments, decision-making involves multiple actors who may share common objectives, yet are not perfectly rational and lack complete information. Despite this, there are instances where Allison suggests that some decision makers may have divergent goals. In Allison's view, governments are comprised of complex organizations, each with specific responsibilities allocated to them. The actor in this context is not a singular entity such as a state or government, but rather a collection of interconnected organizations overseen by government leaders. The behavior of a government in addressing significant issues is a result of the independent actions of various organizations, which are partially coordinated by these leaders. Each organization operates based on established standard procedures, and the overall behavior of the government in a given situation is largely influenced by these pre-existing routines. While leaders have some discretion in combining the outputs of these organizations, the majority of government behavior is shaped by the procedures that were put in place beforehand (Graham T Allison, 1999).

Allison argues that organizations exhibit parochial priorities, perceptions, and interests as a result of various factors:

1. Focused attention on a limited range of issues
2. Access to biased information
3. Length of time individuals have been with the organization
4. Influence of small group dynamics within the organization
5. Allocation of incentives by the organization.

During the Cuban Missile Crisis, US decision-makers found it perplexing why Soviet military officers appeared relaxed and unconcerned about secrecy while wearing military camouflage uniforms during the construction of missiles on the island. This was in stark contrast to their extreme secrecy during the transportation of the missiles to the island due to the threat posed by U.S. U-2 spy planes. Scholars explain this phenomenon through the lens of organizational process/behavior model, suggesting that different state institutions with entrenched routines that cannot be easily altered in a short period of time are loosely connected within governments. In this case, the institution responsible for transporting the missiles to Cuba was distinct from the military officers involved in constructing the missiles on the island. According to OPM, each state possesses diverse forms of institutions, and within a state, these institutions exhibit varying organizational sensors to detect political crises. Additionally, they have pre-established institutional routines for action, which compel them to devise a satisfactory political response to mitigate the risk of failure during times of crisis, considering the constraints of time, information, and resources. March and Simon emphasize the influence of institutions, asserting that they impose limitations on the actions of nations and ultimately shape the final outcome. Furthermore, Allison and Zelikow highlight the presence of

parochial priorities and organizational imperialism within institutions, illustrating how these factors constrain decision-makers' choices by restricting the available alternatives to a single viable option (James March, 1993).

To summarize the organizational process model, the primary focus is on policy as the organizational output rather than an individual actor. Instead of considering a single rational unitary actor, the model emphasizes the role of organizations as the fundamental units of analysis. The decisions and actions made by these organizations are influenced by established routines, standard operating procedures (SOPs), and repertoires. In response to typical threats, organizations rely on standard options available to them.

3.2.1.1 Application to Pakistan's Context

The Organizational Process Model (OPM), which emphasizes foreign policy outcomes as products of standardized procedures and institutional routines, provides a critical lens to analyze Pakistan's foreign policy decision-making. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) operates under rigid standard operating procedures (SOPs) that emphasize adherence to established processes rather than fostering innovation. For instance, proposals are generally put forward by junior staff and must navigate through multiple hierarchical levels, resulting in prolonged timelines and a tendency towards risk aversion. The MoFA's dependence on antiquated protocols is apparent in its sluggish response to global developments, exemplified by the protracted formulation of the Indo-Pacific strategy, which was hindered by inter-ministerial discussions. Furthermore, the military's increasing involvement in diplomatic functions, illustrated by the appointment of retired military personnel to significant positions has diminished the Foreign Office's ability to update its SOPs effectively (Asad, 2023).

Pakistan's foreign policy frequently adheres to the predefined stances that are deeply embedded in historical and ideological standard operating procedures (SOPs). A notable illustration of this is its consistent endorsement of the "One China" policy and its alignment with Muslim-majority countries particularly Saudi Arabia, which are indicative of institutionalized reactions influenced by ideological and geographical factors. Such SOPs constrain the nation's ability to adapt and respond flexibly. This inflexibility is reminiscent of the principles of organizational process model, which prioritize routine practices over the capacity to respond to changing circumstances (A. Basit, Personal Communication, July. 10, 2022).

Despite the existence of Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), Pakistan's foreign policy often exhibits a tendency towards ad hoc responses, where crises prompt immediate reactions instead of fostering long-term strategies. A notable example of this is the erratic evolution of its policy towards Afghanistan, which has seen a transition from supporting the Taliban in the 1990s to collaborating with the United States after 2001, and subsequently endorsing the Taliban's resurgence in 2021. This pattern underscores the lack of consistent SOPs, which appear to be influenced more by pressing circumstances than by a coherent strategic framework (Zahid, 2024).

SOPs across various ministries frequently come into conflict due to inadequate coordination. A notable instance is the clash between the trade-oriented SOPs of the Ministry of Commerce and the diplomatic objectives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) during the negotiations of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), where bureaucratic rivalries hindered agreement. Additionally, the security-focused SOPs of the military often diverge from the development objectives of the

Economic Affairs Division, leading to conflicting policy agendas that compromise comprehensive strategies. The organizational process model (OPM) addresses this interagency friction as an inevitable outcome of established institutional practices (A. Basit, Personal Communication, July. 10, 2022).

Colonial-era administrative structures continue to sustain centralized, security-focused standard operating procedures (SOPs), which hinder innovation in Pakistan's foreign policy. The lack of transparency in SOP-driven processes conceals accountability for policy shortcomings. Additionally, conflicting SOPs among various institutions lead to inconsistent policies, as seen in the fluctuating alliances with both the U.S. and China (Ahmad, 2020).

Disintegration and absence of coordination within governmental ministries and departments have hindered the development and execution of a unified external policy. Conflicting interests and power struggle among various bureaucracies, including the Foreign Office, security establishment, political executive and intelligence agencies, have resulted in incoherent policies. Consequently, these structural elements have influenced Pakistan's external policy in many ways. Various power sectors and organizations in Pakistan held varying perspectives on several matters, including non-state actors, FATF-related issues, CPEC, Kashmir question, and relations with particular countries like U.S., India and Afghanistan (Ahmar, 2023).

The Organizational Process Model illustrates that Pakistan's foreign policy is shaped by established institutional practices, especially within the military and bureaucratic sectors. Although Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) promote operational effectiveness, they simultaneously contribute to inflexibility, improvisation,

and conflicts among various agencies. To overcome these organizational constraints and to reform the processes, it is imperative to implement extensive reforms that focus on bolstering institutional capabilities, fostering effective coordination among various agencies, depoliticizing institutions, modernizing SOPs to create a better equilibrium between security and diplomatic efforts, improving diplomatic expertise and training, promoting political stability and consensus-building along with strengthening parliamentary oversight to reduce bureaucratic stagnation.

3.2.1.2 Application to India's Context

The Organizational Process Model (OPM), developed by Graham Allison, posits that foreign policy decisions are the result of standardized procedures and institutional practices rather than purely rational, hierarchical strategies. When this model is applied to the formulation of India's foreign policy, it becomes evident that bureaucratic structures, established processes, and institutional resistance significantly influence the policy outcomes. The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) functions as the central bureaucratic entity responsible for shaping India's foreign policy, adhering to strict standard operating procedures (SOPs) that emphasize a hierarchical approach to decision-making and adherence to established protocols. The MEA is organized into various territorial and functional divisions, including the Economic Diplomacy Division and the Counter Terrorism Division, which operate under predetermined guidelines. This structure can occasionally restrict the ability to adapt swiftly to changing global circumstances (G. Parthasarathy, Personal Communication, Dec. 15, 2023).

India's military and defense sectors function according to security-focused standard operating procedures (SOPs), which often come into conflict with diplomatic objectives.

The military's established protocols for swift retaliation tend to overshadow the Ministry of External Affairs' (MEA) inclination towards diplomatic solutions, highlighting a tendency for institutional routines to prioritize specific mandates over a comprehensive strategic approach. Likewise, the Defense Ministry's emphasis on procurement and readiness often takes precedence in decisions related to security-oriented foreign policy, including arms deal with Russia or partnerships within the Quad alliance, demonstrating the OPM's focus on organizational self-interest (Atul Mishra, 2016).

The National Security Council (NSC), founded in 1998, formalizes inter-agency collaboration through a three-tiered framework consisting of the Strategic Policy Group (SPG), the National Security Advisory Board (NSAB), and the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC). These entities adhere to stringent protocols for intelligence evaluation and strategic planning, which facilitate decision-making but at the same time also contribute to bureaucratic inflexibility. For instance, during the 2020 Galwan Valley conflict, the SPG's dependence on standardized intelligence reports from the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and the Intelligence Bureau (IB) resulted in disjointed responses, as security and diplomatic agencies followed conflicting standard operating procedures (SOPs) (G. Parthasarathy, Personal Communication, Dec. 15, 2023).

Although the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) in India possesses the highest level of authority, its decision-making is however influenced by the bureaucratic procedures. For instance, Prime Ministers such as Nehru and Modi have historically circumvented formal processes to take unilateral actions, as seen in Modi's 2016 demonetization and the 2019 Balakot airstrikes. Nevertheless, the actual implementation of these decisions still depends on established institutional standard operating procedures (SOPs). The PMO's

reliance on the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) for diplomatic follow-up and on intelligence agencies for execution shows that even a centralized leadership function within the limits of organizational frameworks. This situation aligns with the argument presented by OPM, which posits that leaders "delegate facets of issues to bureaucracies" (Azhar, 2020).

Bureaucratic processes and standard operating protocols are of utmost importance in shaping the external policy of India. These procedures govern the processing of information, decision-making, and application of policies. The formulation of Indian external policy involves a structured process that incorporates inputs from various participants and stakeholders, including government officers, departments, security agencies, diplomats, professionals, and external advisors. Policy suggestions undergo thorough analysis, discussion, and scrutiny through multiple channels before receiving endorsement from concerned authorities such as the Cabinet and the Prime Minister. As the major guardian of foreign affairs, the MEA maintains a diplomatic ethos characterized by competence, discretion, and obedience to diplomatic standards and conventions. Additionally, political headship plays a critical part in determining strategic preferences, enunciating policy goals, and providing assistance to government organizations (Atul Mishra, 2016).

Although the military SOPs play a crucial role in shaping India's external policy, it functions under the supervision of civilian authorities. Unlike the hybrid political system in Pakistan, strong democratic setup and adherence to constitution in India, empowers the civilian government and the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) for making decisions regarding the foreign policy of India. The civilian leadership establishes the overall

strategic course and goals, while the military contributes its knowledge and expertise to confirm that the external policy aligns effectively with the national security necessities.

3.2.2 Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM)

The internal environment of a state can significantly limit foreign policy decision-making. Domestic elements provide essential context, with factors such as demographics, resource availability, strong governance, constitutional supremacy and economic conditions etc. creating both constraints and opportunities. Some of these factors are influential enough to be classified as determinants. The process of making foreign policy decisions is inherently complex, as it involves the interaction of numerous variables. Graham Allison extensively explores the impact of bureaucratic and organizational influences in his work, "Essence of Decision." The competing interests and conflicting priorities of various offices and their occupants directly affect foreign policy decisions. Furthermore, deliberate efforts to align with the head of state and the subsequent implementation of self-serving policies can shape the foreign policy narrative (Graham T Allison, 1999).

The bureaucratic context plays a more significant role in shaping foreign policy choices compared to the individual decision makers. The foreign policy decisions are influenced by various institutions, including the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade, along with their respective departments and agents, as they are responsible for interpreting and executing these decisions. Hudson highlights that organizations and bureaucracies prioritize their own survival, which is determined by their relative influence compared to other organizations, their budget allocation, and the morale of their personnel (Hudson, 2014).

The bureaucratic politics model (BPM), also known as the governmental politics model (GPM) or the governmental bargaining model (GBP), suggests that the outcome of decisions is a result of interactions between bureaucratic or organizational entities and elite politics. This model examines government officials acting as decision-makers on behalf of different organizations. It emphasizes the behaviors of these decisional actors who play a role in the decision-making processes. Each decision actor is affiliated with a specific department, agency, or organization, and their prejudices are influenced by the organizational ethos and their standpoint on particular issues. As stated in "The Essence of Decision," policy decisions are primarily influenced by political bargaining among various stakeholders such as bureaucrats and elected officials. In this model, bureaucrats and other participants of the government's elite management are the key actors. They engage in self-serving political bargaining with the government through different bureaucratic channels, with the aim of maximizing their organizational or personal interests. Consequently, decision-making in this model involves a process of negotiation and strategic maneuvering.

BPM delves into the roles, positions, and interests of governmental actors, as well as their relative authority, the mechanisms through which they exert influence, decision-making processes, and other related factors. Allison has organized the fundamental principles of this framework by placing the actors in their respective positions and by specifying their preferences and perspectives. The author posits that the governmental actor is not a singular entity or a cluster of organizations, but rather a group of individual participants. These participants play a significant role in the domain of national security policy, and their decisions and behaviors are influenced by the roles they play. Allison

classifies these actors as "Chiefs (leaders of various organizations), staffers (direct aides of each chief), Indians (permanent government employees within each institution), and ad hoc players (media, interest group representatives, and the general public from outer circles)." This framework delves into the complex political interactions among governmental entities that have an impact on critical policy decisions (Graham T Allison, 1999).

The prioritization of bureaucratic interests over the concept of a unified national interest is evident. Despite each bureau asserting their alignment with the national interest, there exist multiple divergent interests. Allison's bureaucratic politics model elucidates the political dynamics that lead to a national decision, which arises from the clash of interests pursued by different bureaus. Consequently, every decision is a product of negotiation, collaboration, competition, and the perplexity experienced by political actors and government employees who approach an issue from diverse perspectives.

During the Cuban Missile Crisis, the US President was persuaded by the top leader of the Navy to implement a naval quarantine as the most favorable course of action, despite the existence of numerous alternative policy options. Tayfur argues that this bureaucratic politics undermines the rationality of unitary decision-making, as conflicting interests and priorities among institutions introduce elements of rivalry, competition, deception, and jealousy into the bargaining process. It is worth noting that the priorities of institutions may shift over time due to changes in leadership and prevailing attitudes, and the influential power of these institutions can also be influenced by the legal framework provided by the Constitution and other legal documents (Graham T Allison, 1999).

3.2.2.1 Application to Pakistan's Context

Pakistan inherited a centralized bureaucratic system from its British colonial past, which emerged as the primary mechanism of governance following independence. The Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) inspired by the British "steel frame," maintained considerable independence and frequently assumed the role of a "king-maker" during political upheavals. Notable figures such as Ghulam Muhammad (Governor-General) and Iskander Mirza (President) were instrumental in dismissing elected officials, including Prime Minister Nazimuddin in 1953, thereby consolidating power. This behavior exemplified the premise of the Bureaucratic Political Model (BPM), which suggests that individuals often prioritize their organizational and personal interests over the broader national objectives. Consequently, this historical legacy solidified bureaucratic supremacy, marginalizing elected representatives and weakening democratic institutions. A symbiotic relationship emerged between the military and bureaucracy to exert control over state power. Under Ayub Khan's rule from 1958 to 1969, bureaucrats worked in conjunction with the military to implement "Basic Democracies," a framework that concentrated decision-making authority and diminished the influence of political parties (Khan, 2021). This partnership exemplifies BPM's emphasis on coalition-building among influential entities to influence policy development.

Pakistan's foreign policy is significantly shaped by the interdependent relationship between the military and the civil bureaucracy, a remnant of colonial administrative structures and the power dynamics that emerged after independence. For instance, amid policy shifts concerning the Afghan Taliban question, military officials and senior members of the Foreign Office vied to influence decision-making. The military focused

on achieving "strategic depth" in Afghanistan, whereas civilian bureaucrats sought to uphold diplomatic legitimacy. This ongoing struggle resulted in inconsistent policies, exemplified by the 1997 recognition of the Taliban regime followed by a reversal after the 9/11 attacks due to U.S. pressure (Ahmad I. , 2013). These developments illustrate the fundamental concept of Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM): policy outcomes are often the result of compromises among stakeholders with divergent organizational interests, such as military objectives versus diplomatic goals.

The Foreign Office and the security establishment continuously vie for influence in shaping foreign policy decisions, particularly in relation to Afghanistan and India. The military bureaucracy has consistently maintained its dominance by leveraging its robust security narrative, thereby exerting significant influence over policy interventions concerning Afghanistan and India through its adept maneuvering and negotiation tactics (Qazi A. J., 2024).

Bureaucratic organizations play a significant role in shaping foreign policy decisions. Their skill, competence and operational efficiency can significantly affect the success of a country's external strategies. Dr. Shireen Mazari, a former Federal Minister for Human Rights, expressed her displeasure towards the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for its adherence to conventional diplomatic strategies instead of embracing the evolving dynamics of global communication. She contended that the Ministry's antiquated approach towards the Kashmir issue has impeded Pakistan's capacity to effectively garner international attention regarding this matter (Shahid, 2020).

The BPM underscores that Pakistan's foreign policy is predominantly influenced by unelected elites, as well as military and bureaucratic figures, who frequently prioritize

their own institutional interests and survival. Analyzing specific instances such as the Afghanistan policy from 1996 to 2016, the backing of the Taliban's rise to power in 2021, the approach towards certain proscribed groups like Jaish-e-Mohammed, the dynamics of relations with India, and the granting of Most Favored Nation (MFN) status to India, alongside civilian advocacy for trilateral trade among India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, illustrates ongoing power conflicts, the politicization of policies, and inconsistent outcomes.

3.2.2.2 Application to India's Context

The Indian administrative system is renowned for its intricate nature and vast size. Various bureaucratic bodies within the government push for policies that reflect their individual interests and areas of expertise. For instance, the military bureaucracy focuses on security matters, whereas the economic bureaucracy places importance on trade and investment prospects. Political figures, such as the Prime Minister and key Ministers, wield considerable influence in determining foreign policy directions. Nevertheless, they are also swayed by the suggestions and demands put forth by different bureaucratic entities. The dynamics between the political leaders and bureaucrats in India have the potential to impact the ultimate results of foreign policy decisions (Sneha P, 2021).

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) possesses primary authority over foreign policy; however, its decisions are influenced by negotiations among various bureaucratic entities. Historically, leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru often conducted foreign policy as a "one-man show." In contrast, contemporary Prime Ministers like Narendra Modi depend on inputs from the National Security Council (NSC), the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), and the military. The PMO serves as a facilitator, reconciling conflicting

institutional priorities, such as economic diplomacy and security concerns, to achieve compromises (Abhyankar, 2022). This situation aligns with BPM's perspective that policies are the outcome of "political resultants" rather than the product of coherent, rational strategies.

The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) serves as the principal bureaucratic entity responsible for shaping foreign policy. It is tasked with generating policy options, drafting treaties, and collaborating with other governmental departments, such as Defense and Commerce. Nevertheless, its authority is limited due to its subordinate position relative to the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and the rivalry with other agencies. A notable example of this dynamic occurred during India's nuclear tests in 1998, where the MEA's cautious diplomatic stance conflicted with the Defense Ministry's emphasis on security, resulting in a policy that emerged from bureaucratic negotiations (Chadda, 2019). Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM) illustrates how organizations like the MEA interpret issues through their specific organizational lens, often prioritizing diplomatic legitimacy over immediate military concerns.

India's armed forces are pivotal in shaping the country's security-oriented foreign policy, especially in relations with Pakistan and China. The military's emphasis on defense readiness frequently conflicts with the diplomatic objectives of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). A notable instance of this was the 2016 surgical strikes against Pakistan, which were executed through a strong collaboration between the military and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), effectively bypassing traditional diplomatic avenues. This situation reflects the insight that "where you stand depends on where you sit," as military officials tend to promote policies focused on security, whereas diplomats

emphasize adherence to international standards. In a similar vein, the 2020 clash in Galwan Valley with China was characterized by conflicting perspectives from the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), which supported de-escalation, and the military, which pushed for retaliation, resulting in an incoherent response (Mahmood, 2020).

Despite the potential challenges posed by bureaucratic politics to Indian foreign policy development, it is crucial to acknowledge that the country's robust democratic structure, civilian supremacy, and political stability have enabled the bureaucratic institutions to contribute significantly to maintaining continuity, professionalism, and institutional memory in the formulation and execution of foreign policy decisions. Through the implementation of effective governance mechanisms and transformations focused on improving accountability, coordination, and transparency, some adverse effects of bureaucratic politics on Indian external policy have been alleviated.

3.2.3 A Decision Units Approach to Foreign Policy Decision Making

Margaret G. Hermann's Decision Units Approach to foreign policy decision-making offers a framework for examining the ways in which various actors and governmental structures influence foreign policy results. This methodology focuses on categorizing decision-making processes according to the specific "decision unit" that is accountable for the decisions made, thereby affecting the behavior of policy.

A study on the process of formulating foreign policy decisions by governments and ruling parties worldwide demonstrates the involvement of numerous entities in exercising their authority. These entities encompass political leaders, governmental officials and

departments, intelligence agencies, military institutions, bureaucracies, legislatures, interest groups and power sharing coalitions. Although a multitude of domestic and global factors can impact external policy behavior, these influences are typically channeled through the political structure of a government that formulates, determines, and executes foreign policy (Ralph G. Carter, 2017).

The decision units approach provides insight into decision-making within the realm of foreign policy. It underscores the importance of addressing challenges and possibilities that emerge in this area. Moreover, it outlines three specific categories of authoritative decision units that are essential in the decision-making procedure. This approach pinpoints the critical elements that initiate various decision-making processes and establishes a link between these processes and particular results. Through the integration of these elements, a contingency approach to analyzing foreign policy decision-making is developed.

The primary decision-maker in any decision-making scenario is often a dominant leader, especially when the government has a single individual with the power to allocate resources for foreign policy matters. This type of dominant leader can be seen in a monarchy or a presidential system where the president has control over foreign policy. Alternatively, the decision-maker can also be a dominant leader in a government with a hierarchical foreign policy structure, where one person holds the highest position in the hierarchy. Furthermore, if an individual holds control over various forms of coercion within a society and consequently exerts power over others, the decision-making entity can emerge as a predominant leader. This is often observed in dictatorships and

authoritarian regimes, where predominant leaders are actively involved in foreign policy matters(Ralph G. Carter, 2017).

In some cases, there may be a specific group designated to handle the decision-making process for the government. In such instances, the authoritative decision-making unit transforms into a single group rather than a predominant leader. For example, the Politburo in the former Soviet Union and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the American government serve as examples of such single groups. While both are responsible for addressing foreign policy issues within their respective governments, they differ in the scope of their authority. The Politburo is typically involved in most foreign policy decisions, whereas the Joint Chiefs of Staff primarily focuses on military matters and strategic choices rather than policy formulations. These groups often coalesce around recurring issues, possess specialized knowledge and are jointly committed to resolve issues.

In some significant cases of decision-making within the governments, the authoritative decision-making body often comprises of a diverse range of independent actors. These actors may include individual leaders, policymaking groups, bureaucratic agencies, and interest groups, all of whom possesses the power to allocate or withhold government resources. However, none of these actors can exercise their authority without the agreement and consensus of the others. For example, when the Iranian government deliberated on the fate of the American embassy hostages, various entities such as Ayatollah Khomeini, the mullahs in the Revolutionary Council, the government moderates, and the student hostage-takers had to come to a collective decision. This decision-making structure involves multiple autonomous actors who collaborate to form

either a single coalition or multiple coalitions in order to reach a final decision (Ralph G. Carter, 2017).

A decision units approach is based on three underlying assumptions.

3.2.3.1 Institutionalized Consensual Decision-Making

Foreign policy choices here are made through consensus. After reaching a consensus, the decision is widely acknowledged and implemented. Even though there may be internal competition over goals and strategies, the development of foreign policy requires a cooperative effort to build consensus among various individuals, groups, and organizations.

3.2.3.2 Institutionalized Competitive Decision-Making

According to the second proposal, it is argued that the varying external policy preferences of various factions are so unique that reaching a consensus becomes unattainable. As a result, there are instances where the foreign policy priorities of one faction take precedence over those of another. This framework suggests that there is a notable divergence in the underlying motivations of these factions, resulting in a persistent and institutionalized competition over objectives and approaches. The dominant factions, when holding sway over crucial state and quasi-state entities, typically give precedence to advancing their own policy agenda.

3.2.3.3 Keeping Centralization Model

According to the third hypothesis, it is posited that the leader, group, or an institutional and autonomous union gradually takes on a more assertive and influential role in shaping the external policy agenda of the country, to the point where it exerts almost complete control over the decision-making process. This category is commonly

linked with dictatorships and authoritarian regimes, where dominant leaders often oversee foreign policy matters(Ralph G. Carter, 2017).

3.2.3.4 Application to Pakistan's Context

The application of the decision units approach to Pakistan's foreign policy making offers valuable insights into the intricate decision-making processes within the country's political and bureaucratic framework. Pakistan's foreign policy is influenced by multiple actors. The Prime Minister's office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other concerned civilian agencies are pivotal in shaping Pakistan's external policy, spearheads diplomatic efforts, international treaties, and economic collaborations, however, the Foreign Ministry often manages routine diplomatic activities, albeit frequently within certain limitations. Similarly, the Pakistan Army, Inter-Services Intelligence, and other military institutions wield significant influence over security-related external policy decisions (Ammara Tariq, 2019).

Various political parties and coalition partners in government, the Parliament, and even non-state actors like militant groups or civil society usually holds opposing views and preferences that lead to bargaining and compromise among them, eventually influencing foreign policy choices, as was witnessed during the PTI-led coalition government in matters concerning FATF bill and IMF. Additionally, such dynamics were observed during the PDM-led coalition government in matters related to privatization, among others. Pakistan is home to several extremist organizations, with some, such as Jaish-e-Mohammed and Sipah-e-Sahaba, alleged to act as proxies. The activities of these groups can significantly affect Pakistan's foreign relations; for instance, the Mumbai attacks have had a detrimental impact on the relationship between

India and Pakistan. Likewise, the cross-border terrorist activities conducted by TTP (Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan) with the help of other banned organizations have profoundly influenced the dynamics of Pakistan-Afghanistan relations (Ammara Tariq, 2019).

Utilizing this approach allows for an examination of the interactions, competition, and collaboration among various internal decision-making units in the formulation of foreign policy. For instance, in the context of Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan, the military's focus on border security and the threat posed by militant groups often contradicts with the civilian government's aspirations for enhanced trade and regional stability. The resulting policy direction is contingent upon which entity wields greater influence at that moment. Another illustrative case is the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), where the civilian government advocates for the initiative primarily due to its economic advantages, while the military endorses it for strategic purposes, such as strengthening ties with China to counterbalance India and the United States (Aleem, 2023). In this scenario, the alignment of both units results in a unified policy. Conversely, in situations where there is discord between the units, such as negotiations with India regarding Kashmir, the military's rigid position can restrict the civilian government's capacity to offer concessions, ultimately resulting in a deadlock.

Civilian and military decision-making units in Pakistan frequently engage in bargaining and negotiation processes to harmonize conflicting priorities and achieve a consensus on matters pertaining to foreign policy. However, there are numerous instances where the perspectives and choices of the predominant actor in Pakistan, namely the military establishment, hold sway, especially in matters concerning security and relations

with significant nations such as India, United States, and Afghanistan(Mohar, 2017). The military plays a significant role in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy through its institutionalized presence in the National Security Council, newly established Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC), and other security and defense forums. Its emphasis on security-driven choices has a profound impact on the country's strategic calculations and diplomatic interactions both regionally and globally. Moreover, the military's influence extends to molding national narratives, shaping public outlook, and influencing discernments of external threats and opportunities. By engaging with the media, issuing public statements, and strategically communicating its positions, the military actively contributes to framing external policy discussions and shaping public attitudes towards critical geopolitical matters (Lodhi M. , 2023).

3.2.3.5 Application to India's Context

The utilization of the decision units approach in analyzing India's foreign policy provides valuable perspectives on the complex decision-making procedures that encompass a multitude of governmental and non-governmental entities. Many analyses of India's foreign policy tend to neglect the significant impact of the country's intricate domestic political landscape and bureaucratic structure on its international perspective. In their work, "Unpacking the Black Box: The Making of India's Foreign Policy (2020)," Nicolas Blarel and Avinash Paliwal provide a theoretically robust and empirically novel examination of this subject. Traditionally, factors such as ideology, strategic doctrines, and prominent figures have been recognized as the primary influences on Indian foreign policy, while the effects of domestic political dynamics—such as partisan divisions,

coalition governance, and bureaucratic attitudes towards foreign affairs—have frequently been overlooked.

Different governments in India have historically collaborated with coalition partners and bureaucratic entities not only to formulate foreign policy decisions but also to execute them effectively. Recently, the emergence of coalition politics in India has empowered regional parties to have a more significant influence on foreign policy matters, leading them to articulate their own foreign policy preferences and ideas. Notably, regional parties tend to have a critical impact on foreign policy decisions that hold regional importance or provide coalition advantages. Even when state governments are not directly involved in the formulation of foreign policy, they can still influence its execution. Additionally, the role of the Indian diaspora in nations such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and the United Arab Emirates is encouraging these countries to foster closer ties with India. Civil society organizations, business groups, and think tanks also contribute to the choices made in the realm of foreign policy (Kanti Bajpai, 2019).

India's foreign policy has also frequently been influenced by key leaders, particularly Prime Ministers, who consolidate power during critical or high-pressure situations. For example, leaders such as Narendra Modi have spearheaded initiatives like the "Neighborhood First" policy, which mirrors their personal diplomatic priorities and ideological aspirations. In instances of military confrontations, such as those with China and Pakistan, decision-making tends to be centralized within the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), often circumventing bureaucratic processes. However, even influential leaders may encounter limitations imposed by coalition partners or institutional inertia,

particularly in non-crisis contexts where consensus is essential. The National Security Council (NSC), led by the Prime Minister, functions as a unified body that integrates perspectives from military, intelligence, and diplomatic sectors. This framework can help alleviate groupthink by fostering institutionalized dissent. Nevertheless, owing to the robust democratic framework and civilian authority in place, the elected political administration consistently maintains control over the decision-making procedures (Chong, 2019).

The model struggles in addressing India's hybrid political framework, characterized by the presence of dominant leaders alongside established bureaucratic and coalition entities. A notable example is Modi's centralization, which operates in tandem with coalition wheel and deal in regions such as Jammu and Kashmir. India's foreign policy decision-making is best understood as a dynamic interplay of multiple units. The nature of foreign policy is influenced by the decision-making unit involved in its formulation. The composition of this unit, whether it is a powerful leader, a single group, or a coalition of autonomous actors, has a significant impact on the actions that governments can take in the global arena.

3.2.4 Cybernetic Theory of Decision Making

The Cybernetic Theory of Decision: New Dimensions of Political Analysis is a highly esteemed work that explores concepts related to decision-making. In this book, Steinbruner introduces his decision-making framework as a critique of the rational model, which has long been the prevailing approach in the field. In this work, Steinbruner articulates the concept of "decision" as "a selection made by an individual or a group in pursuit of a specific aim." He emphasizes that the purpose, value, or objective is crucial

for differentiating decisions from a range of alternatives. He describes "decision making" as a process that encompasses several "discrete" decisions, some of which yield the desired effects while others may occur unintentionally or remain unnoticed. Steinbruner identifies three fundamental components of a decision: options (a collection of potential actions from which a selection is made), information (the data and inferential reasoning that inform the choice), and environment (the current or anticipated state of the world that influences the outcome) (Steinbruner, 1974).

Steinbruner introduced three models of decision-making: the analytic paradigm, the cybernetic paradigm, and cognitive paradigm. The title of his book, "The Cybernetic Theory of Decision: New Dimensions of Political Analysis," indicates a particular inclination towards the cybernetic paradigm. He characterized this model as potentially beneficial for comprehending the functioning of individuals and organizations within intricate environments. Steinbruner employed the cybernetic framework of decision-making, alongside foundational insights from cognitive psychology regarding human mental processes, to examine the complexities surrounding the sharing of nuclear weapons among NATO allies. This approach aimed to illustrate how decision-makers navigate the significant uncertainty and core value conflicts inherent in bureaucratic political environments.

The analytic paradigm, as described by Steinbruner, refers to a framework of assumptions regarding the functioning of the decision-making process in the context of intricate decision problems. This process necessitates a form of value integration, wherein the potential outcomes associated with various courses of action are systematically analyzed and assessed. Typically, each alternative is linked to both the

potential rewards and the associated costs of taking action (or refraining from action), which together define its overall value. To arrive at a decision, the decision maker must perform direct calculations that incorporate both advantages (positive values) and disadvantages (negative values) into a comprehensive subjective value. This process facilitates subjective assessments of the likelihood of critical events that may involve trade-offs. It represents an effort to leverage available information to forecast the outcomes of a specific course of action. As new information becomes available, the decision maker adjusts to evolving conditions or refines their judgments. Steinbruner referred to this approach as a "causal learning process," which utilizes new data to enhance the estimation of critical situations and improve the analysis of the decision-making problem (Steinbruner, 1974).

Steinbruner rejected the analytic paradigm, arguing that it necessitates decision makers to possess continuous and nearly flawless information, a condition that is seldom fulfilled in practice. He contended that this paradigm imposes unrealistic expectations on decision makers by establishing criteria that are difficult to achieve. Furthermore, he highlighted that a significant challenge to the analytic decision paradigm lies in the difficulty of reconciling its theoretical framework with the complexities of political life and the intricate aspects of governance.

Steinbruner contended that the rational decision-making model fails to encompass all dimensions of decision-making, particularly in the context of complex decision problems. He highlighted the significance of complexity, which can be categorized into several conditions: first, decisions invariably influence at least two values that are in a trade-off relationship, indicating that the pursuit of one value compromises the other;

second, decisions are made amidst uncertainty or a lack of perfect correlation between knowledge and the surrounding environment; and finally, the authority to make decisions is distributed among multiple individuals or organizational units (Steinbruner, 1974).

As an early advocate of the cybernetic approach, Steinbruner asserted that decision-makers operating within complex environments strive to minimize the complexity and uncertainties they encounter. The term "cybernetics" originates from the Greek word κυβερνητική (kybernetike), which translates to "governance" (Wikipedia, 2016). Steinbruner's cybernetic theory is founded on the premise of managing uncertainty. It posits that the main objective of decision makers is to navigate around the complexities of external constraints by circumventing direct calculations of outcomes. He argued that straightforward/simple cybernetic mechanisms can offer resolutions to intricate and challenging issues without placing a significant strain on the decision maker. The decision maker employs information in a selective manner, thereby negating the necessity for complete information.

In summary, the cybernetic paradigm, which has been developed to navigate uncertainty within complex systems and is increasingly relevant for analyzing group decision-making processes, is founded on several key concepts:

1. The cybernetic paradigm illustrates how simple decision-making mechanisms can yield highly adaptive results within the structured hierarchical frameworks of large organizations that involve multiple participants.

2. To manage complexity and uncertainty, decision-makers utilize the central cybernetic concept of "servomechanism," which helps them avoid information overload

by selectively focusing on data that flows through established and concentrated feedback channels.

3. To address complex issues, these problems are broken down, segmented, and analyzed into smaller, more manageable components. Once fragmented into numerous specific problems, these tasks are delegated to individual decision-makers. By collaborating in groups, these decision-makers develop the skills and capabilities necessary to tackle complex issues in intricate environments, employing "intuitive approaches" grounded in their accumulated past experiences.

4. Decision makers tend to bypass the systematic ranking of objectives and do not engage in the explicit evaluation of alternatives and their potential outcomes. They also refrain from assessing less favorable or irrelevant options. Drawing on their extensive experience, they prioritize instinctive responses informed by prior learning experiences. The readily accessible knowledge of experts serves as a flexible resource that facilitates more rapid decision-making, particularly in crisis situations.

5. Senior decision makers concentrate on addressing a series of issues that emerge from lower levels of the organization, which are framed from the viewpoint of its subunits. This collective decision-making process, guided by well-established organizational routines, yields a reasonable adaptive outcome, akin to the standard operating procedures described in Allison's Model II (Steinbruner, 1974).

To enhance the cybernetic model, Steinbruner emphasized the significance of cognitive theory, which investigates the unconscious aspects of information processing in the human brain. This theory facilitates cybernetic modifications that elucidate decision-

making in uncertain situations. It operates on the premise that policies are formulated by individuals who can influence these decisions. The cognitive perspective highlights the necessity of analyzing the specific beliefs and mental images that policymakers hold. Therefore, the perceptions and cognitive processes—encompassing human information processing and learning—should not be overlooked, as they are thought to significantly influence decision-making and behavior. In essence, a core tenet of this perspective is that beliefs serve as crucial determinants of behavior, thereby aiding in the explanation or prediction of human actions. As Steinbruner articulated, the decision-making processes rooted in the essential functions of the human mind are vital for comprehending governmental behavior and, as a result, for analyzing political occurrences (Steinbruner, 1974).

An individual's cognitive framework comprises values, personality traits, preferences, intellect, and previous experiences. These elements interact to form a belief system, which represents the individual's mental constructs or a compilation of beliefs regarding the world. This belief system significantly shapes how a person perceives, categorizes, and evaluates new information about their environment. Additionally, it affects how incoming information is interpreted. The belief system serves to orient decision-makers within their surroundings, organizes perceptions to guide behavior, aids in goal-setting, and functions as a filter to identify pertinent information in specific contexts.

Steinbruner's model of cognitive processes offers a revision of the assumptions inherent in the cybernetic paradigm by incorporating the thought patterns of decision makers. He contended that such revisions are essential, as decision makers frequently

function under conditions of uncertainty, yet their cognitive processes tend to solidify strong convictions and prompt actions based on these beliefs. Consequently, decision makers often fail to engage in the meticulous trade-offs required to achieve optimal solutions for various policy challenges.

In conclusion, Steinbruner articulated his belief that the cybernetic paradigm, emphasizing the management of uncertainty, in conjunction with cognitive theory, which regards the human brain as the primary center for decision-making, can elucidate the mechanisms behind decision-making processes in complex policy issues and the conduct of public affairs. Nevertheless, he warned that no theoretical framework can be effectively applied to analyze policy challenges without considering the political context in which governance occurs (Steinbruner, 1974).

Steinbruner posited that the cybernetic model serves as a valuable framework for understanding the behavior of top-level decision makers. He contended that the analytical paradigm imposes excessive demands on these individuals. In contrast to the belief that decision makers are perpetually engaged in intricate and complex computations, Steinbruner's fundamental premise is quite different. He asserts that decision makers are motivated by their inclination to manage uncertainty, leading them to seek ways to minimize it as much as possible.

Steinbruner viewed decision-making as a reflexive process, heavily influenced by prior experiences and intuitive problem-solving strategies. He argued that, according to cybernetic logic, effective navigation of complex decision-making scenarios requires access to a diverse array of potential responses. This perspective highlights the importance of reflexive reactions that stem from earlier learning experiences. Steinbruner

noted that complex issues are often not thoroughly examined by all stakeholders involved. The inherent complexity of these problems necessitates their breakdown into numerous sub-problems, each addressed independently. This observation underscores the applicability of the cybernetic model in elucidating complex decision-making contexts that involve multiple decision-makers operating within groups. He asserted that these groups develop the competencies needed to manage intricate environments and challenges by relying on intuitive methods derived from past experiences, rather than through purely rational analysis. In practice, senior decision-makers tend to concentrate on responding to a series of issues that emerge from lower organizational levels, which are framed from the viewpoint of the subunits within the organization. Consequently, these issues create distinct decision-making scenarios without fostering a holistic integration among senior decision-makers (Steinbruner, 1974).

Steinbruner posited that cognitive theory functions as a regulatory mechanism that facilitates cybernetic adjustments to elucidate decision-making processes in uncertain contexts. The interplay among cognitive theory, organizational dynamics, and logical cybernetics is anchored in three key concepts: 1. Grooved Thinking; 2. Uncommitted Thinking; 3. Theoretical Thinking. The Grooved Thinking concept illustrates the inclination of decision-makers to streamline complex issues by employing a limited set of fundamental models for problem classification, thereby highlighting the cognitive constraints of perception. Uncommitted Thinking pertains to scenarios where decision-makers struggle to adopt a definitive stance on the matter at hand. This concept encompasses cognitive dimensions that underscore the prevailing uncertainty among decision-makers, as well as organizational factors that account for variations in

bureaucratic viewpoints. In such instances, decision-makers may shift their positions over time. The Theoretical Thinking concept describes decision-makers who exhibit a strong allegiance to a stable, faith-based framework, even amidst uncertainty, typically centered on a singular core value. This robust commitment to a faith-based framework serves as an effective mechanism for filtering and processing information, particularly as a strategy for managing uncertainty (Steinbruner, 1974).

3.2.4.1 Application to Pakistan's Context

The cybernetic theory of decision-making, stressing the importance of organizational routines, feedback mechanisms, adaptability, and bounded rationality as described by John Steinbruner, has significantly impacted Pakistan's foreign policy. This theory has shaped the manner in which Pakistan's various institutions gather and process information, respond to challenges, and emphasize stability rather than optimal solutions. The decision-making processes in Pakistan's foreign policy frequently embody cybernetic principles, influenced by its bureaucratic-military framework, limited resources, and the necessity to navigate intricate geopolitical dynamics. Pakistan's foreign policy is characterized by a strong institutional framework and centralization, where the military establishment, the Foreign Office, and security agencies depend on established protocols to address ongoing challenges, such as those related to India, Afghanistan, and nuclear deterrence. The military-centric security viewpoint frequently influences strategic choices, including nuclear policy and counterterrorism efforts, adhering closely to established hierarchies and limiting divergence from predetermined standards (J. Husain, Personal Communication, Oct. 10, 2022).

In Pakistan, there is frequently an absence of structured feedback from various stakeholders involved in the foreign policy formulation process, such as civil society, academic institutions, and the business sector. According to the cybernetic model, the incorporation of effective feedback mechanisms can enhance decision-making, suggesting that Pakistan's foreign policy could benefit from integrating a range of viewpoints. The capacity to swiftly adjust in response to external feedback is essential for the efficacy of foreign policy. However, Pakistan often faces challenges in promptly addressing international developments, which has resulted in policies that are either outdated or ineffective. Additionally, inadequate communication among different government branches and between military and civilian authorities has obstructed the development of a cohesive foreign policy. The cybernetic model highlights the significance of communication loops, and any disruption in these loops can lead to fragmented and ineffective foreign policy outcomes (Chaudhry A. , 2021).

In Pakistan, decision-makers face challenges in processing the amount of information available to them, prompting the use of heuristics. Policy shifts occur incrementally based on feedback from past actions. A notable example is their enduring rivalry with India, which has resulted in simplified cognitive frameworks that categorize India as a principal adversary. This perception significantly influences decisions regarding alliances and military expenditures. The feedback mechanisms at play illustrate how historical conflicts with India shape contemporary policies, resulting in a cycle of ongoing modifications. Likewise, Pakistan's backing of the Taliban during the 1990s, as well as its support for the Taliban takeover following the U.S. withdrawal in 2021, these adjustments were shaped by insights gained from earlier interventions. The 2021 Taliban

takeover was framed as a "corrective adjustment" to restore a friendly buffer state. However, there is a possibility that an excessive dependence on historical experiences may lead to inflexibility in the decision-making processes (Ahmar, 2023).

A stringent foreign policy stance may hinder the ability to learn and adapt to evolving global dynamics, as evidenced by Pakistan's interactions with key global powers and neighboring countries. A lack of reflection on past experiences can result in the recurrence of diplomatic errors. Pakistan's foreign policy is frequently shaped by its relationships, especially with India, Afghanistan, China, and the United States. The cybernetic model indicates the necessity for ongoing evaluation of these policies and alliances in response to shifting global conditions. Decision-makers often favor risk aversion and immediate stability rather than pursuing long-term optimization, primarily due to limitations in resources and cognitive capacity. A pertinent illustration of this is Pakistan's "all-weather alliance" with China, exemplified by initiatives such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This alliance represents a satisficing strategy aimed at obtaining economic and strategic advantages in the context of fluctuating relations with the United States, even though it raises apprehensions regarding dependency on debt (Ahmar, 2023).

In Pakistan, foreign policy decisions are predominantly made by a limited group of policymakers, heavily influenced by military perspectives, which has restricted diverse input and narrowed the range of strategic options explored. A cybernetic framework promotes a more decentralized and cooperative decision-making process. The incoherence observed in Pakistan's foreign policy stems from conflicting interests among various bureaucratic bodies, such as the Foreign Ministry, military, and intelligence

agencies. The cybernetic model emphasizes the necessity of effective coordination to achieve a cohesive approach. In the context of Pakistan, satisficing refers to the tendency to favor short-term stability rather than pursuing long-term optimal solutions. An illustration of this is the repeated reliance on IMF bailouts instead of implementing necessary structural reforms.

Pakistan's foreign policy decision-making aligns with cybernetic theory in its reliance on institutional routines, incremental adjustments, and risk-averse satisficing. Analyzing these challenges within the framework of the cybernetic model indicates that Pakistan's foreign policy decision-making could be significantly improved by implementing stronger feedback systems, fostering better communication, increasing adaptability, enhancing coordination, and reinforcing institutional structures. By tackling these issues, Pakistan could improve its capacity to effectively maneuver through the intricate and dynamic realm of international relations (J. Husain, Personal Communication, Oct. 10, 2022).

3.2.4.2 Application to India's Context

The cybernetic theory of decision-making, which focuses on organizational routines, feedback mechanisms, and the concept of bounded rationality, has subtly impacted India's foreign policy by influencing the ways in which institutions gather and interpret information, respond to crises, and emphasize stability amid a fluctuating geopolitical landscape. Although not directly articulated in cybernetic language, the practices of India's foreign policy resonate with several of its core principles, especially

in terms of handling complexity, institutional inflexibility, and making iterative modifications. India's foreign policy is formalized through established protocols overseen by the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), the National Security Council (NSC), and various military-strategic organizations. These entities depend on well-established procedures to address ongoing issues, including border conflicts with China and Pakistan, as well as regional diplomatic efforts guided by the Neighborhood First Policy. For instance, the National Security Council's methodical approach for addressing security threats demonstrates a reliance on established frameworks to handle crises, such as the 2020 Galwan Valley confrontation with China, emphasizing bureaucratic agreement rather than spontaneous decision-making (R. Abhyankar, Personal Communication, Nov. 24, 2022).

India's policy shifts frequently reflect a process of iterative learning based on previous experiences. A notable example is India's stance of neutrality during the Ukraine crisis, where it chose to abstain from UN votes that condemned Russia. This decision was shaped by historical lessons from its past support for the Soviet Union during the Cold War, as well as its recent collaborations with the United States, such as participation in the Quad. Additionally, modifications in energy imports, such as the acquisition of discounted Russian oil in the context of sanctions, illustrate India's ability to adapt to feedback from the global market. Decision-makers often favor practical, "good enough" solutions because of limitations in cognitive capacity and available resources. India navigates its relationships with various competing groups, such as the Quad, BRICS, and SCO, without fully committing to any single bloc. This approach exemplifies a satisficing strategy aimed at balancing the interests of the United States, Russia, and China. By

adhering to this principle, India can steer clear of ideological affiliations and instead concentrate on partnerships based on specific issues, such as technological collaborations with the U.S. while simultaneously upholding defense relations with Russia (Šumit Ganguly, 2022).

The internal stability allows India to project power and pursue an active foreign policy. The strong democratic institutions and civil society provide a platform for articulating and negotiating foreign policy objectives. India has established distinct foreign policy goals, which include strengthening national security, promoting economic development, ensuring its regional dominance, and elevating its international profile. For instance, prioritizing energy security and fostering trade partnerships supports its economic ambitions. Furthermore, India's aspiration to take a prominent role in global governance platforms, such as the United Nations, G20, and BRICS, reflects its intention to increase its influence in the international arena (Zeeshan, 2022).

In the cybernetic model, feedback plays a crucial role. India observes global trends and evaluates their implications for national interests. For instance, trade agreements, defense treaties, and bilateral partnerships are analyzed concerning their economic and social effects domestically. This feedback mechanism guarantees that the decisions made align with the desires of the populace and the broader national objectives. The cybernetic model promotes a systematic framework for decision-making processes. In India, the formulation of foreign policy engages a diverse array of participants, such as government bodies, research institutions, and think tanks. This intricate network facilitates well-informed decisions that embody a thorough comprehension of both national and global contexts (R. Abhyankar, Personal Communication, Nov. 24, 2022).

During the analysis of the above foreign policy decision-making models (cognitive/psychological and state level/structural), it was observed that the theories deeply examined the role of cognitive and structural elements in the foreign policy decision making process as well as discussed the methods/processes by which different choices are developed. Some of the above theories focused on the influences affecting the decision-makers directly, while others highlighted the significance of the institutions, bureaucracies, societal groups, as well as the SOPs/procedures along with the feedback mechanisms that shape the decision-making procedures. This study incorporated a combination of these perspectives as a theoretical framework to investigate the interaction of various actors and factors in the foreign policy-making processes in India and Pakistan.

The theoretical framework presented attempted to analyze foreign policy through the lens of internal actors and factors. Foreign policy primarily falls in the domain of international relations with states engaged in a multilateral interaction, but local context is equally important which creates a rubric to understand the choice situation. Internal environment shapes and conditions the context of foreign policy decisions. This chapter attempted to define and theorize foreign policy in the purview of domestic sources and addressed how the interplay of cognitive and structural variables influenced the foreign policy choices in India and Pakistan.

The achievement of pure rational account of foreign policy is not possible given the interplay of multiple and overlapping variables. The decision maker operates in an increasingly complex world, and the decision-making is prone to many risks. The Foreign policy of a state is inseparable from its domestic realm. The domestic ambient conditions

the foreign policy choices and also acts as a constraint on foreign policy decision-making. At times the domestic context catalyzes the selection and optimization of a particular foreign policy choice, and in certain circumstances, it impedes the state following a specific foreign policy choice. A successful foreign policy exhibits the foreign policy choices achieved through the reconciliation of the domestic elements of decision-making (Chaudhry A. A., 2022).

A passive domestic structure will lead to incompatible policy goals because the schism in internal structure will overshadow the substantive component of foreign policy. A country can never emphatically accentuate its foreign policy unless it accompanies a homogenous and resilient domestic structure.

CHAPTER-4

4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To gain a comprehensive understanding of "foreign policy," it is imperative to deconstruct the term into its constituent elements. The term "policy" denotes a process of decision-making or a set of guidelines employed to make decisions. Anything that lies beyond the jurisdiction of a nation, where the nation lacks control over the territory or its inhabitants, is regarded as foreign. When these two concepts are amalgamated, they form a roadmap for undertaking actions that extend beyond the borders of the nation in order to accomplish specific objectives. Governments employ diverse strategies to engage with other nations, encompassing foreign policy objectives, aims, and principles. Prior to formulating foreign policy, it is vital to consider a range of actors and factors, including the environment (both domestic and international), available options, and accessible resources. The interplay between domestic and international variables shapes foreign policy (Breuning, 2007).

Conflicts often arise between actors and their surroundings during the formation and execution of foreign policy. Similarly, the actions of social and political actors have a significant impact on the achievement of foreign policy objectives by states. In order to effectively promote national interests through international relations, a state must demonstrate its ability to utilize both tangible and intangible resources. The external policy of a state is a reflection of both its internal and external environments. Internal actors and factors such as nationalism, language, social power dynamics, leadership, ideologies, and public opinion can serve as sources of power for external policy.

However, if these elements are mismanaged, they can pose a serious threat to the well-being of the nation. Consequently, a state's foreign policy is primarily shaped by its own national elements (Breuning, 2007).

The intricate historical context of India-Pakistan foreign policy is multifaceted and influenced by various elements such as partition, territorial conflicts, security interests, and differing regional and international alignments. The division of British India in 1947 resulted in the establishment of two sovereign nations: India and Pakistan. The distressing course of partition brought about widespread communal unrest, forced migration of people, and laid the foundation for long-lasting suspicion and animosity between the two countries. The Kashmir dispute has remained a significant and disputed aspect in the relationship between India and Pakistan since their inception. Both nations assert their ownership over the entire region of Kashmir, yet they exercise control over distinct parts, resulting in numerous conflicts. These conflicts have included major wars in 1947-48, 1965, 1971, as well as the Kargil conflict in 1999 (Vengaiyah, 1994).

The security predicament existing between India and Pakistan has led to an escalation in military armament, as both nations have made substantial investments in military resources, particularly in the development of nuclear weapons. The nuclear tests conducted by both countries represented a notable increase in regional hostilities and reshaped the strategic environment. India's neutral stance in the Cold War, its Act East policy, and strategic alliances with major powers differ significantly from Pakistan's alignment with the United States, China, and its connections with the Muslim world. Similarly, India-Pakistan relationship has long been plagued by enduring problems such as cross-border violence, militant activities, and security contests, which has further

exacerbated the trust deficits and heightened tensions between these two nations. Economic engagements, commercial ties, and opportunities for economic collaboration have been constrained by political tensions and security issues. Attempts to advance economic diplomacy, trade openness, and connectivity have consistently encountered challenges (Ahmad Ali, 2019).

4.1 Nature of Conflict's Between India and Pakistan

From the standpoint of the predominant culture of disorder in the global system, the bilateral relations between the two nuclear competitors have often exhibited indications of shifting patterns. In the pre-independence era, both the Muslim and Hindu communities upheld the Kantian culture of anarchy as their interests aligned in liberating themselves from their common British colonial rulers. Following the accomplishment of their cherished independence, both nations transitioned from the Kantian to the Lockean culture in 1947. Despite considering each other as rivals and having essential differences on matters concerning geography, identity, and perception, they still acknowledged each other's right to coexist. The conclusion of the historic Indus Water Treaty in 1960 serves as a notable example. However, since India's involvement in the disintegration of East Pakistan in 1971 and its nuclear tests in 1974, both countries have further gravitated towards a Hobbesian culture, distinguishing each other as threats to their territorial integrity, existence, and sovereignty (Hussain T. , 2009).

In terms of the nature of conflicts between India and Pakistan, three concepts prevail: territorial, identity, and perception. The advocates of the territorial premise argue that territorial battles in Pak-India bilateral relations were shaped by the unmerited partition plan, known as the Mountbatten Plan, on June 3, 1947. From Pakistan's

perspective, this plan had two major flaws: (1) a discriminating division of possessions between the two dominions, and (2) the separation of Calcutta from East Pakistan, while giving the Gurdaspur region to India and leaving the fate of 565 princely states undecided in the Red Cliff Awards. The tragic consequences of the unjust partition plan resulted in a deep-seated animosity and distrust between the two nations, culminating in the outbreak of the first Indo-Pakistan War in 1947-48, shortly after gaining independence. Since then, the leadership of both countries has faced challenges in restoring the lost trust, hindering efforts to achieve a sustainable peace. The historical burden they bear encompasses three significant wars, frequent border skirmishes over territorial claims, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the advancement of long-range missile technology. The prevailing tensions between the two nations can be classified into two primary domains: territorial and water conflicts, encompassing issues like Kashmir, Siachen, Sir Creek, the Indus Water Treaty, Wullar, and Tulbul projects; along with political concerns, including India's ambitions for regional supremacy, the politicization of SAARC, de-stabilizing Pakistan's border provinces and its involvement in Afghanistan to weaken Pakistan (Ahmad I. , 2013).

Conversely, the perception premise connects the ongoing disputes to the fundamental beliefs of each side concerning the origins and causes of conflicts between them. For instance, India perceives the ongoing Kashmir independence movement as terrorism backed by Pakistan. In contrast, Pakistan's decision makers argue that Kashmir remains an unresolved issue since the partition and that India's control over Kashmir goes against UN resolutions. Moreover, Pakistan's leadership contends that India refuses to acknowledge Pakistan as an independent Muslim nation in South Asia. The perception has

been further reinforced by India's active involvement in the 1971 East Pakistan crisis and the subsequent formation of Bangladesh. Indian policymakers firmly believe that despite possessing a significant advantage in terms of size, population, economy, and conventional military strength over Pakistan, their country has been unable to tilt the regional balance of power in their favor or exert influence over Pakistan's actions. This perception serves as the fundamental basis for India's current foreign policy approach towards Pakistan. Similarly, the Identity Hypothesis posits that the Hindu-Muslim divide not only laid the groundwork for the partition of British India in 1947 but also continues to be a primary catalyst for the ongoing rivalry between Pakistan and India (Mohammad Shahban Sahito, 2018).

In the year 1947, the issue of Kashmir was inherited by both nations as they gained their independence. Rather than finding a peaceful resolution, India and Pakistan consistently contributed to the growing list of disputes between them. Consequently, numerous ongoing and potential conflicts have emerged, exerting lasting impacts on their foreign policies and endangering the tranquility and stability of the densely populated region. Throughout the course of history, there have been infrequent occasions when both adversaries engaged in negotiations to address their differences, adhering to liberal practices. Nevertheless, these dialogues were either instigated by particular events or enforced by external forces. Furthermore, the historical analysis of peace processes between Pakistan and India has identified three distinct patterns. Initially, there have been problem-solving negotiations, such as the Indus Water Treaty in 1960 and the Kashmir talks in 1962-63. Subsequently, post-conflict peace talks have been conducted, as evidenced by the Tashkent Settlement in 1966 and the Simla Agreement in 1972. Lastly,

there have been instances where discussions about the revival of talks have taken place, exemplified by the Lahore Pronouncement in 1999 and the Agra Summit in 2001. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that these dialogues have only yielded temporary achievements and have failed to offer a lasting resolution to the underlying issues, thereby impeding the realization of enduring peace (Ahmad I. , 2013).

Map 4.1

The Eastern and Western Borders of Pakistan



Source: <http://countrystudies.us/pakistan/23.htm> accessed on September 25, 2023

4.2 Actors and Factors Involved in Impelling Foreign Policy Choices in Pakistan

4.2.1 Initial Challenges

Pakistan came into existence in an unusual, unconventional and chaotic environment. Its birth was characterized by a horrifying religious and communal turmoil, which led to a considerable loss of life among Hindus and Muslims, resulting in long-lasting animosity. Additionally, Pakistan faced a significantly larger influx of refugees compared to the larger Dominion of India, making it the younger, smaller, and less prosperous of the two newly formed nations arising from the tumultuous Partition of the Indian subcontinent. As a result, Pakistan, being a fledgling nation, had to confront a two-fold danger and a dual dilemma, leading to profound and lasting psychological consequences. It encountered a plethora of obstacles that would have posed a significant challenge even to the most resilient nations, let alone one grappling to establish itself in a tense setting. The conflict with India concerning the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, which emerged shortly after the creation of the new country, further worsened the prevailing atmosphere of uncertainty that had already gripped the region. Merely thirteen months after Pakistan's inception, the untimely passing of its esteemed leader, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, inflicted a severe blow to the nation's already delicate morale (Ghori, 2021).

In light of India's hostile actions, particularly its refusal to adhere to the principles of partition and transfer Pakistan's rightful share of British India's assets, including the Ordinance stores, the Pakistani government found itself compelled to make a significant foreign policy decision. This decision was driven by the urgent need to equip Pakistan's armed forces, consisting of 50,000 men, with the necessary weapons for defense, as they

were left defenseless due to the aforementioned actions. Furthermore, the newly established state recognized the importance of financial stability in safeguarding its independence. Consequently, in 1947, Pakistan's government made the strategic choice to approach the United States for a substantial \$2 billion loan, aimed at both economic development and defense acquisition. Although the magnitude of this request may have surprised the American administration, they displayed a degree of empathy by offering a modest amount of financial assistance (Sattar, 2010: 350). The non-aligned foreign policy of Pakistan was in place from 1947 until 1953. Over the course of these years, Pakistan's foreign policy was significantly influenced by the following major proceedings;

1. During the annual conventions of the Muslim League, both global concerns and domestic political matters were commonly deliberated upon. The external subjects predominantly encompassed issues that directly impacted the Muslim community and the previous resolutions that were made in relation to them.
2. Quaid-e-Azam viewpoint remained steadfast in his opposition to Dutch control of Indonesian freedom and his denouncement of Israel's establishment.
3. The newly formed country had to put up with Indian indoctrination and compete with India internationally.

Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of the country, met his tragic demise in 1951. However, the state of neutrality endured until 1953. The untimely demise of both Liaquat Ali Khan and Quaid-e-Azam ushered in a phase of political uncertainty and a struggle for dominance among various political factions and institutions. These challenges laid the foundation for Pakistan's trajectory, intertwining its political, economic, and security policies with enduring legacies of partition (Mazhar, 2013).

4.2.2 Insecurity, Scarc Resources, and Political Unrest

Ever since gaining independence, Pakistan has been faced with the challenges posed by a dominant and assertive neighboring country. Pakistan sought security as a

means to endure in an inhospitable security landscape (Shahi, 1988). Consequently, the preservation of security and territorial integrity became the central tenets of its foreign policy in its formative years. Initially, Pakistan encountered various difficulties encompassing the economy, politics, constitution-making, administration, military influence and the influx of refugees (Fukuyama & Rand, 1980). Pakistan faced two primary challenges. The initial hurdle was the establishment of the government and various organizations, including the making of foreign policy. The second obstacle involved fostering friendly relations with other nations. However, the political dominance of the power elites hindered appropriate responses to these challenges. This further allowed the ruling class to exert considerable influence for their own benefits due to administrative and financial uncertainties. The political elites were unsuccessful in effectively addressing major issues such as political instability, constitution-making, military interventions, fragile economic conditions and the consequences of migration (Sahito, 2018).

Pakistan's bureaucratic and military leadership held the belief that security alliances were necessary to instill a sense of security and protection within the nation. Similarly, the country's tumultuous early years resulted in a desperate search for security alliances, with the backdrop of cognitive anguish. In contrast to the larger, more dominant and resourceful India, Pakistan was considered weak and unprepared to defend itself. To address this power disparity, Pakistan embarked on a race to secure allies who could provide a safety net and counteract its clear disadvantage. The pursuit of security was not up for much debate. However, this led Pakistan astray and paved the way for an external policy that prioritized short-term tactical gains over long-term strategic benefits. The

decision by Liaquat Ali Khan to accept the American invitation to visit Washington on an official visit, while refusing an earlier invitation from the Soviet Union for a similar visit, laid the foundation for Pakistan's external policy. Over time, this policy has become heavily reliant on the West, resulting in a desperately Western-centric approach (Ghori, 2021).

The reasons behind Liaquat Ali Khan's decision to choose Washington over Moscow have been extensively debated in the context of Pakistan's history of foreign policy. The decision was primarily driven by pragmatism and the pursuit of national interest. During that period, the United States stood as the sole nation with the capability to offer Pakistan the essential material aid needed to offset the power of a significantly stronger India, particularly in the post-World War II era. Pakistan was in dire need of military support, and the Soviet Union, grappling with the aftermath of losing 20 million of its citizens, lacked the capacity to involve itself in Pakistan's conflict (Sahito, 2018).

4.2.3 Military-Bureaucratic Elite

The influence of Pakistan's military-bureaucratic elite in the formulation of foreign policy has been historically significant, grounded in their institutional supremacy, strategic necessities, and the sidelining of civilian authority. The military-bureaucratic nexus has its roots in the colonial administrative structures, exemplified by the Civil Services of Pakistan (CSP), which integrated bureaucratic effectiveness with military interests. Historically, the upper echelons of the bureaucracy have worked in conjunction with the military to centralize decision-making processes. In the period of Ayub Khan's rule, the CSP strengthened its authority by aligning administrative governance with

military goals, effectively marginalizing elected officials and sustaining a pattern of hybrid governance (Ahmad I. , 2013).

It is a tragic reality in history that even during the early stages of the nascent state, Pakistan's influential civil-military elite engaged in a struggle for political dominance. The Rawalpindi conspiracy plan, masterminded by some military leaders sympathetic to Bonapartism and certain intellectuals aligned with the communist movement in Pakistan, exemplified the pursuit of political control by non-political entities through any means available. These actors appeared undeterred by the exposure of the Rawalpindi conspiracy, remaining steadfast in their objective of toppling democratic authority. Their scheme aimed to embroil Pakistan in the emerging East-West conflict. However, the power brokers behind the post-Rawalpindi plan seemed to have accurately anticipated, at least in terms of their own vested interests, that a Pakistan aligned with the global security interests of the United States and dependent on its largesse would become a nation subservient to their whims. Throughout history, their accuracy has been demonstrated. Nevertheless, Pakistan's foreign policy has veered off course due to that initial mistake, and finding a clear path back to realism and pragmatism remains elusive. In the early stages of Pakistan's development, there was a tendency towards daring actions, yet as it has progressed, it has failed to exhibit the expected level of sophistication (Ghori, 2021).

4.2.4 Tragedy of December 1971

The partition of East Pakistan resulted in the depletion of approximately half of Pakistan's populace, landmass, and resources. This distressing occurrence shattered Pakistan's perception of itself as a cohesive nation and highlighted the vulnerability of its

territorial integrity, thereby influencing its foreign policy priorities and national security considerations. The defeat and disintegration of Pakistan in 1971 prompted a reevaluation of its foreign policy objectives, with a renewed emphasis on reconstructing national unity, fortifying internal cohesion, and redefining its regional and global alliances to prevent further susceptibilities. The political and military setback in 1971 compelled Pakistan to adopt a more defensive and security-oriented approach to its foreign policy, placing significant importance on deterrence, military readiness, and strategic depth to safeguard its national interests and counter perceived existential threats, particularly from India (Ahmad I. , 2013).

The birth of Bangladesh and the increased regional influence of India presented more grave obstacles for Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan sought to establish its regional strategies, engage with neighboring countries, and explore opportunities for regional cooperation and integration in order to mitigate India's dominance. The events of 1971 reinforced Pakistan's resolve to acquire nuclear capabilities as a strategic deterrent against perceived external dangers and to bolster its national security. The quest for nuclear weapons became a fundamental aspect of Pakistan's foreign policy and defense strategy. To sum up, the events of December 1971 had profound consequences for Pakistan's foreign policy, national security doctrine, civil-military relations, regional dynamics, and international relations. It represented a crucial turning point in Pakistan's history, leading to reorientation and adjustment in its approach to geopolitics, national defense, regional stability, and global involvement (Aziz, 2009).

Following the disintegration in December 1971, Pakistan found itself isolated from the international community. However, the rise of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to power marked a

turning point in the nation's foreign policy. Bhutto successfully untangled Pakistan from the complexities arising from its defense alliances with the United States. Nevertheless, the damage had already been done, and those who highly valued military alliances began to question Pakistan's credibility. The country continued to bear the burden of its previous military alliances with a neo-imperialist state. While Bhutto demonstrated his expertise in international affairs, his arrogance often led to grave mistakes in decision-making concerning external policy matters. For instance, Bhutto's decision to eject Pakistan from the Commonwealth was a significant misstep, characterized by its dramatic and seemingly insignificant nature. This action was taken in response to perceived insults from the British administration, reflecting Bhutto's fragile ego and impulsive decision-making. It highlighted the delicate state of Pakistan's foreign relations under a leader who tolerated no opposition to his authority (Burke, 1990).

4.2.5 Religionisation of Politics

Pakistan has experienced a tumultuous political journey since its establishment in 1947. The formation and dissolution of political parties, along with frequent governmental upheavals, have been a common occurrence. The ruling class, motivated by a hunger for power and various other factors, has played a significant role in this instability. This phenomenon has been particularly evident within a small group of elites who have exerted control over all governmental institutions. From 1947 to 1971, the nation witnessed a constant rotation of power, resembling a game of musical chairs. It is evident that the survival of a nation as a political entity, as well as the preservation of its geographical integrity, administrative system, institutions, beliefs, thoughts, and social practices, is of utmost importance. Pakistan was undoubtedly founded in the name of

Islam, but its goal was to protect peoples' political, cultural, and economic rights, not to establish a theocratic state. As soon as Pakistan came into being, non-Muslims rights were to be sheltered along with the status of alike citizens of the state (Waseem, 2002).

It proved to be unattainable to prevent the intertwining of politics and religion. Religion served as a means to acquire, uphold, and validate authority. An illustration of this is the utilization of religion for political purposes during the Zia era (1977–88). The government endeavored to justify its power through illicit methods in order to achieve this (S. M. Shah, 1996). The religious policies implemented by Zia exacerbated the existing social divisions. The regime actively supported the growth of sectarianism. On an international level, Pakistan pushed itself in the U.S.-Soviet conflict based on religious grounds. The political landscape of Pakistan was significantly transformed by the Afghan War in the 1980s. Islamabad opted to participate in the conflict at the behest of the West to advance its own strategic goals, including expanding its influence in Afghanistan and diminishing Indian power. Zia Ul Haq suppressed liberal political groups and activists while advocating for a rigid interpretation of Islam in the country. Initially formed by Gen. Zia in the 1980s to combat the Soviets in Afghanistan, Islamic extremist groups are now causing widespread destruction in Pakistan (Mohammad Shahban Sahito, 2018).

Following the defeat of the Soviets, the Americans left behind a devastated Afghanistan, a restless jihad, and an enraged Pakistan. In October 1990, Pakistan found itself abandoned and subjected to sanctions due to its nuclear program. Isolated and filled with anti-American sentiments, Pakistan was left to fend for itself. The nation's aspirations were forsaken in exchange for illusions, emotions, and a strong dedication to risky endeavors. Decades of authoritarianism and corrupt democracy had shaped a

national vision that led to a fragile institutional framework. This framework struggled amidst the various internal conflicts based on sectarian, ethno-linguistic, and other divisions, ultimately leaving Pakistan susceptible to instability. The decline of the rule of law and societal cohesion was exploited by extremist elements as institutions crumbled and became appendages to centers of authority. The state was devoid of the requisite political resolve, ethical credibility, and efficient law enforcement tools. The most marginalized and defenseless sectors of society, lacking sufficient physical and financial security, were compelled to embrace radical and deceitful methods of empowerment, such as radical Islamism (Hussain, 2009).

4.2.6 Delay in Constitution Making

The division of the Indian subcontinent resulted in the creation of two independent states, India and Pakistan, marking the end of British India. To govern the newly self-governing nation, the Government of India Act 1935 was adopted as the rule of law. This act was later modified and transformed into Pakistan's interim constitution. However, it took a considerable amount of time for the nation to establish a structured constitution. It was not until 1956 that the interim constitution was replaced by the 1956 constitution. In 1958, General Ayub Khan declared martial law and reorganized the government. Subsequently, in 1969, Yahya Khan implemented another Martial Law, and Pakistan was governed by the Legal Framework Order (LFO) in 1970. The separation of East Pakistan transpired in 1971, leading to the birth of Bangladesh on December 16th. Meanwhile, West Pakistan was governed under the 1972 interim constitution until the promulgation of the permanent constitution in 1973. General Zia-Ul-Haq declared martial law in 1977, followed by another military intervention in 1999. The delay in the

formulation of the Constitution, political instability, and frequent military interventions posed significant challenges to Pakistan, which led to domestic and foreign policy failures, along with the separation of East Pakistan (Mohammad Shahban Sahito, 2018).

The delay in the formulation of constitution in Pakistan had far-reaching consequences for its external relations, governance system, political stability, and national identity. The absence of an established constitution led to gaps in governance, uncertainties' in institutions, and political unrest, which hindered Pakistan's ability to develop and execute a coherent external policy. Internal political skirmishes, power struggles, and inconsistencies in policies frequently surpassed strategic decision-making processes. The lack of a clear constitutional framework for civil-military dealings aggravated strains, distrust, and power struggles among civilian and military entities. This dynamic considerably influenced Pakistan's foreign policy priorities, strategic alliances, and defense policies. The absence of a defined constitutional mandate and policy structure also impacted Pakistan's bilateral connections, diplomatic determinations, and regional initiatives. The continuity of policies, diplomatic engagements, and worldwide commitments often faced challenges due to hybrid system, political changes, governance disputes, and policy indecisions. The national security doctrine, defense preferences, and strategic alliances of Pakistan were significantly influenced by the delay in constitution-making. The military's involvement in governance was shaped by the uncertainties in the constitution making and political instability in the country (Ahmad I. , 2013).

In short, the constitutional breaches, political volatilities, and governance obstacles presented intricate limitations for the socio-political and economic progress of Pakistan.

4.2.7 Role of Parliament

The making of foreign policy in Pakistan has historically been the purview of the chief executive, military elites, and a small group of advisors, with intermittent involvement from legislatures, whenever they were functioning. While constitutional provisions grant parliamentary oversight, its influence has been limited due to institutional imbalances, security-centric priorities, and the military's entrenched dominance. Traditionally, foreign policy has been characterized as a sphere of "high politics," primarily managed by military and civilian executives, which relegates parliament to a reactive role instead of positioning it as an active participant in policy-making. A notable example of this is the establishment of significant alliances such as SEATO in 1954 and CENTO in 1955, which were orchestrated by military figures, such as Ayub Khan, without any parliamentary discussion (Balakrishnan, 1986).

Throughout history, the influence of the military establishment, political executive and bureaucracy has overshadowed the role of Parliament in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy. This neglect of Parliament has had significant consequences for democratic governance, accountability, transparency, and institutional balance. The military's dominance in foreign policy has marginalized Parliament role, resulting in imbalances between the civilian and military authorities, inconsistencies in policy making, and a security-focused approach that often prioritized defense and national security concerns over diplomatic, economic, and humanitarian aspects. Likewise, the part of Parliament in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy has been consistently undermined by the civilian authorities as well whenever they were in power in the form of political polarization, partisan politics, and electoral dynamics. These factors have hindered Parliament's ability

to serve as a bipartisan forum for productive external policy debates, consensus-building, and enunciation of national interests. Consequently, Parliament's role has been downgraded; diminishing its impact in the decision making processes (Raja S. H., 2023).

Parliament has occasionally asserted its influence during times of crisis, primarily as a symbolic expression of sovereignty rather than through meaningful policy development. In 2012, it adopted a resolution calling for the cessation of US drone strikes and a formal apology regarding the Salala border incident. Additionally, the foreign policy committees within Parliament, such as the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, are hindered by a lack of expertise, bureaucratic stagnation, and partisan deadlock. For instance, the policy regarding Kashmir is closely linked to military perspectives, with Parliamentarians refraining from discussing alternative strategies despite evolving regional circumstances. In contrast to India's Parliament, which has established roles in treaty ratification and defense budgeting, Pakistan's legislature remains largely marginal (Ali S. , 2018).

4.2.8 Role of Military

The historical significance of the military in shaping Pakistan's external policy cannot be understated, as it has consistently held a central and influential position. This has often resulted in the overshadowing of democratic progressions and civilian institutions. The military's active participation in the making of foreign policy, strategic decision-making, and matters pertaining to nationwide security has undeniably shaped the political setting of Pakistan. The military's central position in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy has been a result of its national security doctrine, which emphasizes defense readiness and strategic deterrence. The military's influence in Pakistan's foreign

policy is bolstered by its robust institutional capabilities, internal unity, and political influence. Civil-military tensions and conflicting claims to authority have at times disrupted the balance in civil-military relations, with the military often asserting its dominance in decision-making process. The military's significant role in Pakistan's external policy is especially evident in the context of the unresolved Kashmir conflict and India-Pakistan relations. While the military's involvement in policy formulation is essential, its extra-constitutional role in Pakistan has raised apprehensions regarding democratic authority, civilian oversight, and policy diversity within the nation (Ammara Tariq, 2019).

Pakistan's foreign policy objectives post-independence have been centered on seeking security through military strength and economic development. The influence of British colonial legacy is evident in certain aspects of Pakistan's security strategies, particularly in shaping its approach towards neighboring countries. The Pakistani elites have primarily viewed security through the lens of military threats and concerns about subversion fueled by external support for secessionist movements, especially in the context of Afghanistan and India. These challenges not only posed a threat to Pakistan's territorial integrity but also raised doubts about the ruling regimes' effectiveness (Hussain, 2005: 5).

The primary reason for Pakistan's security dilemma has been the long-standing fear of Indian dominance in the region. The ongoing animosity between the two nations has further been fueled by Afghanistan's territorial claims on certain areas of Pakistan. In this context, India and Afghanistan have emerged as the top priorities in Pakistan's foreign policy. Since its inception, Pakistan has aimed to safeguard its territorial integrity against

potential aggression from India and ensure national security by formulating an external policy focused on these objectives. Pakistan's external policy has always been shaped by the imperative of safeguarding its security and survival, which encompasses both economic stability and military strength (Naqvi, 1966).

The state system inherently generating emotions of uncertainty, disbelief, doubt, and terror, results in an ongoing power struggle where each country strives to surpass a potential adversary in order to alleviate its own uneasiness. In order to safeguard itself from an attack or political coercion, a state will endeavor to outpace or at least match the strength of its neighboring country if it perceives it as a potential enemy. The neighboring country, on the other hand, is concerned about the possibility of being targeted or coerced for political reasons. It recognizes that, in the event of a crisis, winning a war would be in its best interest; hence, it is actively working to enhance its capabilities to fend off any unforeseen circumstances (Spanier and Hook, 1995: 6).

The military holds a crucial position within the state, serving as one of its essential components. Nevertheless, in certain countries, the military assumes a prominent role in state politics, exerting control over all other. Pakistan is no exception to this phenomenon. While the military has always held significance, its prevailing influence in Pakistani politics and society signifies the pinnacle of its prominence institutions (Siddiqi-Agha, 2007). Pakistan encountered substantial internal challenges and external security pressures upon its inception. The military was perceived as a safeguard against internal turmoil and disintegration, and as a means to ensure the nation's external security. Consequently, this laid the groundwork for the military to expand its engagement (Rizvi, 2000).

Since 1947, Pakistan's military has predominantly shaped the nation's foreign policy, influenced by a strategic culture that combines anti-Indian realism, Islamic identity, and institutional self-interest. Although alliances with the United States and China have also offered countless advantages, the military's deep economic entrenchment, institutional professionalism and its ability to alter public opinion in its favor guarantee its continued supremacy. Nevertheless, this strategy has resulted in ongoing domestic instability, economic reliance, and a decline in democratic processes, positioning Pakistan at a critical juncture between authoritarian militarism and the pursuit of sustainable governance.

4.2.9 Absence of Strategic Dynamism and Far-Sightedness

Pakistan's external policy has traditionally been reactive to rapidly changing events both regionally and internationally, with few notable exceptions. In many cases, policymakers have failed to consider emerging global trends when making foreign policy decisions. This has often resulted in Pakistan playing catch-up rather than taking a proactive stance. Instead of focusing on long-term strategic objectives, policy makers have prioritized short-term tactical adjustments. Examples such as Pakistan's response to the 1971 tragedy, its policies towards Afghanistan in the 1990s, and the Kargil conflict in 1999 highlight the consequences of neglecting or underestimating evolving global dynamics, revealing decision-makers' limited ability to look beyond the present circumstances (Balakrishnan, 1986).

The primary focus on security issues, regional competition, and defense needs has frequently taken precedence over various aspects of foreign policy such as economic diplomacy, cultural involvement, soft power projects, and global collaborations, thereby

constraining Pakistan's strategic reach and global impact. The inadequate incorporation of economic and developmental goals in Pakistan's external policy structure has impeded endeavors to utilize international alliances, draw in foreign investments, enhance trade connections, and tackle socio-economic issues through diplomatic means and global cooperation. Pakistan's historical dependence on strategic partnerships, external financial assistance, and military support has constrained its ability to independently shape policies, adapt strategically, and engage diplomatically, resulting in a perception of reliance, susceptibility, and transactional interactions with dominant global actors (Burke, 1990).

4.2.10 National Security

Pakistan's foreign policy is primarily focused on safeguarding its national security and independence. Being a newly established nation, Pakistan had to take measures to secure its borders and protect its sovereignty. Consequently, Pakistan formulated its foreign policy with a strong emphasis on ensuring its own security. By forging alliances with other countries, Pakistan aimed to enhance its security while also taking into account global security concerns (Yousaf and Tabassum, 2003). Pakistan has consistently prioritized its security vis-a-vis India since its inception. Compared to other nations, Pakistan allocated a significant portion of its budget towards defense. The primary focus of Pakistan has always been safeguarding itself against potential threats from India. India's historical animosity towards Pakistan was evident even before its establishment, which led to a series of actions aimed at undermining Pakistan's sovereignty. This prompted Pakistan to seek alliances to bolster its military capabilities, economic stability, and diplomatic influence. Consequently, Pakistan sought assistance from the United

States to address its security apprehensions (Salahuddin, 2005). The course of the external policy of Pakistan was founded on the pursuit of her security as well as defense and U.S. was reflected as a more promising state for this chore (Pasha, 1990).

4.2.11 Economic Factor

Pakistan's external policy direction, strategic alignments, and diplomatic engagements have been significantly shaped by its dependence on external aid, donations, loans, and financial assistance from bilateral and multilateral partners. The country's reliance on external monetary support has imposed confines on its policy autonomy, diplomatic flexibility, and strategic decision-making. Pakistan's economic and global trade relations as well as export market diversification have been adversely impacted by trade disparities, restricted export competitiveness, and trade shortfalls. The promotion of bilateral trade contracts, development of market access, and attraction of foreign investment has faced substantial challenges due to economic constrictions. Furthermore, Pakistan's defense expenditure, military transformation, and strategic development have also been affected by fiscal restraints, budgetary burdens, and economic susceptibilities. Pakistan's public diplomacy, narrative building, and worldwide image administration have been considerably impacted by the delicate economy. The economic complications have presented impediments in communication, shaped perception glitches, and exposed reputational risks, thereby subverting Pakistan's global position, its capacity to project soft power, and its worldwide credibility (Muhammad Muzaffar, 2016).

Pakistan's dependence on external financial support has been a fundamental aspect of its foreign policy. Throughout the Cold War, Alliances such as SEATO and CENTO

were established to obtain economic and military assistance from the United States, which represented approximately 32% of Pakistan's GDP during the 1960s. Following the events of September 11, collaboration with the U.S. in counter-terrorism became essential for securing aid packages, including a notable \$3 billion in U.S. assistance linked to counter-terrorism initiatives. Likewise, bailouts from the International Monetary Fund, such as the 2023 Stand-By Arrangement, required the implementation of austerity measures and structural reforms, thereby aligning Pakistan's policies with the expectations of international financial institutions.

4.2.12 Public Opinion

The civil-military elite's control over Pakistan's foreign policy making has resulted in restricted parliamentary oversight, independent accountability, and public involvement in decision-making processes. Throughout history, political polarization, narrow-minded politics, and electoral dynamics have outshone public opinion, resulting in a lack of national consensus on foreign policy matters. Additionally, the limited role of civil society groups, activists, and non-governmental organizations have hindered public input, grassroots deployment, and the influence of public opinion in determining foreign policy choices.

Public opinion has historically played a nuanced yet significant role in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy, often intersecting with ideological, security, and geopolitical imperatives. Pakistan's foreign policy has been fundamentally influenced by its Islamic identity, which aligns closely with the sentiments of its populace. The focus on Islam as a cohesive element has facilitated alliances with predominantly Muslim countries, including Saudi Arabia and Iran, and has promoted a collective stance on matters like

Palestine and Kashmir. Public sentiment, heavily influenced by religious identity, has compelled governments to pursue pro-Muslim policies, exemplified by the refusal to recognize Israel in light of widespread support for the Palestinian cause. Additionally, this religious perspective provided justification for backing the Afghan mujahideen during the Soviet-Afghan War, resonating with the public's anti-communist and Islamic beliefs (Burke, 1990).

Public sentiment has consistently bolstered Pakistan's position concerning Kashmir. The characterization of Kashmir as Pakistan's "jugular vein" is rooted in historical grievances associated with the two-nation theory and territorial conflicts with India. Most of the Pakistanis perceive India as the most significant threat, with a strong consensus on the necessity of addressing the Kashmir issue as a top priority. This public demand has driven successive administrations to emphasize Kashmir in diplomatic discussions and to avoid concessions, even when practical diplomatic approaches might advocate for flexibility (Ahmad I. , 2013).

4.3 Actors and Factors Involved in Impelling Foreign Policy Choices in India

4.3.1 India's External Policy and Non-alignment

India's historical commitment to non-alignment in foreign policy has been a crucial feature of its international dealings since its inception in 1947. India's external policy has historically focused on strategic autonomy, independent decision-making, and non-alignment with any significant power groups. Following its liberation from British colonial rule, India aimed to steer clear of the rivalries of Cold War factions, focusing instead on the processes of nation-building and decolonization. Jawaharlal Nehru, the inaugural Prime Minister of India, articulated the principle of non-alignment as a

refutation of "power politics" and an affirmation of the nation's autonomy in its decision-making processes. India has aimed to uphold a comprehensive and principled stance on global affairs, thereby protecting its national interests. During the Cold War period, India played a pivotal role in the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). In 1954, Indian Prime Minister Nehru and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai outlined the Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. These principles highlighted the importance of mutual respect, non-aggression, and non-interference, and were subsequently embraced by the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This movement served as a significant platform for newly independent nations to assert their autonomy, denounce colonialism, and foster international harmony and collaboration (Shukla, 2007).

The three founding fathers of non-alignment, Nehru, Nasser, and Tito, laid down a fundamental principle that even remains valid today: the essence of non-alignment is national sovereignty. Established in 1961, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) emerged as a platform for India to promote solidarity among the Global South, advocate for disarmament, and support anti-apartheid initiatives. Alongside prominent leaders such as Tito from Yugoslavia, Nasser from Egypt, and Sukarno from Indonesia, Nehru positioned India as a leading voice for the "Third World." Nehru's pursuit of US military assistance following China's assault, despite his non-aligned stance, demonstrated the adaptability of this policy in times of crisis. During the Bangladesh Liberation War, India entered into a defense agreement with the USSR, indicating a strategic shift while still publicly adhering to non-alignment. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, India increasingly aligned itself with the USSR for both security and economic backing, yet it continued to lead the

Non-Aligned Movement, exemplified by hosting the 1983 Delhi Summit aimed at tackling economic inequalities within the Global South (Atul Mishra, 2016).

Non-alignment was closely linked to India's identity as a post-colonial nation striving to resist foreign control. Nehru's focus on "self-reliance" (*atmanirbharta*) sought to deconstruct the economic frameworks established during colonial rule. The Indian government, under the leadership of P.V. Narasimha Rao, has decided to uphold the "Nehru line" in foreign policy and has reiterated the ongoing significance of the Non-Aligned Movement and its policy. Despite the apparent breakdown of the traditional national consensus on various foreign policy issues, the long-standing agreement within party politics regarding India's commitment to non-alignment appears to remain steadfast. India's post-war foreign policy was characterized by its balanced approach between the East and the West. By embracing a non-alignment policy, the Indian government aimed to shield itself from the dynamics of the Cold War era. Apart from refraining from entering into military pacts with international adversaries, the non-alignment policy asserted its neutrality in the East-West conflict (Mallick, 1999).

India's approach to non-alignment has been dynamic, transitioning from Nehru's idealistic vision to Modi's pragmatic, transactional stance. Although the phrase "non-alignment" has become less prominent, the fundamental principle of strategic independence remains evident in India's strategy of forming "issue-based partnerships" and its determination to maintain autonomy in the face of major powers. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, India has adopted a strategy termed "multi-alignment," which involves engaging with competing global powers such as the United States, Russia, and China simultaneously. In his work (2020), *The India Way, Foreign*

Minister S. Jaishankar advocates for capitalizing on global contradictions to enhance national benefits, while dismissing the notion of formal alliances. India's involvement in the Quad, which includes the US, Japan, and Australia, alongside its ongoing energy imports from Russia amid the Ukraine conflict, illustrates this approach, as it seeks to balance deterrence against China with economic practicality.

4.3.2 Ideological Sources

The Mahabharat and the Arthasastra have been proposed as the philosophical underpinnings of Indian foreign policy. For instance, Mahabharat is considered a repository of Indian rationality that continues to be consulted for solutions to contemporary issues, despite the influence of Western literature and ideas, as noted by Pannikkar. Similarly, Kautilya's Arthasastra is seen as providing Hindu philosophers with the framework to develop a secular understanding of the state centered on control. The Congress party's key principles of Indian external policy, including resistance to imperialism, avoidance of foreign entanglements, and promotion of peace, were inspired by the American founding fathers, who engaged in practical political discourse rather than mere idealism. In terms of ideological influence, democratic socialism seems to have played a more significant role in shaping Indian foreign policy and thinking than Gandhism. According to Laski, Marxism has influenced India's views on colonialism, private enterprise, and capitalist democracy (Vengaiyah, 1994).

India's foreign policy philosophies are woven from a rich blend of historical insights, anti-colonial sentiments, pragmatic approaches from the Cold War era, and elements of Hindu nationalism. Although the principles of non-alignment and Panchsheel, championed by Nehru, remained influential, the BJP under Modi has transformed the concept of strategic autonomy by viewing it through a civilizational perspective. The ongoing conflict between ethical leadership and pragmatic politics plays a significant role in India's pursuit of great-power status within a multipolar global landscape (Chong, 2019).

4.3.3 Factor of Personality

Throughout history, the influence of personality on India's foreign policy has been substantial, as the unique visions, beliefs, diplomatic approaches, and personal backgrounds of individual leaders have played a crucial role in shaping the country's global interactions, strategic choices, and global standing.

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, played a pivotal role in shaping the nation's foreign policy as he led the country for a remarkable 17 years. Not only did he hold the positions of both Foreign and Prime Minister, but he also emerged as the principal architect behind India's foreign policy. During the crucial years of India's development, Nehru's leadership was marked by his unwavering dedication to non-alignment, opposition to colonialism, and the promotion of harmonious coexistence between nations. His active support for the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Panchsheel principles, which emphasized peaceful coexistence, played a pivotal role in determining India's external policy direction, strategic independence, and global diplomatic engagements. Undoubtedly, individuals such as K.M. Pannikkar, Sardar Patel, and V.K. Krishna Menon played a crucial role in shaping the course, character, and nature of India's external policy (Arora, 1993).

Likewise, Indira Gandhi, who served as Prime Minister from 1966 to 1977 and again from 1980 to 1984, was recognized for her pragmatic approach to politics, strong assertiveness, and decisive leadership style. She placed a significant emphasis on national security, as demonstrated by her involvement in the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War and

India's inaugural nuclear test in 1974, known as Pokhran-I. Her consolidation of power facilitated rapid and unilateral decision-making. The "Indira Doctrine" was designed to establish India's dominance in South Asia, which included military interventions in Sri Lanka and Nepal (Vengaiyah, 1994).

Throughout history, the significance of national interest and leadership in determining India's foreign policy cannot be overstated. The primary objective has always been to protect the nation's sovereignty, ensure nationwide security, drive economic growth, expand regional influence, and foster global cooperation. From the era of Nehru to the present leadership of Modi, governance styles, political thoughts, and personal convictions have played a crucial role in shaping India's external policy decisions. The consistent adherence to democratic principles, policy coherence, and political stability in India has consistently facilitated the achievement of the country's goals in a constructive manner. Moreover, it has enabled the political leadership to garner consensus on critical issues and effectively address the countrywide issues (Tripathi, 2018).

4.3.4 Role of Parliament

The Indian Parliament has been instrumental in influencing India's external policy by engaging in legislative scrutiny, policy discussions, financial supervision, and crisis resolution. The Indian Constitution provides Parliament with formal authority over foreign policy as outlined in Articles 246 and 253, enabling it to legislate on international treaties and matters related to external affairs. Parliament has the capacity to engage in discussions concerning foreign policy, adopt resolutions, and examine government actions, as exemplified by the debate surrounding the 2008 Indo-US nuclear agreement.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs, along with Consultative Committees, evaluates policies, interrogates officials, and offers recommendations. Furthermore, Parliament plays a role in approving budgets for diplomatic missions and foreign aid, thereby indirectly shaping policy priorities. It has deliberated on and supported India's adherence to non-alignment policy during the cold war and the Panchsheel doctrine of peaceful coexistence (David M. Malone, 2015).

India's external policy framework was established well in advancement of its independence. The Indian National Congress had a dedicated external relations division that concentrated on matters concerning global politics and India's role within that sphere. An example of this was India's Arab policy. In 1938–1939, the Indian National Congress passed resolutions that openly backed the Arab population. One of these resolutions even urged the Jewish community not to rely on British mandated privileges and to avoid being manipulated by British imperialism. Nehru's programs received unwavering support in Parliament due to the substantial majority held by the Congress. Despite this, opposition parties, including socialists and communists, expressed strong criticism on various issues, such as the 1956 Hungarian uprising and Indo-Pakistan relations. Additionally, communalists raised concerns specifically regarding the Kashmir issue. A small number of Independents also voiced their dissent. Nevertheless, parliamentary endorsement was consistently secured, and apart from a few exceptional circumstances, non-Congress parties demonstrated a clear level of support. The Parliament played a significant role in framing India's external policy during specific events, including the Hungarian crisis in 1956, the annexation of Goa in 1961, the Bangladesh liberation war in

1971-72, and the Sri Lankan government's actions against the Tamil population in 1984-85 (Arora, 1993).

India's foreign policy has historically been shaped by executive, primarily influenced by the Prime Ministers and the Ministry of External Affairs. Jawaharlal Nehru, who held the positions of both Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, centralized the decision-making process. The Parliament generally acquiesced to his authority, although the pressures stemming from China's border incursions compelled him to present white papers for legislative review. Indira Gandhi's pragmatic approach to politics, particularly evident during the 1971 Bangladesh War, diminished the role of parliamentary involvement. However, fragmented mandates have undermined executive authority, permitting Parliament to exert limited influence, as demonstrated during the 2008 nuclear deal discussions, when opposition parties necessitated a trust vote (Kandula, 2019).

4.3.5 Role of Federal Units

The historical influence of federal units, specifically states and union territories, on India's foreign policy has been constrained by the centralized approach to policy formulation and implementation at the national level. Nevertheless, these federal units have exerted an indirect impact on India's external policy through their socio-economic influences, regional interests, and sub-national activities. Federal entities, particularly states with substantial economic input, trade concerns, and industrial capacities, have played a role in determining India's external policy through economic diplomacy, trade assignments, and investment campaigns. States such as Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Gujarat, known for their robust economies and worldwide ties, have

bolstered global trade dealings, attracted foreign investments, and forged economic alliances, thereby impacting India's strategies for global trade and investment regulations (David M. Malone, 2015).

Regional parties have historically refrained from taking stances on national policies, yet their influence at the state level added complexity to the legislative processes. The implications of regionalization on foreign policy can be observed through two specific cases. The first case pertains to India's political relationship with Sri Lanka, wherein the AIADMK and the DMK, two regional Tamil parties in Tamil Nadu, have intermittently utilized the Tamil ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka as a focal point during their campaigns. It is undeniable that this issue possesses the potential to significantly impact how Tamil politicians articulate their demands to the central government. Consequently, central governments that rely on these parties for national coalitions or are concerned about the electoral consequences of widespread protests in Tamil Nadu have been compelled to at least partially address their calls for a more assertive Indian approach (Shukla, 2007).

During the 1980s, Sri Lankan Tamil armed groups received backing and assistance from India, leading to an increase of their demands. Following the unsuccessful intervention of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, tensions eased. Nevertheless, with the eruption of the violent peak of the Sri Lankan civil war from 2006 to 2009, the Tamil predicament resurfaced as a significant political issue. The intricate approach taken by the Indian government, which involved a combination of expressing concerns about human rights violations and allowing Sri Lankan military actions to proceed without significant repercussions, was shaped by

various factors. The government in Colombo, led by the Rajapaksa administration, was hesitant to fully align itself with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. On the other hand, Indian policymakers felt the need to exhibit a certain degree of apprehension regarding the treatment of Tamil civilians and the broader political landscape. While this strategy did not earn India much public sympathy in Sri Lanka, it was sufficient to pacify Tamil politicians, many of whom harbored conflicting views on Tamil separatism, and the general public, enabling them to navigate through the crisis. In light of concerns about the influence of China and Pakistan, India has maintained its assistance to northern Sri Lanka and sustained its interest in the island's affairs since 2009. However, the significance of the Tamil predicament has waned over time (Times of India, 2013).

Negotiations between India and Bangladesh concerning the demarcation of their land and water boundaries have encountered substantial delays primarily attributed to the involvement of Mamata Banerjee in West Bengal. Banerjee, the current leader of the All-India Trinamool Congress following years of CPM rule, has been proactive in advocating for the interests of West Bengal. Despite the Trinamool Congress being a part of the ruling 'United Progressive Alliance' in 2011, Banerjee molded a significant setback for the federal government by opposing an agreement on water sharing from the Teesta River. At present, the agreement remains unsigned due to these circumstances. The finalization of the land borders between India and Bangladesh has been hindered by opposition from Trinamool, doubts from the BJP, and resistance from the regional Assam party Asom Gana Parishad. This clash of interests between West Bengal and the central government posed a complex challenge, particularly given the considerable influence of

the Trinamool Congress in the Lok Sabha and its potential role as a coalition partner(David M. Malone, 2015).

4.3.6 The Role of Individual Actors

The formulation of India's external policy was predominantly influenced by the actions of individual leaders, a trend that was also evident in many of India's notable accomplishments. As highlighted by K. Subrahmanyam (2007), the direction of Indian foreign policy has historically been guided by the vision of its leaders, with consensus being a rare occurrence. Beginning with Nehru, successive Prime Ministers have played a crucial role in translating their visions into tangible national policies. Landmark decisions such as the participation in the 1971 war, the economic liberalization in 1991, the nuclear tests in 1998, and the Indo-US civil nuclear agreement in 2005 were all championed by specific leaders at the helm. Prior to these pivotal moments, there was a notable absence of comprehensive strategies formulated by Indian academic institutions or think tanks. Besides the Prime Ministers, a specific set of people have wielded considerable impact on different facets of Indian foreign policy throughout history. K. Subrahmanyam, recognized as the leading figure in strategic studies, held the position of the second director of IDSA (Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses) for two consecutive terms. Although he penned numerous works on matters concerning foreign policy, defense tactics, and the development of warfare, his most remarkable achievement remains in the realm of nuclear strategy(Mukherjee, 2011).

Subrahmanyam played a pivotal role in sparking a nationwide conversation on India's nuclear strategy during a time when such discussions were deemed inappropriate. Since then, the IDSA has emerged as a leading force in shaping the country's nuclear

discourse (Raja, Mohan, 2009). Subrahmanyam was among the earliest influential intellectuals in India to challenge Nehru's non-alignment principles. He advocated for a foreign policy that prioritized national interests, especially in the aftermath of the Cold War, and demonstrated a newfound willingness to forge stronger ties with the United States. In recent years, small groups of experts and former practitioners have collaborated in formal advisory capacities or produced specific reports, effectively advising and influencing India's external policies. The National Security Advisory Board exemplifies this trend, providing a unique platform for experts to engage with influential policymakers. Conversely, the release of nonalignment policy 2.0 in 2012 stood out as a notable example of the latter. This comprehensive study, conducted by a panel, presented a wide array of solutions to address India's external policy challenges. Although many accomplished individuals were associated with the report, it did not explicitly attribute its origins to any specific think tank (David M. Malone, 2015).

During its inception, the nation's strategic thinking was shaped by three distinct models of world politics. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel advocated for the first model, which aligned with realist traditions and emphasized Kautilya's theory of power politics to protect national interests. Conversely, the second model, championed by Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo, and Rabindranath Tagore, adhered to idealistic principles. Jawaharlal Nehru introduced a novel approach by blending elements of realism and idealism, seeking to establish a well-rounded understanding of the government's foreign policy. Additionally, in 1947, India opted to maintain its existing government system and appointed Lord Mountbatten as Governor General of its dominion. India benefited from the rich legacy and extensive knowledge of the British government structure, with Nehru

exercising complete authority over the government's operations and bureaucracy (Horimoto, 2017).

Indian policy makers heavily rely on the philosophical ideas of Chanakya Kautilya when formulating their regional distant policy, particularly in relation to Pakistan. The intellectual wisdom of Kautilya's masterpiece, Arthashastra, continues to shape India's approach to external affairs. Arthashastra emphasizes two fundamental principles of external policy: the pursuit of increased material power through subjugation by any means, and the perception of an immediate neighbor as an adversary while considering a neighbor's neighbor as a friend. These principles have consistently influenced India's regional policy since its independence in 1947. The historical trajectory of bilateral relations between Pakistan and India, as well as India's strategic investments in neighboring countries such as Afghanistan and Iran, are clear manifestations of the enduring influence of Kautilya's principles. Moreover, New Delhi's substantial defense expenditures aimed at bolstering its military capabilities further underscore the impact of Kautilya's ideas. The intricate nature of India's relationships with each of its neighbors further complicates its regional policy. The diverse dynamics and varying interests among these neighboring nations necessitate a nuanced and multifaceted approach by Indian policy makers. As a result, India's regional policy is characterized by a delicate balance of power, diplomacy, and strategic maneuvering (Mahmood, 2020).

4.3.7 Economic Liberalization of 1991

The year 1991 witnessed a momentous change in India's external policy as a result of the economic liberalization. This move had far-reaching effects on various aspects of India's economic diplomacy, trade dealings, foreign investment plans, and worldwide

engagement plans. The reforms implemented in 1991 were aimed at opening the Indian economy, eliminating trade obstacles, enticing external investments, assimilating India into the international economy, and promoting economic development, modernization, and competitiveness. These measures were instrumental in transforming India's economic landscape and positioning it as a key player in the international arena (Shukla, 2007).

Foreign direct investment (FDI), technology transmissions, and worldwide partnerships in diverse sectors such as manufacturing, services, and infrastructure were engrossed by the course of economic liberalization. It has led to the establishment of tactical partnerships, bilateral ties, and business cooperation with influential nations, developing economies, and global monetary institutions. Moreover, economic liberalization bolstered India's participation in global governance, multilateral organizations, and worldwide forums like the World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Bank. It has eased the participation of the Indian diaspora, increased remittance influxes, and encouraged overseas Indian assistances towards India's economic progress and the development of its infrastructure projects (Horimoto, 2017).

Afore 1991, India's foreign policy was characterized by non-alignment and socialist ideals, emphasizing self-reliance and minimal interaction with capitalist nations. Following the liberalization of its economy, India embraced a strategy of multi-alignment, fostering relationships with the United States, Russia, China, and the European Union to enhance economic advantages. These economic reforms led to a significant increase in trade, positioning China as India's largest trading partner by the 2000s, even amid ongoing border disputes. The 2005 U.S.-India Civil Nuclear

Agreement further illustrated this transformation, facilitating technology transfers and energy collaboration, notwithstanding India's nuclear capabilities. India's 1991 bailout from the International Monetary Fund, amounting to \$1.8 billion, required the implementation of structural reforms such as lowering tariffs and privatization, thereby aligning its economic policies with Western models. In 1995, India became a member of the World Trade Organization, embracing liberal trade practices. Additionally, India joined BRICS in 2006 to promote the interests of the Global South, while also engaging in the Quad alliance with the United States, Japan, and Australia to provide a counterweight to China's influence in the Indo-Pacific region (Shukla, 2007).

CHAPTER-5

5. INDO-PAK FOREIGN POLICIES IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

5.1 India's Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era

The global political landscape has experienced significant transformations in recent years. The era of cold war politics, which exerted its dominance over international relations for a span of four decades, has reached its conclusion. Throughout this period, the fundamental principles shaping the international setting were deeply intertwined with the intense power struggle between the East and the West. However, with the momentous event of the Berlin Wall's demolition in November 1989 and the subsequent collapse of the U.S.S.R., the longstanding configuration of international powers abruptly ceased to exist.

The conclusion of the Cold War marked the beginning of a new era in India's external conduct. This era persisted until the tragic events of September 11, 2001, when the twin towers in New York fell, subsequently leading to significant shifts in both India's

external and internal dynamics. During this period, the Congress party lost its dominant position in the political landscape of the country, giving rise to numerous short-lived coalition governments at the national level. According to Jaffrelot, the year 1991 symbolized the dawn of a new century for India, even though it occurred a decade prior to the actual calendar change, similar to how 1914 is regarded as the starting point of the twentieth century for Europe. Jaffrelot asserts that in 1990, the Nehruvian principles, which were founded on four pillars: a state-driven economy, secularism, conservative democracy, and non-alignment, faced challenges and underwent thorough re-evaluation in various ways (Davis M. Malone, 2015).

Dixit also agrees with the aforementioned idea and asserts that the 1990s were a highly eventful decade. This period witnessed the dissolution of the Soviet Union, leading to a redistribution of global power dynamics, as well as significant economic and technological advancements. Expanding on his arguments, Dixit argues that India was not immune to these changes and experienced a period of political turmoil. At both regional and global levels, this era played a crucial role in shaping India's distinguished identity. India's relations with neighboring countries, such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bangladesh, remained intricate. However, the Indian leadership faced certain limitations in its dealings with China. To consolidate their authority in regional politics, the Indian leadership took the nuclear route in 1998. Shortly after Prime Minister Vajpayee's momentous Lahore Declaration during his visit to Pakistan, both nations engaged in an armed confrontation at Kargil, bringing them to the brink of a nuclear standoff. In the global arena, India had to adapt to the emerging unipolar world order, which it accomplished adeptly by forging an alliance with the United States while

maintaining diplomatic ties with the Republic of Russia. Likewise, India also established the groundwork for a new partnership with Israel (Mallick, 1999).

During this period, the influence of domestic factors on Indian external policy became evident. The electoral victories of the BJP in 1996, 1998, and 1999, as well as the shift in policy towards Israel, highlight the growing impact of domestic actors, particularly Hindu nationalists, on the country's foreign behavior. In the late 1990s, the Indian central government structure experienced a shift towards coalition politics. None of the five elections held between 1989 and 1999 resulted in a single party gaining enough seats to form a stable federal government. As the Indian National Congress (INC) and the Nehru family exited the political landscape, several non-Congress governments were formed. However, these governments were relatively short-lived and lacked strength (International Business Publications, 2011).

The decision-making structure has remained consistent since the Cold War, but two significant changes have been observed in Indian decision-making: first, a shift in power towards influencing strategic decisions; and second, new trends in the state's foreign policy moving away from Nehruvian consensus. Political scientists attribute these changes to three main factors: the absence of the INC and its leadership in Central Governments, the emergence of new actors, and shifts in the international order. India had previously distanced itself from international political and security developments based on its non-aligned and anti-imperialist policies. However, post-1991 systemic changes compelled India to move beyond its role as a protesting leader of the Third World, leading to the decision to cross the nuclear Rubicon in 1998. This marked a shift towards India becoming a more active participant in managing the international system

after fifty years of maintaining a different stance. It can be argued that this era demonstrates India's transition towards realism, departing from its previously proclaimed policy of idealism in foreign policy (Stanley A. Kochanek, 2008).

The aftermath of the Cold War brought about new trends in worldwide politics, and India was no exception in redefining its role in the changing global landscape. As the international world economy underwent transformation, globalization emerged while international competition intensified, leading to the rise of regionalism advocated by both developed and developing nations. Hoakip argues that following the disintegration of the USSR, India not only lost a significant economic partner and a reliable strategic ally, but also faced numerous domestic challenges such as social unrest, political instability, and poor economic performance. Indian leadership responded by prioritizing regional cooperation, starting with SAARC and later adopting the Look East policy. The Look East policy, initiated by the Narsimha Rao government in 1991, aimed to foster regional economic cooperation with India's Eastern neighbors (Mark Kesselman, 2015).

In the late 1990s, Prime Minister Gujral introduced a fresh perspective on Indian regional politics and its relationships with neighboring countries. This perspective, commonly referred to as the 'Gujral Doctrine', emphasized the importance of India fostering positive relationships with its neighbors by involving them in its success and promoting a peaceful environment. Despite facing criticism from opposition parties, bureaucracy, and the media, Gujral was able to translate his beliefs into policy through a small yet influential group known as the "Vanguard," as described by Mohan in the Foreign Office. This group has historically held sway over Indian security and foreign policy decisions. Mohan further argues that Gujral's successors, particularly Vajpayee

and Singh, followed a similar approach in their dealings with neighboring states, building upon the foundation of the Gujral Doctrine (Vengaiyah, 1994).

The Indian policy-making community was compelled to reassess the state's foreign policy towards new global actors such as the US, Israel, Republic of Russia, and the Central Asian Republics due to the systemic and domestic environment. According to the India's foreign policy and government guide published by International Business Publication, USA, pragmatic security, economic considerations, and domestic political influences had significant implications on New Delhi's foreign policy decision-making. These implications included strengthening India's reliance on the US and other developed countries, shifting away from its anti-Israel policy in the Middle East, and fostering relationships with the Central Asian republics and the emerging economies of East and South East Asia(Vengaiyah, 1994).

The international political landscape witnessed a significant shift in India's behavior post 9/11. The transformation in Indian foreign policy was prominently showcased following the tragic events at the Twin Towers in New York. By extending military support to the US in their fight against al-Qaida, India effectively abandoned its non-aligned stance. This period also saw India forging closer relations with the US, fostering connections with East and Southeast Asia, and strengthening economic partnerships with BRIC nations (Sharma A., 2016).

India has witnessed three Prime Ministers on its domestic landscape, two of whom hailed from the BJP, symbolizing a shift towards radicalism in both national and international spheres. The resounding triumph of Narendra Modi in the 2014 and 2019 elections underscores a troubling trend of the state's leadership relying on ethnic

affiliations to consolidate political power. Moreover, India has been grappling with various challenges, including the rise of Hindutva ideology and separatist movements like Maoist and Naxalite insurgencies. The BJP's landslide victories in the aforementioned elections have firmly positioned the central government at the helm of the country's domestic and international affairs. Narendra Modi's ascension to the role of Indian Prime Minister has also signaled the resurgence of federal government authority in decision-making processes, the transition from seasoned leadership to a relative newcomer, and the emergence of structural fundamentalism within India (Sharma A. , 2016).

During the current era, Indian foreign policy has displayed a growing preference towards the US, Israel, and the West. Gupta and Patel argue that following the nuclear tests in 1974, India faced international isolation and encountered numerous restrictions on nuclear advancements, whether for peaceful purposes or weapon development. Strengthening bilateral relations with Washington enabled New Delhi to break free from isolation, leading to improvements in economic health and the successful conclusion of the civilian nuclear deal. Israel has emerged as India's third largest provider of advanced defense equipment, with Modi becoming the second Prime Minister, after Vajpayee, to hold meetings with Jewish leaders and the first Indian Prime Minister to visit Israel in 2017. In the South Asian political arena, India has effectively managed relations with China and maintained peace along the northern border. Furthermore, India has pursued successful diplomacy with Japan, highlighted by visits from the Japanese Emperor in 2013 and Prime Minister Abe in 2014, marking the first such visits in the past 50 years. Additionally, Modi has expanded India's presence in the Middle East, forging new

relationships during visits to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in August 2015 and Saudi Arabia in April 2016 (Sharma A. , 2016).

The current era signifies the gradual disappearance of the secular facade of Indian society. Many scholars suggest that extremism has always been present in Indian society, although it was concealed under the guise of the state's supposed secularism for a significant period. With the BJP in power during the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, Hindu nationalists became more assertive in their efforts to promote a new Indian strategic culture rooted in Hinduism. Bajpai, referring to the followers of Hindutva as Hyperrealists, contends that, to them, India's secular image is merely a policy of appeasement towards minorities at the expense of the Hindu majority (Šumit Ganguly, 2022).

This research has identified four phases in Indian history in relation to emerging trends in the state's foreign policy. The first phase (1947-1964) regarded as "Individualism" covers the initial one and half decade of Nehru's period. The second phase (1964-1991) covers the post-Nehru period up to the end of the Cold War. The period is related as "Transitional Phase" away from individualism, though not from Nehru's legacy (Nehruvian consensus) as most of the era had been ruled by Nehru family and INC. The third phase (1991-2001) commenced with the end of the super powers rivalry of the Cold War and covers the period up to the drastic episode of the 9/11. India's foreign policy behavior can be accurately described as "Realism" in stark contrast to the idealistic principles of Nehruvian traditions. The fourth and current phase (2001 to present) was triggered by the events of September 11, 2001, with the fall of the twin towers in New York. This phase is now referred to as "Post-Realism" due to India's

unique approach to foreign policy. Throughout each phase, India has displayed different trends in its government structure, decision-making processes, and utilization of domestic factors to shape its international identity (Tripathi, 2018).

India's performance in both domestic and foreign policy following the initiation of its economic liberalization program and the conclusion of the cold-war has been less than perfect, yet not devoid of success. Despite ongoing disagreements regarding nuclear proliferation and ballistic missile development, India has managed to enhance its ties with the United States. On the other hand, India has significantly strengthened its relationship with China by addressing the longstanding border conflict, reaching agreements on various confidence and security-building measures, and promoting cross-border trade (Gujral, 1999: 3-10).

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The Indian governments have consistently upheld the non-alignment policy, despite doubts both domestically and internationally regarding its applicability in today's global landscape. This commitment reflects India's pragmatic approach to international relations, allowing the country to make decisions based on merit rather than external

pressures from major powers or blocs. By maintaining this stance, India is able to maintain a balanced relationship with major powers without showing favoritism towards any specific country. The Indian Government, led by P.V. Narasimha Rao, has chosen to uphold the "Nehruvian approach" in foreign policy and has reiterated the importance of the Non-Aligned Movement and its principles. Despite shifts in party politics regarding various foreign policy matters, the enduring consensus on India's commitment to non-alignment remained unwavering (Gupta B. S., 1997: 40-51).

India was unable to ignore the consequences of the collapse of the USSR as it lost a dependable, strategic, and long-standing ally on the global stage. Nevertheless, this situation presented new opportunities for India to forge new relationships both within Asia and beyond. Adapting to the changing circumstances, India had to adjust its foreign policy accordingly. India rose to the occasion by confronting the challenges head-on and overcoming them through practical decision-making. The late Prime Minister Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, known for his strategic acumen, implemented numerous pragmatic measures, some of which are now considered pivotal in Indian foreign policy. His introduction of new economic reforms aimed at revitalizing the economy and liberalizing it to address the severe balance of payment crisis with the International Monetary Fund. The economy was designed not just to seize the opportunities arising from globalization and liberalization, but also to address the challenges presented by the New World order. This led India to introduce its "Look East Policy" and strengthen ties with Southeast Asian nations. This forward-thinking move has not only benefited India economically, but has also strategically bolstered Indian interests. India and ASEAN have effectively worked together to counter China's expansionism (Saran, 2007: 10-39).

In the second phase, the scope of the 'Look East Policy' was expanded, resulting in mutual benefits for both parties. Despite some challenges with China, India's relationship with ASEAN and other East Asian countries has progressed positively. During the Post-Cold War era, India made efforts to enhance coordination with neighboring countries. The Gujral Doctrine was introduced to foster trust among these nations. A key aspect of the Gujral doctrine was India's willingness to not demand reciprocity. Gujral believed that maintaining friendly relations with neighboring countries was essential for India to become a global power. The five principles outlined in the doctrine, akin to the Panchsheel, aimed at ensuring regional peace and security (Kumar R. , 2019).

In the post-Cold War era, India's relations with the United States began to improve. However, due to its Hobbesian theory on India's nuclear policy, the relationship faced setbacks. The differences on the nuclear issue during the early years of the Clinton Administration had a negative impact on the relationship. The Kargil war, however, brought a positive change in the mindset of both countries towards each other. This led to a process of cordiality in their relations. Despite the continuity in nuclear policy during the Clinton Administration, a significant shift in the US mindset regarding India's nuclear policy occurred during the Bush Administration. The Bush administration adopted a more liberal point of view towards India on this matter. Additionally, two other factors contributed to this change. The first was India's emergence as a nuclear-armed country in 1998, and the second was the rapid growth of the Indian economy, which garnered serious attention from world powers. The second point to consider is that the tragic event of 9/11 completely altered the preconceived notions about India. In terms of strategy, India actively collaborated with the global efforts against terrorism after 9/11, and its

proactive stance on counterterrorism was widely praised, particularly by the United States. The third point is that the Bush administration viewed India as a major competitor in containing China's influence in the Asia-Pacific region. As a result, there was a remarkable and positive shift in the US nuclear policy towards India. Undoubtedly, the historic Indo-US nuclear deal presented a significant opportunity to foster greater warmth and stability in the relationship between the two largest democracies in the world. The signing of the civilian nuclear agreement between India and the USA in 2008 marked a pivotal moment in India's foreign policy (Jain B. , 2011).

In the context of India's ties with Russia, it is evident that their relationship was rooted in longstanding friendship during the Cold War. However, with the onset of the Post-Cold War era, the dynamics between the two nations underwent a transformation in response to changing global circumstances. The forces of globalization and the emergence of a new world order necessitated a recalibration of the agenda for bilateral relations between India and Russia. Both countries had to adapt and devise innovative strategies to address the evolving trends and safeguard their respective interests amidst external pressures. While Russia looked towards the West for technological and capital advancements, India's decision to embrace globalization following a balance of payment crisis in 1991 signaled a shift in approach. This shift in ideological framework served to protect their interests to some extent, but eventually, both nations recognized the importance of drawing closer to one another in the context of an increasingly interconnected world (Chanda, 2010: 1-48).

India and the EU have become key players in global politics in recent times. Their ties trace back to the establishment of the European community in the 1960s. The

principles of unity in diversity and pluralism have been instrumental in bringing them closer. India's economic reforms post-Cold War led to increased cooperation with the EU. India has always been an appealing destination for Europeans, with its spiritual and material riches. The EU has been drawn to India's advancements in information technology and vast market. Efforts have been made over time to strengthen this relationship. Despite a minor setback caused by India's nuclear tests, the issue was swiftly resolved (Mohan, 2004: 300-326).

Finally, it can be witnessed that P.V. Narsimha Rao made practical efforts to adapt to the evolving domestic and international circumstances in the Post-Cold War era. Similarly, after the events of 9/11, India adopted a principled approach to restore its relations with other nations. Taking into account various influential factors like economic progress, energy security, nuclear capabilities, democratic values, and soft power potential, India restructured its distant policy accordingly.

5.2 Pakistan's Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era

The end of the Cold War sparked a significant shift in the mindset and actions of states. This led to the emergence of new theories and in-depth discussions concerning the dynamics of international relations and the global issues of the 21st century. Various controversial ideas were deliberated upon during the 1990s. While Francis Fukuyama proposed that the new era symbolized 'The End of History', Samuel Huntington predicted an imminent 'Clash of Civilizations'. This contentious concept has since evolved into a UN endorsed 'Dialogue of Civilizations'. The Western world has been engaged in debates that have placed a significant focus on the potential of Muslims and the perceived threat of Islam. Some individuals in the West have even argued that with the decline of the 'red

threat', a new menace in the form of the 'green menace' has emerged. These discussions have had both direct and indirect implications for Pakistan, impacting its current position and challenges in the modern era. The global landscape had undergone a dramatic transformation, leaving Pakistan feeling disconnected and uncertain about its place in the world (Hussain, 2005).

Pakistan played a significant role in the Cold War and was instrumental in the final stages of the conflict in Afghanistan (1979-88). Even though the Soviet troops were defeated and the American CIA operational force was dismantled from Islamabad, Pakistan continued to face the consequences of that conflict in its various forms. Despite two decades since the Superpowers engaged in the 'Great Game' in Afghanistan, a substantial number of Afghan refugees still reside in Pakistan. This large population is heavily armed and poses a potential challenge to the authority of the host country. The border between Pakistan and Afghanistan has become virtually non-existent, existing only on paper. The proliferation of extensive deadly armaments in Pakistani society has given rise to the well-known 'Kalashnikov culture', bringing violence into the nation's internal politics to unprecedented heights. A more concerning development is the rise in sectarian violence and the ideological overflow of religious extremism within the country, extending its influence beyond Pakistan's borders. The emergence of numerous Madrassas and militant religious factions, along with their Jihadi factions, which are now regarded with strong disapproval by the global community, are indicative of this state of affairs (Haqqani, 2005).

In the early 1990s, the collapse of the Soviet Union marked the triumph of liberal capitalism over the rival political and economic ideology of Communism. This shift led

to a transformation in the global power structure from bipolarity to uni-polarity. Pakistan, a key ally of the capitalist bloc led by the US since its independence in 1947, was significantly impacted by these global changes. While Pakistan had held a prominent international position from 1979 to 1991 due to its involvement in the Afghan war against Soviet expansionism, the events of the 1990s brought about a fundamental shift. Pakistan found itself moving towards isolationism, facing sanctions related to its nuclear program. The once overlooked nuclear program of Pakistan came under strict scrutiny during this period. Furthermore, the collapse of the USSR exacerbated the erosion of Pakistan's international backing concerning Kashmir. Pakistan reaffirmed its backing for the Kashmiri freedom movement, citing moral and political reasons. The global community raised doubts about Pakistan's endorsement of Kashmir's struggle for independence on multiple fronts. Pakistan's decision to recognize the Taliban regime and conduct nuclear tests in May 1998 tarnished its reputation on the international stage. The USA added Pakistan to the list of countries sponsoring terrorism (Ahmad Ali, 2019).

Following the Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan's nuclear program fell under close scrutiny by Washington. In response, the United States implemented sanctions through the Pressler Amendment. This amendment was ratified by the U.S. Senate in 1985 but was not enforced until the 1990s, at a strategically opportune time (Jaffrelot, 2004). Pakistan's military and economic aid was contingent upon the cessation of its nuclear program. The U.S. withheld \$700 million in aid to Pakistan, which was originally earmarked for the years 1988 to 1994. Additionally, under this amendment, the U.S. halted the delivery of F-16 aircrafts for which Pakistan had already paid one billion dollars in cash. Consequently, these sanctions imposed on Pakistan resulted in significant

financial challenges, overshadowing the sacrifices made by Pakistan during the Afghan war (Farooq, 2016).

In May 1997, the Taliban regime was acknowledged by Pakistan, leading to widespread international condemnation. Several reasons contributed to Pakistan's recognition of the Taliban government. Firstly, both Pakistan and Afghanistan shared common ethnic ties, necessitating the facilitation of bilateral trade and travel. Secondly, Pakistan was compelled to engage in negotiations with the Taliban government regarding the repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan. Lastly, despite opposition from Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazara communities, Pakistan held hope for the Taliban regime due to their relatively positive sentiments towards Pakistan. Pakistan has been widely criticized by the international community for its alleged support of the Taliban government in Afghanistan. Both Uzbekistan and Iran have explicitly held Pakistan accountable for the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan. These countries have also provided assistance to opposition warlords by supplying them with cash, weapons, and ammunition, further exacerbating the ongoing civil war. Pakistan has made efforts to persuade other friendly Muslim nations to recognize the Taliban regime, resulting in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) acknowledging their rule. However, Pakistan's moral, political, and material support has angered Washington, which has accused Pakistan of backing the internationally wanted terrorist Osama Bin Laden, who sought refuge in Afghanistan under the Taliban government (Buyers, 2003).

In the post-cold war era, the United States made significant changes to its South Asia policy. Firstly, the focus shifted away from the Soviet Union as a concern, and instead, Washington adopted a regional perspective towards the Subcontinent. This led to

a different approach in dealing with Pakistan and India. Secondly, the US recognized that the threats originated from within the region itself, rather than from external sources. As a result, non-proliferation, free market economy, democracy, and human rights became the fundamental pillars of the US policy towards South Asia. The collapse of the Soviet Union had a profound impact on India's foreign policy and defense strategy, as it no longer had the option to rely on the Soviet Union as a counterweight against the United States (Cohen, 2001). In the post-Cold War era, the United States no longer harbored suspicions towards India's attitude. Following the Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan's strategic importance in the eyes of the USA had significantly diminished. With India emerging as the dominant state in the subcontinent, the US viewed it as a crucial ally in maintaining regional stability and peace. India's economy underwent a transformation from a central planning system to a market-oriented one, thanks to Narsimha Rao's reforms. The US recognized India as a vast potential market for goods and technology. Being the largest and enduring democracy in South Asia, India's close affinity with the USA was stronger than that of Pakistan (Bajpal, 1995).

The shift of US policy towards India commenced in the late 1990s when New Delhi and Washington transitioned from being seen as "estranged democracies" during the Cold War to becoming "engaged democracies" in the post-Cold War era (Khan, 2007). This US predisposition can be professed in the subsequent arguments:

1. The United States has established an institutionalized and extensive partnership with India, encompassing various areas such as political deliberations, economic connections, and military interactions.

2. The United States exerted pressure on Pakistan concerning its Kashmir policy, urging adherence to the line of control (LOC) and endorsing dialogue between Pakistan and India to peacefully address the issue, ultimately favoring India.

3. The United States in South Asia has acknowledged India's prominent position and broader role. India at that time emerged as the primary beneficiary of US food and development assistance in South Asia. In the fiscal year 2000, the aid provided to India amounted to \$170 million, as reported by Guihong in 2003. This figure made India the second-highest recipient in Asia, following Indonesia, and was significantly higher than the aid received by Pakistan, which stood at a mere \$3.78 million.

Pakistan, a former ally of the United States, was a significant recipient of Washington's assistance. However, the amount of aid provided was relatively small, with only \$600 million per year in the 1980s (Hilali, 2017). Prior to September 2001, Pakistan mainly received assistance in the form of food and counter narcotics aid, totaling \$5.4 million in FY 2001, due to the sanctions imposed on the country (Hilali, 2017). The United States imposed sanctions on Pakistan three times: first in 1990 when the Pressler's amendment took effect, second in 1998 when Pakistan conducted nuclear tests, and third in 1999 in response to the military coup led by Musharraf. Despite the United States' inclination towards India and the policy of "India First," it did not mean excluding Pakistan entirely. President Clinton's decision to spend five hours in Pakistan during his South Asia visit demonstrated that Pakistan still held importance for US, particularly in addressing the insurgency in Afghanistan and tackling the Kashmir issue (Dixit, 2001).

During a critical period when the Kashmir cause was being closely examined and monitored, Pakistan embarked on a misguided endeavor in Northern Kashmir at Kargil. In the winter of 1998, it executed a covert operation, scaling the freezing heights along the line of control with utmost secrecy (Surana, 2017). As a result of the harsh cold weather, the Indian army would often withdraw from such high altitudes due to the challenging conditions. During this particular operation, Pakistan and India were engaged in strategic negotiations to enhance their bilateral relations. It was during this time that Vajpayee made a significant visit to Lahore, crossing the Wagha border by bus. This visit was widely praised and greeted with optimism, as it symbolized a potential improvement in relations between the two nations (Jain, 2010). The launch of the Kargil operation was shrouded in secrecy, even from higher civilian authorities. This was due to the starkly contrasting opinions of General Musharraf and Nawaz Sharif concerning the takeover, which ultimately placed the country in an unsettling and peculiar situation. Although the dispute revolved around the Kashmir territory, it significantly wedged Pakistan's Kashmir policy (Wirsing, 2003).

Pakistan's foreign policy has been severely constrained by a multitude of challenges since its independence. These challenges encompassed the implementation and execution of the policy, its effectiveness, and the internal political consequences it entails. One of the primary obstacles was the significant involvement of the military and intelligence agencies in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy. This involvement has primarily been attributed to the absence of strong political leadership, the failure of democracy, the perception of a threat from India, an economy reliant on external support, and the country's relationship with the United States. These factors have hindered Pakistan's

ability to successfully accomplish its foreign policy objectives, leaving it confronted with formidable challenges that persist to this day (Wolpert, 1984).

Pakistan faced significant foreign policy challenges in the post-cold war era due to various factors. The military establishment played a dominant role in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy during and after the cold war. They were instrumental in key events such as the Afghan war, Kashmir freedom struggle, and nuclear tests. To effectively address the challenges faced by Pakistan such as militancy, Talibanization, and economic downfall, it must focus on improving its economic status, reducing unnecessary involvement in Afghanistan, and reforming its political system. Instead of engaging in an arms race, Pakistan ought to prioritize economic competition with India. The rise of India and China as major economic powers in the region has significant implications for Pakistan's policy decisions. In today's globalized world, economic interests often take precedence over other considerations (Ahmad Ali, 2019).

Pakistan's foreign policy has traditionally been characterized by a conservative approach, both in theory and in practice. The country's leaders have overlooked the importance of non-military aspects of national security. This can be attributed to the fact that unelected institutions have historically held sway over Pakistan's foreign policy decisions. Both the military and civilian bureaucracy have tended to adopt a conservative stance, neglecting liberal concepts such as free trade advocated by liberal internationalism. As a result, Pakistan's foreign policy has failed to achieve benefits, well-being and progress of the majority of its citizens (Wolpert, 1984).

After the events of 9/11, Pakistan faced a precarious situation when former President George W. Bush stated that every nation must choose sides - either with the United States or with the terrorists. Given its strategic location bordering the Indian Ocean and Afghanistan, Pakistan became a key player in America's efforts. Wendy Chamberlain, the US Ambassador to Islamabad, was tasked with negotiating with President Pervez Musharraf. The US made its demands clear: intelligence cooperation, access to Pakistan's airspace, and logistical assistance.

On September 16, 2001, Pakistan declared its participation in the global coalition against terrorism. Subsequent to Musharraf's announcement, the United States removed the economic and military sanctions that were enforced under the Pressler, Glenn, and Symington Amendments, as well as Section 508 of the Foreign Assistance Act. President Bush waived all these sanctions under the Brownback II authority, prompting Pakistan to offer assistance for Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). Pakistan consented to granting unrestricted flyover and landing rights, entry to naval and air bases, and essential petrol provisions (Jamal Shah, 2013: 97-108).

The events that took place on September 11, 2001, had a significant impact on Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan's strategic location, bordering Afghanistan, and its longstanding pro-Afghanistan policy, particularly during the period of 1996-2001 when it supported the Taliban, forced the country to reassess its position. Faced with the potential political, economic, and military repercussions that posed a threat to its national security, Pakistan found itself in an unexpected role of providing various forms of support to the United States in its intervention in Afghanistan. This shift in foreign policy was shocking

but inevitable, as it was a result of Pakistan's commitment to the United States. Non-cooperation with the US at that critical moment would have given India an unprecedented opportunity to exploit Pakistan's vulnerability and undermine its security interests, particularly in relation to the ongoing issue of Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, Pakistan was left with a difficult choice between two unfavorable options (Burke, 1990).

Numerous extremist groups rallying under the banner of Jihad protested against the policy on the streets. With mainstream political parties failing to promote liberal and democratic values, Islamist organizations began to exert influence as parallel states. The Kashmir conflict was overshadowed by the focus on the war against terror in the region. Washington prioritized utilizing Pakistan's strategic location for its objectives in Afghanistan, showing minimal concern for the Kashmir issue and avoiding putting excessive pressure on India (Qazi, 2001).

Pakistan bore the brunt of the US-led War on Terror, incurring significant costs across various domains such as strategic, political, economic, and social. The country faced a heavy toll strategically, particularly in the aftermath of 9/11, as the US stance towards the Taliban regime and its counterterrorism efforts posed challenges to Pakistan's pro-Taliban stance. This led to a critical foreign policy dilemma for Pakistan, prompting a reassessment of its Afghan policy. Despite this, Pakistan extended support to the US-led anti-Taliban military operations in Afghanistan, under the condition that the Northern Alliance would not exploit the situation tactically and refrain from seizing control of Kabul. Nevertheless, the downfall of the pro-Pakistan Taliban regime in Kabul and the subsequent rise of the anti-Pakistan Northern Alliance administration not only left

Pakistan disheartened but also inflicted a significant blow to its strategic interests. The strained and uncertain ties between Islamabad and the Washington-backed Kabul government were evident. Pakistan not only forfeited the hard-earned strategic advantage gained through the establishment of a pro-Pakistan Taliban government in Afghanistan but also failed to achieve its goal of accessing the abundant energy and mineral resources of the Central Asian Republics. Moreover, its western border became vulnerable and insecure (Aziz, 2009).

The escalation of US pressure forced Pakistan to mobilize its regular forces to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and initiate comprehensive operations against the militants. This led to the formation of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), which posed a significant threat to Pakistan's own security and gave rise to terrorism within its borders. The close relationship between India and the Kabul government, along with India's expanded role in Afghanistan and its provision of logistical and intelligence support to terrorism and insurgency in Pakistan, had severe repercussions for Pakistan both internally and regionally. Additionally, the collaboration between India and Iran, as well as the potential establishment of an alternative transit route through Iran and Afghanistan to the Central Asian Republics, diminished Pakistan's significance in the Afghan conflict and impacted its regional standing. These developments further exacerbated Pakistan's concerns. Furthermore, the deepening strategic ties between India and the United States, coupled with their growing alignment on the Afghan front, raised significant apprehensions for Pakistan. India's increasing influence in Afghanistan was a direct consequence of US involvement in Kabul, which directly threatened Pakistan's security interests in the region (Nousheen Jamshed, 2021).

Pakistan faced political repercussions due to allegations from the US, Afghan government, and the Western media concerning its support for the Afghan Taliban. These accusations led to demands for Pakistan to take further action, resulting in a negative global perception and tarnishing its international reputation. Economically, Pakistan suffered as foreign direct investment decreased amidst security concerns. Reliance on foreign aid instead of domestic financial resources deepened, leading to a rise in debt and debt-servicing obligations. The cost of the anti-terrorism war amounted to US \$118.32 billion, far exceeding the US \$25.91 billion received in military and economic aid since September 11, 2001 (The Nation, 2017).

The cooperation between Pakistan and the US in anti-terrorism efforts had a severe impact on Pakistani society. The country witnessed a significant loss of its young, talented individuals due to war. The rise in the availability of Kalashnikovs, illegal drugs, and violence further worsened the situation. Sectarian violence escalated, the refugee crisis worsened, terrorist attacks increased, civil society was confronted, law and order deteriorated, and the previously unjust social structure was reinforced. Consequently, foreign interference in Pakistan's internal affairs, particularly in FATA and Baluchistan, became more pronounced. Suicide attacks, bomb blasts, killings of civilians, security personnel, and political figures, destruction of public and private property, along with a general decline in law and order, especially in FATA and Baluchistan, became a daily occurrence. The clashes between security forces and terrorists intensified, leading to a multitude of other issues. Therefore, thru the post-9/11 period, Pakistan's partnership with the United States in countering terrorism, the progress made in Afghanistan and the surrounding region, as well as the incidences of terrorism within Pakistan led to

significant strategic, political, economic, and social burdens that Pakistan had to bear. Amongst all the nations involved in this war on terror led by the United States, Pakistan endured the greatest hardships, both at the state and societal levels (Hiader, 2012).

States facing internal challenges are less likely to succeed on the international stage. This was exemplified by the former Soviet Union, which crumbled due to internal fragility in both political and economic spheres despite its superpower status. Similarly, Pakistan is presently grappling with similar issues such as a weak democratic system, ineffective state institutions, along with frequent military interventions in politics, rampant corruption, socio-economic disparities, and an absence of rule of law. These internal challenges have significantly impacted Pakistan's external image and its standing in the global community. It is impossible for a state to conduct its foreign policy in isolation. This policy is influenced by the political framework of the state and mirrors the unpretentious national goals shaped by the desires of the people within the international structure. Although a nation may advance its interests in a calm and secure setting, the true measure of any external policy is its ability to withstand the ongoing challenges and various conflict situations. Even in times of turmoil, a country's external policy is anticipated to minimize potential harm to the nation's declared interests (Ahmad I. , 2013).

CHAPTER-6

6. ASSESSMENT OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST 2014 ERA

India has positioned itself as a crucial player in the global geopolitical arena, utilizing its strategic location, robust economic development, and active engagement in multilateral institutions. Since 2014, India has adopted a more autonomous foreign policy, skillfully managing its relationships with both Western powers and Russia while enhancing its influence in the Indo-Pacific region. Under the leadership of the BJP government, India has pursued a notably more assertive foreign policy, particularly concerning its regional security issues. Furthermore, India has increasingly focused on addressing international criticisms of its government, deploying its intelligence agency, RAW, in operations that extend deep into neighboring nations and beyond. India adopted a more assertive and proactive strategy, focusing on key advocates for Kashmiri and Sikh rights within Pakistan's territory through the operations of Indian intelligence agencies (Ali, 2024).

India's broad network of relations with countries across the South Pacific, Southeast Asia, South Asia, various regions of Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, and Latin America underscores its role as an ambitious and influential actor on the world stage. As a leading member of the United Nations, a regular participant of G7 summits, a founding member in BRICS, and a crucial member of the G20, now holding the presidency, India has established itself as a pivotal player in the global arena. By enhancing its national power capabilities, such as by maintaining robust economic growth rates to attract others, supporting domestic progress, and consequently enhancing its influence in the global

governance, India continues to solidify its position on the world stage. India's economic expansion is closely tied to the enhancement of its trade and energy security networks. This growth is further supported by the continuous development of advanced military capabilities and increased security cooperation with other nations through various agreements and joint exercises. Additionally, India's assertive leadership, coupled with its expanding diplomatic presence, contributes to its overall global standing (Ogden, 2018).

According to ex-Prime Minister Imran Khan (2022), India is simultaneously part of the Quad and BRICS alliances, without any impediments in its way. India is currently importing oil from Russia, despite the country is facing sanctions. Regardless of all this, India maintains a stance of neutrality. This decision is rooted in India's external policy, which prioritizes the well-being of its citizens. India has strategically directed its foreign policy efforts towards enhancing its reputation and brand value on the global stage.

A notable distinction in the foreign policies of India and Pakistan in the contemporary context is India's remarkable adaptability in comprehending and reacting to the disruptions within the unipolar world order. India's approach, while seemingly complex, is characterized by a high degree of sophistication in its operational execution. The nation has successfully persuaded the United States to delegate its hegemonic ambitions in South Asia to India, in exchange for India's ambiguous endorsement of U.S. strategies aimed at containing China. This delegation of influence by the U.S. to India has, in turn, intensified the pressure exerted on Pakistan. Consequently, India's response to the shifts in the global order is both coherent and sophisticated, in stark contrast to Pakistan, which has struggled to realign its foreign policy priorities in light of these transformative changes. The lack of clarity regarding the nature of the evolving world

order and the resultant disjointed responses have led to a crisis-like situation in Pakistan's foreign policy, adversely affecting its relationships with various significant neighboring countries (Nadeem, 2018).

India has accused Pakistan of being the main hub of terrorism and extremism. It has tried to establish a direct link between Pakistan and global terrorism through effective propaganda and diplomatic strategies. The recent joint session of the US Congress further alarmed Pakistan, as India revealed its collaboration with the US in designating some groups as terrorist organizations at the United Nations. This implied that India would receive full support from the United States in listing any militant organization as a global terrorist group. This development was unfavorable for Pakistan, as India's intention has always been to isolate Pakistan on the global stage (Zainab Murtaza, 2023).

India, through its media and intelligence agency RAW, in collaboration with anti-Pakistan elements, is actively involved in a persistent propaganda campaign aimed at defaming Pakistan. It is imperative to counter these efforts by shaping narratives that showcases Pakistan's strengths while shedding light on India's own vulnerabilities, particularly its involvement in a state-sponsored terrorism within its own territories. The recent setbacks in the quadrilateral process for Afghan reconciliation that led to strained relations with Washington, cancellation of the SAARC summit, along with lost opportunities for improved ties with Tehran and Southeast Asian states, all point towards Pakistan's growing isolation across the globe due to its divided foreign office and ineffective diplomacy (Muhammad Nawaz Bhatti, 2019: 703-712).

The propaganda movements and initiatives such as EU DisinfoLab utilized by India against Pakistan have significant implications for the global perception of Pakistan.

Pakistan has been depicted as a failing state, intolerant towards religious diversity, a sanctuary for terrorists, suppressive towards minority groups, and the most perilous state concerning the safety of its nuclear weapons. Despite Pakistan's extensive sacrifices in the war against terrorism, it has not been duly acknowledged and is persistently urged to do more. It is evident that a deliberate campaign of misinformation has been launched to sow seeds of doubt about Pakistan, as witnessed in the report that was published in 2019, where the EU DisinfoLab revealed a massive operation targeting Pakistan and worldwide institutions, strategically orchestrated by India's state elements to serve the Indian interests. Indian social media platforms have consistently disseminated inflated news, inaccurate data, and false narratives about Pakistan, consequently tarnishing the country's reputation on the worldwide level (Shah, 2021).

Pakistan is presently facing significant obstacles in garnering global support for the Kashmiri people's right to self-determination. India's agenda involves tarnishing Pakistan's reputation by labeling it as a terrorist state that promotes terrorism in the Indian-administered region of Kashmir. In order to control the narrative, India has resorted to cutting off resources and Internet connections, particularly when international media fails to align with their perspective. Additionally, they have deployed both the military and civilian population in occupied Kashmir to increase the Hindu population after the revocation of Article 370 and 35A. The voices of Kashmiri Muslims have been suppressed, ensuring that they are unable to speak out against the Indian government at any national or international platform. These actions have been carried out through a strict surveillance strategy (Zainab, 2019).

India is actively engaged in exerting strong influence to exploit Pakistan's diplomatic efforts and undermine its positive contributions on a global scale. Furthermore, India is formulating a comprehensive strategy to isolate Pakistan from international trade, diplomatic relations and technological advancements (Ahmad, 2021). The dissemination of propaganda has a significant impact on the people of Pakistan, fueling hostility towards their own institutions. Despite these efforts, India has resorted to creating fake accounts to tarnish Pakistan's reputation, achieving some degree of success. Numerous propaganda tactics have been devised over the past two decades to tarnish Pakistan's image both domestically and internationally. Any isolated incident that may cast Pakistan in a negative light quickly becomes headline news in regional and global media outlets(Zainab Murtaza, 2023:699-707).

6.1 FATF Restrictions and Indian Involvement

India has actively sought to advocate for Pakistan's inclusion on the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) 'grey list' and has supported efforts to classify Pakistan as a high-risk state due to concerns over its alleged support for terror financing and money laundering activities. The FATF serves as an international organization dedicated to combating money laundering, terror financing, and other threats to the global financial system. India has engaged in numerous multilateral deliberations, regional collaborations, and international platforms to forge agreements, secure support, and synchronize efforts with FATF member states to effectively pursue its goals, particularly in relation to Pakistan (Zaka, 2019).

The FATF meeting outcomes clearly indicated Pakistan's diplomatic isolation. Despite having strong ties with China and Saudi Arabia, both countries did not object to

Pakistan being placed on the Grey List. China is a major investor in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), while a former Pakistani General (COAS) leads the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition (IMCTC) in Saudi Arabia. However, these close connections were not enough to sway them into supporting Pakistan's uncertain financial practices. India, with the support of the United States, alleged Pakistan of providing financial aid and assistance to Lashkar-e-Taiba, a banned radical organization, which has been accountable for carrying out attacks in India. Pakistan, however, denied the allegations. Additionally, the US accused Pakistan of funding and support to the Taliban insurgents in Afghanistan. However, both the US and India have utilized these allegations as a pretext to exert pressure on FATF to take in Pakistan on the Grey List (Aamir, 2018).

The statement by Indian External Affairs Minister Jaishankar clearly demonstrated the proactive role of the Modi administration in ensuring that Pakistan remains on the grey list of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). In a recent address concerning foreign policy matters, the Indian Foreign Minister documented that the Modi government's initiatives were instrumental in ensuring Pakistan's continued existence on the FATF grey list. Since Pakistan was placed on this list in early 2018, the two nations have pursued divergent goals. From India's perspective, Pakistan has been persistently engaged in cross-border terrorism affecting Indian territory, warranting its elevation to the blacklist. In contrast, Pakistan constantly asserted that it has been taking adequate steps to comply with FATF standards (Shah, 2021: 136-141).

India's FATF-focused strategy illustrated a comprehensive initiative to economically and diplomatically isolate Pakistan while simultaneously addressing issues related to terrorism. Pakistan was initially placed on the grey list in 2008, followed by

subsequent listings in 2012 and 2018, before being removed in 2022 after enacting various reforms mandated by the FATF. The FATF has consistently expressed concerns concerning Pakistan's significant shortcomings in its efforts to combat money laundering and terrorfinancing. However, the nation's weak response to the global community's concerns has led to several restrictions. This situation has arisen as a result of the ineffective policies of the successive governments, civil-military divide on the issue, weak prosecution, inadequate enforcement by the executive branch, and judicial decisions that have favored individuals designated as global terrorists. Consequently, Pakistan has been branded as a 'sympathizer of terrorists.' Predominantly, internationally recognized extremists such as Hafiz Saeed and Masood Azhar have long evaded justice, only to be detained or imprisoned shortly before FATF meetings. They have consistently secured bail from the courts on charges of murder and terrorism, despite their inclusion on the global terrorist list (Bukhari, 2021).

6.2 India Impairing CPEC (China Pakistan Economic Corridor)

India has constantly voiced its reservations and apprehensions concerning the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) owing to its alignment with China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and its route through Pakistan administered Kashmir, which India regards as an inseparable part of its territory. The demurrals raised by India against CPEC predominantly stem from territorial disputes, strategic influences, and other regional geopolitical dynamics.

The European Union DisinfoLab has exposed India's attempt to create false impressions about Pakistan on the global stage through an information campaign. The primary objective of this Indian operation was to undermine the China Pakistan

Economic Corridor (CPEC) both domestically and internationally. CPEC involves a significant investment of \$62 billion in various sectors of Pakistan's infrastructure and energy, including tourism, agriculture, Gwadar port, energy, and economic zones. The completion of the first phase of CPEC has already taken place and the second phase is underway. While China and Pakistan have always enjoyed strong strategic and diplomatic ties, CPEC has further strengthened their relationship by fostering a purely economic partnership. This project will connect Gwadar in Balochistan to Kashgar in China, providing China with an alternative route to access oil and energy resources (Ahmar, 2023).

Numerous countries, opposed to this particular project, are actively attempting to disrupt the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Notably, India is heavily engaged in creating a significant crisis of perception surrounding CPEC through various campaigns. India utilizes online platforms, such as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and weblinks, to disseminate false perceptions and anti-state content on a large scale. In December 2020, the European DisinfoLab uncovered India's efforts to destabilize Pakistan by spreading fabricated information. It has come to light that India has employed duplicated global think tanks, quasi local media outlets, emulated global supranational organizations affiliated with UN human rights, and websites to propagate a discourse and narrative against Pakistan (Mudassar Hussain Shah, 2022: 38-49).

India maintains its official position by asserting that the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor infringes upon its territorial integrity. According to Micheal Kugleman, the Director of the South Asia Institute at the Wilson Center, India's strong opposition to CPEC is expected to escalate tensions between India and Pakistan. Additionally, US

Defense Secretary James Mattis made an unprecedented declaration in support of India's claim that the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor traverses a disputed area. As a result of this statement, there has been a surge in propaganda aimed at discrediting CPEC (Haider, 2019).

Additionally, India's opposition to CPEC is intricately linked to its vested stake in the Chabahar port situated in Iran, which holds immense significance for various compelling reasons. India has made substantial investments in the expansion and advancement of this deep sea port. The port is anticipated to bolster connectivity to Afghanistan and act as the gateway to the International North-South Transport Corridor. Additionally, it serves as a counterweight to China's escalating presence in the region, particularly its investments in Pakistan's Gwadar port, which is in close proximity to Chabahar. Not only does it support India's economic interests, but it also plays a pivotal role in fulfilling its broader foreign policy objectives in the region. India has collaborated with Russia, Iran, and countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia to establish the multi-model International North-South Corridor. Furthermore, it has partnered with Tokyo for the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor, with Canberra for the Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative, and most recently, with Tokyo, London, and other European capitals to initiate the Trilateral Development Corporation Fund (Aleem, 2023).

During the G20 summit held in New Delhi in September 2023, prominent leaders from countries like France, Germany, Saudi Arabia, Italy, UAE, US and the European Commission announced the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) project. This ambitious trade and investment initiative consists of an eastern corridor that connects India to the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Israel, and a northern corridor that

links these Middle Eastern states to Europe. IMEC aims to enhance connectivity and economic integration between Asia and Europe through the development of energy infrastructure, railways, high-speed cables, and shipping lanes, complementing the existing road and maritime transport routes. The participating countries in IMEC represent 40 percent of the world's population and approximately 50 percent of the global economy. By leveraging the seaports, roads, and logistics hubs of the UAE and Saudi Arabia, this corridor will further solidify the significance of these Gulf Arab states as crucial junctions in global trade networks (Lodhi M. , 2023).

The Biden administration's endorsement of IMEC primarily arises from its endeavors to reassure Middle Eastern allies and partners of the United States' dedication to the region, while also providing an alternative to China's Belt and Road Initiative. The concept of technologically advanced nations, including the United States, collaborating to effectively counter the BRI through alternative routes and transregional mini-lateral frameworks is not a novel one. In 2021, the formation of the I2U2 Group took place, consisting of the US, Israel, the UAE, and India. The objective of this group has been to bolster cooperation across various sectors such as energy, water, food security, transportation, health, and space, with the involvement of private sector investments. IMEC aims to expand upon the I2U2 Group and strive towards a significantly more ambitious array of goals. European Commission President Ursula Von der Leyen praised the rail-to-ship transit system as "an environmentally friendly and technologically advanced connection between continents and cultures" (Cafiero, 2023).

India has consistently expressed its opposition to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), primarily due to the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) passing through

land that India considers its sovereign territory. As a result, India views the India-Middle East-Europe Corridor (IMEC) as an opportunity to establish stronger economic influence over China and Pakistan by participating in a natural alternative to the BRI. Historically, Pakistan has effectively controlled the overland connectivity between India and the Western regions. However, according to an Indian foreign policy analyst, the IMEC will eliminate this Pakistani control, enabling greater economic integration between India and Europe through the Middle East, without the need to engage with Islamabad while the territorial disputes between India and Pakistan remain unresolved (Cafiero, 2023).

6.3 India's Constitutional Changes in Kashmir

India and Pakistan, with a combined population of over a billion people, represent a significant portion of the global population. Their history is marked by a deep-rooted mistrust, originating from the partition of British ruled India in 1947. This division led to the creation of two separate nations: Pakistan, with a Muslim majority, and India, with a Hindu majority. Pakistan's identity was shaped by its dominant religion, Islam, while India embraced secular nationalism and pluralism as the foundation for its state-building. Both countries accuse each other of undermining their existence and interests. Additionally, they are embroiled in a custody battle over the beautiful region of Kashmir, located in the Himalayas and shared by both India and Pakistan (Šumit Ganguly, 2022).

The Muslim majority in Kashmir is in contrast with its Hindu ruler's decision to join India during independence. Pakistan disapprove this decision and is willing to use all peaceful means to reverse it, advocating for the implementation of United Nations resolutions that call for a plebiscite to determine the desires of the Kashmiri people. Pakistan believes that the plebiscite will favor its cause, based on the partition logic that

led to the creation of Pakistan in 1947, encompassing all contiguous Muslim-majority provinces and princely states under British rule. India, on the other hand, asserts that Kashmir's accession is a settled matter, unaffected by outdated UN resolutions, and is crucial for a secular India to include a state with a Muslim majority. For Pakistan, relinquishing Kashmir would mean rejecting the ideological foundation of partition (Haqqani H. , 2023).

Over the past seventy years since its accession, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir has remained complex, with the United Nations Security Council failing to enforce its resolutions. India unilaterally granted special status to Jammu and Kashmir by incorporating Article 370, a "temporary" provision in the Indian Constitution. On 5th August 2019, India abrogated Article 370, arguing that it was necessary to boost development in Jammu and Kashmir to bring it in line with other states. Similarly, Article 35A of the Indian Constitution, which determined the "permanent residents" of the state for employment, educational, land ownership, and property rights, was also diluted to facilitate mobility, development, and investment in the region, as it restricted these rights to residents from other states. Furthermore, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was reorganized into two separate Union Territories i.e. Jammu and Ladakh (Zeeshan, 2022).

Pakistan called upon for an urgent meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to discuss and address the burning Kashmir issue. However, Saudi Arabia declined this request. Despite its status as a founding member, Pakistan has not garnered substantial backing from the organization. With Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) having a trade of 121.34 billion USD with India compared to 19 billion USD with Pakistan, the balance favored India. The UAE and Bahrain even

honored PM Modi with their highest civilian awards within three weeks of the revocation of Article 370. Apart from Malaysia and Turkey, no other country supported Pakistan. Even during the recent OIC Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in Niamey, Niger, in November 2020, Pakistan failed to gather support to include the Kashmir issue on the agenda. This suggests that OIC countries have shifted their focus away from the Kashmir issue, finding comfort in the growing Indian economy (Ahlawat, 2021).

Pakistan also demanded mediation from its longstanding ally, the United States. Initially, President Donald Trump expressed his willingness to mediate. However, considering India's concerns and aiming to strengthen bilateral relations with India, Trump added a condition that both parties should invite him for mediation. This condition was set while being aware of India's consistent stance on resolving the Kashmir issue bilaterally since 1972. Pakistan played a crucial role in facilitating the signing of the US-Taliban peace deal in February 2020, with the expectation that the United States would also mediate on the Kashmir issue. However, during his visit to India in February 2020, Trump did not mention the revocation of Article 370 and instead urged Pakistan to ensure that no territory under its control is used for launching terrorist attacks particularly against India (N.K. Lodhi, Personal Communication, Jan. 11, 2022).

China pushed for the discussion concerning revocation of Article 370 and 35A at the informal UNSC closed-door meeting, however due to global pressure, no official statement was released. Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi took a more reconciliatory stance, emphasizing that the Kashmir matter should be addressed in accordance with UNSC resolutions and agreements between Pakistan and India. It is evident that, given

the regional geopolitical situation, China could not ignore India, and its backing of Pakistan would depend on deterring India's ascent as a major power (Ahlawat, 2021).

6.4 India and the Middle East

India's influence in the Middle East encompasses various aspects, including interpersonal relationships and investments in sectors such as healthcare, education, energy, security, media, and the film industry. India's interactions with the Middle Eastern and GCC nations, such as Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Iran and Israel, demonstrate its commitment to enhancing economic relations, energy cooperation, investment prospects, and strategic partnerships amidst the intricate landscape of regional geopolitics, sectarian tensions, and external policy configurations. Through diplomatic initiatives, top-level exchanges, and direct talks, India seeks to cultivate mutual comprehension, establish confidence, and encourage collaboration on common concerns, regional affairs, and global obstacles (Bajpai, 2017).

In the fiscal year 2021-22, India experienced a remarkable economic growth rate of 7.2 percent, which was a significant achievement. This growth has been accompanied by a surge in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflows, reaching an all-time high of \$85 billion. The manufacturing sector, in particular, witnessed a substantial increase of 76 percent in FDI investment, amounting to \$21 billion annually. This surge in investment indicated a rapid industrialization process taking place in India. It is worth noting that India's success in achieving its economic goals can be attributed to its focus on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) over the past few decades (Cafiero, 2023).

The 2022 Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) between India and the UAE, along with the subsequent Bilateral Investment Treaty, has broadened trade relations to encompass sectors such as fintech, clean energy, and food security. The UAE has committed \$100 billion towards infrastructure and renewable energy initiatives in India. Additionally, India's energy diplomacy is underscored by long-term liquefied natural gas (LNG) agreements with Qatar, valued at \$78 billion over two decades, and the procurement of discounted Russian oil through Middle Eastern refineries. In the realm of security, the Indian Navy engages in anti-piracy missions in the Gulf of Aden and collaborates with regional naval forces, including those of the UAE and Oman, through joint exercises like Zayed Talwar. This evolution in India's Middle East policy reflects a transition from a stance of non-alignment to a more pragmatic approach characterized by multi-alignment, integrating economic aspirations, security considerations, and ideological positioning (Chand, 2022).

On the other hand, Pakistan has been facing continuous challenges in meeting its national objectives. The country has been plagued by a cycle of changing policies, often driven by political revenge, which has hindered its progress. New policies presented by successive governments have often met the same fate. Moreover, the global financial system tends to favor initiatives aligned with SDGs, making it even more challenging for Pakistan to attract investment. However, there is a glimmer of hope for Pakistan as it has recently introduced a framework for sustainable development, a first in its history. The establishment of the Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC) is a significant step towards ensuring long-term investment security and sustainability. It is crucial for Pakistan to address its core problem of policy instability and animosity-driven halting of

development projects. Moving forward, adopting a more consistent and sustainable approach is no longer an option but a necessity for Pakistan's progress (Cheema, 2023).

Pakistan's relationship with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates has deteriorated as these Gulf countries have shifted their focus towards economic diversification and strengthened their alliances with India. In 2019, the UAE conferred its highest civilian award upon Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, shortly after India's controversial decision to revoke the autonomy of Kashmir, a development that provoked significant outrage in Islamabad. Additionally, in 2020, Saudi Arabia declined Pakistan's appeal to hold a meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) regarding Kashmir, indicating Riyadh's careful strategy to avoid straining its ties with India, an important economic ally. Gulf nations have increasingly perceived Pakistan through a transactional framework, leading to a decrease in unconditional financial assistance and an emphasis on loan repayments, exemplified by Saudi Arabia's recall of a \$3 billion deposit in 2020, which was subsequently settled through loans from China (Cheema, 2023).

Pakistan's participation in the Kuala Lumpur Summit in 2019, which was viewed as a challenge to Saudi Arabia's authority in the muslim community, resulted in grave pressure from Riyadh that compelled Islamabad to withdraw. Additionally, the criticism directed at Saudi Arabia for its lackluster reaction to the issues of Kashmir and Palestine during OIC summits worsened tensions, particularly as Riyadh and Abu Dhabi pursued the normalization of relations with Israel (Aqdas, 2020).

6.5 India's Assertion of Surgical Strikes

India after Uri attacks asserted that it has carried out surgical strikes in Pakistan as a proactive and defensive action to counteract potential terrorist threats and thwart the infiltration of the terrorist organizations operating from within Pakistan's territory. The Indian authorities, military personnel, and media have portrayed these strikes as a triumphant military maneuver, highlighting India's unwavering commitment to fight terrorism, safeguard nationwide security concerns, and swiftly retaliate against terrorist assaults on Indian territory. Conversely, Pakistan firmly refuted India's assertions of carrying out surgical strikes, labeling them as groundless and fallacious accusations designed to deflect focus from human rights abuses in Kashmir, suppress local independence movements, and challenge Pakistan's autonomy and territorial integrity. Pakistan stressed that India has concocted the strikes to construct a misleading narrative, sway public perception, and validate its hostile stance towards Pakistan on the global platforms (Kakar, 2020).

The majority of countries worldwide endorsed India's assertion of carrying out surgical strikes, affirming India's prerogative to protect itself from terrorism or attacks originating from across the border. Only a small number of countries advocated for caution, reduction of tensions, and the peaceful settlement of India-Pakistan conflicts via discussions, diplomatic means, and adherence to international law. It was owing to India's position as a largest democracy, its strong economy, diplomatic outreach, and soft power strategies that added to shaping its worldwide perception and helping it in gathering support for its narrative on global and regional matters, particularly counting its position on Pakistan. Conversely, the majority of countries around the globe did not endorse Pakistan's perspective, with only a limited number of exceptions. The diplomatic failure

can be ascribed to the internal political turmoil within the nation and ambiguous policies, leading to policy inconsistencies, a decline in institutional integrity, and a lack of agreement among essential stakeholders regarding critical national security issues(Basit, 2022).

India has effectively established robust relationships with nations in South Asia, while its Act East policy has strengthened connections with countries in East Asia. The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), a regional coalition that includes both South Asian and East Asian nations, has become a central focus, shifting attention away from the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), which does not include Pakistan. Following the Uri attacks in 2016, for which India attributed blame to Pakistan, India successfully rallied support from its global allies. The 19th SAARC summit, initially set to take place in Islamabad, Pakistan on November 15-16, 2016, was boycotted by India and several other nations in light of the Uri attack. In response to both the Pulwama and Uri incidents, India accused Pakistan and engaged in a diplomatic and military confrontation. All P5 nations condemned the terrorist acts and expressed solidarity with India's standpoint. This considerable international backing advocated that a diplomatic resolution was likely to favor India (Bhatnagar A. , 2019).

The United States did not provide an immediate response to the surgical strikes. Before India's declaration of these strikes, US National Security Advisor Susan Rice urged Pakistan to take action against and delegitimize terrorist organizations, including Jaish-e-Muhammad, that operate from its territory. Additionally, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, both significant allies of Pakistan, called for decisive measures

from Pakistan. The UAE notably declined Pakistan's request to withdraw the invitation extended to Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj for the forthcoming Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) summit, which marks the first occasion India has been invited to participate in this event. Throughout his administration, Modi has made concerted efforts to strengthen relations with Gulf nations, and their backing during the recent tensions with Pakistan can be interpreted as a testament to his diplomatic initiatives (Zainab Murtaza, 2023).

The response from Western nations was significant in this regard. While there were widespread calls for moderation from both parties, international disapproval of the Indian air strikes was notably inattentive. France, in particular, emphasized India's entitlement to self-defense against terrorism and, alongside the US, Germany, UK, and the European Union, encouraged Pakistan to intensify its efforts against terrorism within its territory. This development was particularly noteworthy given the West's historical inclination to hold both countries accountable for regional tensions or to exclusively urge India, as the more dominant state, to reduce hostilities. The international scrutiny on Pakistan's role can be attributed to Modi administration's extensive diplomatic initiatives since 2014, and its significance could not be overlooked (Bhatnagar A. , 2019).

6.6 India's Closer Ties with the Muslim World to Undermine Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Throughout history, India has experienced a significant evolution in its foreign policy concerning the Muslim world particularly since 2014. This transformation has been characterized by the establishment of strategic alliances, the promotion of economic cooperation, the reinforcement of cultural bonds, and the cultivation of mutual understanding with nations in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, and Africa.

India's active involvement with the Muslim world is a testament to its dedication to wide-ranging diplomacy, the stimulation of economic progress, integration, and the acquisition of backing for its standpoint, particularly in relation to Pakistan (Zeeshan, 2022).

The Gulf region holds the majority of India's diaspora living abroad and serves as a crucial provider of remittances. With nearly 3.5 million Indians residing in the UAE alone, it boasts the largest Indian expatriate community in any country, contributing to 20 percent of India's total remittance inflow. Moreover, India heavily relies on Iran and the Gulf for approximately 40 percent of its fuel imports. Equally significant is India's longstanding aspiration for Iran to serve as a gateway into resource-rich Central Asia, thereby circumventing the necessity of traversing Pakistan (Zeeshan, 2022).

The Saudi embassy in Delhi has made a significant decision by announcing that Indian citizens will no longer need police clearance certificates to obtain a visa for Saudi Arabia. This move highlights the strengthening ties between India and the Muslim world. The official statement from the Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia in India attributes this exemption for Indian nationals to the strong relations and strategic partnership between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of India. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi since 2014, India has placed a special emphasis on enhancing the India-Saudi relationship. Saudi Arabia, being the most important country in the OIC and home to the two holiest cities of Islam, has become a key international partner for India (Robby, 2022: 156-177).

Since 2014, Modi has bolstered India's ties with the Muslim-majority nations in South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East in order to enhance India's security and economy. However, domestically, the Modi administration's treatment of Indian Muslims

and other minorities has been tainted by its links with the extremist Hindutva ideology groups. While India's foreign policy engagement with the Muslim world has positively influenced its foreign policy objectives, Modi's approach towards Indian Muslims has contributed to internal destabilization. Modi's overarching strategy seeks to bolster India's influence in the region by implementing its Neighborhood First and Act East policies. In pursuit of this objective, Modi actively engages with neighboring countries that have a significant muslim population, such as the Maldives and Bangladesh, owing to their strategic positioning within the Indo-Pacific. The Maldives has consistently aligned its interests with India's, and in turn, India has provided valuable assistance to the country both prior to and during the corona pandemic. Similarly, a cooperative government in Dhaka has also empowered India to effectively address any communal challenges originating from within the state (Banerji, 2023).

Likewise, India's engagement with Central Asian states is motivated by both geo-economic and geo-political factors, as the region holds great significance for India's energy security. In order to curb Pakistan's influence in the region, India maintained a presence in Afghanistan, which serves as a gateway to Central Asia. Prime Minister Modi actively participated in various platforms such as the India-Central Asia Summit in 2022 and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Summit (SCO), where deliberations on counter-terrorism measures took place through the SCO platform for Regional Anti-Terrorist Activities Structure (RATS). Additionally, countries like Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in Central Asia seek to attract investment and promote medical tourism by fostering ties with India (Banerji, 2023).

India has been actively involved in collaborative efforts with Iran, particularly through projects such as the Chabahar Port and the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC), aimed at improving connectivity between India and the Middle East while ensuring reliable access to Afghanistan. In the wider Middle East context, India has participated in bilateral dialogues with various Muslim countries and has strengthened its diplomatic presence via initiatives like I2U2, which includes India, Israel, UAE, and the United States. This endeavor to forge closer ties with the Middle East is significantly influenced by India's dependence on energy resources, with around 40 to 45 percent of its crude oil imports sourced from the Gulf States (Robby, 2022: 156-177).

India has further solidified its relations with the UAE by approving the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) in 2022, which promotes bilateral trade that has now reached USD \$77.6 billion. The two nations are also collaborating in non-traditional security fields such as artificial intelligence and space projects. Additionally, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman paid a separate visit to India in 2019 to de-hyphenate its relations with India and Pakistan. Both countries have strengthened people-to-people connections, with Saudis assisting in the rescue of Indian citizens in Sudan earlier this year. These diplomatic maneuvers in the Middle East as well as in South and Central Asia demonstrate a significant advancement in India's interaction with the Muslim world (Banerji, 2023).

Recently, several members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) have made efforts to embrace India in the organization. This initiative has garnered support from nations such as Qatar (Abhyankar, 2018). Furthermore, Bangladesh has advocated for modifications to the membership application criteria, which could ultimately facilitate

India's accession to the OIC (The Times of India, 2018). In 2019, India was invited as a guest of honor to an OIC conference hosted by the United Arab Emirates. These gestures highlighted India's importance within the Muslim community that can not be overlooked (Mint, 2019).

In light of the recent developments in Indian-administered Kashmir, Pakistan has sought assistance from various nations within the broader Muslim community. Although the government of Turkey and certain religious leaders in Iran have condemned India's actions, the Arab nations have not extended their support to Pakistan. Despite Pakistan's deep-rooted historical, economic, and socio-cultural connections with the Gulf sheikdoms, it has failed to secure their backing. In contrast, several members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) have expressed support for India during the ongoing crisis in Kashmir. Amidst rising tensions in the region, Saudi Aramco, the prominent oil company of Saudi Arabia, announced plans to invest \$15 billion in Reliance Industries, a multinational firm located in Mumbai. This substantial agreement involves Saudi Aramco acquiring a 20 percent interest in Reliance Industries' oil sector. Riyadh has opted not to publicly criticize the actions of the Indian government, which have incited discontent in Pakistan. Likewise, Kuwait, Oman, and Qatar have refrained from making public statements concerning the unrest in Kashmir (Cafiero, 2020).

Pakistan has significantly contributed to the welfare and security of Arab nations; however, its engagements have predominantly centered on security issues rather than fostering robust economic relationships. In contrast, India has established a strong economic interdependence with Arab countries, particularly the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states. According to recent official Indian foreign trade statistics, in May

2019, India imported approximately \$640,000 worth of goods from West Asia and GCC nations, while its exports amounted to nearly \$437,000. The United Arab Emirates has emerged as the foremost partner in both import and export activities. A recent report by the Associated Press indicates that Arab Gulf countries have largely opted for silence in response to India's unlawful annexation of Occupied Jammu & Kashmir, a stance likely influenced by their substantial annual trade exceeding \$100 billion with India. Nevertheless, economic considerations are not the only determinants of their response. Pakistan's refusal to deploy troops to combat the Houthis in Yemen has caused considerable dissatisfaction among the Saudi and Emirati leadership. In April 2015, Dr. Anwar Mohammed Gargash, the UAE's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, articulated his discontent and cautioned of possible repercussions for Islamabad's perceived 'ambiguous stance' regarding Yemen (Aleem, 2023).

India's diplomatic ties with both Israel and Iran, despite their historical animosity towards one another and the Arab nations, have not impeded its thriving connections with Arab countries. This success can be attributed to astute decision-making and strong economic and trade interdependence, which enable India to uphold its non-aligned position and strategic independence. India has adeptly navigated its interactions with these two conflicting strategic factions. In contrast, Pakistan has typically utilized its defense and security capabilities to secure strategic benefits from Arab nations; however, India's increasing influence may soon eclipse these endeavors. Recently, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) made a notable acquisition of 50,000 artillery shells for Bofors guns from the Ordnance Factories Board (OFB) India, totaling over \$45 million. The lack of response from Arab nations to Pakistan's appeal concerning Indian aggression could be

perceived as a significant issue domestically. Nevertheless, on a regional scale, Islamabad can only hold itself accountable for its ineffective foreign policy in the Middle East over the last several years. Despite India's initiation of hostilities against Pakistan through two purported surgical strikes in 2016 and 2019, it have successfully forged diplomatic and economic ties with the Arab world (Khalid Z. , 2019).

6.7 BRICS Declaration and Indian Aims

The 9th BRICS summit concluded on September 4, 2017 in Xiamen, China. The BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) group was established in 2006 to enhance cooperation in the economic sphere and commend efforts to reform the international governance system. The Xiamen summit held great significance for Pakistan and its relationship with its steadfast ally, China. It is widely acknowledged that these two nations have maintained a strong friendship and cordiality for the past six decades, with China consistently stepping forward to support Pakistan during critical times. Their collaboration in military-nuclear domains and joint endeavors to combat terrorism has been well-documented and recognized. However, the summit declaration has caused a setback to the close strategic partnership between these two friends. India has achieved a long-awaited victory through concerted efforts and determination to include Pakistan-based terrorist organizations in the joint declaration. The security situation in the region and the violence perpetrated by various extremist groups, such as the Taliban, ISIL/DAISH, Al-Qaeda, and their affiliates including Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, the Haqqani network, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad, TTP, and Hizb ut-Tahrir, were a cause of concern for the BRICS members. The fact that Pakistan-based groups were mentioned in the summit

declaration suggests a change in the Chinese perspective towards these extremist organizations operating from Pakistan's soil (Hussain M. , 2017).

India has effectively showcased its diplomatic influence globally by utilizing a variety of diplomatic strategies. These include employing aggressive diplomacy towards weaker neighboring nations and engaging in shuttle diplomacy with developed countries to secure support for India. The diplomatic team has established a strong working relationship with the newly elected administration of President Donald Trump in the United States. Consequently, the existing closer relationship between India and the US has evolved into a new strategic partnership following President Trump's announcement to provide India a more significant role in Afghanistan. President Trump's remarks advocated that India has made substantial investments in the US to garner support for its future initiatives. Furthermore, since assuming office in 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has made numerous official visits to European nations, resulting in the signing of multi-billion dollar agreements in economic and military sectors, thereby enhancing the country's profile (Zainab Murtaza, 2023).

An example of Indian diplomatic success can be witnessed in the UNSC through the demonstration of a joint resolution by India and the US. This resolution proposed to designate Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jammāt-ud-Dawā, both based in Pakistan, as international terrorist organizations. Simultaneously, another joint proposal was submitted by US, UK, and France on January 19, 2017, pursuing to declare Molana Masood Azhar as a terrorist. Earlier, China had consistently used its veto power to block all Indian attempts and placed a technical hold on UNSC resolutions. However, India effectively persuaded China to withdraw its support for Pakistan and enlist the radical organizations based in

Pakistan in the summit document. The other partners in the group also rallied behind this effort and successfully convinced China to vote for India, opening doors for more harmonious and promising future of the group (Hussain M. , 2017).

In 2017, Khurshid Shah, the Leader of the Opposition, asserted that the BRICS Summit declaration serves as evidence of a flawed foreign policy. He emphasized that Pakistan failed to persuade even its closest allies, despite all the sacrifices it has made in the war against terror. Shah recommended the adoption of a robust foreign policy, citing India as an example of a nation that has made progress due to its effective foreign policy approach.

Former Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan (2017) stated that Pakistan's diplomats stationed in foreign missions seemed to have been ineffective in countering India's efforts to defame Pakistan on the global stage. The diplomats' inability to collect crucial information and intelligence pertaining to national interests hindered the country's ability to make timely and informed decisions.

Defense Minister Khwaja Muhammad Asif (2017) stated that both military and civil leadership are in agreement that Pakistan must completely move away from its past. He acknowledged that Pakistan has committed errors in the past, mentioning that the country should have avoided its role that it played in Afghanistan as a proxy against USSR and as a US client state in the war against terror. “It is imperative to dispel our misconceptions. Although we have no vested interests, there is a burden to bear. It is crucial to acknowledge our past and rectify our course”, he emphasized.

The BRICS declaration, which denounced violence in Afghanistan and specifically referred to groups such as the Afghan Taliban, Haqqani network, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and Jaish-e-Mohammad, is of considerable importance. Its significance should not be overlooked. Although India's involvement in the five-nation coalition shaped the wording of the declaration, subtly alluding to Pakistan, the concerns of China, Russia, Brazil, and South Africa were also evident. Pakistan ought to recognize the implications of this message from these prominent emerging economies. This is not an isolated occurrence and cannot be solely attributed to the heightened allegations and apprehensions from India, Afghanistan, and the United States (Dawn, 2017).

6.8 Pakistan in Minority at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) on Kashmir Issue

Pakistan lost the opportunity to address the human rights issue in Kashmir at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) as it failed to submit a draft resolution before the scheduled deadline in Geneva. Pakistan was unable to gather enough support to table the resolution on Kashmir at the UNHRC. In a closed-door meeting, the UN Security Council discussed the Kashmir matter, but the details of the meeting were not made public. Pakistan sent a high-level delegation, including the Foreign Minister and the PM's special envoy, to the council's 42nd regular session in Geneva. Pakistan has initiated an extensive diplomatic campaign to persuade the global community to condemn India for its human rights violations in Kashmir, its decision to revoke Jammu and Kashmir's special status and divide the region into two union territories. In the meantime, India has dispatched a top-level diplomatic team to provide a strong backing to India's permanent mission and its narrative on the global forum (Sibal, 2019).

At the outset, there was a continuous exchange of verbal attacks between the Indian and Pakistani delegations. Subsequently, the focus shifted predominantly to behind-the-scenes maneuvers, with Pakistan striving to gather support while India exerted all efforts to hinder their progress. Pakistan had only two viable options at its disposal. It could either present a draft resolution condemning India's actions in Kashmir and its revocation of constitutional status, or call for a debate within the council. In order to submit a resolution, Pakistan required a minimum of 15 supporters. However, as Pakistan failed to circulate a text to the UNHRC Secretariat by the September 19 deadline of 1 pm, it became evident that it was unable to secure the necessary backing. This was despite the fact that several members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) were also the council members. Pakistan could have also proposed discussing the situation in Kashmir as a debate topic in the council; however, it failed to do so. Initiating a discussion did not necessitate supporters, and there was no specific deadline for presenting the proposal. However, due to lack of support from other countries, Indian officials were certain that Islamabad would not choose this course of action. An Indian official remarked, "Pakistan is still lacking the necessary support. We believe they are hesitant to face public defeat" (Bhatia, 2019).

6.9 US-India Strategic Partnership

India's membership in a larger UNSC is being actively promoted by the United States. However, the efforts have faced opposition from China and Italy, hindering the success of this endeavor. It is important to note that India has been disregarding UNSC resolutions on Kashmir and displaying a lack of regard for human rights. The United States' support for India's economic growth and collaboration in science and technology

stems from various geostrategic, political, and economic factors. The rise of India as an economic powerhouse is seen as a means to counter China's influence in the region. Additionally, assisting India in developing its technological base and industry would create a significant market for US products, which are currently dominated by China. Indian leaders from various political backgrounds endorse and promote strong connections with the United States. India participates in the Quad alliance alongside Australia, Japan, and the US, aiming to enhance ties among these nations. The underlying goal is to address China's expanding influence in the region by upholding a robust naval presence among the four countries and boosting trade and socio-cultural partnerships (Abhyankar, 2022).

India and the United States are actively engaged in enhancing their defense cooperation, focusing on transferring crucial technologies to bolster India's military strength in contrast to China. Enhancing intelligence sharing and ensuring compatibility of encrypted communication systems are expected to enhance its defense capabilities vis-à-vis China. The increasing impact of the Indian diaspora is obvious, particularly in the fields of IT, medicine, and engineering (Bank, 2021).

The United States has granted India access to all military and technological resources, and has also urged Israel and other allies to do the same. Over the last eight years, India has emerged as the top arms importer globally, acquiring more than \$100 billion worth of weapons annually, with a significant portion directed towards Pakistan. Furthermore, the military and political backing from the US fuels India's aggressive stance towards Pakistan. It is not just Pakistan that bears the brunt of the consequences from the US support of India against China. Pakistan's responses to India's military

buildup, such as fissile material production, and long-range missiles, have faced opposition particularly from the US. China has also been forced to prevent the transfer of advanced weaponry and technologies to Pakistan. If this situation remains unchanged, Pakistan's ability to maintain conventional defense and nuclear deterrence against India could be greatly diminished (Basit, 2023).

Pakistan must acknowledge the seismic shifts occurring in the global political and strategic arena. The focus on India is crucial as it aligns with the broader and enduring interests of the United States. This should serve as a wake-up call for Pakistan's leadership, emphasizing the need to stay informed and engaged with these transformative changes instead of being consumed by internal political conflicts. The current state of discourse and behavior among leaders has tainted the political atmosphere, fostering pessimism and a sense of defeatism that can have detrimental effects on the nation's economy and international reputation. Weaker nations struggle to advance their national interests both domestically and internationally (Masood, 2023).

Pakistan's foreign policy in recent years has been characterized by sporadic reactions to regional and global events, rather than being part of a carefully planned and cohesive strategy. It has been more responsive than proactive, and has lacked innovative ideas. In today's world, which is becoming more multipolar, Pakistan must develop an all-out strategy to involve a wider range of nations and stakeholders in order to achieve its foreign policy goals (Lodhi M. , 2023).

6.10 Pakistan's Shrinking Diplomatic Space

According to Touqir Hussain, Pakistan's former Ambassador (2023), nations are not simply shifting their alliances, but rather strengthening them. However, Pakistan's

foreign policy persists in adhering to outdated principles. Presently, its diplomatic endeavors are primarily focused on securing financial aid and bailouts, thereby constraining Pakistan's diplomatic sway. The blame for these shortcomings rests with us, not external forces. Decision makers have permitted foreign powers to meddle in Pakistan's political matters and contribute to its setbacks. The obstacles in foreign policy have grown increasingly intricate, and Pakistan's reaction has been impeded by internal vulnerabilities, skewed national priorities, personalized governance, and a lack of distinct direction and purpose. Politicians are embroiled in self-serving disputes, rather than striving for the advancement of the nation.

To enhance ties with both China and the United States, Pakistan must employ a multipurpose strategy in its diplomatic efforts. While China serves as a significant strategic ally, it cannot serve as a substitute for other international partnerships. Though the connections with China are vital, those with the United States are equally important. Pakistan should also reevaluate its ties with India. The current framework has become unsustainable, lacking support from the country's own weakened national power or from its allies who are fascinated by the economic and strategic opportunities that India presents. Furthermore, this approach does not serve the interests of the people of Kashmir. Grabbing these opportunities necessitates global involvement, internal resilience, and autonomy from external dependencies (Hussain T. , 2023).

The complex administrative structure of Pakistan's Foreign Office, combined with political influences and competing priorities among security organizations, contributes to the intricacies of the nation's present circumstances. It is worth mentioning that the Foreign Office, similar to various other governmental bodies, demonstrates proficiency

only in record-keeping. It should serve as a dedicated public diplomacy unit focused on improving engagements with various stakeholders. However, Pakistan's Foreign Office seems to emphasize enhancing its reputation, occasionally overlooking the fulfillment of the country's genuine requirements (R. Khalid, Personal Communication, Dec. 5, 2021).

Former Prime Minister Imran Khan's assessment of the conduct of Pakistan's diplomats concerning their engagement with overseas Pakistanis emphasized a notable and unjust disparity. The issue became even more apparent when the effectiveness of Pakistan's Foreign Missions in both economic and cultural contexts was analyzed. It was found that these Missions fail to fulfill their expected roles in these areas. Rather, Pakistan's Embassies tend to focus primarily on protocol-related issues, neglecting their responsibility to promote academic, cultural, and social initiatives within the host countries. The apparent absence of Pakistani diplomats in such activities not only leads to lost opportunities for fostering intercultural dialogue and academic exchanges but also reinforces a sense of isolation (Rana M. A., 2023).

Pakistan's existing economic and financial obstacles are intricately tied to the decisions made in its foreign policy realm. The nation's leaders have predominantly focused on national security concerns when engaging in bilateral and multilateral partnerships, often overlooking economic and developmental objectives. Over the years, there has been a neglect of economic diplomacy and a lack of emphasis on development targets in global affairs, largely due to the substantial multilateral assistance and loans received as a result of Pakistan's client status in the US foreign policy landscape. Considering its economic challenges, as well as the evolving geo-political landscape, it is imperative for decision makers to prioritize trade and investment promotion as the

fundamental pillar of its foreign policy. Pakistan should actively engage in economic diplomacy to foster growth. Numerous nations, including Barbados, South Africa, Ireland, Zimbabwe, and Hungary, have already taken similar steps by merging their foreign and trade ministries along with establishing influential trade and investment councils within their Foreign Offices. These measures have effectively advanced their development interests on a global scale (Mir, 2023).

6.11 India's Soft-Power Diplomacy

Throughout history, diplomacy has served as a means for influential figures in the global political landscape to exert both hard and soft power. While the use of hard power entails greater risks, soft power has proven to be a more subtle approach in achieving foreign policy objectives. In the era of globalization, nations from both the developed and developing world have harnessed soft power to bolster their reputation and exert influence within their respective regions and the international community. A prime example of such a nation is India, which has successfully convinced the world that it is capable of leading despite limitations at home and in the region. Notably, initiatives like the 'Incredible India!' campaign have played a significant role in elevating the Indian economy to the forefront (Cafiero, 2023).

Pakistan has encountered numerous obstacles and constraints in its soft power diplomacy endeavors, hindering its capacity to adequately showcase its traditional, political, and social impact worldwide. Despite possessing a diverse cultural legacy, historical importance, and advantageous geographical position, Pakistan's efforts to exert soft power have frequently been marginalized by internal issues such as domestic ethnic strife, extremism, terrorism, institutional fragility, and political uncertainty. The existence

of governance challenges and the lack of seamless democratic transitions have played a significant role in causing policy discrepancies, economic susceptibilities, and institutional weaknesses in Pakistan. These factors have ultimately hindered Pakistan's ability to efficiently execute soft power initiatives, promote socio-economic growth, and tackle persistent issues such as corruption, poverty, extremism, and human rights violations. Consequently, these contests have had a detrimental impact on Pakistan's global reputation and standing (Khan H. , 2018).

Pakistan has made significant progress in combating terrorism and has adopted policies aimed at strengthening ties with Europe and East Asia. However, its global standing still requires improvement. The country's image has suffered enormously over the past decade, despite its efforts to project positive aspects of the nation. India's soft power and effective lobbying in Western countries have further complicated Pakistan's position. The growing trade imbalance and persistent demands from the United States to 'do more' add to the challenges. Pakistan must carefully evaluate how its soft power is being projected in the West. Recent Indian campaigns to discredit Pakistan in Europe and North America highlight the need for the Foreign Office to mobilize a team of skilled diplomats, including retired officials, to counter misinformation and negative perceptions (Khan H. , 2018).

Human rights abuses, extrajudicial killings, uninformed confinements, torture, and the usage of disproportionate force in Kashmir have long been a focus of concern for human rights organizations. The limitations on civil rights, freedom of expression, and nonviolent assembly, such as persistent internet blackouts, curfews, and communications suppression, have also drawn attention to the potential influence on the civilian

population, livings, and access to crucial facilities and information. However, India has successfully employed soft power strategies, strong cultural diplomacy, and growth initiatives to highlight the positive features, prospects, and potentials of the country, often overshadowing global apprehensions regarding human rights manipulations, security shutdowns, media constraints, and governance problems in the IOK region (Ahmar, 2023).

CHAPTER-7

7. ROLE OF INTERNAL ACTORS AND FACTORS IN INFLUENCING INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

The fundamentals of Indian foreign policy are based on a set of guiding principles. These include the Panchsheel five principles of peaceful coexistence, independent decision-making, resolving conflicts and disagreements through dialogue and nonviolent means, promoting constructive engagement over isolating individual states, and supporting multilateral approaches to global issues. These guiding principles have brought about a significant level of consistency over the past seventy years. However, the actual process of policy formulation is often overlooked in analyses of India's foreign policy. Specifically, many studies neglect to consider how India's complex internal political system, bureaucratic structure and individual preferences influence its foreign policy choices.

7.1 Foreign Policy Making Process in India

The idea and scope of foreign policy have been redefined by the rise of globalization and the cosmopolitanization of state craft. In today's borderless global village, the distinction between internal and external matters is becoming increasingly blurred. External affairs are no longer the sole responsibility of the Foreign Office. While the Ministry of External Affairs plays a central role in India's foreign relations, other key agencies such as the Cabinet, Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ministry of Defence, National Security Council, and Parliament also make noteworthy contributions to the development and design of India's external policy. In addition to these central organizations, various other organizations are also involved in the

complicated and multi-stage process of decision-making in foreign policy (Atul Mishra, 2016).

The policy-making process predominantly adheres to the input-output theory, whereby the policy decision emerges as outputs once the information and data are incorporated into the decision-making unit. In line with the input-output model, India's external policy formulation process undergoes three crucial stages in finalizing decisions. The initial stage involves gathering and inputting information, followed by the valuation and scrutiny of the collected and processed data in the second stage. Finally, the third stage encompasses the decision-making process and subsequent application (Banerji, 2023).

7.1.1 Gathering and Input of Information

Information plays a critical role in the policy development process, serving as the foundation upon which policies are formulated. Rather than relying on suppositions, decision makers base their judgments on the input of reliable information. This is particularly crucial in the realm of external policy decision making, as it shapes a country's relationship with the rest of the world. The Ministry of External Affairs, which serves as the primary organization for external policy decision making, bears the responsibility of gathering pertinent information and conducting research to inform policy decisions. Typically, this information is collected through Indian Missions settled abroad. These Missions regularly provide monthly reports on the latest political changes in their respective nations and their potential consequences for India. In addition to these reports, the Missions also notify the Ministry of External Affairs about significant occurrences that have a profound impact on India's national interests. Likewise, India's

permanent UN Mission keeps the Ministry of External Affairs updated on the existing global scenario and any crises that may arise.

Furthermore, the periodic notifications and memoranda from the Foreign Missions in India serve as valuable resources for the ministry in gathering up-to-date information and addressing the country's apprehensions, which ultimately aid in the decision-making process. These conventional diplomatic sources are recognized as the longstanding channels through which the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) acquires policy-related material. In addition to diplomatic bases, the government leverages its intelligence and various other organizations to amass crucial data for formulating external policy decisions. India possesses several intelligence agencies, such as the Research and Analysis Wing, Intelligence Bureau, and the Directorates of Military, Naval, and Air Intelligence. These organizations are responsible for gathering crucial intelligence information both inside and outside the country, which is directly and indirectly linked to India's nationwide interests. Subsequently, this material is relayed to the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), which thoroughly analyzes the information and offers intermittent and significant reports to the government for contemplation. In addition to intelligence organizations, data is also sourced from open channels such as media reports, journals, books, and research reports of esteemed research organizations, interviews with renowned professionals, and external policy debates. The government allocates substantial funds towards foreign policy research conducted by various research associations and universities. These reports serve as vital bases of information for policy-making processes (Chadda, 2019).

7.1.2 Examination and Processing of the Relative Information and Data

Upon gathering the necessary information, the government proceeds to analyze the data in accordance with its external policy goals through designated agencies. The analysis work is carried out by entities such as the Territorial Divisions of the Ministry of External Affairs, the Joint Intelligence Committee, and other similar organizations, which aim to identify the repercussions of the data on India's national interests. In addition to intelligence organizations, bureaucratic bodies also actively participate in conducting research to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of the gathered information from various perspectives. Typically, individual officers or small groups are assigned to handle each specific issue. A large group of experts is occasionally gathered to examine and explain the intelligence data in relation to the importance of the matter. Subsequent to the completion of the analysis report, the reports, along with their valuable insights, observations, and suggestions, are forwarded by the agencies and officialdoms to the government or the decision-making entity for a final decision. Upon scrutinizing the data from different perspectives, they are commonly presented to the decision-making entity for the ultimate decision on a specific foreign policy matter. The decision-making entity in India typically consists of political and bureaucratic frontrunners, advisors, and policy planning entities (Kandula, 2019).

7.1.3 Arriving at the Decision and Applying

The actors and consultative organizations engage in thorough discussions and carefully evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of various options. Once a favorable outcome is confirmed, the decision-making organization selects the most optimal alternative. The recommended actions or alternative suggestions are then forwarded for execution. However, the responsibility of the decision-making body does not conclude at

this stage. It continues to closely monitor the applied policies and their outcomes. If the government deems that a policy is inadequate or falls short of the anticipated results, it may occasionally replace it with a new one to achieve better outcomes. The objective of the new policy is to rectify the shortcomings of the earlier decision and adapt to the changing environmental requirements.

Throughout the years, despite numerous attempts by various organizations and factions to disrupt the external policy decision-making process in India, it has managed to stay effective and prosperous. The government has often made bold and unexpected decisions in order to prioritize national interest. The ideological approach to decision-making is adapted into a pragmatic one when necessary. This adaptability has allowed India to maintain its status as a significant player in global politics (Kandula, 2019).

7.2 Actors Influencing India's Foreign Policy Making

7.2.1 Ministry of External Affairs (MEA)

In order to navigate the complexities of contemporary international relations, careful planning and its implementation are crucial for any nation. To achieve this, most modern states establish policy planning units within their Foreign Offices to develop their external policies based on the insights provided by these units. In India, the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) serves as the primary body responsible for formulating external policies. This Ministry is led by a seasoned and senior Cabinet Minister. Additionally, there are provisions for two more Ministers, one holding the rank of 'Minister of State' and the other as 'Deputy Minister'. These positions assist the Cabinet Minister in overseeing and coordinating all the activities of the Ministry. As the government's foremost and significant Ministry, its primary responsibility is to address matters

concerning the nation's external relations. Since its establishment, the MEA has successfully handled various tasks related to India's foreign policy. While numerous organizations and individuals contribute to the policymaking process, it is ultimately the MEA that implements the final decisions and formally determines the direction of foreign policy. Through its overseas Missions, the MEA plays a crucial role in collecting, processing, and analyzing data to facilitate effective policy formulation (Parthasarathy, 2023).

The existing Ministry of External Affairs was initially formed by the British East India Company to oversee the company's developing external affairs with South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Frontier Nations (Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet etc.). Prior to 1947, India's external affairs were overseen by two distinct sections, namely the Department of External Affairs and the Department of Commonwealth Relations. The former was responsible for managing India's global external affairs, while the latter was established to handle India's affairs with Commonwealth Nations. The establishment of a parallel system for managing external dealings led to unnecessary misunderstanding and disputes among policymakers, resulting in bureaucratic interruptions in the development and implementation of foreign policy. Consequently, in 1947, the two departments were amalgamated and rebranded as the Department of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. Subsequently, in 1948, the External Publicity Division was transferred from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MIB) to the Ministry of External Affairs for enhanced efficiency. The ministry was later retitled as the Ministry of External Affairs by eliminating the Commonwealth Relations component. Since then, the ministry

has remained structurally unchanged, although new divisions have been established to accommodate its mounting roles (Parthasarathy, 2023).

India's rise as a potential worldwide power and the revolution of its economy has led to a significant increase in the responsibilities and duties of the Ministry of External Affairs. In order to effectively address these developing challenges, the ministry has experienced several modifications to support India's growing role on the worldwide stage. Similar to Foreign Offices in other countries, the primary objective of the MEA is to strategize, develop policies, and oversee India's diplomatic relations with other states, while also safeguarding and advancing the country's national interests in the global arena. The ministry is responsible for offering passport services, consular assistance, and security to Indian citizens traveling abroad. Additionally, it is tasked with issuing visas to international visitors coming to India. Most importantly, it oversees the efforts of other stakeholders involved in shaping the external policy to ensure the achievement of India's goals. The Policy Planning and Research Division is responsible for strategizing and formulating India's foreign and strategic policies, as well as conducting research. This division organizes seminars and conferences on various foreign affairs topics and provides research grants to academic institutions and think tanks. The MEA regularly provides the Cabinet and senior government officials in India with a comprehensive summary of significant advancements and global events, which serves as the basis for formulating future policies. All Foreign Missions report to the MEA and provide essential inputs during the formulation of foreign policy. Since the External Publicity Division became part of the MEA, the Ministry is also responsible for promoting and

enhancing India's image through nation-branding efforts among global communities (Kandula, 2019).

The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) prides itself on having a team of experienced diplomats who excel at handling intricate international matters and efficiently representing India's interests. India has established important alliances with various nations and regional groups, bolstering its diplomatic influence and promoting cooperation in areas such as security, trade, and technology. India vigorously partakes in worldwide forums like the United Nations, G20, BRICS, and regional organizations, advocating for its primacies and contributing to determining global agendas. The MEA collaborates closely with other government agencies and the private sector to encourage trade, investment, and economic collaboration with partner states, thereby strengthening India's monetary interests abroad. In times of crisis, such as natural tragedies, political turmoil, or evacuation operations, the Foreign Office shows agility and responsiveness in managing the well-being of Indian citizens abroad. India also participates in public diplomacy initiatives to augment its soft power, counting cultural interactions, educational cooperation, and outreach to worldwide diaspora communities. In summary, India's strong Foreign Office is described by its diplomatic expertise, strategic foresight, and capability to navigate a swiftly altering global order while advancing the nation's interests and ambitions on the global stage (Bhatnagar S. , 2021).

Bureaucratic silos continue to exist within the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). A notable example is the frequent conflicts between the MEA's Economic Relations Division and the Commerce Ministry regarding trade agreements, which can hinder progress on initiatives such as the India-EU Free Trade Agreement (FTA). The influence

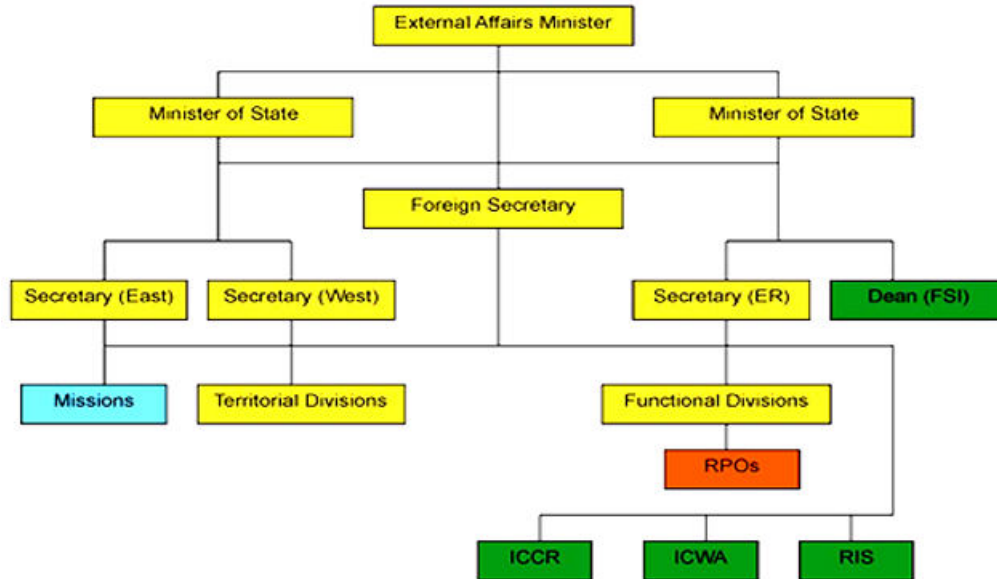
of the Indian Foreign Service (IFS) varies with changes in political leadership. While career diplomats, such as S. Jaishankar (who served as Foreign Secretary and later as External Affairs Minister), have played a significant role in shaping policy, many ministers, including Sushma Swaraj, have depended heavily on bureaucratic summaries. This has resulted in a "relay system" where ministers often echo the advice of officials. In contrast, Prime Minister Modi's approach to diplomacy, characterized by direct interactions with leaders from the Gulf region, tends to bypass conventional IFS pathways, prioritizing political engagement over bureaucratic processes.

Legislative oversight further limits bureaucratic autonomy. The Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs has consistently expressed disapproval of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) due to issues of insufficient staffing and funding, which accounted for only 0.4% of India's budget in 2025. Additionally, public pressure, particularly concerning sensitive matters such as the welfare of the diaspora (illustrated by the Vande Bharat Mission during the COVID-19 pandemic), compels bureaucrats to focus on immediate responses rather than long-term strategic planning.

The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) of India functions through a well-defined organizational process that integrates hierarchical decision-making, specialized departments, and institutional collaboration to implement foreign policy. The top-down approach guarantees consistency with national objectives; however, it frequently overlooks bureaucratic expertise in favor of political mandates. An excessive dependence on the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) may marginalize institutional knowledge, as demonstrated by the 2019 Balakot airstrike, which was orchestrated without formal consultations with the MEA (Basit, 2022).

Diagram 7.2.1

Structure of the Ministry of External Affairs



Source:https://www.mea.gov.in/Images/amb1/Mea_Organograms.pdf

7.2.2 Role of Parliament

The Parliament of India serves as the custodian of the nation's sovereignty. Modeled after the British system, the Indian chambers consist of the Lok Sabha, which is the lower House comprising directly elected representatives, and the Rajya Sabha, the Upper House composed of representatives indirectly elected by the State Assemblies, along with some distinguished individuals nominated by the Government. Together, the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha hold the highest authority in decision-making, possessing the power to even amend the Constitution. The Parliament bears the ultimate responsibility for ensuring effective governance, including the enactment of new legislation, providing mandates to the executive, and approving government expenditures through the 'budget'.

It serves as the primary platform for debating public policies and holding the executive branch accountable. In the realm of democratic governance, the Parliament or legislatures play a pivotal role in upholding government accountability. As a stable and dynamic democracy, the Indian Parliament has played a significant role in nation-building and democratic governance, as it formulates laws, strategies, and legitimizes government decisions (Jain, 1975: 300-360).

To enhance the effectiveness of the Parliament, and hold the executive branch accountable before the Parliament, it is essential to strengthen the role of Parliamentary Committees. These Committees play a crucial role in reviewing administrative actions, examining complex laws, and scrutinizing budgetary proposals. In a democratic state like India, Parliament is considered pivotal in shaping public policy. The Indian constitution has bestowed Parliament with unparalleled authority to legislate on various issues, including foreign policy. As the highest democratic institution in the country, Parliament, representing the people, can significantly influence the decision-making process regarding foreign policy by utilizing constitutional provisions. Despite the historical dominance of bureaucratic agencies in policy formulation, Parliament continues to play a significant role in shaping India's external policy (Kandula, 2019).

The Parliament, under Article 246 of the Indian Constitution, is granted the authority to enact laws related to all aspects of the country's foreign policy. It also divides the legislative power between the Union government and the states that allows for effective governance. Apart from policy formulation, the Parliament wields various powers to shape foreign policy decisions. Through budgetary control, it can decrease allocations for security, defense, foreign aid, and other relevant areas. Additionally, by

establishing new offices and departments and regulating their resources, the Legislature can indirectly impact the nation's external strategy. It is widely recognized that the Parliament plays a crucial role in shaping India's foreign policy, with its functions falling into four main categories: lawmaking, advisory, influencing, and treaty endorsement (David M. Malone, 2015).

The Parliament plays a crucial role in enhancing national security by constantly refining contemporary foreign policy discussions through various means. Moreover, as the representative of the citizens, the Parliament democratizes the foreign policy development process by integrating voter feedback into policy-making. The main platform for influencing policy is the Parliament's floor, where members express their perspectives on foreign policy during legislative debates. Among the lawmakers, there are experts who closely monitor global developments and challenge unfavorable decisions through arguments, questions, and motions. The Indian Parliament has the jurisdiction to deliberate on a wide range of issues, both domestic and international, under its established regulations. Through tools like Departmental Declarations, Legislative Motions, and Legislative Committees, it oversees, regulates, and shapes governmental policies. Additionally, it utilizes methods such as Legislative Deliberation, Question Hour, and Half-Hour debates to address public concerns and steer policy changes based on public sentiment. The Legislature prioritizes the welfare of the public by serving as their voice and advocating for their interests (Kandula, 2019).

India's postcolonial democracy is a remarkable example that has captivated the world with its functioning system. Being the largest democracy globally, India continues to attract global attention through its democratic progress. The country's domestic

political system, influenced by its class-based government and national politics, significantly impacts its foreign policy formation. Notably, regions affected by the partition event exhibit a stronger opposition towards Pakistan. This sentiment is particularly evident in the cow belt, where Pakistan plays a significant role in electoral campaigns, fueling anti-Pakistan sentiments. A similar pattern emerged during the 2017 elections in UP and Punjab, where Modi utilized critical rhetoric against Pakistan to garner support and enhance his popularity. These instances highlight the intricate relationship between internal politics and foreign policy decision-making institutions (Mahmood, 2020).

The democratic setup and parliamentary institutions in India hold immense importance in shaping and supervising the nation's foreign policy. The Parliament plays a crucial role in overseeing the actions of the executive branch regarding foreign policy to guarantee transparency, accountability, and adherence to constitutional principles. It is the government's duty to keep the Parliament well-informed about noteworthy developments, agreements, treaties, and international engagements. Essentially, India's democratic setup and parliamentary institutions establish mechanisms for thoughtful discussions, effective supervision, and active involvement in foreign policy affairs. This ensures that the country's external relations align with democratic values, national interests, and the collective aspirations of its citizens.

The historical significance of Parliament and India's democratic framework in influencing foreign policy has always been acknowledged, yet it has often been limited by the predominance of the executive branch, coalition dynamics, and institutional inertia. Although a structure for democratic accountability is in place, the actual impact

of Parliament and the electorate has fluctuated between periods of assertiveness and marginalization. While India's democratic system provides a formal mechanism for accountability in foreign policy, it faces challenges from executive overreach and fragmented political mandates. The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) frequently circumvent Parliament in critical decisions, such as the 2016 Surgical Strikes and the 2020 Galwan clash. Additionally, opposition parties often politicize foreign policy matters, exemplified by the BJP's critiques of the UPA's approach to China and Congress's resistance to the Rafael agreements, which hampers the establishment of bipartisan consensus (Parthasarathy, 2023).

7.2.3 The Prime Minister's Office (PMO)

The President of India serves as the ceremonial head of the State, while the Prime Minister, along with his Council of Ministers (Cabinet), holds the real executive power in the parliamentary system of Government. The Prime Minister plays a pivotal role in the decision-making process. According to S.R. Maheshwari, the Prime Minister of India holds a unique position in policy-making, with other Ministers serving in subordinate capacities. As the leader of the Cabinet, the Prime Minister wields significant influence over public policy. The Prime Minister is supported by the Prime Minister's Office, established in 1947, which has evolved into a key policy-making body within the Government of India (Parthasarathy, 2022).

The PM Secretariat is comprised of Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, and other advisors who are appointed to provide guidance to the Prime Minister on a range of critical issues, including those related to foreign policy. The Prime Minister plays a crucial and significant role in shaping the

overall direction of policies and is accountable for coordinating the activities of various government departments. It stands as one of the influential institutions in India's decision-making process regarding foreign policy. While the Ministry of External Affairs is tasked with handling external affairs, the final decision on policy development still rests with the Prime Minister. Prior to implementation, the Prime Minister must give approval on all major matters concerning national security and foreign policy (Mukherjee, 2022).

Since gaining independence, the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) in India has typically played a supportive role to the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). In India, it is common for the Prime Minister to endorse international treaties, establish agreements with other nations, and recommend India's Heads of Missions to the President. Consequently, the PMO assumes a central role in diplomatic relations. The PMO's responsibilities have significantly increased with the establishment of the National Security Council (NSC) and the appointment of the National Security Advisor (NSA). However, the extent of the PMO's authority and influence is greatly influenced by the Prime Minister's personal qualities, leadership abilities, and stability within the political system (R. Mukherjee, Personal Communication, Dec. 4, 2022).

Presently since 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi is widely recognized for his idiosyncrasies and assertive approach in the realm of external relations. Modi's vision of a strong India hinges on the objective of bolstering indigenous defense manufacturing capabilities. A key priority for him is enhancing regional connectivity by integrating India's Northeastern region into the national fabric. Likewise, he aims to counter China's advances and adopt a firm stance towards Pakistan (Menon, 2016).

The Cabinet, as the highest authority in the government, plays a crucial role in shaping India's foreign relations through the provision of essential guidance. Cabinet Ministers, who are the Prime Minister's most reliable associates, offer their assistance and counsel on significant foreign policy matters, even in times of crisis. In collaboration with the Ministries of Home Affairs, Defense, and External Affairs, the Cabinet determines the necessary measures to enhance India's external security. When it comes to matters of foreign trade and investment, the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, Finance, and External Affairs serve as the primary advisors (Bajpai, 2017).

The international image of India and its global perceptions are greatly influenced by the actions and statements of the Prime Minister regarding foreign policy matters. The Prime Minister actively participates in public diplomacy endeavors, such as delivering speeches, conducting interviews, and engaging in social media interactions, to effectively convey India's values, accomplishments, and aspirations to the international community.

In their capacity as the chosen leader of the government, the Prime Minister embodies the combined desires and ambitions of the Indian populace. They are bestowed with the duty of governing in the utmost interest of the citizens, fostering social well-being, maintaining the supremacy of the law, and protecting democratic institutions. The Prime Minister of India assumes a vital role in advancing democratic principles both within the country and on the global stage. Within the nation, he or she advocates for inclusive governance, diversity, and participatory democracy. On an international level, he or she serve as the embodiment of India's dedication to democratic values and actively collaborate with other countries to foster democracy, defend human rights, and uphold good governance (Pimparkar, 2023).

In a dynamic democracy such as India, the Prime Minister's term is determined by regular elections, facilitating the smooth transition of power in accordance with the voters' preferences. This democratic practice guarantees consistency, reliability, and accountability in administration, bolstering India's democratic reputation. The Prime Minister of India functions within a strong democratic system, where democratic values and procedures influence governance, policy formulation, and the execution of executive powers.

The influence of a Prime Minister's cognitive abilities and personality traits on India's foreign policy has been significant, with each leader leaving a distinct mark through their ideologies, decision-making approaches, and personal characteristics. Jawaharlal Nehru's idealistic perspective and commitment to non-alignment were foundational to India's initial foreign policy framework. In contrast, Indira Gandhi embraced realpolitik, focusing on national security and asserting regional influence. She heavily relied on advisors such as P.N. Haksar and R.N. Kao, effectively merging her personal determination with institutional knowledge to enhance India's standing in South Asia. P.V. Narasimha Rao's economic liberalization in 1991 represented a cognitive transition towards globalization, characterized by his technocratic approach and openness to collaboration with Western entities like the IMF, which repositioned India as an emerging economic force. Nevertheless, his cautious diplomatic stance towards China and Pakistan illustrated a risk-averse nature, favoring stability over aggressive strategies (R. Mukherjee, Personal Communication, Dec. 4, 2022).

Manmohan Singh's emphasis on consensus and economic diplomacy resulted in significant achievements, including the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Agreement in 2008. Atal

Bihari Vajpayee's blend of poetic pragmatism combined idealism with strategic insight, as evidenced by his Lahore Summit in 1999 and the nuclear tests in 1998, showcasing his comfort with both diplomatic initiatives and military strength. Narendra Modi's charismatic and image-focused leadership has transformed India's foreign policy landscape. His "Act East Policy," participation in the Quad, and emphasis on BIMSTEC over SAARC indicate a shift from non-alignment to a more proactive multi-alignment strategy. His ability to build personal relationships with global leaders, such as Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin, along with initiatives like Vibrant Gujarat, exemplifies his transactional yet visionary approach. Modi's assertive reactions to crises, including the 2019 Balakot airstrike and the 2020 Galwan clash, further highlight his risk-tolerant disposition (Dutt, 2019).

7.2.4 The National Security Council (NSC)

The National Security Council (NSC) serves as the primary consultative body to the Indian government, offering guidance on matters concerning foreign policy and national security within India. While the Prime Minister and his cabinet hold the final decision-making authority on significant issues related to external and defense policies, the NSC has emerged as a crucial stakeholder in shaping India's policies on security and international relations. Comprising the National Security Advisory Board (NSAB), Strategic Policy Group (SPG), and the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), the NSC, led by the National Security Advisor (NSA), plays a pivotal role in formulating various policies that impact India's overall interests, including those related to economic and energy security. The NSA's recommendations hold considerable weight in the

government's policy-making process, and the council, which includes distinguished experts alongside the NSA, wields significant influence in shaping national policies (Kandula, 2019).

The NSC is a three-tier organization consisting of the Strategic Planning Group, the National Security Advisory Board and the Joint Intelligence Committee.

The Strategic Planning Group (SPG) serves as the highest decision-making body within the bureaucracy. It holds the responsibility of formulating and executing strategic policies for India. Led by the Cabinet Secretary, the SPG is also entrusted with the task of devising long-term strategies for India's military doctrine. Comprising secretaries from key ministries and departments, this Group convenes regularly to assess the national and international security landscape and undertake appropriate measures to counter potential threats.

The National Security Advisory Board (NSAB) is composed of individuals who are not part of the government and serves as a source of advice on matters concerning national security and development. The board conducts in-depth analysis and offers valuable insights on national security issues. Its members consist of distinguished professionals, academics, scientists, administrative experts, and retired bureaucrats. It is worth mentioning that the NSAB played a crucial role in the development of the draft Nuclear Policy of 1999 (Pimparkar, 2023).

The Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) is a crucial organization that consolidates intelligence inputs from various agencies such as the IB, RAW, and the Directorates of

Military, Naval, and Air Intelligence. It plays a pivotal role in coordinating inter-agency efforts, as well as in the collection and analysis of intelligence data. Chaired by a Chairman, typically an Additional Secretary from the Cabinet Secretariat, the JIC includes representatives from key departments like MEA, MoD, MHA, IB, R&AW, and others. Additionally, the JIC may task relevant intelligence agencies with specific intelligence gathering missions, as per the Government's requirements. As an essential advisory body, the JIC provides valuable insights to the Prime Minister and Cabinet on matters concerning foreign affairs and defense (Pimparkar, 2023).

The National Security Council (NSC) conducts in-depth analysis and evaluations of emerging security challenges, threats, and opportunities on both regional and global scales. Utilizing this analysis, the NSC develops strategic long-term goals and policies to protect India's national interests and enhance stability within the international arena. The NSC plays a crucial role in fostering collaboration and cohesion among various government entities, departments, and ministries involved in shaping and executing foreign policy. It acts as a platform for inter-ministerial discussions, guaranteeing harmony, cooperation, and uniformity in India's foreign policy endeavors. During critical situations like cross-border tensions, terrorist activities, or natural calamities, the NSC offers strategic direction and aids the Prime Minister in making well-informed decisions promptly. It coordinates crisis response activities among diverse stakeholders, including the military, intelligence services, and diplomatic corps. Furthermore, the NSC supervises and coordinates the operations of India's intelligence agencies, ensuring that intelligence data is thoroughly analyzed, consolidated, and utilized effectively to guide foreign policy choices (Šumit Ganguly, 2022).

In an ever-changing and unpredictable global landscape, the National Security Council of India plays a vital role in bolstering the unity, efficiency, and adaptability of the nation's foreign policy. By promoting forward-thinking strategies, proactive involvement, and prompt decision-making, it ensures the protection of India's autonomy, security, and economic well-being (Pimparkar, 2023).

7.2.5 Ministry of Defence (MOD)

The protection of national territory and sovereignty is the main objective of the country's foreign policy. Consequently, the Ministry of Defence plays a crucial role in shaping India's external relations. It acts as a coordinating body between the civilian government and the armed forces, offering strategic advice to the Indian government on global matters. Prior to making decisions on strategic and security issues, the government often seeks input from the Defence Ministry. The Defence Minister wields significant influence over India's foreign and security policies, holding key positions in the National Security Council, the Cabinet Committee on Security, and the Union Cabinet. The policymaking process also involves the three Service Chiefs, the Secretary of the Defence Production Department, the Defence Secretary, and other members of the Strategic Policy Group. The service chiefs are asked to offer their insights on the factors that significantly influence the decision outcomes during a strategic or foreign policy crisis. The Defense Ministry collects information on security and global matters through its intelligence services and communicates its concerns to the Government. In addition to providing intelligence support, it also employs martial diplomacy to strengthen defense cooperation between India and other countries. Periodically, it initiates joint military

exercises and training with friendly nations, thereby enhancing the nation's reputation. Furthermore, it plays a major role in the procurement of foreign defense technology and India's arms sales (Chadda, 2019).

The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) holds the main obligation for developing and executing external policy, however, the Ministry of Defense (MoD) plays a crucial role in shaping India's defense diplomacy, strategic alliances, and regional security efforts through its valuable input, proficiency, and perspectives. MOD plays a key role in enabling the export of arms, transferring defense technology, and fostering collaboration in the defense business with other nations. This initiative aims to enhance India's defense competences, support domestic defense manufacturing, and stimulate economic development, modernization, and employment opportunities within the defense sector (David M. Malone, 2015).

The Ministry of Defence (MoD) actively promotes defense diplomacy to enhance both bilateral and multilateral interactions, often working in conjunction with the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). Initiatives such as Malabar, involving the United States, Japan, and Australia, as well as INDRA with Russia, improve interoperability and demonstrate alignment with significant partners, thereby reinforcing India's position in the Indo-Pacific region. Key agreements, including the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) with the U.S. established in 2016 and the Reciprocal Exchange of Logistics Agreement (RELOS) with France signed in 2022, enhance operational flexibility and build mutual trust. More than 70 defense attachés stationed globally play a crucial role in gathering intelligence, negotiating arms transactions, and strengthening

military-to-military relationships, which indirectly influence diplomatic strategies (Rizwi, 2022).

The MoD's oversight during conflicts, such as the 2020 Galwan clash with China, informs subsequent diplomatic discussions. Military preparedness and infrastructure initiatives, exemplified by the Darbuk-Shyok-DBO Road, convey determination and influence India's negotiating stance. The Defense Planning Committee (DPC), led by the National Security Advisor (NSA), aligns military, economic, and diplomatic objectives with the National Security Strategy (NSS). Likewise, the Integrated Defense Staff (IDS) promotes collaborative planning among the Army, Navy, and Air Force, effectively translating strategic directives into practical policies.

The Ministry of Defence (MoD) plays a crucial role in shaping India's foreign policy by integrating military strength with diplomatic initiatives. However, the intersection of its responsibilities with those of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) and the Ministry of Home Affairs can result in inconsistent policies, as evidenced by the delayed reaction to the coup in Myanmar in 2021. Additionally, the insufficient presence of military officials in key policy-making institutions, such as the National Security Council (NSC), restricts the influence of operational considerations on diplomatic choices (Šumit Ganguly, 2022).

Although civilian authorities maintain formal oversight of foreign policy, the military plays a vital role by offering essential capabilities and insights that inform diplomatic choices. The armed forces provide counsel without imposing directives; ultimate authority lies with the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). In India, the military functions as both a facilitator and

implementer of foreign policy, serving as the foundation of hard power in diplomatic interactions. As articulated by former Army Chief Gen. Bipin Rawat, “The military advises, the government decides”—a nuanced equilibrium that supports India's democratic integrity. Nonetheless, there have been occasions where disagreements have emerged between civilian leaders (including political figures and bureaucrats) and the military regarding strategic priorities, resource distribution, and the scope of operational independence (R. Abhyankar, Personal Communication, Nov. 24, 2022).

Civilian governance under Nehru dismissed military recommendations to prepare for potential Chinese aggression, resulting in a disastrous defeat. This decision fostered a lasting atmosphere of mistrust and allegations of excessive political control. Similarly, although Indira Gandhi's assertive leadership received commendation, the military expressed dissatisfaction with political interference in operational matters, notably the postponement of the Dhaka offensive for diplomatic considerations. The military also criticized the political leadership's initial hesitance to permit cross-Line of Control strikes, perceiving it as a sign of indecision. Furthermore, the civilian-led Ministry of Defence (MoD) frequently delays procurement processes due to concerns over corruption (such as the Bofors scandal) or conflicts between ministries, which frustrates the military's urgent requests for essential equipment. While the military promotes indigenization efforts (such as the Tejas aircraft and Arjun tanks), it often finds itself at odds with civilian priorities that favor cost-effective foreign imports (like Rafale jets). Despite advocating for a unified command structure for many years, the role of Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), established in 2020, continues to be limited by bureaucratic obstacles and political authority (Sneha P, 2021).

India's civil-military relations exhibit a degree of stability when contrasted with its neighbors that are more susceptible to coups; however, tensions arise from differing priorities:

- **Civilian Priorities:** Emphasis on diplomatic caution, financial responsibility, and electoral considerations.
- **Military Priorities:** Concentration on operational preparedness, credibility of deterrence, and the preservation of institutional independence (R. Abhyankar, Personal Communication, Nov. 24, 2022).

7.2.6 Cabinet Committee on Security

It is widely recognized that the principle of collective responsibility within a parliamentary system is fundamental. However, this collective responsibility can only be invoked when the cabinet reaches consensus on all pertinent issues. In this context, the body responsible for making collective decisions regarding national security and foreign policy is referred to as the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS). This committee is chaired by the Prime Minister and includes key ministers overseeing ministries essential to the nation's security. In India, it is customary for decisions related to foreign policy, which are finalized at the levels of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), to be presented to the CCS for review and approval. Although the CCS has not been known to overturn any foreign policy decisions made by the MEA and finalized by the PMO, it does possess the authority to discuss relevant issues, and members may provide constructive feedback if they have strong opinions. Overall, the role of the CCS in shaping foreign policy decisions in India tends to be more procedural and traditional rather than having a significant impact on previously established

decisions. However, the CCS remains a crucial entity in the formulation of foreign policy within the larger context of the country's parliamentary system (Pimparkar, 2023).

7.2.7 Role of Regional Politics, Political Parties and States (Para Diplomacy)

Para diplomacy is the term used to describe the diplomatic activities carried out by non-central governments. When sub-national entities such as states, provinces, or even cities engage in managing external relations to advance their own interests, it is referred to as Para diplomacy. The use of concepts like 'town twinning' or 'sister cities' highlights the growing popularity of this practice. In India, this phenomenon has gained momentum, particularly since 2014 when Prime Minister Modi came into office. Para diplomacy serves various purposes that make it a valuable tool. Typically, regional governments rely on resources provided by the central government for their operations. However, every government has its limitations in terms of resources. Therefore, through sub-state diplomacy, a regional government can attract foreign direct investment. Additionally, in a diverse country like India, Para diplomacy provides regional governments with the opportunity to create a development model that addresses local needs. Consequently, scholars often argue that Para diplomacy contributes to the globalization of local issues. The increasing prevalence of Para diplomacy can be attributed to the dual influences of globalization and liberalization. As the global economy becomes more interconnected, state governments are not immune to global trends. Consequently, in order to advance their interests, state governments also participate in international diplomacy (Banerji, 2023).

Post-1967, Para diplomacy gained significance in India due to the rise of regional coalition governments, which granted more autonomy to the states. However, its impact

was initially limited. It gained momentum in the 1990s following liberalization. A notable example is the agreement between the government of Maharashtra and Enron, a Texas electric giant, along with General Electric, to finance the Dabhol Project when the power sector was opened to private foreign investors in 1992. The project only became operational with active support from the Central government. Currently, many states are increasingly embracing this opportunity to pursue economic reforms and expand their outreach. Initiatives like Vibrant Gujarat, Magnetic Maharashtra, Invest Odisha, and similar efforts by Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Haryana, and the North-East region reflect this trend (Wojczewski, 2020).

Border States also play a crucial role in promoting trade with neighboring countries. Punjab, for instance, has developed additional trade routes at the Wagah border, while Tripura has excelled in organizing border hats. Furthermore, sub states' foreign diplomacy extends beyond the economic realm and encompasses areas such as security, environment, and resource management. Para diplomacy can also present certain challenges. There have been instances where the Union and state governments have disagreed on a policy, putting the nation's interests at risk. For example, Mamta Banerjee, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, prevented former Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh from signing the Teesta Water Agreement with Bangladesh. Likewise, Tamil Nadu insisted that India should not support the US resolution against Sri Lanka in the UNHRC. Additionally, Kerala insisted on taking action against the Italian marines who killed two fishermen, which strained relations between India and the European Union (David M. Malone, 2015).

Local parties do not bypass the federal government by pursuing their own independent international endeavors; instead, they exert both direct and indirect influence on the central government's foreign policy decisions. A prime example of this can be seen in the DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) and AIADMK (All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam), two provincial parties in India, who have consistently expressed their preferences regarding India's relationship with Sri Lanka, particularly in terms of showing solidarity with the Tamil minority. The 2013 UNHCR resolution and its aftermath posed significant challenges for the central government. In response, the DMK insisted that India should modify the resolution to specifically accuse Colombo of committing massacres and war crimes, especially after the United States supported a more stringent resolution.

One major contributing factor to this dynamic is the evolving role of regional parties as supporting players within the fragile coalition governments at the national level. The Indian National Congress (INC) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the two main national parties, have had to form broad alliances with numerous smaller regional parties since 1998. The structure of these coalitions, particularly the level of interdependence between local and national coalition formation practices, and the strong preferences of regional parties (often expressed through their platforms or during local assembly discussions) are crucial factors in shaping the central and combined settings of Indian politics under specific circumstances. In such situations, astute local party leadership can exploit the vulnerabilities of the ruling federal government to advance their own foreign policy choices or secure other concessions in terms of strategy and voting, depending on the official and situational context. Similarly, both center and state

parties can mobilize larger coalitions to garner support for their foreign policy agendas by offering policy proposals and voting support to provincial parties (Nicolas Blarel, 2021).

In South Asia, there is a complex interplay between the people, territories, economic activities, and cultural aspects within and across different groups, which do not align uniformly with national governments. India, in particular, stands out as a "unique type of nation" due to these structural dynamics. Consequently, the presence of Sikh, Tamil, and Kashmiri ethnic groups in India's Border States will inevitably impact its relations with Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Developments in the bordering states will also have repercussions on India's Border States, while West Bengal will be influenced by the happenings in Bangladesh.

India's states, which serve as its federal subdivisions, actively participate in the formulation and implementation of regional strategies. These strategies, in turn, are influenced by political movements, rivalries between political parties, civil and ethnic unrest, and the overall state of the economy. The country's foreign policy is significantly shaped by factors such as a fragile and fragmented coalition government in New Delhi or the urgent need to engage with global markets, finances, and technology. A prime example of this is India's "Look East" strategy, which reflects its concerns regarding radical organizations operating in the region between Assam and Bhutan (Chadda, 2019).

7.2.8 Role of Leadership and Personality

Leadership, particularly in top positions like the Prime Minister, establishes the vision and strategic course for India's foreign policy. The vision is shaped by a leader's personality traits, ideology, cognition and worldview. For example, a leader with a strong

nationalist ideology may give importance to policies that highlight sovereignty and self-sufficiency, whereas a leader with a more global perspective may concentrate on fostering robust international ties and alliances.

Since Narendra Modi assumed control in 2014, the country has witnessed a notable enhancement in its political and economic stability owing to his resolute policies. Following the Bharatiya Janata Party's triumph in 2014 and Modi's nomination as Prime Minister, India has experienced the emergence of a genuinely populist leader, resulting in substantial ramifications for the development of its foreign policy. Populist leaders often establish new channels of direct communication with the people they represent, particularly on matters related to external affairs. In such scenarios, the popular interpretation of national interests and the prevailing ideology of the populist leader may take precedence over traditional foreign policy principles. Modi's extensive foreign travels in a short period mark a departure from past practices, reflecting a paradigm shift in international politics following the end of the Cold War. This shift has brought non-traditional issues to the forefront of global discussions with great intensity. India's foreign policy has been compelled to adjust to these transformations, confronting a plethora of obstacles that cannot be effectively tackled solely through traditional security measures. Throughout Modi's tenure, there has been a clear emphasis on tackling non-conventional matters, especially in the realm of strengthening cultural connections via cultural diplomacy. The 'Make in India' initiative, one of his flagship projects, exemplifies the influence of non-traditional measures on Indian policies (Johannes Plagemann, 2019).

India's foreign policy has experienced a significant transformation, and Modi's leadership has effectively positioned the country as a prominent global power, gaining

recognition on the international stage. The visits made by Indian Prime Ministers to countries like Canada, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and others have been long-awaited for decades. Additionally, Modi has actively engaged with major powers such as France, China, Russia, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. He has also made a point to visit smaller and more remote nations like Fiji, Mongolia, Mauritius, and the Seychelles. By April 2016, Modi had already visited over 40 nations, surpassing the travel records of his predecessors by several years or even decades. His participation in the high-profile summits like the ASEAN summit, the East Asia Summit, BRICS summit, climate change and nuclear summits, the G-20 summit, and the SCO summit further demonstrates his active involvement in the global affairs(Surya, 2016).

India is presently witnessing a wave of enthusiasm due to the efforts of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his emphasis on the concept of "progressive national interest." The "Brand India" trade spot program, which focuses on the 5Ts - talent, tradition, tourism, technology, and trade, serves as notable soft power assets for fostering more beneficial and fruitful connections with countries worldwide. The fact that he invited the leadership of South Asian states to his oath-taking ceremony and made reciprocal visits to all South Asian nations demonstrates the popularity of his "neighbourhood first policy" in the region. The significance of India's policy towards its neighbors has grown since the 1990s, and its true impact has become more pronounced in recent times. India is currently effectively utilizing its soft power resources in the realm of external policy to inspire its neighbors based on reciprocal ties. Mishra associates the development of the nation's external policy with the personalities of different Indian

leaders. He suggests that the intellectual and political inclinations of leaders like Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Shashtri, Rajiv Gandhi, Vajpayee, and Gujral, who have demonstrated their significance in key moments of strategic policymaking, are reflected in the country's external policy (S., 2016).

Modi's approach towards Pakistan is marked by a combination of coalition diplomacy and bilateral diplomacy. Through his bilateral interactions, Modi has adeptly switched between participating in and stepping back from dialogues, a strategy that can be compared to "cooperation" and "defection" according to game theory analysts. Modi has continuously advocated for involvement instead of reviving the composite dialogue, establishing himself as the key figure. He has been willing to withdraw from discussions whenever Pakistan has insisted on prioritizing the Kashmir dispute. In addition to employing cooperate-and-defect tactics in bilateral diplomacy, Modi has sought to leverage anti-terrorism demands from a coalition of states, particularly Pakistan's Gulf neighbors. Central to Modi's approach is the emphasis on terrorism as the primary focus of discussions between India and Pakistan. Modi has expressed his intention to solely focus on addressing terrorism concerns during his tenure, while avoiding any discussions related to the Kashmir issue (Bajpai, 2017: 69-71).

Therefore, it is clear that the institutionalization of India's foreign policy formulation and implementation has been accompanied by the impact of individual characteristics exhibited by the Prime Ministers. Each Prime Minister possessed distinct attributes, as well as common traits, that played a role in promoting India's national interests. As a result, India has benefited from the collective contributions made by these leaders. Narendra Modi's personality has transformed India's foreign policy into one that

is assertive, personalized, and audacious. His combination of practical transnationalism and a sense of civilizational pride established India as a pivotal player in a multipolar global landscape. However, Modi's concentrated authority over foreign policy, such as circumventing the Ministry of External Affairs bureaucrats in diplomatic engagements with the Gulf, facilitates swift decision-making but may undermine institutional expertise. Likewise, the establishment of the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) and the Department of Military Affairs illustrates his commitment to cohesive defense strategy development (Šumit Ganguly, 2022).

7.2.9 BJP's Policy towards Pakistan

Five years of steady rule followed the BJP's reappearance to authority in 1999. Prior to this, the BJP's one-year term in office from 1998 to 1999 resulted in significant foreign policy initiatives like the May 1998 nuclear weapons test, the visit to Pakistan, and the following Lahore Pronouncement. During this time, there was also a significant armed standoff known as the Kargil crises, in which Pakistan and India were both immersed in a high-intensity competition with an approaching prospect of a full-scale armed escalation (Abhyankar, 2022).

The BJP's stance on Pakistan is heavily influenced by its communal justifications. The party opposes Pakistan due to its strong adherence to extreme Hindu nationalist ideology. Politically, it has consistently condemned the Congress party for making concessions to Pakistan. The BJP believes that the most effective approach in dealing with Pakistan is through confrontation. Hindu nationalists have continuously criticized

India's foreign policy towards Pakistan with great hostility. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the BJP's precursor, played a significant role in shaping Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan. The Janata Party's brief period in power during the late 1970s had a notable impact on the direction of Pakistan's external policies. Since its establishment, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has censured the Congress party for not prioritizing India-Pakistan relations. It has advocated for increased attention from the central government on border tensions, minority rights, infiltration, and the Kashmir issue. The party views China and Pakistan as threats and risks to India's territorial integrity (Surya, 2016).

The ongoing conflict in Kashmir continues to strain relations between India and Pakistan. India accuses Pakistan of being directly responsible for the turmoil in Kashmir, labeling it as "Cross-Border Terrorism." The BJP has strongly condemned the previous government's Kashmir policy, labeling it as ineffective and hollow. In contrast, the Congress' approach to Kashmir has been criticized by the BJP for being myopic and failing to address internal issues. The BJP asserts that Kashmir is an integral part of India and urges Pakistan to refrain from instigating unrest and terrorist activities in the region. The BJP has recently abolished Article 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution, which grants special status to Jammu and Kashmir, a provision it has consistently opposed (Saffee, 2016).

The BJP's pragmatism is shaped by the dynamic interplay between theory and practice. Utilizing both force and diplomacy, the party effectively pursues its external policy objectives. The BJP always wanted to achieve its goals through diplomatic negotiations and the credible threat of military action. The BJP's foreign policy strategy is deeply rooted in domestic considerations, with its electoral and political strategies being

influenced by the domestic political landscape. Leveraging emotive rhetoric, the BJP harnesses its domestic resources to its advantage. The party's ascent to power is bolstered by its stance against Pakistan, Muslims, cultural relativism, and composite cultures. By capitalizing on popular issues during state elections and employing counter-narratives, the BJP effectively garners support from the public (Hughes, 2019).

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) insinuated that India's political system had a propensity for war and portrayed Pakistan as a significant threat to India's territorial integrity and sovereignty. This strategy allowed the BJP to consolidate its political position and fortify the intellectual underpinnings on which it confronts Pakistan. By capitalizing on these moments of crisis, the BJP bolsters its support base, convinces its followers of its adherence to its stated principles, and deflects criticism from rival political parties. The BJP employs anti-Muslim rhetoric because the development of its Hindutva ideology necessitated a confrontational faction to safeguard and reinforce its intellectual foundations. The formation of Pakistan serves as validation for the BJP's communalist perception of Indian civilization and the communalist perspective it embodies in Indian politics. The BJP and its supporters are further encouraged to revise and reinterpret history through the promotion of their Hindu worldview. In doing so, they deepen their biases and animosity towards these groups, while establishing Hindutva and Hindu majoritarianism as the prevailing norms in Indian state policy (Mukherjee, 2022).

The foreign policy of the BJP, within the confines of the current statecraft, is shaped by various factors such as philosophical undercurrents, practical geostrategic and geopolitical objectives, and rationalist accentuating tools. This creates a normative discourse that starkly contrasts with the INC. However, the BJP lacks an established

institutional framework for decision-making regarding Pakistan or its overall foreign policy. Instead, it adopts a customized decision framework that primarily revolves around the decision maker. Furthermore, when in power, the BJP strategically manipulates and influences public opinion to its advantage, employing a top-down approach. It upholds certain narratives and employs foresightful rhetoric to mold domestic dynamics in line with its ideological principles, thereby strengthening its philosophical stance and political support within the country.

The BJP actively cultivates anti-Pakistan sentiment among its followers and showcases it in relevant platforms and particularly during election campaigns. The party garners votes and backing by adeptly navigating the domestic political landscape and fostering a confrontational stance towards Pakistan. The BJP places greater emphasis on domestic contextualization in shaping foreign policy as compared to the Congress. The Congress, on the other hand, faces constraints in decision-making due to opposition within the domestic environment. The BJP, however, relies on internal circumstances to craft and uphold a narrative that bolsters its political standing. Utilizing domestic conditions to ascend to power, the BJP then focuses on maintaining its support base by reaffirming its firm positions on various issues. The BJP celebrates events like Kargil war and the withdrawal of Pakistani forces as a significant triumph. To sway public opinion, the BJP government led by Modi in 2017 declared surgical strikes on Azad Kashmir, portraying it as a major achievement. This narrative was employed during the UP and Punjab election campaigns (Mazumdar, 2017).

There was an abundance of rhetoric surrounding Modi's Pakistan policy. In reality, the realm of foreign affairs offers minimal space for a significant shift in policy direction.

With the change in leadership, there may be alterations in doctrine or attitude towards foreign policy. Modi strived to restrict Pakistan's foreign policy options by avoiding any actions that would favor Pakistan and fostering relationships with nations that have historically had friendly ties with Pakistan. He persistently spoke out against Pakistan on the global stage and engaged in diplomatic endeavors to isolate Pakistan across all fronts (Mukherjee, 2022).

7.3 Factors Influencing India's Foreign Policy Making

7.3.1 Cultural Values and Soft Power Strategies

India has implemented numerous effective soft power tactics to bolster its influence and standing on a worldwide scale. Bollywood, Indian cuisine, secular ideas, liberal democracy, popular religious ideas and traditions, are all viewed as an assets of Indian foreign policy and plays a significant part in determining India's soft power strategies. In this regard, India's deep historical connection with Buddhism and India's age-old civilization has provided a foundation to establish diplomatic links of India with Asian and all other countries around the world. India has already incorporated Buddhism as an important aspect of its foreign policy tool and its influence can be seen in the growing relations of India with South East and East Asian countries over the years. Japan and Mongolia, the two important geopolitical regions for India, constitute an important part of India's Act East Policy. The two countries have great faith in Buddhism and both of them have adopted and preserved Buddhism since it was introduced in their respective lands. Although there is an ancient historical link between India with Japan and Mongolia, modern-day diplomatic relations between them started soon after India got independence from the colonial power (Chandra, 2017).

Institutions such as the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) are instrumental in advancing Indian culture, education, and public diplomacy on a global scale. Through the organization of cultural events, exchange programs, and academic initiatives, they work towards bolstering India's soft power and fostering stronger people-to-people connections. India's burgeoning education sector, coupled with its reputation as a prominent destination for higher education and research, attracts students and scholars from various corners of the world. Collaborations between Indian universities, research institutions, and their international counterparts facilitate the exchange of knowledge and the establishment of academic partnerships that further enhance India's soft power. By harnessing digital platforms and social media, India effectively engages with a worldwide audience, sharing insights into its culture, policies, and accomplishments, thereby influencing international perceptions. Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube serve as vital tools for Indian diplomats, government officials, and cultural organizations to connect with diverse global audiences (Chadda, 2019).

Presently, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) the ruling party is an entirely sectarian group that opposes the secular character of Indian politics, in which the state and society live together. Muslims and Hindus are portrayed by the BJP as having opposite, absolute identities. The Hindutva movement is supported by the BJP, which aspires to rule the traditions and value systems through majoritarianism. Right now, the BJP's external policy is a mix of fierce Hindu nationalism and the rationalist pursuit of policy options. India is a staunch supporter of the status quo and, having secured its supremacy in the region, intends to take on a greater role globally. Indian elite yearns for a favorable and

encouraging global environment that might assuage India's global aspirations, taking into account its special geographic location, primeval history, democracy, culture and natural resources (Iyer, 2020).

The Hindu nationalist movement's long-standing goal of rewriting history is once again being pursued by the Modi administration, which is promoting the dominance of Hindu ideals and folklore. Through this, the BJP seeks to propagate prevailing Hindu ideals and portray Muslims as oppressors. The BJP views Pakistan through a communal lens and is enmeshed in a competition and hostility with Muslims based on false religious and cultural justifications. The animosity against Pakistan was apparent in Modi's very first address during his election campaign, in which he harshly criticized the UPA government for having accorded the Pakistani Prime Minister etiquette. Modi repeatedly pledged during his election campaign that if his party is elected, it will retain a stern stance against Pakistan and will utilize appropriate measures to respond. Modi won the elections with anti-Pakistan rhetoric, which is still fundamentally the BJP's political strategy. By accusing Pakistan of importing terrorism into India, Modi also profited from emotive sentimentalism and hyper-nationalism (Bajpai, 2017).

India upholds the principle of 3Cs: culture, commerce, and connectivity. The country has continuously adapted to changing domestic requirements and ever-changing global circumstances. India's external policy incorporates a significant focus on economic and cultural aspects. Recent years have seen the widespread adoption of India's strategies, such as "neighbourhood first policy," promoting economic growth, enhancing national security, and preserving Indian culture and civilizational values.

7.3.2 Geography, Population and Size

Foreign policy, or geopolitics, is largely influenced by geographical variables. India is the largest country in South Asia and is located in the middle of Asia. India's neighbourhood is challenging, characterized by competition and warfare, despite the Himalayas and its long coastline serving as a degree of isolation from its neighbours. India's land borders with Pakistan and China are the most important and divisive. Nuclear weapons are present in all three nations. Bangladesh, Myanmar, Nepal, and Bhutan all border India. India views Sri Lanka and the Maldives as immediate neighbours across the ocean, and it also has a unique relationship with Mauritius, despite the island nation's large population being of Indian descent (Kumar R. , 2016).

Beyond these close neighbours, India's extended neighbourhood also encompasses Iran and the Persian Gulf, as well as South-East Asia via Myanmar and the Indian Ocean. In the meantime, India's sizable and prosperous Diaspora strengthens India's sense of ties to countries like Fiji, Africa, the Caribbean, and South-East Asian nations like Malaysia and Singapore. Large Indian Diasporas supply some of the mid-level professional and much other labour needed by the ambitious infrastructure and wider economic ambitions of Saudi Arabia and the sheikhdoms of the Gulf, which are rapidly modernizing their countries. A considerable economic interdependence with the Middle East has resulted from India's mounting energy imports from the oil-rich Middle East to meet its rising energy needs (David M. Malone, 2015).

India seeks South Asia for the sake of its own economic growth. Indian policymakers realize how important India's neighbourhood is to the country's stability, growth, security, aspirations for the region, and ambitions for the world. India's concern regarding security is an additional vital factor. Ensuring that neighboring countries do not

become sanctuaries for individuals involved in anti-Indian activities, such as perpetrators and rebel groups, or serve as a launching pad for other nations to initiate actions against India, remains a fundamental objective of its regional approach (S., 2016).

Correspondingly, the territorial expanse of a state plays a crucial role in shaping its foreign policy, with larger states holding more sway in global matters. For instance, India ranks as the seventh-largest sovereign state globally, and its substantial size elucidates its ambitions to establish itself as a major player in the realm of international relations. Similarly, the vast territories of the United States, China, and Russia serve as pivotal factors contributing to their prominence on the world stage. Conversely, smaller countries often lack the opportunity to exert substantial influence on the international podium. Smaller island nations situated in the Asia-Pacific area and within Africa typically do not wield significant power in global political affairs. India's expansive size and strategic positioning at the intersection of various regions such as South-East Asia, West Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, and China establish it as a geopolitically important nation on the global stage. India's extensive population not only reinforces its distant policy but also holds significant implications for its human resources. The sheer magnitude of its population makes it impossible for any major nation to disregard. However, India recognizes the need for support from other countries to effectively address the growing needs of its people (Mahmood, 2020).

India's foreign policy is molded by its distinctive geographical location, significant population, and expansive territory, all of which influence its security priorities, economic objectives, regional ambitions, and global immersion strategies. India aims to

utilize its demographic and geographic strengths to advance its national goals, boost its global reputation, and play a role in fostering worldwide peace, stability, and progress.

7.3.3 Economic Sovereignty and Development

Any state's foreign policy rhetoric is significantly shaped by its economic progress. Strong economies served as the foundation for many prosperous empires. History has shown that the economically dominant nations, whether it was Great Britain until the 19th century or the United States in the 20th century are the one that established their hegemony, authority, and control over the rest of the world. In terms of economic development, India has recently made great strides. India's speedy financial expansion has propelled it to the seventh leading economy in the world, and it is currently the third biggest in terms of PPP (purchasing power parity). According to information made public by the Indian government's Ministry of Finance in July 2015, India's GDP reached US dollar two trillion (Bank, 2021).

Given that it took almost 60 years (after independence) to reach one trillion and only seven years to from one trillion to two trillion, this is a noteworthy accomplishment. According to all forecasts, India would become the third biggest economy in the world by 2030. India's reputation in the world has improved as a result of its economic progress. In the majority of the multilateral discussions, it has switched from being a rule-follower to a rule-maker. This is also the reason India was able to end the nuclear apartheid practiced by the powers of the status quo and even completed successful nuclear agreements with numerous nations, including the United States. Strategic partnership agreements have already been reached between many nations and India. India's economic sovereignty empowers the nation to devise and execute trade policies, monetary reforms, and

investment plans that are in line with its internal priorities, industrial growth, technological advancements, and market entry prerequisites. With the help of its economic might, India is able to efficiently oversee its natural possessions, energy sources, and strategic resources, thereby guaranteeing resource sustainability, energy security and ecological stewardship (Chandra, 2017).

Since a large number of Indians work abroad and contribute to India's capability to generate soft power in the conduct of its interactions with other nations, India's technological advancement, particularly in information technology, has provided India's foreign policy an additional advantage. The acceleration of India's actions abroad can be attributed to the significant contribution made by the Indian Diaspora to its foreign policy. It comes as no surprise that Prime Minister Narendra Modi, during his recent trips overseas, actively engaged with events specifically organized for the Indian community residing abroad. Many individuals of Indian inheritance have achieved notable leadership roles in various countries, notably in the United States. Moreover, a significant portion of Indian professionals hold CEO positions in prominent multinational companies such as Microsoft. Their contributions have greatly enhanced India's global reputation and bolstered its ability to effectively pursue foreign policy objectives. It comes as no surprise that the former Finance Minister, Chidambaram, expressed that India's economic growth has led to an enhancement of its reputation within the global community. Chidambaram emphasized that India's recognition is not solely based on its ability to launch rockets or satellites, its large population, or its dominant position in Asia. Rather, it is India's potential to emerge as an economic superpower that has garnered acknowledgment worldwide (Parthasarathy, 2022).

India's growing economy enhances its diplomatic clout on the global platform. The nation's economic strength provides it with substantial bargaining power in talks with other countries, allowing it to further its national objectives more efficiently across different sectors like trade, finance, and defense partnerships. India's economic influence in South Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific region enables it to take on a leading position in promoting regional unity and collaboration. Through external policy endeavors like the "Act East" policy, India prioritizes bolstering economic ties, developing infrastructure, and facilitating trade within the region to promote stability and prosperity. Actively engaging in forums like the G20, BRICS, and WTO, India advocates for reforms that align with the priorities of emerging economies and developing nations. Leveraging its economic strength, India contributes to shaping global standards, policies, and institutions across a spectrum of issues including trade, finance, climate change, and sustainable development. The country's economic advancement equips it with the necessary resources to enhance its security and defense capabilities, encompassing modernization of the armed forces, investment in defense technology, and bolstering maritime security. A robust economy enables India to uphold a credible deterrence stance and pursue strategic autonomy in its defense strategies (Horimoto, 2017).

India's robust economy plays a crucial role in shaping its foreign policy, guiding its endeavors to boost diplomatic sway, foster regional unity, offer development aid, champion global governance reforms, and fortify national security. India has solidified its position as a significant player in the global economy; therefore its economic might will continue to be a fundamental factor influencing its foreign policy goals and strategies in the future.

7.3.4 Technological Progress and Military Power

Both technological advancement and economic growth are strongly related. Therefore, economically prosperous nations also benefit technologically. Developed countries provide developing and underdeveloped states with technology and expertise, yet they also possess the ability to shape their foreign policies. The progression of military technology has further increased the reliance of less affluent nations on more advanced countries. As Rosenau correctly points out, “Technological advances can affect a society’s standing and role in the international system, as well as its military and economic capabilities.” Nevertheless, through the cultivation of semi-skilled, skilled, and trained workforce, developing nations can effectively counterbalance the technological dominance of advanced nations. South Korea, Germany, and Japan, owing to their technological prowess, have assumed pivotal roles in global affairs. In the present scenario, India and China have also gained considerable influence in international politics by virtue of their ability to embrace and adapt to emerging technologies (Parthasarathy, 2022).

India currently ranks third in the Army, fourth in the Air Force, and sixth in the Navy in terms of overall military strength. The nation's remarkable technological advancements and military capabilities serve as a significant deterrent against external threats and acts of aggression. The formidable presence of India's robust military guarantees the safeguarding of its territorial integrity, sovereignty, and overall national security. India's military capabilities play a crucial role in shaping its foreign policy decisions, defense stance, and strategic partnerships. Being a prominent power in the region, India is able to exert its influence, deter potential adversaries, and uphold a

balance of power through its military strength. As a result, India's influence extends beyond its borders, molding the geopolitical landscape and impacting regional dynamics. Additionally, India's defense sector and technological capabilities have played a significant role in fostering strategic alliances and defense cooperation agreements with other nations. By employing military diplomacy, exporting defense equipment, conducting joint military exercises, and signing technology transfer treaties, India strengthens its defense connections with key allies, thereby enhancing the regional security framework and fostering stronger bilateral relationships (Horimoto, 2017).

7.3.5 Hindu Nationalism

A strong alternative to Indian nationalism has surfaced in the form of Hindu patriotism. This ideology questions and condemns the principles of a shared culture, deeming them inconsistent with past precedents. Hindu nationalism represents a fusion of culture, society, and politics deeply embedded in Hindu beliefs and traditions. Essentially, it can be viewed as a Hindu state. It argues that the unifying aspects of Hindu identity will triumph over any regional or social disparities, asserting that adherence to Hindu principles will define the fundamental essence of distinctiveness among both Indians and non-Indians. But specifically along religio-cultural lines, it highlights a shared cultural legacy. It cognitively upholds and surpasses the idea that India has always been a nation with a Hindu majority and that any other identities, races, or religions pose a threat to this defining characteristic of India. Hindu nationalism endeavors to overcome cultural variety by bracketing all other individualities in an antagonistic medium (Pant, 2023).

This notion is not an artifact of ancient times, but rather a manifestation of contemporary and current societal and political structures established in the name of the majority's consent. The core principle of Hindutva lies at the heart of its modern embodiment. The origins of this prevailing narrative can be traced back to the Vedic era, a historical epoch where the Vedas, the earliest religious texts of Hinduism, were composed between 1500 and 500 BCE. Hindu nationalism refuted the notion that diverse religions and culturally distinct identities peacefully coexisted throughout the evolution of Indian civilization. Instead, it propagated the belief that Hinduism endured as a recurring motif and underlying force (Kallimullah, 2019).

Hindutva has exerted a notable influence on India's foreign policy through multiple channels. It has been instrumental in molding India's interactions with neighboring nations, especially those with substantial Hindu communities or deep-rooted connections to Hindu traditions. Notably, apprehensions regarding the welfare of Hindu minority groups and the safeguarding of cultural legacies have impacted India's diplomatic ties with countries like Nepal and Sri Lanka. Hindu nationalism frequently shapes India's stance towards Pakistan. The historical animosities and religious distinctions between the two nations are occasionally intensified by Hindu nationalist discourse and measures, resulting in strained relations. Matters such as transnational terrorism, territorial disagreements (particularly concerning Kashmir), and religious radicalism are frequently interpreted in the context of Hindu-Muslim interactions, affecting both bilateral ties and regional harmony. Proponents of Hindutva commonly emphasize India's Hindu legacy and cultural distinctiveness, presenting the nation's foreign policy as part of a larger story of cultural pride and national rejuvenation. However, the impact of Hindutva on foreign

policy can vary depending on the political context, leadership priorities, as well as domestic and international considerations (Šumit Ganguly, 2022).

7.3.6 Pakistan and Public Sentiment

Different domestic concerns and the discourse encompassing them frequently exert a significant influence on global policy. To illustrate, India's interactions with Pakistan are shaped by public sentiments and perceived ideas. Irrespective of their political ideologies, policymakers must consider public opinions in their approach towards Pakistan. This inclination towards employing assertive language against Pakistan was conspicuous during Modi's electoral campaign for the Prime Ministerial role. Phrases like "water cannot flow with blood in it" or "we'll retaliate with equal vigor" were utilized for internal political objectives. The sentiment against Pakistan in India is utilized in election campaigns, elevating a local matter to the center of international policy talks. It is evident that Pakistan remains closely linked to India's internal affairs, and Pakistan exerts considerable influence in each election period. Pakistan was a key focus of Modi's 2014 election bid, during which he vehemently criticized Pakistan for backing terrorism in India and warned of serious repercussions. Modi embodies a firm Hindu nationalist viewpoint and upholds a confrontational position towards Pakistan (Mazumdar, 2017).

India views Pakistan as a matter of national importance and its political landscape is heavily influenced by the competition between the two countries. Different regions within India hold varying degrees of negative perceptions towards Pakistan, with some being less intense and sensitive in their attitudes. Pakistan's influence on Indian domestic politics is significant. The Pakistan factor can be seen from two perspectives. Firstly, Indian governments utilize the issue of Pakistan to rally public opinion and steer it

towards a specific policy direction. Secondly, there is constant pressure on the central government to adopt a strong and serious stance against Pakistan. The general public assumes an anti-Pakistan rhetoric. Consequently, the Indian administration actively plots against Pakistan and adopts an aggressive stance in response to significant bilateral events. India's foreign policy towards Pakistan is largely shaped by this dual-level domestic predicament (Wojczewski, 2020).

Pakistan continues to be the focus of Indian external policy hostility. The communal animosity and abhorrence for Pakistan that exist in Indian politics are reflected in the state-level policy decisions in a manner that is consistent with this antipathy. As a result, any such action is justified under the excuse that public sentiment is against Pakistan as a whole. India sees Pakistan as a potential threat or obstacle to India's rapid development, which obstructs India's plans for regional development. India considers Pakistan to be the main security threat due to historical skirmishes, territorial differences (especially over Kashmir), and cross-border terrorism. The Pakistan factor plays a significant role in determining India's foreign policy, affecting strategic choices, mutual ties, regional exchanges, and worldwide engagements. Handling Indo-Pak relations and tackling security challenges between the two nations remain crucial aspects of India's external policy agenda.

7.3.7 Role of Indian Diaspora

Overseas Indians, present in nearly all nations across the globe, play a significant role in influencing India's external relations. In addition to remitting substantial amounts of money to their home country, these individuals also serve as unofficial intermediaries to facilitate increased economic and diplomatic interactions within India. The Indian

diaspora plays a crucial role in contributing to India's economy through remittances and investments. Overseas Indians send remittances that boost India's foreign exchange reserves and economic growth, while investments from the diaspora support various sectors like infrastructure, real estate, technology, and entrepreneurship. These economic contributions influence India's economic policies, trade relations, and investment strategies. Additionally, the Indian diaspora holds significant diplomatic sway in their host countries and regions, acting as cultural ambassadors, community leaders, and advocates for India's interests, values, and policies. They engage with government officials, policymakers, and civil society organizations to strengthen bilateral relations, address common concerns, and advocate for issues important to India. The diaspora is politically active and influential in countries like the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the Gulf countries, where they participate in political processes, electoral campaigns, and advocacy efforts that impact India's interests, including immigration policies, trade agreements, and foreign aid allocations. Scholars posit that the unexpected shift in US policy favoring India can be attributed to the persistent advocacy of Indian-Americans. This phenomenon is not unique to the United States, as similar patterns can be observed in other nations as well. Consequently, the Indian government has successfully overcome initial obstacles and forged stronger alliances with these states (Cheema, 2023).

According to the UN International Migration Report 2019, India emerged as the top country of origin for international migrants, with 17.5 million individuals residing abroad. Mexico followed as the second largest diaspora (11.8 million), trailed by China (10.7 million). The diaspora consistently sends remittances (\$89 billion in 2021-22),

invests, advocates for India on critical matters, showcases Indian culture, and overall, enhances India's reputation through their intellect, diligence, and entrepreneurial spirit, contributing to India's brand value. India actively supports the Indian diaspora/NRIs in times of trouble or discrimination and carries out emergency evacuations from conflict zones. Encouraged by India's efforts to engage with them, overseas Indians/diaspora have reciprocated by participating in India's development projects, such as Make in India and Digital India, and advocating for India with their host nations (S., 2016).

Prime Minister Modi has extended this policy and elevated diaspora diplomacy to a pivotal role in his foreign policy. During his international visits, he consistently emphasized the importance of engaging with the diaspora community in every country, elucidating India's requirements and priorities, and encouraging diaspora members to contribute to India's development through investments. The invisible threads that connect India to its diaspora reinforce the significance of 'diaspora diplomacy' as an integral component of India's foreign policy (Surya, 2016).

7.3.8 The Influence of Media and Public Pressure

Partaking in politics and engaging in the political process is not the sole means of contributing to policy making. Non-political entities, associations, and organizations also play a significant role in determining governmental policies through their influential voices. These groups, commonly referred to as pressure or interest groups, possess the ability to sway governmental plans in alignment with their own interests by utilizing numerous informal channels. While these groups are present in all types of governments, they are particularly active in democratic systems. They effectively advocate for and advance the interests of specific segments of society, exerting pressure on the

government to address their apprehensions through non-political means. Although maximum pressure groups focus on domestic subjects, certain organizations also express interest in matters related to external policy. It is challenging to classify these entities due to the strong connection between their domestic and international operations. Through their organizational structures and significant impact, these groups are capable of expanding their involvement in governmental affairs and policy-making processes. As the largest democracy globally, the governmental systems in India are inevitably influenced by these entities. Various groups such as corporations, arms advocacy organizations, international non-governmental organizations, as well as overseas Indian ideological and cultural associations, are actively engaged in shaping India's foreign policy (Chadda, 2019).

The media not only serves as the main source of information for the public but has also evolved to have a crucial role in shaping and guiding public discourse. Moreover, it informs the public about external policy challenges and sheds light on important aspects of the issue through engaging presentation. State and government bodies also utilize the media to sway public opinion in order to garner support for their foreign policy decisions and objectives. In a democratic society, the media undeniably plays a significant and independent role in influencing public perception on matters related to external policy. However, the levels of domestic political discord or consensus on foreign policy issues, as well as the relationship between the current government and the mass media, are the two main factors determining the media's impact on foreign policy. The media has the ability to capture and maintain attention on a specific policy matter. It can also influence the discussion on a policy by shaping or defining the matter in a specific manner. The

media's influence on foreign policy can also be comprehended by the significant role it plays in offering insight into foreign states and their foreign policies to the local audience (Hussain T. , 2023).

Concerning a distant and strategic policy issues, the Indian media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and government policies. An example of this is the tendency to point fingers at Pakistan whenever an incident occurs in India. The recent attack on the Indian police station in Gurdaspur serves as a clear example. Extremists from Gurdaspur infiltrated from Pakistan to carry out the attack, as reported by TOI on July 27, 2015. This incident further reinforces the bias of the Indian media in framing and accusing Pakistan of terrorism. Moreover, both Indian and Western media outlets often connect terrorism to various global issues such as trade and security. The problem of terrorism is also intertwined with the evolving situation in Afghanistan following the withdrawal of US forces. Furthermore, the Mumbai attack, which received significant media coverage, perpetuated the belief that the Pakistani government collaborates with terrorists, using non-state actors to interfere in India's internal affairs and allowing them to launch attacks from Pakistani territory (Saffee, 2016).

Indian print media has adopted an aggressive and confrontational stance towards Pakistan, impacting the Indian government's foreign policy efforts. An example of this is the TOI publishing an article titled "The epicenter of Pakistan's non-state actors," echoing the sentiments of Indian Minister Rajyavardhan Rathore who emphasized the need to strengthen foreign intelligence gathering and increase the cost of any misadventures by Pakistan. Rathore also stated that India is willing to take action against any nation, including Pakistan, to combat terrorism. The media in India not only influences

government decisions on international issues but also shapes public opinion, particularly regarding Pakistan. The print media in India is strategically working to sway public opinion in a specific direction, with many Indians supporting a hardline approach towards Pakistan, which benefits multiple political parties in India, especially during elections (Saffee, 2016).

The next instance involves the external pressure exerted on the federal government to uphold a tough stance towards Pakistan after the 2008 Mumbai attacks. Manmohan Singh was compelled to acknowledge publicly that India would link bilateral talks with Pakistan to their actions against terrorists launching attacks on India from Pakistani soil. Andersen attributes the shift in India's foreign policy stance since the late 1980s to various factors such as the growing influence of democracy, local advantages in a multiethnic India, the fragmentation of Indian political landscape, the implementation of market reforms, and increased access to information (Rizwi, 2022).

The impact of media and public pressure on India's external policy is substantial and complex. Through molding public opinions, determining priorities, ensuring transparency, spreading awareness, promoting public diplomacy, and defending particular causes, the media and civil society play a significant role in shaping and implementing India's foreign policy goals. Decision-makers consider these pressures while weighing national interests, diplomatic necessities, and public demands to shape a successful and unified foreign policy approach.

7.3.9 Role of Businesses/ Private Sector

The influence of businesses and the private sector on India's foreign policy has markedly increased since the economic reforms of 1991. This shift has been propelled by globalization, economic interdependence, and India's aspirations to emerge as a global economic leader. Prominent business figures often join Indian officials on international trips; for instance, during Prime Minister Modi's 2023 visit to the United States, executives from Reliance, Tata, and Infosys were present, resulting in memorandums of understanding valued in the billions and highlighting commercial interests. Organizations such as the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and FICCI actively promote policies tailored to specific sectors. A notable example is the advocacy by major IT firms like TCS and Wipro for the U.S.-India Tantalization Agreement, aimed at alleviating double taxation on social security, thereby impacting bilateral discussions (Julka, 2025).

The private sector also plays a crucial role in shaping free trade agreements through consultations, as evidenced by the India-UAE Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) of 2022, which was influenced by private sector calls for reduced tariffs on gems, textiles and pharmaceuticals. Additionally, energy companies such as ONGC Videsh and Reliance influence India's relations with oil-rich countries like Russia and Saudi Arabia through their investments in exploration and refining activities. Contributions from the private sector, including Bollywood, yoga, and Ayurveda, further enhance India's international image. During the COVID-19 pandemic, pharmaceutical leaders like Cipla and Dr. Reddy's helped solidify India's status as the "pharmacy of the world." Furthermore, initiatives such as the Tata Group's educational projects in Africa and Mahindra's sustainability efforts align with India's development diplomacy (Iwanek, 2024).

The Indian private sector plays a significant role in the country's economy. It is increasingly looking to expand its presence internationally, tapping into new markets, technologies, and financial resources. This sector holds considerable sway over India's economic and commercial foreign policy decisions. India's private sector actively contributes to shaping the country's stance in various international negotiations, especially when vital national interests are at stake. The growing importance of India's information technology, space studies, as well as tech and data processing industries is now factored into the country's external policy considerations. The substantial financial and professional interests at play have notably impacted India's relations with the U.S. and the broader English-speaking global community. India's foreign policy is centered around the pursuit of rapid economic growth and accumulation of material wealth. By achieving material prosperity and breaking free from the middle-income trap, India aims to have the necessary hard power to safeguard its dominance and ensure internal and external security. With financial power as a solid base, India plays a more prominent role in global political and economic governance, especially when combined with its considerable soft power (Kumar R. , 2016).

Business groups are undoubtedly the most prominent and influential organizations amid interest groups. As Professor Anthony J. Nownes astutely pointed out, regardless of the approach taken, businesses undeniably holds a dominant position in the realm of interest group representation. The dynamics of interest groups in India closely resemble those in the United States. The well-established connection between business groups and political establishments is a widely acknowledged reality in India. Major corporations, such as the Tata's and Birla's, have significantly contributed to shaping India's national

and global perspective. In the era following economic reforms, business associations like FICCI (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry), CII (Confederation of Indian Industry), ASSOCHAM (Associated Chambers of Commerce & Industry of India), NASSCOM (National Association of Software and Service Companies), and others can be compared to advocacy groups in the United States. These organizations work closely with the government to establish a conducive business environment that aligns with the interests of their members.

The role of foreign trade and investment in India's GDP has been steadily increasing since the 1990s. Much of the engagement between businesses and the government aims to influence policy decisions that benefit Indian exporters, importers, recipients of foreign direct investment, and Indian investments overseas. The government, in return, leverages the expertise and resources of these business groups to conduct economic diplomacy. It has become customary for high-ranking officials, including Presidents, Vice Presidents, Prime Ministers, and relevant Ministers, to be accompanied by business delegations on official trips abroad. Likewise, when foreign leaders visit India to strengthen ties with Indian businesses, the country's Embassy and Ministry of External Affairs involve these business groups in organizing business-related events. These activities not only empower Indian businesses to shape domestic policies but also to engage with foreign governments. A notable example is the favorable environment cultivated for Indian IT companies in the United States through continuous lobbying efforts by NASSCOM (Pimparkar, 2023).

The economic interests, trade and investment activities, diplomatic engagements, technological innovation, CSR initiatives, and advocacy efforts of the private sector have

a substantial impact on India's foreign policy. A number of specialized cells have been established within the MEA with the purpose of deciding disputes and fostering the growth of India's trade exports. The government actively pursues the input and apprehensions of business entities prior to announcing any new policies. Additionally, the MEA maintains regular communication with business organizations and takes appropriate measures to facilitate their participation in the domestic market (Cafiero, 2023).

India's private sector has evolved from a passive participant to an engaged collaborator in shaping foreign policy, especially under Prime Minister Modi's pro-business initiatives, such as "Make in India" and "Act East policy." These enterprises enhance India's economic influence and soft power on the global stage. Pakistan on the other hand encounters various challenges at both regional and global levels due to the formidable economy and thriving private sector of India. These factors significantly impact and contribute to shaping India's foreign policy. Leveraging its business enterprises, India effectively forms influential international alliances to counter Pakistan's interests.

7.3.10 Pressure Groups and NGOs

Voices of non-political groups, associations and organizations are important sources of influence in shaping government policies, including foreign and security policies. Some of these groups, like friendship associations, are formally established and registered with the concerned authorities and have greater access to the policymakers, while others are informal but wield influence primarily through making their views known through various media, including through writings in influential journals and

magazines, and lately through social media. NGOs are growing in stature not only for their work among the masses in India but also for significantly influencing policy decisions, some of which have a bearing on India's external relations. NGOs dealing with environment, human rights and migration issues are very active in India. Organizations like Amnesty International India and Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI) pressure India to address issues like extra judicial killings in Kashmir. Likewise, Farmer organizations, such as the Bharatiya Kisan Union, along with industry associations like the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), play a significant role in shaping India's negotiations at the World Trade Organization (WTO). They actively contest inequitable subsidies and promote the need for greater market access (Tripathi, 2018).

Pressure groups and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) advocate for explicit policy options and interests related to the foreign policy priorities of India. They interact with policymakers, government representatives, and political frontrunners to influence decision-making, outline policy debates, and promote their programs on issues such as human rights, environmental safety, universal health, and global development. Numerous NGOs and research institutions conduct studies, analysis, and policy research on numerous aspects of worldwide affairs, counting diplomacy, security, trade, and development. The answers of their investigation and policy recommendations contribute to well-informed decision-making process, public deliberations, and policy development in Indian foreign policy. NGOs and civil society organizations play a dynamic role in monitoring government actions and holding policymakers answerable for their foreign policy choices. They offer autonomous scrutiny, oversight, and censure of government

policies, guaranteeing transparency, accountability, and obedience to democratic principles in India's foreign relations (Šumit Ganguly, 2022).

Organizations such as the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD) facilitate dialogue across borders regarding Kashmir and trade relations. Think tanks and non-governmental organizations (e.g., the Institute of Chinese Studies) organize bilateral discussions aimed at exploring mechanisms for de-escalation. NGOs like the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and Gateway House offer data-driven analyses on geopolitical dynamics, security issues, and economic developments, which contribute to strategies such as the Indo-Pacific Quad and the Act East Policy. The government frequently perceives critical NGOs as oppositional. For instance, advocacy for the rights of Kashmiris or critiques of counterterrorism strategies often encounter resistance, being labeled as "anti-national." Advocacy groups and NGOs serve as catalysts, critics, and knowledge partners within India's foreign policy framework. Although their influence is limited by regulatory and political challenges, they play a vital role in amplifying grassroots issues, promoting cross-border dialogue, and enhancing policy discussions (Horimoto, 2017).

7.3.11 Role of Think Tanks and Academia

In contemporary society, decision-making is no longer solely the responsibility of conventional government bodies; rather, non-governmental entities such as academia and think tanks also contribute to the process. Research institutions and expert professionals specializing in national security, tactical policy making, and external affairs significantly influence the formulation of a country's foreign policy. By operating independently from political and bureaucratic pressures, these civil society groups provide unbiased and

reliable insights to policymakers, aiding them in making informed decisions regarding policy development.

Numerous research groups in India are currently engaged in addressing a range of contemporary questions that consistently shape India's external policy. Likewise, a significant number of highly regarded intellectuals and experts on the global stage are also emerging to spearhead academic endeavors pertaining to both domestic and worldwide affairs. Over the past few decades, the proliferation of public mediums and academic groups has been remarkable. Consequently, extensive debates on several global matters have ensued, ultimately aiding policy makers in gaining a better understanding of the prevailing circumstances. The Government of India, particularly the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Defence, have vigorously supported and encouraged research organizations to undertake significant research plans through several means. Research ventures are primarily awarded through the University Grants Commission (UGC) to experts, research organizations, and area study centers affiliated with universities. Additionally, autonomous research organizations are also granted funds to carry out research doings, which aim to provide the government with fresh concepts for policy-making. In order to foster the development of new concepts and options, the government also provides funding for organizing sessions and meetings on pressing national and worldwide concerns (Kumar R., 2016).

Think tanks have a crucial role in shaping the foreign policy of India. In India, think tanks conduct thorough analysis and research on various aspects of external policy, such as geopolitical trends, regional undercurrents, economic matters, security challenges, and worldwide relations. They offer policymakers with expert analysis,

realistic data, and recommendations to aid in the decision-making process and strategy development. Think tanks also advocate for explicit policy positions, ideas, and agendas associated to Indian foreign policy. They engage with policymakers, government representatives, academia, and the public through seminars, discussions, publications, and media outreach to promote their viewpoints and influence policy discussions. In India, think tanks serve as major platforms for articulating alternative viewpoints, engendering innovative solutions, and fostering well-versed public discourse on foreign policy matters. They act as a link between academia and policy, translating scholarly research and academic insights into practical policy recommendations and solutions. Furthermore, they facilitate collaboration between intellectuals, researchers, practitioners, and policymakers, encouraging interdisciplinary discourse, knowledge exchange, and evidence-based policymaking in the field of foreign affairs (Wojczewski, 2020).

India has a vast network of think tanks that engage in discussions regarding the country's foreign policy and strategic doctrines. Recent statistics reveal that India ranks second among nations with the highest number of operational think tanks, with 509 Indian think tanks consistently being recognized as part of the top 50 globally. These think tanks in India are renowned for their growing community of intellectual elites who contribute to public discourse on policy matters. The organizational capacity of these think tanks is derived from retired diplomats, bureaucrats, military personnel, and academics. The complex relationship between India and Pakistan has had a significant impact on regional integration initiatives in South Asia, and this is often reflected in the global associations and collaborations between the two neighboring countries. Consequently, the dynamics of the India-Pakistan relationship have generated

considerable official and unofficial interest, particularly as a major security concern for India. The research agendas of the majority of think tanks focused on security policy have been centered on India's approach towards Pakistan. Therefore, these think tanks actively participate in the policy-making processes by adopting, enhancing, and articulating the policy directions provided by the state, thus making them significant contributors to India's foreign policy landscape (Menon, 2016).

The majority of Indian think tanks focusing on external and security policy have a strong emphasis on research and advocacy related to policy towards Pakistan. They engage with official processes, provide policy recommendations, and actively participate in various initiatives. Indian think tanks are generally seen as supportive entities that often adopt a state-centric approach in policy development. Since Narendra Modi became Prime Minister, there has been a shift in the relationship between think tanks and policymakers. As India emerges as a major global player, the Modi government has expressed its intention to leverage the expertise of think tanks and enhance the competitiveness of these institutions in response to globalization. The government has prioritized corporate-funded think tanks, particularly those associated with Hindu nationalist ideologies like the VIF (Vivekananda International Foundation), as well as organizations such as the Observer Research Foundation, Brookings Institution India, and Carnegie Endowment India. The VIF, in collaboration with the Ministry of External Affairs, is leading the government's public diplomacy efforts, while the ORF's research initiatives, including the Raisina Dialogue, have garnered significant government support. Additionally, partnerships with the Indian Council of World Affairs, Institute of Chinese

Studies, and Gateway House have led to the establishment of the Gateway of India Dialogue, facilitating discussions on various geo-economic issues (Bhatnagar, 2021).

Indian think tanks play a crucial role in shaping public discourse and promoting specific ideas, filling in information gaps, and supporting policy directions set by the government and top leadership in India. They serve as diplomatic bridges, enhancing India's foreign policy agility. While challenges like funding dependencies and bureaucratic inertia persist, their role in fostering innovation and dialogue remains indispensable.

CHAPTER-8

8. ROLE OF INTERNAL ACTORS AND FACTORS IN INFLUENCING PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

Foreign policy is an infinite discourse between the forces of continuity and the forces of change. It originates at frontiers. The significance of internal factors in shaping a nation's external policy cannot be underestimated. It is influenced by the internal needs of the state and serves as an extension of domestic policies. The capacity of states to take action is limited by the characteristics of states, or national attributes. The internal constraints and obstacles introduce greater complexity and unpredictability to the foreign policy-making process. Complications and limitations arise when an individual or organization disregards the domestic interests of a state. Developing countries face numerous constraints when formulating foreign policy, in contrast to developed and sovereign states. A myriad of social, financial, technological, and political factors influence the extent and nature of interactions between states. These limitations are not only shaped by a state's capabilities, interests, policies, and actions, but also by those of the states it engages with. What may limit one state could serve as a source of power for another state. The external policy making in Pakistan is affected by multiple elements and somehow directly or indirectly nation's military also influence the foreign policymaking (Ammara Tariq, 2019). The process of foreign policy decision making in Pakistan and the key internal factors contributing to this process are thoroughly discussed below.

8.1 Foreign Policy Making Process in Pakistan

The development of foreign policy in Pakistan involves a multitude of actors and institutions, each playing a distinct role in shaping the country's diplomatic goals, strategies, and engagements. At the governmental level, there is a well-defined structure for providing input and carrying out the decision-making procedures. The major political decision-making and approval bodies for Pakistan's foreign policy are the Prime Minister, Federal Cabinet, the Foreign Office and the Parliament. All suggestions pertaining to the formation and management of foreign policy are initiated through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). According to Pakistan's 1973 Constitution, the Prime Minister and his Foreign Office are in charge of formulating the nation's foreign policy. Being the focal point, MOFA starts the process of making policy decisions in accordance with the executives' vision or a foreign policy issue that arises at any given time. The Prime Minister will occasionally provide instructions on how to formulate a response. All relevant Ministries are informed of these agenda items by the Foreign Ministry. The Federal Board of Revenue, Defense, Finance, Interior, and Commerce Ministries are significant decision-makers in the process of formulating foreign policy choices. Any other Ministry may be consulted as needed for their opinion. Additionally, significant organizations like ISI, IB and Joint-Services Headquarters offer their opinions (Chaudhry A. , 2021).

The governmental hierarchy engages in a multifaceted process of analysis, consultation, and choice-making among different alternatives to formulate the external policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in collaboration with other relevant ministries and departments, conducts thorough researches, evaluates international developments, and develops policy options and recommendations. These are then presented to the

highest decision-making bodies of the government, such as the Cabinet and the National Security Committee, for consideration. Given Pakistan's strategic location and security challenges, its foreign policy is intricately linked with national security considerations. Key national security institutions, including the military, intelligence agencies like the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), and the National Security Council (NSC), play pivotal roles in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy priorities, assessing threats, and formulating strategic responses to regional and global developments.

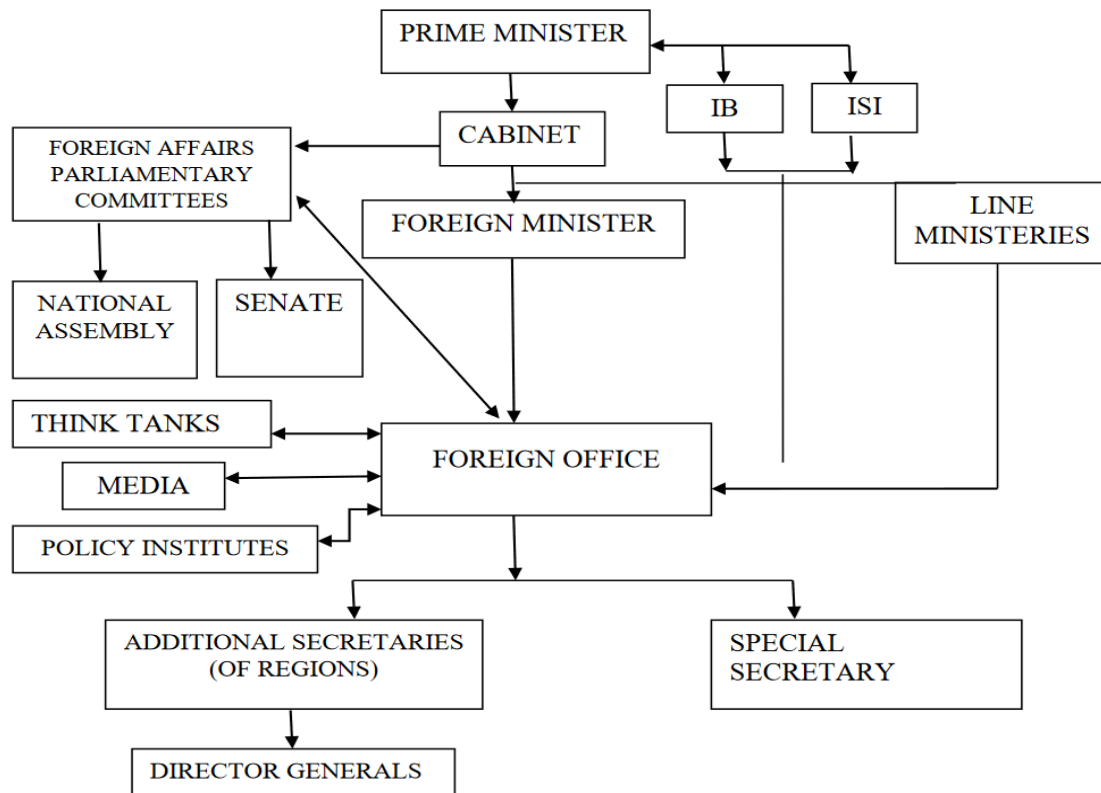
Following the Cabinet acceptance of policy choices, the Prime Minister endorses a decision, which is then carried out by the appropriate officials. Before deciding on a policy alternative, the opinion from the Army and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) is crucial. When it comes to nuclear policy and relations with crucial states like US, India, and Afghanistan etc., top Army leadership plays a key and significant role in concluding the foreign policy choices. A sound and carefully measured external policy decisions act as an effective diplomatic weapon in the contemporary period of international politics. A distinguishing characteristic of successful diplomacy remains the ability to employ an effective and efficient approach in making external policy decisions, ensuring a precise resolution to challenges that emerges during the course of external policy making. In Pakistan, the key input for external policy decisions originate from MOFA. Both the civil as well as military bureaucracies have a well-defined structure, crew of earmarked officers, channel and decision making capabilities (Sheikh H. , 2022).

A nation's grand stratagem revolves around its external policy, which is how "national interests" are communicated and, to some extent, realized abroad. No nation-state, whatever of its size in terms of territory and population, can function without a

sound foreign policy. The nature, character, and demeanor of foreign policy, however, vary greatly from one country to another. For instance, the making and execution of external policy are democratically oriented in liberal democracies like the United States (US) and Germany, but the particulars of foreign policy are problematic in "defective democracies" and "autocracies." Although, in a "defective" democracy like Pakistan, external policy is nominally formulated by Parliament, it is actually influenced by supra-parliamentary entities. The situation in Pakistan is extremely unusual in a sense that it has never been a liberal democracy. It somewhat swings back and forth between being a flawed democracy and an authoritarian one. Pakistan, since its inception was governed by a supra-parliamentary institution known as the civilian bureaucracy which appointed members of its rank and file to senior positions like Governor-General (Ali G. , 2022).

Diagram 8.1

Pakistan's Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process



Source: Developed by the author based on interviews

8.2 Actors Influencing Pakistan’s Foreign Policy Making

8.2.1 Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)

MOFA serves as the central point for coordinating, developing, and implementing foreign policy decisions. It is responsible to the Foreign Secretary, and the Foreign Minister. The Foreign Secretary, typically the highest-ranking diplomat, oversees all foreign policy-related activities. Regional desk officers (Additional Secretary’s, Director Generals, and Assistant Directors) and other divisions within the Ministry offer assistance to the Foreign Secretary. MOFA's main responsibilities comprises of;

1. Formation of policy substitutes after due collaboration, argumentation and coordination with all the key stakeholders (chiefly with the Ministry of Defence, Interior, Finance, Economic Affairs Division, Commerce as well as the Military Establishment).

2. Offering guidance and support to political elite for embracing of a policy alternative.
3. Following policy choices of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister.
4. Ensuring employment of policy choices and feed back to high ups.
5. Maintaining the Ministry as well as all the Missions abroad.
6. Interaction with Foreign Embassies in the Capital.
7. Maintaining liaison with the intelligentsia and relevant Think Tanks.
8. Training and grooming of Foreign Office officers and capacity building of entire work force of MOFA.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister work closely in order to coordinate decisions and issues pertaining to the external policy of country. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is headed by the Foreign Minister, who also assumes the responsibility of making public statements and engaging with the media. Within the legislative framework, the Foreign Minister provides justifications for the decisions made in relation to foreign policy. It is worth noting that the personal attributes and knowledge of a Foreign Minister play a significant role in this context (Ali G. , 2022).

Foreign policy is enhanced and formalized by bureaucracies. They establish operational context for determining external policy choices. Foreign policy is written, documented, and carried out by bureaucracies. Both the formulation and execution of external policy include two different sorts of bureaucracies. One is the political executive, which consists of the Foreign Minister and his nominees and is typically conditional on how long the current administration is in power. Second are the civil officials and cadre

personnel who make up the permanent executive. Both play a part and have an impact on how foreign policy is formalized and put into practice (Ahmad Ali, 2019).

The struggle for power and influence among various governmental departments and agencies in Pakistan has an impact on how decisions are made. Foreign policy is influenced by the bureaucrats' and diplomats' like-and-dislike politics. The standard operating procedures and modes of operation within bureaucracies have a significant influence on the formation, conduct, and implementation of foreign policy. Additionally, the reluctance to share information across organizational boundaries further exacerbates this impact. This political environment within the government often leads to stagnation and limited opportunities for innovation due to the adherence to procedural rituals and bureaucratic indifference. Bureaucracies play a crucial role in shaping initiatives and regulations. They are responsible for devising plans and strategies, processing information, and possessing the capacity to influence decision-making through manipulation of data (Chaudhry A. , 2021).

Pakistan's Foreign Office functions within a complex bureaucratic environment characterized by the interplay of military authority and civilian ambitions. According to Maleeha Lodhi (2025), Pakistan's former Ambassador to the US, UK and UN, A significant reason for the diminishing influence of Pakistan's Foreign Office has been the increasing encroachment by the military establishment into its jurisdiction. Since the establishment of the hybrid civil-military framework post-2013, successive governments have not impeded the Foreign Ministry's gradual concession of authority to the military. Consequently, this has led to a decline in the ministry's prominence within the foreign policy-making process. While some may contend that this trend is not unprecedented, as

the military has historically played a crucial role in pivotal policy areas like India and Afghanistan, the recent expansion of the military's influence has further marginalized the Foreign Ministry in both policy formulation and the management of diplomatic relations.

The Foreign Service faces increasing pressure from officers of the Pakistan Administrative Service to relinquish roles and responsibilities associated with economic diplomacy, purportedly for reasons of 'efficiency.' Their argument is based on the belief that they possess greater expertise in economic and trade matters, despite their lack of specialized skills and limited understanding of international relations or global markets. This initiative has further diminished the role of the Foreign Ministry. Additionally, the Ministry's gradual decline can be attributed to inadequate leadership from the Foreign Secretary. Ministers have shown little interest in enhancing or reforming the Foreign Office, as their focus remains on political matters. The failure of successive Foreign Secretaries to address the issues has resulted in significant institutional repercussions. Recent officeholders have often exhibited an unnecessarily passive and compliant demeanor towards other stakeholders, with few notable exceptions (Usman Khan, 2021).

The primary duty of the Foreign Secretary is to provide courageous and well-founded counsel, to challenge misguided or capricious decisions made by others, and to uphold the policy decisions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is essential for the Foreign Secretaries to guarantee that promotions and assignments are based on merit rather than favoritism or political influences; however they are failed to do so. Additionally, the Foreign Secretaries are constantly unable to cultivate an environment that encourages open internal dialogue and supports independent, innovative thinking due to tussle among power corridors, political appointments and bureaucratic likes and dis-

likes. The Foreign Ministry's operational methods, organizational structure, and personnel training exhibit significant deficiencies. Currently, the Ministry functions in isolation and tends to be reactive instead of taking a proactive stance. Furthermore, there is a lack of clearly defined objectives and priorities, which should have been established at the start of every year, with ongoing evaluations and adjustments conducted throughout the year.

The flow of information is either excessively slow or entirely lacking, which significantly hinders Mission operations. Ambassadors can only perform effectively if they receive regular updates. The sharing of timely information is obstructed by a communication and feedback system that requires immediate modernization (Lodhi, 2025).

Foreign policy decisions are shaped more by the established routines and processes of bureaucratic institutions than by purely rational or political considerations. Typically, policy proposals are developed within the specialized divisions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), such as Economic Affairs and Regional Affairs. These proposals undergo scrutiny through interdepartmental committees before they are presented to the Cabinet for approval. The MoFA collaborates with other Ministries, including Commerce, Defense, and Economic Affairs, to ensure that foreign policy aligns with domestic objectives, such as the implementation of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and other trade agreements. Occasionally, civilian leaders, including Prime Ministers, may bypass institutional protocols in favor of personal diplomatic initiatives, as exemplified by PM Nawaz Sharif's engagement with India on political and trade matters. In Pakistan, decision-makers tend to concentrate on particular aspects such

as security and economics, rather than adopting a comprehensive approach. This focus aligns with the country's emphasis on addressing immediate threats, including cross-border terrorism and the Kashmir issue. Consequently, they often settle for "good enough" solutions instead of striving for optimal results (Usman Khan, 2021).

Pakistan's foreign policy has been on a downward trajectory as a result of internal power struggles among various governmental entities, the authoritative behavior of bureaucrats, political interventions, the disruption caused by drastic changes in leadership, bureaucratic inefficiency, and indecisive policy choices. The country's economy has also suffered as a consequence of hybrid system and political instability. The prevailing uncertainty and frequent turnover in leadership have hindered the ability to formulate sustainable strategies, deterred foreign investments, and created an environment of unpredictability. These frequent changes have resulted in policy setbacks and delays in decision-making without a clear vision and direction. These factors have ultimately led to a passive and ineffective external approach (Ahmar, 2023).

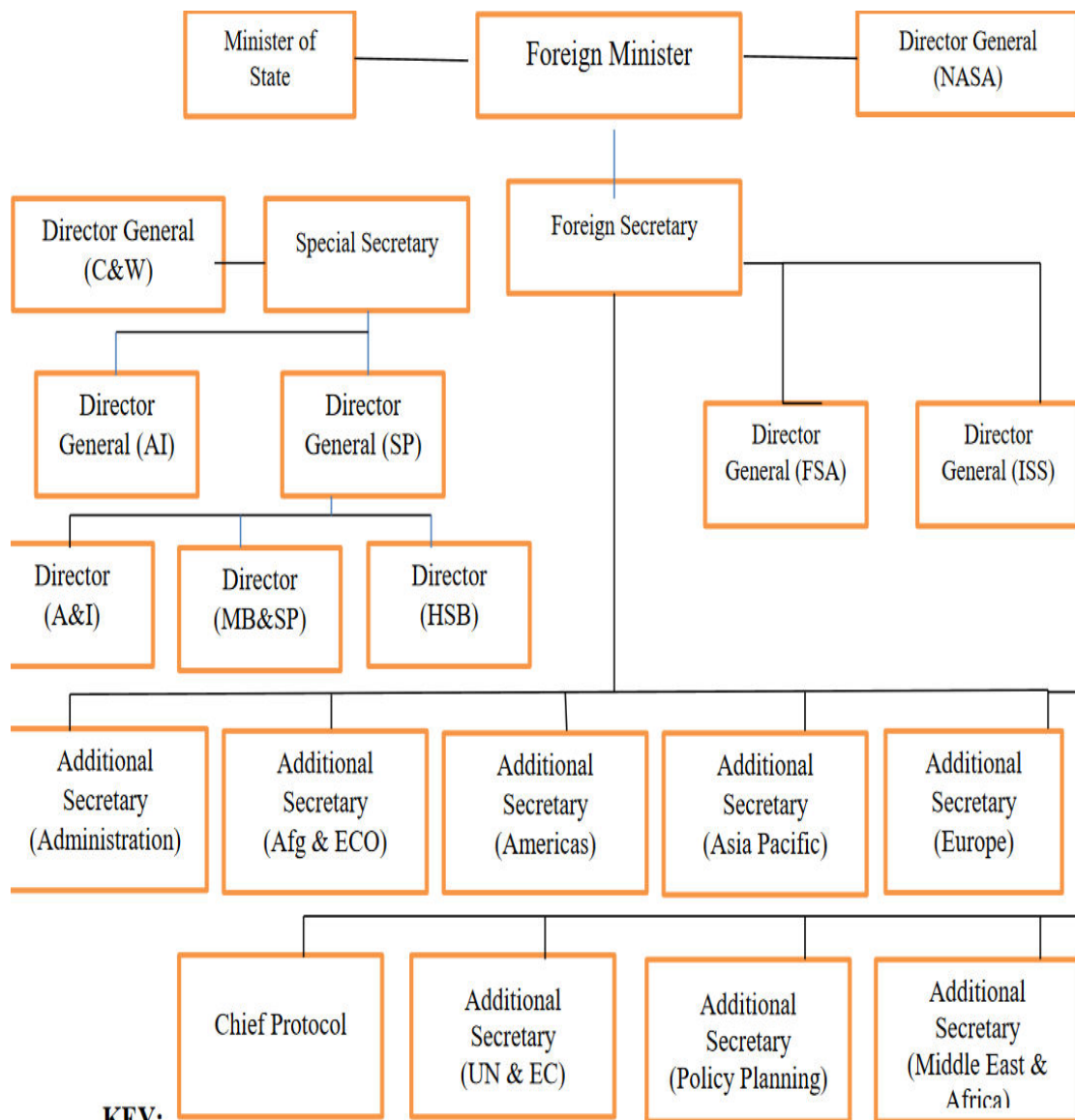
The military's doctrine of "strategic depth" in Afghanistan frequently conflicts with the diplomatic initiatives of the Foreign Office. Following the events of September 11, the alignment with the United States in the War on Terror was primarily motivated by military interests, such as securing foreign aid and maintaining geopolitical significance, despite the concerns expressed by civilian institutions. Ambassadors and diplomats often find themselves navigating the strain between military orders and established professional standards. In a similar vein, the military's emphasis on "resistance" in Kashmir, including the support of militant proxies, tends to hinder the Foreign Office's attempts to address the issue on an international stage through legal and diplomatic means. Institutions like

the Ministry of Commerce and the Planning Commission focus on fostering economic relationships, especially with China. This leads to bureaucratic rivalry over the allocation of resources for initiatives like the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), where both military and civilian bodies compete for influence. The military's entrenched authority, bolstered by the National Security Council and defense budgets, disrupts the bureaucratic equilibrium, relegating the Foreign Office to a subordinate role. The absence of formal mechanisms for inter-agency coordination results in reactive policymaking. For instance, the lack of a cohesive national security strategy intensifies the fragmented approaches toward India and Afghanistan (Sheikh S. R., 2023).

To tackle the diminishing influence of the Pakistan's Foreign Office in shaping foreign policy choices, it is imperative to implement reforms that focus on strengthening its institutional capabilities, safeguarding its independence from political interventions, and fostering a synchronized and cohesive diplomatic approach involving all pertinent stakeholders.

Diagram 8.2.1

Structure of Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs



KEY:

- AP:** Asia Pacific
- MB & SP:** Mission Building and Special Projects
- HSB:** High Security Block
- A & I:** Audit & Inspection
- C&W:** Cons and Welfare

Source: <http://mofa.gov.pk/content.php?pageID=organo>

8.2.2 The Role of Parliament

Pakistan operates under a parliamentary system of government, wherein the foreign affairs Ministry typically formulates foreign policy with the guidance of the political administration. This policy is then presented to the Parliament for approval, which may be granted endorsement after thorough discussion and debate, or amendments may be suggested. The opposition holds the right to scrutinize the ruling party's external policy choices and criticize them within the Parliament. The statements made by the President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and other key stakeholders concerning external affairs are subject to debate in the Parliament, allowing members to express the sentiments of the public. The role of Pakistan's Parliament in foreign policy decision-making is constitutionally defined however; its effectiveness is often limited by institutional factors, military influence, and the prevailing political landscape (Raja, 2023).

Pakistan, being a democratic nation, has its Parliament as the supreme institution and governing body. The Parliament serves as the primary representative of the aspirations and desires of the general public in Pakistan. While Parliaments worldwide play a crucial role in shaping regional and global policies, the situation differs in Pakistan. Elected members of the Parliament in Pakistan are often marginalized in the policy-making process. The political government, despite deriving its authority from the Parliament, tends to overlook its significance in crucial strategic matters. Likewise, the military establishment obstructs and undermines the role of the Parliament. Both the civilian and military elites exhibit a lack of trust in the Parliament, particularly concerning sensitive issues like Kashmir and ties with some crucial states such as India, Afghanistan, and the United States (Rehman, 2018).

Mr. Shahid Hamid (2017), the ex-Federal Minister for Defense, emphasized that Pakistan's Parliament, being the supreme authority in a democratic system, should hold the ultimate power in decision-making process. However, it is discouraging to note that the Parliament is not given the respect and significance it deserves. Consequently, this leads to numerous conflicts on sensitive matters not only between the political parties but also among the key civilian and military institutions. The absence of robust parliamentary oversight in Pakistan has been an ongoing issue that hampers accountability, transparency, and the overall functioning of the democratic system in the country.

Pakistan is encountering significant obstacles in upholding democracy due to its fragile institutional framework and weak democratic foundation. The parliamentary system has experienced various setbacks, with the democratic structure clashing with remnants of undemocratic influences. The leadership vacuum after Jinnah's passing and the Pakistan Muslim League's inability to evolve into a unified national entity have all played a role in the decline of democracy in Pakistan. The country struggles to establish robust political institutions and promote a variety of perspectives amidst recurrent military interventions and frequent constitutional suspensions (Raja, 2023).

The Parliament in Pakistan encounters various challenges that impede its ability to effectively oversee the government. These challenges include restricted capacity, expertise, and resources. The Parliamentary Committees, which are accountable for examining governmental actions and policies, often lack the necessary authority, staff, research support, and technical resources to carry out their functions efficiently. In addition, political parties in Pakistan tend to prioritize party discipline and loyalty to party leadership over parliamentary accountability and independence. This result in

Members of Parliament facing pressure to conform to the party line, vote according to party directives, and refrain from questioning government decisions. Consequently, their autonomy and willingness to engage in independent oversight are limited. Furthermore, divisions among political parties, coalition politics, and confrontational subtleties between the government and opposition obstruct the capacity to build consensus, promote cooperation, and foster constructive engagement within the Parliament (Gasura, 2023).

The ruling elite practices a form of democracy that is highly exclusive, handpicking a small group of individuals while disregarding all other democratic political figures. This approach has led to a deep divide within political parties and institutions. Similarly, Pakistan's political landscape is often marked by disintegration and polarization, which poses challenges in formulating, executing, and implementing an intelligible external policy that garners broad political consensus. The subsequent military coups have resulted in the suspension of civilian governments and authority, further diminishing the quality of democracy and the efficiency of political parties. The values of democracy and the democratic culture have faced significant obstacles in Pakistan. The democratic process has been hindered by the lackluster performance of elected officials and the provincial and federal Assemblies, who have been unable to find common ground on crucial national and international issues, instead gravitating towards conflict, intolerance, and extremism (Abbas, 2020).

To summarize, the intricate dynamics of military control, executive power, political instability, governance obstacles, national security concerns, and democratic shortcomings all contribute to the restricted involvement of Parliament in shaping Pakistan's external policy decisions. These factors collectively shape the country's

priorities, plans, and actions in a constantly changing regional and worldwide environment that is marked by volatility and contention. Reforming the Pakistan Parliament to play a more significant role in shaping foreign policy necessitates strengthening parliamentary oversight, enhancing the foreign affairs expertise of Parliamentarians, and fostering transparency and accountability in decision-making processes concerning international relations. Nevertheless, the implementation of these reforms might encounter opposition from established power structures and vested interests within the country's political and military establishments.

8.2.3 Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and the Cabinet

The formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy is primarily carried out by the cabinet, which is led by the duly elected chief executive, the Prime Minister. According to the Constitution, all significant foreign policy decisions must eventually be approved by the cabinet and formally communicated to the head of the state, typically the President. Once an external policy suggestion is received by the Prime Minister or cabinet, it is thoroughly deliberated during a formal meeting and either approved, disallowed, or modified, taking into consideration the best interests of the nation. In every country, the executive branch of the government is accountable for finalizing foreign policy choices. However, due to the intricacy of formulating external policy, it is never solely entrusted to the discretion of one individual or authority. Alongside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which serves as the official foreign policy arm of the government, other relevant Ministries and government agencies, including those dealing with national security and defense, are invariably involved. Given Pakistan's unique geopolitical setting and its volatile

neighboring states, most external policy issues that encompass crucial national security interests necessitate a broader consultative process (Abbas, 2020).

In theory, the Prime Minister of Pakistan holds a pivotal and influential position in determining the nation's foreign policy. Serving as both the frontrunner of the government and the highest executive authority, the Prime Minister wields considerable authority and duties in making, executing, and supervising Pakistan's international affairs. However, for much of its history Pakistan's external policy has been influenced by a 'civil-military complex of power', reflecting the predilections and interests of the ruling elite and singular interest groups. The balance of power between the civil and military bureaucracies has been constantly shifting, yet they have consistently shaped Pakistan's policies on key external relationships, particularly with countries such as India, China, Afghanistan, and the United States. In some cases where military dominance is evident in foreign policy matters, it is primarily due to the lack of strategic vision and talent within the civilian leadership. The issue lies not solely with the military's involvement, but also with the capability deficits of political leaders, who are often part of the same elitist oligarchy that has long been accustomed to collaborating, if not relying entirely, on the civil and military bureaucracies to govern the nation (Ahmad S., 2014).

The Prime Minister presides over the National Security Council (NSC), which comprises military leaders and essential ministers. Although the NSC is designed to synchronize civil and military strategies, it frequently prioritizes military interests, particularly concerning India, Afghanistan, and nuclear policy. The military influences interactions with the Taliban and oversees border management. The degree of autonomy the Prime Minister possesses is largely contingent upon their relationship with military

officials. For instance, Nawaz Sharif (2013–2017) sought to improve relations with India but encountered resistance following the 2016 Uri attack and Dawn Leaks. Similarly, Imran Khan (2018–2022) initially aligned with the military but experienced conflicts regarding relations with the United States and appointments within the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). In Pakistan, the Prime Minister functions within a hybrid governance framework, where constitutional authority over foreign policy is often overshadowed by military power (Kamran, 2022).

Pakistan has experienced frequent cycles of political instability, including changes in government abruptly and through non-democratic means. This instability has had a detrimental impact on the Prime Minister's ability to maintain a consistent and constant foreign policy goals and schema. Similarly, the military's prominent role in security affairs has imposed constraints on the Prime Minister's Office autonomy in shaping foreign policy decisions, particularly in crucial domains like dealing with the Kashmir issue and maintaining relations with countries like India, Afghanistan and the United States. The Prime Minister's decision-making role in Pakistan has also been constrained by the institutional crescendos, coalition politics, and partisan dynamics affecting the rationality, certainty, and trustworthiness of the country's external policy. This was evident in the period following 2018, where Pakistan's interactions with organizations such as FATF and IMF were influenced by coalition politics and polarization in the country.

8.2.4 National Security Committee(NSC)

The National Security Committee (NSC) plays a crucial role in shaping Pakistan's external policy, particularly with regards to national security. This committee provides a

key forum for high-ranking civilian and military officials to convene, discuss, and decide on issues of strategic importance to Pakistan's security and international dealings. Through the formulation of policies and strategies, the National Security Council addresses various challenges in foreign policy, including regional security threats, counter-terrorism efforts, and diplomatic initiatives. Furthermore, it oversees the implementation of these policies to ensure coherence and effectiveness of the decision making process. Although the Prime Minister leads the National Security Council, civilian authorities frequently rely on military insights concerning matters such as Kashmir and Afghan policy, illustrating Pakistan's hybrid governance structure (Ghori, 2021).

On August 22, 2013, the PML-N led Federal Government instituted a Cabinet Committee on National Security (CCNS) and proclaimed the establishment of a new National Security Division to act as the secretariat for the Committee. This decision was made to replace the Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC), which did not have its own autonomous secretariat, staff, support infrastructure, and had only met 12 times during the 5-year tenure of the PPP government from 2008-2013. Following this, the CCNS was rebranded as the National Security Committee (NSC) and was transformed into a 'decision-making body', moving away from its original consultative role, unlike similar bodies in other democratic nations (Ahmad I., 2013).

The establishment of the National Security Committee (NSC) had been widely hailed as a significant step in formalizing discussions on national security strategies and actions among the key stakeholders. The NSC was established with a goal to bridge the gap between civilian and military perspectives. The NSC was tasked with deliberating, discussing, and providing advice to the Chief Executive on relevant matters. The

reorganization of the forum, which led to its true achievement, can be credited to the establishment of a formal secretariat. Unlike the previous Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC), which lacked an independent secretariat, staff, or support system, a new Committee was formed. This new Committee consisted of an independent Secretariat, along with two additional entities: the Planning Committee and an Advisory Board (Ahmad T., 2015).

The composition of the NSC is detailed below:

Table 8.2.4
Composition of the National Security Committee

No.	Office	Status
1	The Prime Minister	Chairman
2	Minister for Defence	Member
3	Minister for Finance	Member
4	Minister for Foreign Affairs	Member
5	Minister for Interior	Member
6	Minister for Information and Broadcasting	Member
7	The Prime Minister National Security Adviser	Member
8	Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee	Member
9	Chief of the Army Staff	Member
10	Chief of the Naval Staff	Member
11	Chief of the Air Staff	Member
12	Secretary, National Security Division	Secretary to NSC

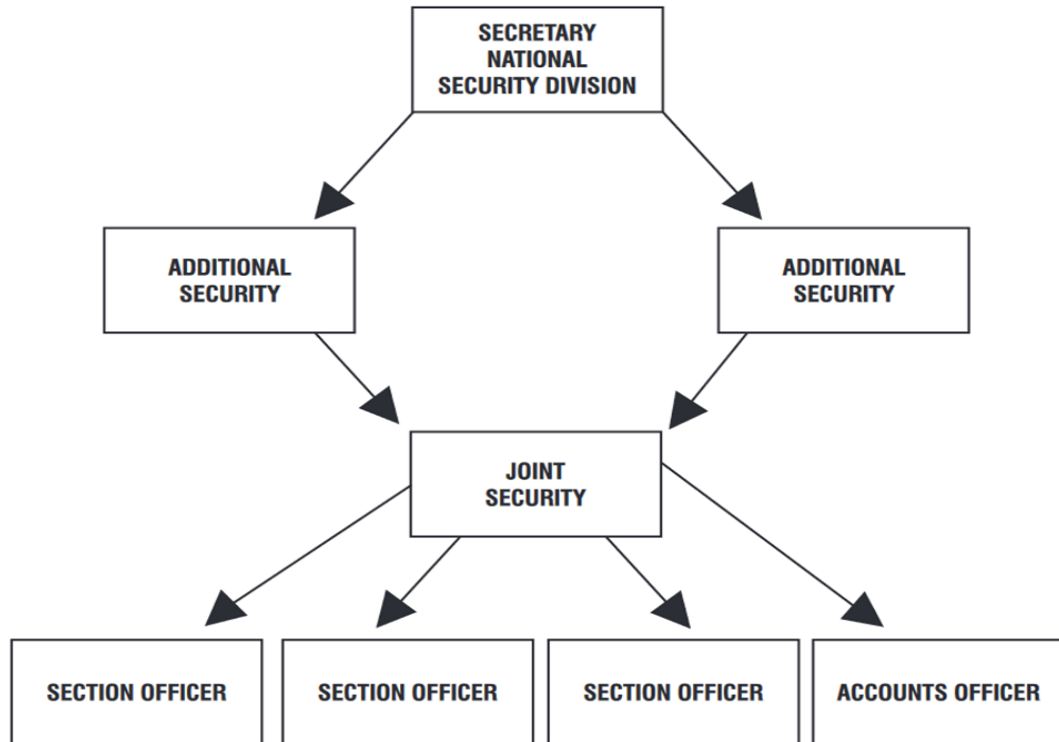
Source: Compiled by the Researcher

The establishment of the National Security Division by the Government of Pakistan signifies its commitment to ensuring the well-being and security of the nation. This newly formed entity serves as the secretariat for the National Security Committee, playing a

crucial role in coordinating its activities. The National Security Division is responsible for various tasks, including organizing committee meetings and gathering proposals and feedback from relevant ministries and organizations for consideration by the NSC. Moreover, it is mandated to develop a comprehensive national security policy and oversee the implementation of strategies and policies approved by the NSC. In addition, the division is entrusted with the important responsibility of formulating counter-propaganda strategies, aligned with NSC guidance, to counter damaging narratives about Pakistan and its institutions. The National Security Division is tasked with providing briefings on national security matters to the Parliament and its related Committees, as well as engaging in national security dialogues with other nations. Through its multifaceted role, the National Security Division plays a vital part in safeguarding Pakistan's interests and promoting its security at home and abroad (Altaf, 2022).

The organizational structure of the National Security Division is given below;

Diagram 8.2.4
Organizational Structure of the National Security Division



Source: Developed by the author based on interviews

Pakistan has consistently placed the security of its country as the top priority in its foreign policy goals. Since the inception, Pakistan's choices regarding external policy have been shaped by conventional security challenges, which have frequently posed difficulties for the country. The existence of a formidable neighboring country in the east, persistently striving to weaken Pakistan, coupled with an unstable state (Afghanistan) to the west exhibiting irredentist tendencies, has resulted in a multifaceted security landscape. Pakistan has encountered numerous risks to its territorial integrity, resulting in ongoing conflicts and substantial security apprehensions for the nation (Fozia BiBi, 2020).

The relationship between security and foreign policy is inevitable, comprehensible, and vigorous, particularly for a geographically strategic nation such as Pakistan.

Emphasizing the importance of survival in a challenging strategic and security landscape has been and remains crucial. Nevertheless, basing foreign policy choices on outdated, narrowly construed security concepts is unproductive. Security has always remained a significant factor influencing Pakistan's external policy. Policymaking in a democratic system, particularly in a parliamentary one, is exclusively the responsibility of the elected government. Although it involves various institutions, individuals, and processes, their involvement is limited to consultation. The National Security Council (NSC) assumes a vital function in facilitating the synchronization between the civilian and military entities. However, designating it as the exclusive authority for decision-making encroaches upon the jurisdiction of the elected civilian regimes, thereby, rendering the NSC as an exceptional anomaly specific to Pakistan. This departure from global norms hampers its effectiveness. Rather than confining the formulation of pivotal national security decisions within the confines of the NSC, at times they are reached through individualized meetings (Jaffery, 2020).

During frequent NSC meetings in the recent years, various national security issues were deliberated upon; however, a closer examination revealed that the committee primarily reacted to issues and crises rather than taking a proactive stance. The NSC aimed to unite the civilian and military leadership within an institutional framework, yet it fell short in fostering the necessary coordination in statecraft matters between the two entities. Rather than witnessing the anticipated enhancement through the institutionalization of consultations on national security matters, civil-military relations have deteriorated in recent years. NSC tends to institutionalize military supremacy, marginalizing parliamentary and public input (Mehboob, 2019).

8.2.5 Role of Ministries

In addition to the Foreign Office, numerous Ministries hold significant influence in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy. Among these are the following ministries.

- The Ministry of Finance plays a crucial role in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy through its management of the country's external economic relations. This includes overseeing foreign aid, effectively managing debt, and fostering financial cooperation with esteemed international financial institutions like the World Bank and IMF. Additionally, the Ministry collaborates with other government departments to drive economic diplomacy initiatives and actively engages in international forums to address economic and financial concerns (Raja S. H., 2023).

- The Ministry of Commerce is essential in advancing Pakistan's economic interests globally and strengthening trade ties with other nations. It engages in trade negotiations, streamlines export and import processes, and advocates for Pakistan in international trade forums. Additionally, the Ministry backs trade missions, takes part in trade shows and expos, and showcases investment prospects in Pakistan.

- Ministry of Investment is tasked with appealing foreign direct investment.

- Ministry of Privatization authorized to disinvest the public-sector enterprises.

- The Ministry of Planning, Development, and Special Initiatives plays a key role in coordinating development cooperation and aid programs with foreign governments and international organizations. It oversees projects funded by foreign assistance, promotes technical cooperation, and engages in international development forums. Additionally, the Ministry backs initiatives aimed at achieving sustainable development goals and reducing poverty (Raja S. H., 2023).

- The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is instrumental in molding Pakistan's global reputation and enhancing its public diplomacy endeavors. It shares insights on Pakistan's foreign policy goals, fosters cultural interactions, and interacts with international media to articulate Pakistan's stance on worldwide matters. Additionally, the Ministry collaborates with foreign administrations to facilitate media partnerships and public diplomacy campaigns.

- The Ministry of Defence is crucial in shaping Pakistan's external policy, particularly in matters related to national security and defense collaboration with other nations. It collaborates closely with military and intelligence organizations to analyze security risks, develop defense tactics, and participate in defense-related diplomatic efforts. Additionally, the Ministry supervises defense pacts, arms acquisitions, and military assistance initiatives (Raja S. H., 2023).

These Ministries collaborate with one another under the guidance of the Prime Minister and the National Security Committee to guarantee a unified and all-encompassing strategy towards Pakistan's foreign policy goals. Each Ministry utilizes its specialized knowledge and resources to promote Pakistan's interests on the international platform and enhance its diplomatic ties with other nations.

8.2.6 Role of the Armed Forces

The primary goal of foreign policy is to safeguard the national interests of the nation, as well as to uphold its ideological beliefs and economic stability. In a global landscape where countries strive to enhance their influence, a robust military serves as a clear indicator of a nation's power. The effective coordination between the government and the military is crucial. The government steers the foreign policy of a nation to further

its goals, while the military is tasked with protecting the state's interests. Occasionally, the military may actively participate in advancing national interests. In nations such as Pakistan, the military frequently involves itself in legislative affairs, as demonstrated by military takeovers in the country. The military has, on multiple occasions, assumed control of political institutions in Pakistan(M.Amin, 2003).

The military plays a crucial role as the main institution tasked with ensuring Pakistan's security, frequently prioritizing security considerations in the making of foreign policy. Matters such as the ongoing tensions between India and Pakistan, the stability in Afghanistan, and the country's nuclear programme are all domains where the military's viewpoint significantly shapes policy decisions. The military coups orchestrated by General Yahya Khan, General Ayub Khan, General Zia-Ul-Haq, and General Pervez Musharraf stand as a significant example of unwarranted interference in political affairs and policy-making. The fundamental responsibility of the military is to safeguard the nation from external threats, not to dictate its external relations. Quaid-i-Azam, with his foresight, stressed the importance of the military focusing on ensuring the security of the populace and refraining from meddling in political matters (Ahmad I. , 2013).

The military establishment in Pakistan holds considerable sway over foreign policy matters, frequently collaborating with the civilian administration to devise and execute strategies concerning national security, defense, and international affairs. The military's institutional objectives and viewpoints, influenced by its professional values, strategic vision, and operational preferences, have the potential to influence the course and focal points of Pakistan's external policy. The military establishment in Pakistan believes that

national security concerns necessitate their involvement in shaping external policy decisions. As a result, the military exerts influence over foreign policy matters, particularly in key areas such as Afghanistan, India, and Kashmir. Moreover, Pakistan's military plays a significant role in determining the country's external policy towards major global powers like US and China. Siddiqa-Agha emphasizes that the current debate surrounding the army's significance in national security emphasizes the military's vested interests, which have a crucial influence in shaping state policies. By perceiving internal political matters in light of external dangers, the military has taken on the duty of protecting the nation's sovereignty and overall security (Siddiqa-Agha, 2007: 64).

In a country like Pakistan with a "defective" democracy, foreign policy is theoretically shaped by the Parliament, in reality it is influenced by supra-parliamentary institutions. In autocracies, non-parliamentary institutions such as the military and monarchy hold control over the country both institutionally and structurally, render any role of the Parliament irrelevant, if it exists at all. The situation in Pakistan is highly unusual as it has never fully embraced liberal democracy, oscillating between flawed democracy and authoritarianism. Following its independence in August 1947, Pakistan was governed by a supra-parliamentary institution called the civil bureaucracy, which appointed its members to key positions like Governor-General. This civil bureaucracy not only held political and administrative authority over the nation but also exerted influence in Pakistan's external policy matters (Ali, 2022).

The external policy failures in Pakistan have been particularly attributed to the lack of consensus and understanding between the civilian and military entities, particularly witnessed during the years 1971 and 1999. While various factors played a role in

Pakistan's external policy challenges, the primary issue has always been the military's involvement in shaping the nation's foreign policy (Rizvi H. A., 2000). Despite the establishment of the National Security Committee and the Defense Committee of the Cabinet, there remained a significant gap between politicians and the armed forces on security matters, both internal and external. The ongoing debate on civil-military relations continues to overshadow all other domestic and international concerns in Pakistan. Since the revival of democracy in 2008, differences over external policy formulation have persisted, with PPP, PML N and PTI governments facing challenges in this regard. The influence of strained civil-military relationship with reference to Pakistan's foreign policy has been profound, highlighting the need for improved cooperation between these two key pillars.

The military institution historically has remained unwilling to shift its priority from security to economic matters. However, this stance has not been favored by politicians. Pakistan's political leaders oppose the military's inclination to perceive everything through a security lens. Rather they maintain that as opposed to security concerns, the greatest challenge Pakistan confronts presently is of a financial nature. Instead of directly confronting Pakistan, India, Pakistan's prominent adversary, is striving to economically isolate Pakistan on the global front (Kamran, 2018).

The military, being a formidable actor, has frequently viewed itself as the protector of the state's unity, safety, and national concerns, occasionally disregarding civilian authority and democratic principles. It has frequently interfered in internal politics to protect its institutional interests, shape policy choices, and establish dominance over crucial state entities, such as intelligence agencies and security apparatus. Furthermore,

apart from the aforementioned factors, a significant and vexing aspect that has greatly troubled Pakistan's military leadership is the incapability of political leadership to maintain state secrets. The military establishment has frequently shown its discontent with the behavior of political representatives concerning security, economic and external policy matters, which includes the matters like the controversial cypher case, issue of non-state actors, FATF, Dawn leaks 1 and Dawn leaks 2 (Tariq, 2022).

Civilian leadership in Pakistan view it their democratic right to express their viewpoints to the general public and document their dissent. In order to garner international support and trust for Pakistan and to prevent potential economic consequences like trade and travel restrictions, the civilian leadership always urged military establishment to take decisive action against all militant groups operating within the country. However, the military establishment displays a certain level of preference towards specific organizations, such as the Haqqani network, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and Jaish-e-Muhammad, due to their alignment with the military's objectives in Kashmir and Afghanistan. The military is reluctant to dismantle groups that do not pose an immediate threat to Pakistan's interests. This discrepancy in outcomes between the political and military administrations has led to significant disagreements regarding external policy matters (Rashid, 2017).

The military leadership maintains a vigilant stance in monitoring the policies of political regimes and their efforts to enhance the nation's economy to safeguard national security. Senior officers consistently assess the political and financial decisions taken by the governing regime, focusing on their engagements with political adversaries, implementation in light of the country's security landscape. This scrutiny is driven by the

understanding that a feeble state cannot uphold a robust military(Rizvi H. A., 2012). India has ample opportunity to undermine Pakistan's interests abroad due to its perplexing and uncertain approach. The Indian government's anti-Pakistan strategies are fueled by the civil-military divide in Pakistan. India is effectively capitalizing on Pakistan's internal divisions between its civil and military leadership to portray a negative image of the country, associating it with nations that support terrorism and extremist groups (Chaudhary, 2016).

The ongoing conflicts between the civilian and military elites in Pakistan have had detrimental effects on the country's external approach. As a result of these internal disputes, Pakistan not only is facing international isolation but also witnessed its efforts in combating terrorism being largely disregarded. The ambiguous and fragmented approach adopted by Pakistan towards external affairs played a pivotal role in India's accusation of Pakistan being a global exporter of terrorism, gaining support from numerous other nations. A prominent example of this occurred during the 19th SAARC Summit, which was initially scheduled to take place in Islamabad. However, due to the majority of member states, including Afghanistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan have boycotted the event and blamed Pakistan as a state that promotes terrorism, the session was called off, which was a significant blow to Pakistan's foreign policy(Shams, 2016).

Likewise, Pakistan's foreign policy suffered yet another setback due to the internal discord between the civilian and military leadership concerning the presence of non-state actors on its soil. This setback came in the form of the BRICS Summit declaration, which had significant implications for Pakistan's external policy. Notably, China, a vital ally of

Pakistan, also endorsed the declaration, further intensifying its impact. As a result, Pakistan was compelled to confront the issue of extremist organizations operating within its borders and utilizing its territory to launch attacks on neighboring nations. Consequently, the BRICS announcement not only bolstered India's position but also exacerbated Pakistan's diplomatic isolation(Ahmadzai, 2017).

A fragmented Foreign Office has consistently yielded detrimental consequences for the nation's interests. Pakistan's geopolitical and security concerns will persist to be eclipsed by this division. The decision-making process suffers and is disrupted by tensions between the civil and military leadership, leading to insufficient evaluations of the challenges and an inability of the state machinery to effectively implement policies. The discord between civil and military establishment has resulted in fluctuations and discrepancies in external policy goals as various factions within the government compete for dominance. This has caused uncertainty among foreign allies and diminished Pakistan's standing on the world stage.

Persistent civil-military conflicts in Pakistan have weakened democratic institutions and processes, diminishing civilian authority in foreign policy decision-making. These conflicts have sparked worries among international allies regarding Pakistan's stability, dependability, and dedication to democratic principles. In essence, the ongoing civil-military tensions in Pakistan have hindered the nation's capacity to implement a unified and efficient external policy approach, resulting in instability, strategic ambiguity, and difficulties in fostering constructive relationships with the global community. The continuous civil-military conflicts in Pakistan have eroded democratic institutions and processes as well as enfeebled civilian control over foreign policy

decision-making. These conflicts have caused concerns among foreign partners regarding Pakistan's stability, reliability, and commitment to democratic governance (Ali S. , 2018).

In summary, the civil-military conflicts in Pakistan have impeded the country's ability to pursue a coherent and effective foreign policy, leading to instability, strategic uncertainty, and challenges in maintaining productive relations with the international community.

8.2.7 Role of Intelligence Agencies

The security and intelligence agencies of any country play a crucial role in shaping its foreign policy. They employ both overt and covert methods to gather relevant information, which is then analyzed and provided to decision-makers. The effectiveness of these assessments is influenced by the objectivity and expertise of the intelligence gathering and evaluation process, as well as the political structure of the nation. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and other intelligence agencies in Pakistan have a crucial role in defending Pakistan's external interests. They diligently gather information on various regional and global developments, encompassing political, military, economic, and security aspects. This intelligence aids policymakers in comprehending the geopolitical landscape and making well-informed decisions regarding foreign policy. Additionally, these agencies evaluate potential threats to Pakistan's security, both from neighboring countries and internal challenges like terrorism and insurgency. Furthermore, they offer assessments and recommendations to policymakers, including the military leadership and the government. Their analyses and insights hold the power to shape the formulation and execution of foreign policy strategies, particularly in matters concerning national security and defense (Chaudhry A. , 2021).

In Pakistan, the dominance of security and intelligence agencies, particularly those associated with the military, in the formulation of foreign policy can be attributed to the fragility and vulnerabilities of civilian institutions, as well as the history of military takeovers. It is not surprising that the military leadership has always preferred the intelligence agencies associated with the military. As a result, these intelligence agencies now play a more significant role in the development of Pakistan's external policy compared to what would be expected in a typical democracy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in some cases has faced significant setbacks due to the fact that its input has been widely disregarded during the entire process, especially in matters of utmost importance and strategic significance to the country (Ammara Tariq, 2019).

The presence of a delicate democratic system in Pakistan, political instability, absence of political determination, political polarization and profound disparities among the prominent political parties of the country concerning vital national security matters are increasingly allowing supra-parliamentary institutions to intervene and exert a substantial influence on the decision-making processes.

8.2.8 Role of Provinces and Political Parties

The role of provinces on Pakistan's foreign policy decision-making is characterized as indirect and informal, influenced by constitutional limitations, regional factors, and pragmatic political realities. According to the 1973 Constitution, the responsibility for foreign policy lies solely with the federal government, leaving provinces without formal jurisdiction over matters such as defense, foreign relations, or international agreements. Although the 18th Amendment of 2010 decentralized authority in sectors like education and health, it preserved foreign policy as a federal prerogative. Nevertheless, provinces

manage to exert some degree of influence on the formulation and execution of foreign policy decisions (BALAKRISHNAN, 1986).

Regions such as Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which are traversed by the routes of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), have expressed apprehensions regarding the distribution of resources, environmental consequences, and job opportunities for local residents. These issues have compelled the federal government to engage in discussions with China to amend the existing agreements. For instance, the protests in Balochistan concerning land acquisition for CPEC initiatives prompted federal officials to respond to the concerns of the province through diplomatic means (Ali G. , 2022).

Provinces adjacent to Afghanistan, namely Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, as well as those bordering India, such as Punjab and Sindh, play a significant role in shaping trade and security policies. For instance, the agricultural exports from Punjab to India and Balochistan's smuggling networks with Afghanistan significantly influence federal strategies concerning border management. Political parties at the provincial level, such as the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in Sindh and the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, consistently advocate for foreign policies that reflect regional priorities within federal coalitions. Historically, regional parties in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have organized numerous protests in response to the influx of refugees, compelling the federal government to pursue international assistance and to engage with the Afghan government concerning repatriation efforts (Gasura, 2023).

Although provinces in Pakistan do not possess formal power regarding foreign policy decisions, their geostrategic importance, economic stakes, and political influence

allow them to exert indirect pressure. Nonetheless, the dominance of the military and the centralization of federal authority restrict their effectiveness. Empowering provincial perspectives could improve policy alignment and tackle regional inequalities; however, this necessitates constitutional amendments and a recalibration of civil-military dynamics.

In Pakistan, the governing political party, represented by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, bears constitutional responsibility for shaping foreign policy. Political parties such as PTI, PML-N, and PPP formulate their agendas in accordance with their respective manifestos. These parties exert influence over policy through parliamentary discussions and committees, such as the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs. Opposition parties utilize these venues to either challenge or endorse governmental actions. During its tenure from 2018 to 2022, PTI fostered relations with Gulf nations and Russia, criticized U.S. drone operations, and sought to position Pakistan as a mediator in Afghanistan. Historically, PML-N has emphasized economic diplomacy, exemplified by the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) initiative under Nawaz Sharif, and has aimed for strengthened relations with Saudi Arabia. The PPP has consistently highlighted the importance of regional connectivity and human rights (Kukreja, 2020).

Political parties in Pakistan not only participate in the electoral process but also have a substantial influence on the priorities and course of Pakistan's foreign policy. One of the key roles played by political parties is shaping the foreign policy agenda. During elections, political parties often include their foreign policy priorities in their manifestos, which reflect their vision and aims regarding external relations. These manifestos outline the goals and strategies that a political party intends to pursue in the realm of foreign

policy if it assumes power. For instance, in its manifesto for the 2018 general elections, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) emphasized the importance of maintaining a balanced foreign policy that focuses on regional peace and economic diplomacy. Secondly, the political parties in Pakistan, particularly the ones in positions of power, bear the responsibility of shaping Pakistan's foreign policy. Once a political party assumes control of the government, it possesses the jurisdiction to make determinations regarding different facets of foreign policy, including diplomatic interactions, treaties, alliances, and international accords. A prime example of this is the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), which, during its tenure spanning from 2013 to 2018, prioritized economic diplomacy, fostered closer ties with neighboring nations, particularly India, and actively pursued regional collaboration through initiatives like the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (Mairaj, 2023: 1089-1098).

Thirdly, the elected representatives of political parties in Pakistan hold significant influence in the formulation and endorsement of foreign policy initiatives. The Parliament acts as a forum where political parties engage in discussions and debates concerning foreign policy matters. Decisions pertaining to crucial foreign policy issues are often reached through consensus or voting. Notably, the approval of significant foreign policy initiatives, such as agreements with other nations or international organizations, necessitates parliamentary consent. In this regard, political parties and their representatives within the Parliament play a pivotal role. Fourthly, political parties in Pakistan contribute to shaping public opinion on matters of foreign policy. They utilize various platforms, including media outlets, public gatherings, and other means of communication, to express their stance on foreign policy issues and garner public

support. This can, in turn, have an impact on the public's perspective and lead to discussions and debates regarding matters of foreign policy. The government's foreign policy decisions and priorities can be influenced to a certain extent by public opinion, as political parties often assess public sentiment and adapt their policies accordingly (Mairaj, 2023: 1089-1098).

8.2.9 Role of Leadership and Personality

High-ranking government officials, especially leaders, play a critical role in shaping and implementing foreign policies. Understanding their function and influence is essential in evaluating a nation's external policy. Leaders operate on both domestic and international levels. Neack highlights that "the Head of State in any political system is driven by two key objectives: maintaining political power and forming coalitions on policy matters." Leaders can influence domestic politics in various ways, using foreign policy to advance internal goals. Pakistan's domestic landscape has also shaped its foreign policy decisions. The significance of different leadership styles is evident, as seen in Pakistan's involvement in the US-led "war on terror" under President Pervez Musharraf's administration, which was a unilateral decision. Despite facing criticism, this move resulted in financial support from the US, helping President Musharraf navigate domestic challenges (Ali S., 2018).

Diplomacy, an ancient practice, has undergone substantial changes throughout history. In today's interconnected and intricate world, strategic thinking plays a vital role in successful diplomatic leadership. Efficacious diplomatic leaders must possess a deep comprehension of international relations, employ a nuanced approach to diplomacy, and above all, demonstrate strategic thinking. In the ever-changing global landscape, leaders

must skillfully maneuver through complex geopolitical scenarios, foresee potential obstacles, and formulate long-term strategies to accomplish their nation's foreign policy goals (Asif, 2023).

Strategic thinking in diplomacy can be acquired through learning. It entails developing the capacity to anticipate and plan for the future, taking into account the wider geopolitical context and the nation's interests. At its core, strategic thinking in diplomacy involves synthesizing various factors, such as historical background, cultural subtleties, economic considerations, and geopolitical realities. Diplomatic leaders operate in an environment where short-term tactics must align with long-term strategic goals. Therefore, formulating a coherent and sustainable foreign policy necessitates a vision that extends beyond immediate circumstances. Unlike tactical thinking, which is employed by decision makers in Pakistan and focuses on short-term benefits, strategic thinking in diplomacy involves positioning a nation to achieve its objectives over the long term. It surpasses a problem-solving approach to foreign policy, as seen in Indian foreign policy, where decision makers with strategic insight recognize the significance of creating a comprehensive strategy that aligns diplomats' operations, actions, and activities with targeted priorities and objectives for building relationships, all aimed at sustaining the nation's engagements on the global stage (Aqdas, 2020).

The formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy is greatly influenced by the leadership and personalities of its political leaders, such as the President, Prime Minister, and key government officials. The personal beliefs, values, and diplomatic abilities of these leaders have a significant impact on the decisions and relationships that Pakistan

establishes with other countries. Changes in leadership and shifts in government also lead to alterations in the direction of foreign policy.

A populist leader, Imran Khan prioritized an "independent foreign policy," striving to maintain a balance in relations with China (through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) and Russia, while also critiquing the "double standards" of Western nations. In contrast, Sharif, as a civilian leader, aimed for economic diplomacy, exemplified by the CPEC initiative with China, and sought to improve relations with India, as seen in the Lahore Declaration of 1999. Nevertheless, his initiatives frequently faced challenges due to military skepticism and interventions, such as the Kargil conflict during his administration. The leadership styles of figures like Musharraf, who was pragmatic and focused on security, and Khan, who adopted an idealistic and anti-Western stance, illustrate a significant divergence. Musharraf's approach to realpolitik facilitated alliances with the United States, whereas Imran Khan's confrontational stance complicated Pakistan's relations with Western countries. Charismatic leaders often leverage foreign policy to enhance their domestic legitimacy. Former PM Imran Khan's advocacy for Kashmir and Islamic issues, amplified through social media, resonated with populist sentiments but ultimately strained Pakistan's relationships with both India and the United States (Rashid, 2021).

8.3 Factors Influencing Pakistan's Foreign Policy Making

8.3.1 Role of Religious Ideology

Ideology plays a crucial role in shaping the future aspirations of individuals. In the case of Pakistan, ideology holds significant importance in the formulation of its foreign policy. The foundation of Pakistan was built upon the Islamic worldview, making

Islamism the prevailing ideology in the country. Consequently, Pakistan's religious ideology has become a key determinant in the development of its foreign policy. It is imperative to consider these fundamental principles while establishing Pakistan's approach towards worldwide relations. A notable example of this is Pakistan's unwavering commitment to maintaining strong ties with fellow Muslim nations. In line with its Islamic ideology, Pakistan has chosen not to recognize Israel, a nation founded on Jewish philosophy. Additionally, Pakistan consistently voices its concerns for the rights of the Palestinian people. The Islamic philosophy and the deep-rooted connections to Mecca and Medina further strengthen Pakistan's close relationship with Saudi Arabia (Fozia BiBi, 2020).

The foundational principles guiding Pakistan's external and domestic policies were first established by the country's founding fathers and later enshrined in the 1973 Constitution. These principles emphasized the importance of fostering strong relations among Muslim nations, supporting the common interests of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, promoting global peace and security, cultivating friendly ties with all nations, and resolving international disputes through peaceful means. Article 40 of Pakistan's 1973 Constitution highlights the prioritization of Muslim states over other major powers. However, in subsequent years, Pakistan's foreign policy has shifted its focus on countries such as the US and China, driven by economic and geo-political considerations. Ideas play a fundamental role in the cognitive architecture of elites who shape policy. With unusual passion and enthusiasm, Pakistan's policymakers have used the Islamic factor to gain a foothold in the comity of countries in the early wake of the country's independence. At this point, Pakistan wanted to be the Muslim world's leader.

The perceived security threat from India gave its efforts an extra boost (Kanwal, 2015: 45).

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq effectively transformed Pakistan's Islamic identity from symbolic to substantial, both domestically and internationally. The military dictators in Pakistan utilized Islam as a means to maintain their power and control over the nation. Zia-ul-Haq employed various measures of Islamization to establish legitimacy and ensure his grip on power. These measures included policy reforms, actions, and personal promotion as a devout Muslim. The educational reforms implemented under his regime aimed at Islamization, aligning with his domestic and foreign policies. Zia-ul-Haq greatly benefited from Pakistan's alliance with the United States and key Muslim states, as it provided him with legitimacy and furthered the process of Islamization. Throughout the 1980s, his administration secured external legitimacy through direct alliances, resulting in a significant influx of military and non-military aid from the United States and Saudi Arabia to Pakistan (Weinbaum, 1991: 71–85).

In addition to offering crucial financial aid, it empowered Zia-ul-Haq to garner backing from Islamists for his administration. This mutually beneficial situation allowed Islamists to gain political influence while also boosting Zia-ul-Haq's domestic backing. Through this collaboration, he elevated the significance of the two leading Islamic parties (JI and JUI), marking the inception of the "mullah-military alliance" as identified by Zaidi (2017), a partnership that endures in Pakistan to this day (Ali, 2022).

The outlawing of private armies under Article 256 of the 1973 Constitution was disregarded in the country due to the lack of democracy and the authoritarian rule in place. This deviation from the core tenet of domestic strategy was a result of pressure

from the US, as Pakistan allied with western powers to counter the Soviet incursion in Afghanistan. The aftermath of the Soviet withdrawal saw militant groups like the Taliban rise to power and govern Afghanistan during the 1990s. Subsequently, armed factions such as Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) posed a threat to the survival of Pakistan particularly in the post 9/11 era. Presently, Pakistan continues to grapple with the menace of terrorism, a consequence of policies shaped under the influence of authoritarian regimes. Ideology in Pakistan's foreign policy served as both a guiding framework and a tool for legitimacy.

8.3.2 Role of Indian Factor

A perennial source of friction between India and Pakistan has been the deadly partition of the Indian subcontinent that resulted from the British Empire's abrupt departure and the unsolved territorial issues it left behind, particularly in Kashmir, Junagadh, and Sir Creek. The most dangerous of them turned out to be Kashmir, which not only led to conflicts between the two neighbours but also contributed to the subcontinent becoming nuclearized. The fact that both India and Pakistan fought their first war within a year of achieving independence can be used to gauge the level of animosity between the two countries. Relations between India and Pakistan have been adversarial for more than seven decades. Territorial conflicts combined with India's larger size, military supremacy at least in terms of numbers, and sporadic declarations by the Indian leadership stressing that the 1947 partition was ultimately unjustified in order to integrate Pakistan with India gave Pakistan a profound sense of fear. This augmented its concerns, as did Pakistan's limited communication options and the fact that its two wings were separated from one another by 1,000 miles of Indian Territory (Fozia BiBi, 2020).

Throughout the years, the apprehension of Indian influence has consistently shaped the mindset of Pakistani policymakers, compelling them to adopt a strategy of seeking support from other nations in order to maintain a delicate equilibrium. Scholars widely concur that Pakistan's foreign policy and its choice of alliances have been greatly influenced by the presence of India. Consequently, the Indian factor has undeniably played a pivotal role in shaping Pakistan's external policy since its inception (Khan, 2022).

Afghanistan has typically been perceived from an Indian standpoint in Pakistan. This perception has stem from Indian efforts to capitalize on Afghanistan's enduring enmity towards Pakistan. India steadfastly supported any Afghan regime that displayed hostility towards Pakistan from 1947 to 1992. However, the situation changed in Pakistan's favor when the Taliban assumed power in Afghanistan and governed from 1996 to 2001. By backing the Taliban regime, Islamabad was able to mitigate some of its security apprehensions (Samejo, 2016).

There are numerous challenges associated with India. When it comes to Indian policy, the Pakistan's military establishment is highly sensitive. A civilian administration cannot establish a policy regarding India without its consent, as doing so would undermine their authority to govern the nation. Conversely, elected civilian governments always strive to exercise their constitutional authority in devising their preferred external policy goals. While both major blocs have their own justifications, Pakistan ultimately bears the burden. The military's concerns with India include the unresolved Kashmir issue, India's interference in Balochistan, its anti-Pakistani strategies on the western border, its increasing influence in Tehran and Kabul, water disputes, and support for

terrorist organizations within Pakistan. On the other hand, civilians prefer stronger trade and financial ties with India, as well as fostering people-to-people connections that can eventually lead to resolving longstanding issues between the two nations. These contrasting approaches to foreign policy formulation have significant and detrimental effects on Pakistan(Samejo, 2016).

India possesses ample space and a chance to undermine Pakistan's interests internationally due to Pakistan's perplexing and uncertain approach. The Indian agenda of isolating Pakistan is fueled by the country's unclear stance towards non-state actors. By capitalizing on Pakistan's internal divisions, political instability, and economic downfall, India aims to tarnish Pakistan's reputation by linking it with the nations that sponsor terrorism.

8.3.3 Geo-strategic Location

Pakistan's foreign policy is greatly influenced by its strategic geographical position. Positioned at the intersection of the Middle East, a key energy source, and the significant regions of South, West, and Central Asia, Pakistan plays a crucial role in international affairs. With neighboring countries like India, China, Afghanistan, and Iran, as well as its southern border along the Indian Ocean, Pakistan's 1,046-kilometer coastline and 290,000-square-kilometer Exclusive Economic Zone make it the third-largest littoral state in the Indian Ocean. This strategic location has elevated Pakistan's importance in the global arena, attracting the attention of major powers throughout various historical periods, including the Cold War, post-Cold War era, aftermath of 9/11, and the Belt and Road Initiative age (BRI) (Rana, 2021: 1-9).

Pakistan's foreign policy has been influenced by its unstable geo-political environment and a particularly hostile neighborhood, which has resulted in the necessity of safeguarding its sovereign independence and territorial integrity. Situated at the intersection of South Asia, West Asia, Central Asia, and Western China, Pakistan holds a strategic position. It serves as the most convenient gateway to Western China, Central Asia, and the Arabian Sea. The country's declining economic indicators do not support claims of a rapid advancement in its geostrategic or geo-economic approach. A prime example is the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which was once hailed as a transformative force for Pakistan's struggling economy but has been hindered by the short-sightedness of state institutions and the deepening political divisions within the nation (Ali, 2022).

Pakistan has failed to fully capitalize on its strategic location and immense natural resources. The country is currently on the brink of economic collapse and is facing significant challenges in securing loans from international organizations such as the IMF. This dire situation can be attributed to a number of factors, including a deep-rooted political and democratic crisis. Pakistan is plagued by a civil-military divide on crucial matters, political instability and polarization, lack of consensus and consistency in policies, rampant lawlessness, lack of governmental legitimacy as well as political will along with the ongoing institutional conflicts and constitutional crises.

In stark contrast, India has been making remarkable progress towards its goals. It has emerged as the world's fifth-largest economy and is a member of influential global platforms such as the G20 and BRICS. India's success can be attributed to its effective

policy-making, which is a direct result of its robust democratic system, stable political environment, consistent policies, and strong institutional cohesion.

8.3.4 Kashmir Issue

The ongoing dispute over the region of J&K has been a constant source of conflict between India and Pakistan, two major nuclear powers in South Asia. Interestingly, it is India's unwavering position that hinders the implementation of UN Security Council (UNSC) Resolutions of 1948-49, which were adapted to facilitate plebiscite in Kashmir. India firmly believes that the Kashmir issue should be resolved through bilateral negotiations as outlined in the Simla Agreement of 1972, signed after the 1971 war, while Pakistan insists on adhering to the UNSC resolutions(Ambrogio, 2018).

Pakistan has been a staunch supporter of the Kashmiri people in their quest for freedom, providing moral, humanitarian, and diplomatic assistance for several decades. The Kargil war in 1999, fought between Pakistan and India over Kashmir, brought South Asia dangerously closer to a nuclear conflict. However, the 9/11 terrorist attack and the subsequent U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan shifted the focus away from the Kashmir issue. The United States prioritized its War on Terror and sought Pakistan's cooperation, leading to a temporary halt in addressing the Kashmir problem. This situation inadvertently allowed India to exploit the situation and link the Kashmiri liberation struggle with terrorism (Shafiq, 2018, p.247).

Pakistan's efforts to promote a referendum in Kashmir and resolve the conflict through UNSC resolutions have been hindered by its inconsistent external approach. Multiple regimes have been unable to effectively pursue a Kashmir-centered foreign

policy. Pakistan's stance on Kashmir has primarily focused on advocating for the right to self-determination, which entails giving Kashmiris on both sides the choice to join either Pakistan or India through a vote (Qazi, 2016). However, India views Jammu and Kashmir as an essential part of its sovereign territory. The decision to abolish Article 370 and Article 35A of the Indian constitution in August 2019 marked a pivotal step taken by the Indian authorities towards complete assimilation of Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian Union. Following the revocation of Article 370, India has directed its attention towards the advancement and amalgamation endeavors in Jammu and Kashmir. Various initiatives, including hosting the G20 summit in J&K, enhancing infrastructure, and fostering political integration, form an integral part of India's strategic approach to foster stability and prosperity in the region. Moreover, these endeavors also serve as a countermeasure against Pakistan's endeavors pertaining to the Kashmir issue (Alam, 2020).

Pakistan continues to face challenges in maintaining the Kashmir issue alive in the global arena due to its inconsistent approach, unlike India, which has a clear strategy on Kashmir. India has effectively conveyed to the global community that Kashmir is an integral part of India and that external interference is unwarranted. Conversely, Pakistan's leaders have struggled to establish a cohesive long-term policy on Kashmir. The diminishing focus on Kashmir in Pakistan's domestic politics, particularly evident in the political parties declarations and manifestos during election campaigns, highlights the declining significance of Kashmir in Pakistani political discourse (Muhammad Shafiq, 2019, 1-13).

The UN Human Rights Report of June 2018 highlighted that Pakistan's leadership failed to capitalize on the human rights violations committed by Indian forces in IOK. The country's foreign policy was unable to effectively raise this issue on the international platform. This can be attributed to a divided foreign office, where the civil and military leadership have conflicting views on national issues. Furthermore, there is a lack of consensus among the political and parliamentary forces regarding policies concerning the Kashmir issue. Instead of working together to counter Indian agendas, the political leadership in Pakistan tends to blame each other for conspiring against the national interests and the Kashmir cause. Pakistan's approach towards Kashmir question has undergone transformations over time, influenced by shifts in domestic politics and global affairs. This lack of consistency has resulted in ambiguity and a compromised position on the Kashmir conflict.

8.3.5 Role of Economic Instability

The economic volatility significantly shapes Pakistan's external policy choices. The financial status of a nation plays a crucial role in determining its capacity to interact with the world, advance its strategic objectives, and address worldwide issues. Pakistan's growing dependence on foreign aid and assistance can be attributed to the prevailing economic instability. This reliance has significantly impacted the country's external policy choices, as Pakistan has placed a high priority on promoting relationships with donor nations and international financial institutions in order to secure crucial economic support in the form of loans, grants, and other forms of assistance. This influence is evident in the case of Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline Project, where Pakistan's inability to fulfill its obligations can be seen as a result of the mounting international pressure.

Likewise, foreign investments in Pakistan have been discouraged by the prevailing economic instability, primarily due to apprehensions regarding political and economic risks. This situation has further intensified internal predicaments, such as poverty, unemployment, and social unrest. Consequently, it has become imperative for Pakistan to prioritize the resolution of these economic challenges in order to ensure internal stability (Ali G. , 2022).

The country is facing instability and insecurity as a result of a combination of various factors including religious extremism, sectarianism, ethnic divides, political unrest, poor governance, corruption, fragile democracy, and an unstable economic plight. During the 1960s, Pakistan was ahead of several East Asian nations in terms of economic and social development indicators, but has since been unable to achieve its full potential. Pakistan plays a crucial role in the regional security landscape and is of immense interest to major global players such as the United States and China, primarily because of its possession of nuclear weapons and strategic geographical location. The country's escalating debt burden has weakened its diplomatic leverage with international lenders and increased its vulnerability to economic downturns. The confluence of trade and fiscal deficits, rising inflation, inadequate foreign exchange inflows, and mounting expenses associated with servicing external debt are further depleting the nation's foreign reserves. This challenging situation is further exacerbated by ineffective crisis response mechanisms and a lack of commitment from both the government and the general populace (Aftab, 2023).

The economic crisis has far-reaching consequences, impacting not only a nation's financial stability but also its political landscape, external relations, governance, and

adherence to the rule of law. Pakistan's current economic challenges are hindering its ability to achieve its foreign policy goals. In contrast, India holds more influence on various global issues compared to Pakistan, garnering support from Western and even some Muslim nations by exploiting Pakistan's economic woes. This is particularly evident in the Kashmir conflict, where India has actively worked to isolate Pakistan on the international stage (Ghori, 2021).

India's GDP in 2020 stood at \$2,709 billion, which is approximately ten times higher than Pakistan's GDP of \$263 billion. The gap is even more pronounced in nominal terms, exceeding ten times, compared to PPP (purchasing power parity) terms where it is 8.3 times. India holds the fifth-largest nominal economy and the third-largest PPP economy globally. On the other hand, Pakistan is ranked 48th nominally and 24th in terms of PPP. The wealthiest state in India, Maharashtra, boasts a GDP that surpasses Pakistan's at \$398 billion. Following closely is Tamil Nadu, the second-largest economy, with a GDP of \$247 billion. The disparity between these two countries was at its smallest in 1993, when India's nominal GDP was 5.39 times that of Pakistan, and at its widest in 1973 (Bank, 2021).

Pakistan's diplomatic clout has waned as a result of persistent political turmoil and economic instability. Despite endeavors to shape a unified narrative on the Kashmir issue, the government's endeavors have fallen short. The nation's internal political discord and economic reliance on external sources have sparked concerns regarding its efficacy in representing Pakistan's interests on the global stage. Currently, Pakistan heavily depends on foreign assistance to fulfill its requirements. Due to various geographical,

geo-political, and geo-economic limitations, Pakistan frequently has few alternatives, occasionally assuming a subordinate position to dominant global forces.

8.3.6 Role of Public Opinion

Government decisions are constantly influenced by the opinions of the public, both domestically and internationally. In Pakistan, being a democratic country, political leaders are also concerned about how the general public will respond to specific external policy choices. In the past, despite being an authoritarian ruler, President Pervez Musharraf allowed freedom of the media. Since 2002, the media in Pakistan has played a significant role in increasing public awareness of government decisions and policies, closely scrutinizing every action taken by the administration. Both leadership and the media have important roles in shaping public opinion due to their potential influence. However, there are instances where political leaders can create a situation where the public supports their foreign policy choices. For example, the foreign policy towards India, particularly regarding Kashmir, greatly concerns the people of Pakistan. Consequently, the public is always willing to support the government's decisions in countering the perceived Indian threat, driven by historical, emotional, and ideological factors (Ali G. , 2022).

Leaders sometimes create a conducive environment domestically to further their external policy goals. They employ specific framing techniques to sway public opinion in support of their foreign policy decisions. For example, following the events of 9/11, President Musharraf chose to align with the US on war against terror, cultivate a certain

atmosphere within the country, and seek approval from the public. Over time, the immediate and long-term consequences of these actions have become increasingly evident. The beliefs of the general population and the actions of leaders are closely intertwined. Prime Minister Imran Khan, for instance, engaged in mediation efforts between Iran and Saudi Arabia by visiting both countries in October 2019. However, Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has made it clear on January 5, 2020, that the country will not allow its territory to be used against any other state and will refrain from involvement in regional conflicts. This stance was influenced by the Sunni majority in Pakistan, with ties to Saudi Arabia, and the Shia community, with ties to Iran, contributing to the country's neutrality. External policy decisions concerning Iran and Saudi Arabia could potentially fuel extremism within the Pakistani society. Consequently, Imran Khan's mediation approach was well-received by the general public (Fozia BiBi, 2020).

The foreign policy perspectives of the elite class in Pakistan align closely with those of the average citizen. A majority of the elites identify themselves as nationalists. Notably, nationalism serves as a unifying factor due to the significant economic and cultural disparities among different segments of the population. Previously, the external policy segment of this nationalism was characterized by Indophobia. However, in recent years, anti-Americanism has gained prominence, being expressed as a strong defense of national sovereignty. Presently, anti-Americanism plays a crucial role in bridging the gap between the general public and the elite class. The Pakistani upper class is understandably fearful of public discontent and its potential to incite turmoil. Rising prices, widening income disparities, and diminishing access to resources such as

electricity and education fuel their increasing anger. Consequently, Pakistani elites have begun to adopt populist strategies that tap into public sentiment in order to address these challenges. They recognize that maintaining a connection with the general population is crucial for achieving their political goals in the long run. Indeed, the elite understands that their political future will be shaped more by domestic affairs rather than international relations (William B. Milam, 2015: 121-134).

In addition to the internal institutional conflicts, political instability, economic challenges and social unrest, Pakistan continues to be held captive by its professedly Islamic identity and associated ideas. The country's deep-rooted Islamization hinders the ruling class from independently shaping foreign relations, as any deviation from the status quo is met with strong domestic resistance. Some within the ruling elite advocate for closer ties with India and even Israel, despite the latter not being recognized as a sovereign state by Pakistan. However, the prevailing perception of the West and these countries as enemies of Islam and Pakistan among the general public leads to opposition against any government efforts to promote cooperation. Consequently, initiatives promoting dialogue and cooperation are met with resistance in public spheres like mosques, schools, and political gatherings. Thus far, no government in Pakistan has taken bold steps to adopt a rational political strategy that balances domestic and external policy considerations effectively (Ali S. , 2018).

8.3.7 Political Unrest

Pakistan has encountered a multitude of obstacles in its foreign policy formulation, economic progress, societal unity, governance, and national defense due to continuous political instability. The enduring instability and lack of contrivance in Pakistan's

political structure have greatly impeded civilian control, with the military frequently impeding the political arena. Unfortunately, political factions in Pakistan have been hesitant to recognize each other's mandates, participating in an unending power struggle that has undermined both the Parliament and the democratic structure. Consequently, the government's focus has been diverted from addressing the pressing issues facing the nation. Additionally, rival political groups have not only accused one another of corruption but also of misusing power and acting against Pakistan's national interests. Consequently, the political parties in Pakistan have forfeited the essential strength and credibility needed to efficiently manage the state's affairs (Saba, 2023).

Amidst the Dawn leaks controversy and PM Nawaz Sharif's visit to India, the ruling party PML 'N' came under fire from the prominent opposition parties PPP and PTI for neglecting Pakistan's national interests. In this intricate situation, the military had to intervene to protect the nation's interests. When political turmoil threatens the country's interests, civilians accuse one another of treason and security threats, creates a void that requires external intervention (Shah L. G., 2017).

The democratic entities and political factions in Pakistan demonstrate a deficiency in power and competence when it comes to adequately carrying out their essential responsibilities. Their effectiveness has been hindered by being placed under military rule for decades, leading to various challenges such as weak organizational structures, restricted socio-economic prospects, inadequate financial backing, and irregular electoral procedures. Furthermore, the presence of undemocratic practices, politics centered around personalities, regional power struggles, and ideological disagreements have significantly obstructed the effective operation of political groups. These factions have

grappled with unclear ideologies and a shortage of forward-thinking leadership (Aftab, 2023).

Pakistan has a rich historical backdrop characterized by political instability and the persistent threat of terrorism. The emergence of terrorist organizations is frequently attributed to internal conflicts and the prevailing instability within the nation. These unfavorable conditions provide fertile ground for these groups to propagate their ideologies, recruit new members, and acquire financial support. Furthermore, terrorist factions exploit the prevailing disorder to undermine the authority of the state and execute attacks, often targeting heavily fortified regions. The level of societal chaos directly impacts the prospects for the growth and success of terrorist organizations.

Pakistan's political landscape is characterized by a lack of effective governance, visionary leadership, and comprehensive analysis of socio-political and economic issues. While public demonstrations and rallies may offer some support, they do not present a holistic solution to the complex challenges facing the country. The shift in Pakistan's political environment from patronage-based politics to extremism is exacerbating instability. The negative repercussions of inciting the youth and the public to revolt against state institutions, leaders, and the established system are becoming increasingly apparent. The ongoing political turmoil not only erodes the nation's sense of unity but also hinders progress towards a shared national vision, fostering identity politics and division among the diverse population (Abbas, 2020).

The repercussions of political instability in Pakistan are substantial and widespread. It has impeded the economic progress and advancement of the nation, resulting in a dearth of investments and foreign assistance. The political turmoil has also fostered an

atmosphere of unpredictability and insecurity in Pakistan, negatively impacting country's soft power image and tourism. Furthermore, the social and human development of the country has been compromised, as political instability has led to inadequate public services and restricted access to education and healthcare. The unrest in politics has made it arduous for Pakistan to formulate and execute a cohesive foreign policy strategy, leading to a diminished credibility and trust on the international platform. This has made it challenging to attract foreign investments and aid, as well as to establish bilateral and multilateral agreements. The absence of a robust democratic background in Pakistan has exacerbated polarization as numerous political parties and interest groups tend to prioritize their own agendas over the welfare of the public. This has created obstacles in reaching consensus and finding common ground on critical national matters, leading to political gridlock and inertia. Furthermore, political polarization has eroded trust in democratic institutions like the electoral system and judiciary. Hence, it is imperative for the government and society of Pakistan to tackle the root causes of political instability and strive towards fostering a more secure and prosperous nation (Sheikh H. , 2022).

8.3.8 National Security

Pakistan's military leadership has harbored deep concerns regarding their strategic disadvantage ever since the country's inception. Critics of militarization have censured the armed forces for exploiting their rivalry with India and aligning themselves with Western geo-political interests in the region. This alignment initially emerged during the Cold War and later intensified during the 'War on Terror,' resulting in Pakistan being perceived as a perpetual 'security state'. In stark contrast, India has been widely

acknowledged as considerably more advanced, capable, and equipped with robust defensive capabilities (Talbot, 2012).

India's military prowess and its desire to emerge as a dominant force in the region significantly impact Pakistan's defense and external policy goals. India holds a prominent position in the geopolitical landscape of the region, surrounded by neighboring countries that are comparatively weaker and more vulnerable. Additionally, India's strong security alliances and close relations with the former Soviet Union are driven by its aspiration to procure advanced weaponry from Russia's armaments industry. To bolster its capabilities as formidable war machinery, India also aims to develop and domestically manufacture modern weapon systems. Pakistan's perception of the Indian threat is further intensified by India's continuous enhancement of its defense capabilities and its assertive stance on bilateral issues (Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi, 2015).

Pakistan operates as a security state, with its distant policy decisions primarily driven by security concerns and the desire to position itself as a formidable military force. This emphasis on security has enabled the military to exert significant influence over both domestic and international policy-making processes, often overshadowing civilian authorities. Throughout its history, Pakistan has utilized its strong military capabilities as a key diplomatic tool, prioritizing defense partnerships over economic relationships with other nations. By adopting this security-focused approach to foreign policy, Pakistan has effectively maintained the operational effectiveness and institutional strength of its military, even in times of great challenges (Sulehria, 2023).

Despite entering significant security and defense agreements, Pakistan has been unable to achieve much-needed stability and security. A primary factor contributing to

this challenge is the hostile internal environment that involves the lack of a robust democratic system, political instability, lack of accountability within the government and state institutions, poor governance, Corruption and nepotism, eroding public trust in the government and negative economic growth. These complex issues are the result of multiple factors involving various stakeholders, including the politicians, military, judiciary, civil society, and some external influences. It is essential to recognize that assigning blame solely to one entity oversimplifies the complex dynamics at play. Constructive progress requires a collaborative approach, where all stakeholders, including the army, politicians, civil society, and citizens, work together to address the challenges and build a better future for Pakistan (Rana A. , 2021).

Likewise, one of the most critical foreign policy challenges confronting Pakistan is the integration of soft power with hard power. This requires finding a delicate balance between security and economic considerations, necessitating a departure from traditional military strategies to embrace alternative methods of advancing national interests. The economic instability plays a pivotal role in shaping the foreign policy decisions of Pakistan, impacting various aspects such as its interactions with the global community, trade partnerships, investment environment, debt handling, energy security, and regional connectivity efforts. Overcoming economic hurdles and attaining stability are imperative for Pakistan to effectively pursue a strategic and unified foreign policy agenda that promotes its national interests (Rana A. , 2021).

8.3.9 Non-state Entities

Despite the structured nature of foreign policy formulation involving formal institutions, some non-state entities plays a crucial role in influencing foreign policy

decisions i.e., think tanks, media, civil society, militant groups and religious organizations. Think tanks and research institutes are valuable in offering independent assessments and recommendations for policy-making; However, Pakistan lacks an abundance of such institutions. Civil society organizations in the country lack proper organization, resulting in their limited influence on foreign policy. Nevertheless, there has been a recent surge in their activity, especially among those advocating for human rights. In contrast, the Pakistani media has somewhat played a prominent role in shaping the country's external policy (Raja S. H., 2023).

Pakistan has encountered the existence of militant organizations operating within its borders, often with transnational objectives. These organizations have participated in activities across border, including acts of terrorism, insurrection, and proxy warfare, which have not only posed challenges to Pakistan's ties with neighboring nations but also influenced its foreign policy priorities. The actions of these militant groups along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, for instance, have consequences for Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan and its role in the dynamics of regional security. Certain non-state entities in Pakistan (e.g., Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, and Haqqani Network) have been utilized as proxies by the state to chase strategic goals in neighboring countries, such as Afghanistan and India. These entities have influenced Pakistan's foreign policy by serving as tools for projecting state power and exerting geo-political influence, predominantly in conflicts with rival nations or in the pursuit of professed national security interests. The activities of non-state actors, exclusively those involved in terrorism or violence, have exposed Pakistan to diplomatic pressure, worldwide scrutiny, and a negative perception within the global community. The presence of militant groups

allied with terrorism has significantly damaged Pakistan's international reputation, credibility, and consular relations, resulting in diplomatic isolation, sanctions, and restrictions on foreign assistance. Likewise, NSAs like TTP or other sectarian and extremist groups destabilize internal security, diverting focus from foreign policy goals (Hussain T., 2023).

8.3.10 Role of Media, NGO's and Think-tanks

The media plays a vital role in promoting the national interests set forth in foreign policy. Michael Brecher conducts a comprehensive analysis of the decision-making process in foreign policy. He presents a concise description of the media as a communication network operating within a political system. This network facilitates the transmission of essential knowledge about the operational environment to those in power. Brecher emphasizes that foreign policy is shaped by a particular atmosphere or context. The operational environment serves as the arena where foreign policy choices are formulated and executed. The notion of domestic setting/environment encompasses various factors and situations that influence a State's external behavior. Policymakers are obligated to adhere to the limitations imposed by the operational environment. The term "mass media" refers to the technologies employed to transmit messages across vast distances or time for the purpose of achieving widespread communication. The role of the media in this particular setting is both crucial and complex. It shapes the atmosphere within which decision-makers must develop their external policies. The media holds sway over political decision-makers and their choices regarding foreign policy. Moreover, the media serves as a means to facilitate government and public

communication. It also serves as a platform for disseminating news, events, and other forms of information (Ahmad Ali, 2019).

Cohen highlighted that the media serves three crucial functions in shaping foreign policy: advocacy, communication, and interpretation. The impact of technology on our world today is significantly different from the past decades, with its influence evident across various aspects of life, including politics. Social media now plays a significant role alongside electronic and print media. In Pakistan, the media not only covers internal matters but also emphasizes foreign policies, sometimes influencing public perception of policy decisions. The portrayal of relationships such as Sino-Pak, India-Pak, Saudi-Pak, and Pak-US varies in the media. Particularly, Sino-Pak relations are often depicted as strong allies, with CPEC being highlighted as a symbol of enduring partnership.

Diplomacy plays a central role in establishing and maintaining relationships with other countries. Additionally, the use of signals and bluffs is crucial in developing effective strategies. Both think tanks and media outlets are influential in these aspects. The rational model of foreign policy decision making has become more intricate due to the overwhelming amount of information available, often referred to as the "fog of information". Media acts as a bridge between the general public and those in power, providing valuable feedback on policy initiatives. The visual impact and emotional appeal conveyed through the camera significantly shape public opinion. As a result, any shift in public sentiment is captured by the media, which then exerts pressure on the government to modify its policies. However, this chain reaction is not without its complexities. Media, in fact, serves as a tool for effective foreign relations. Nowadays, foreign policy practitioners increasingly utilize social media platforms to engage with

people and strengthen international ties. Former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton emphasized the importance of leveraging social media to effectively communicate the American perspective to a broader audience (Yaqoob, 2019).

The media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion on Pakistan's foreign policy, especially concerning the Kashmir dispute with India. An example of this is the Palwama incident, which took place on February 14, 2019, and escalated tensions between Pakistan and India. While India accused Pakistan of carrying out the incident, Pakistan denied these allegations and urged India to stop blaming Pakistan. The media highlighted these statements to showcase to the international community the Pakistani administration's commitment to peace and stability in the region. Moreover, such claims also reassured the domestic audience that the government was addressing India's concerns (Aleem, 2023).

Media organizations frequently amplify discussions surrounding Pakistan's fundamental foreign policy concerns, including Kashmir, its relationship with India, and the conflict in Afghanistan. For instance, exaggerated reporting on cross-border clashes or human rights abuses in Kashmir has consistently stirred public emotions, compelling the government to adopt a more assertive position. During the 2019 Balakot airstrikes, the Pakistani media's depiction of India as the aggressor bolstered nationalist sentiments, thereby constraining diplomatic options for de-escalation. Media initiatives often emphasize ties with China, such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) projects, and foster a sense of Islamic unity with other Muslim-majority countries, thereby influencing public backing for these alliances. State-affiliated media typically portrays China as an "all-weather friend," which aligns with governmental objectives.

State-operated channels like PTV and Radio Pakistan propagate official narratives regarding foreign policy, including Pakistan's involvement in the War on Terror and its position on the Taliban regime. These narratives are consistent with the military's security-focused strategy. The military establishment subtly influences media narratives through press releases, background briefings, and its sway over private media proprietors (Mir, 2022).

Certain media organizations periodically examine foreign policy choices, including the debt risks associated with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and U.S. drone strikes. Such coverage can ignite discussions in Parliament or provoke public dissent, leading to necessary adjustments in policy. Some commentators question the military's significant influence over foreign policy matters. For instance, deliberations surrounding the military's approach to the Afghan Taliban have underscored the potential for retaliatory terrorism. Additionally, misinformation and hyper-nationalistic narratives on social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook often heighten tensions with India and complicate diplomatic relations with Western nations. A notable example includes conspiracy theories regarding U.S. efforts for regime change, which intensified anti-American feelings during Imran Khan's administration (Mairaj ul Hamid, 2023).

Think tanks in Pakistan influence foreign policy choices through their research, analysis, and strategic recommendations. The Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI) concentrates on issues related to security, regional diplomacy, and global geopolitics, often aligning its work with national interests, such as supporting Pakistan's position on Kashmir and evaluating the strategic implications of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Similarly, the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs

(PIIA), one of the country's oldest think tanks, focuses on multilateralism, the dynamics of Indo-Pak relations, and global governance. The Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS) tackles security issues, counterterrorism, and peace-building initiatives, particularly in the context of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Think tanks generate reports, policy briefs, and white papers that provide valuable insights to policymakers regarding various issues. They also promote informal discussions with counterparts from countries such as India, Afghanistan, and the United States. Events such as ISSI's seminars on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and CRSS's forums on counterterrorism serve as venues for policymakers, scholars, and international experts to share and discuss ideas.

The political landscape significantly influences the function of think tanks in Pakistan. During periods of military rule, these institutions encountered limitations in providing independent assessments. Following the restoration of democracy in 2007, conditions improved; however, political entities continued to impact the evolution of think tanks (Hay & Sudarshan, 2010). The concentration of power restricted policy initiatives. Additionally, Pakistan's society is fragmented along party affiliations, complicating the formulation of unbiased policy recommendations. Research outcomes are frequently interpreted through a political framework, obstructing the acknowledgment of neutral expertise. In such polarized settings, research works are perceived as motivated by concealed agendas rather than objective analysis (Qaisar Farooq, 2024).

Civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations, such as the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), bring attention to human rights violations in Balochistan and instances of political persecution within the country,

thereby attracting international attention and influencing diplomatic discussions. In a parallel manner, economic and environmental advocacy groups are campaigning against the ecological consequences and debt implications of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), exerting pressure on the government to reconsider its agreements with China (Raja S. H., 2023).

CHAPTER-9

9. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The role of the domestic environment is crucial in both shaping and constraining the options available for foreign policy decisions. Christopher Hill emphasized the importance of various factors and actors, including Parliament, Public opinion, Pressure groups, and Press, as well as social classes and regime type, in impeding the execution of foreign policy. These internal dynamics collectively contribute to the formation of a country's foreign policy tradition, rooted in a set of beliefs and perspectives. To truly grasp a nation's approach towards international affairs, it is imperative to have a comprehensive understanding of its domestic policies. The interaction between domestic inputs and external relations is intricate and diverse. The significance of individual influence on foreign policy decisions and the influence of domestic elements on policy formulation cannot be overstated. While foreign policy originates from within the state, its evolution is shaped by domestic dynamics. The connection between foreign policy making and the internal landscape of a country is fluid and can yield significant repercussions for both the governing class and the worldwide structure. The efficacy of local policies can directly influence the triumph of foreign policy endeavors, even though this correlation is not consistently straightforward. Domestic policy is inherently interconnected with foreign policy, and a nation must tackle internal hurdles prior to achieving favorable results on the global platform (ERHAN, 2018).

India has persistently pursued a foreign policy aimed at surrounding Pakistan and alienating it from the global community. This objective has been reinforced by India's approach in fostering diplomatic relations with influential global powers and Muslim

states worldwide. India strategically leverages its strong alliances with regional and international partners to challenge Pakistan's interests across various domains. Pakistan's foreign policy on the other hand is mostly characterized by a reactive approach, as opposed to India's stance. Rather than utilizing preemptive strategies to thwart India's schemes, Pakistan tends to respond to threats after they have been materialized, as demonstrated by the response to India's abrogation of Article 370 and 35A in Indian-occupied Kashmir. India also takes advantage of Pakistan's internal political instability and divided Foreign Office to further its hostile objectives against Pakistan (S.T. Rashid, Personal Communication, Dec. 22, 2021).

Below, the study has conducted a comparative examination of the domestic actors and factors accountable for the efficacy of foreign policy choices in both Pakistan and India.

9.1 Foreign Policy Making in India and Pakistan; Elements of Reliance, Coherence, and Political Determination

Following their split-up in 1947, the two neighboring countries (India and Pakistan) adopted contrasting external policy trajectories. At the end of the WW2, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the predominant superpowers, each advocated for the capitalist and communist factions on the worldwide stage. To enhance their influence, these superpowers entered into various military and trade conflicts. Under the guidance of Nehru, India adopted a policy of neutrality, choosing not to affiliate with either faction. Instead, it capitalized on the military and economic benefits provided by both the superpowers. In contrast, Pakistan formed an alliance with the western bloc. While the main aim of this alliance was to strengthen its military and economic standing, Pakistan's choice was not grounded in a comprehensive cost-benefit evaluation. As a result, Pakistan

has confronted considerable challenges in the management of its ties with both the super powers till date. Since its inception, Pakistan's foreign policy has been significantly shaped by the dominant Western powers. Pakistan did not make earnest efforts to extricate itself from this web of dependency. This situation has diminished Pakistan's standing in the international community while simultaneously enhanced India's reputation (Ahmad, 2015).

Since the period of Zia ul Haq, Pakistan has chosen a path of pursuing an external policy that reflects its fundamental principle of emphasizing security over development, preferring elite over the general populace, and prioritizing ideology over advancement. This notion has been further solidified by a governance structure, whether under civilian or military rule, where institutions are viewed as subordinate to power centers, resulting in their deterioration. A weakened state becomes dependent on external entities, leading its foreign policy to frequently align with the strategic goals of other countries, often to its own detriment. Foreign policy dependence is restrictive and obligatory, hindering the nation's ability to form new alliances and making it vulnerable to exploitation due to the entrenched dependency syndrome. Many of Pakistan's major challenges stem directly from its reliance-based policies. Pakistan must establish an independent foreign policy, but this necessitates fundamental domestic changes that involve a redistribution of power from the elite to the general populace and from the military to civilians. Additionally, this transformation necessitates a reorientation of foreign policy priorities from a focus on security to one centered on development (Hussain T. , 2022).

Pakistan's considerable dependence on other states like USA and Saudi-Arabia as well as international institutions like IMF and World Bank for its military and economic

needs has significant drawbacks for its independent external policy and national interests. It greatly limits Pakistan's ability to maneuver in worldwide affairs and restricts its options for developing a sovereign foreign policy. For instance, the pressure exerted by the United States prevented Pakistan from implementing the Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline project, which would have been beneficial for the country's long-term interests and meeting its growing energy and gas requirements. This is the price Pakistan pays for being an American client state and relying on Washington to fulfill its military and economic demands. Additionally, this reliance syndrome has eroded Pakistan's confidence and made it susceptible to exploitation and foreign dictates. It is a common occurrence to witness Pakistan's highest-ranking officials and leaders' embarking on journeys to foreign metropolises in search of solutions to their country's pressing economic and military challenges. In the event of an energy crisis, policymakers seek guidance from Washington or Beijing instead of solely relying on their own endeavors to resolve it. Similarly, when faced with a water crisis resulting from inadequate dam construction on rivers, they rely on foreign benefactors to address the issue. Instead of enhancing economic management and implementing sustainable changes to boost productivity, policymakers resort to foreign loans and temporary remedies to navigate difficult periods (Noman & Khan, 2020).

In contrast, India's accomplishments resulting from its autonomous foreign policy initiatives have been significant. The nation has effectively maintained strong ties with both the United States and Russia, reaping advantages from each. India has also been simultaneously a member of many international organizations like SCO, BRICS, and the Quad. The country has established new partnerships with Arab states for political and

economic support. Additionally, it has enhanced its relations with both Israel and Iran to secure support and advantages on the international stage. India has been instrumental in articulating a compelling vision for the Indo-Pacific region, which has not only fortified the ties between the United States and India but has also facilitated greater Indian involvement across a vast expanse of the globe, extending from Northeast Asia to Africa. It has followed an autonomous external policy rooted in the principle of strategic impartiality, enabling the pursuit of its national interests and goals without being tied to any specific power bloc or alliance. India's tradition of non-alignment, along with its strategic partnerships and diverse consular engagements, provides it with flexibility and influence in the realm of worldwide relations. Likewise, India's notable economic, political, cultural, and technical advancements have propelled it to surpass Pakistan in the realm of foreign policy. The nation's unwavering commitment to democratic system, strong civilian institutions, and sustained economic growth have all played a pivotal role in bolstering India's sovereignty and elevating its foreign policy influence (Hussain T. , 2022).

An elite-dominated external policy lacks strong backing from the general populace. As articulated by renowned foreign policy scholar Henry Kissinger, "Any foreign policy, no matter how cleverly devised, cannot succeed if it is conceived by a few and not embraced by the many." In Pakistan, public disappointment with decision-making processes largely stems from the lack of transparency, accountability and citizen participation. Internal harmony among institutions, political steadiness, and economic growth are lacking in the country. This has led to the state's survival and progress being heavily reliant on external assistance. The consequence is a compromise on sovereignty

and independence, with foreign policy, closely intertwined with domestic policy, bearing responsibility for this predicament (Hafiz, 2022).

Former High Commissioner to India, Abdul Basit (2020), has noted that less experienced and ordinary diplomats have been appointed to vital diplomatic positions globally. These appointments are driven by favoritism, with envoys obtaining their roles through lobbying and connections rather than merit. Like other governmental bodies in Pakistan, the Foreign Office has succumbed to personal interests and political maneuvering. Similarly, prolonged decision-making processes have resulted in significant vacancies in essential diplomatic roles, extended assignments for certain officials abroad, and protracted waiting times for personnel at headquarters. Consequently, this has led to diminished morale and instability within the organization (Khan H. , 2020).

The international reputation of Pakistan and its capacity to fulfill external policy objectives have been profoundly influenced by the frequent inconsistencies and unpredictability inherent in its policies. This situation has adversely affected the nation's standing on the global stage. Furthermore, the internal challenges faced by Pakistan are intricately linked to the erratic decisions made within its external policy framework. The presence of internal strife, fragile institutions, and insufficient political resolve directly influence the nation's external policy choices. The inconsistencies in public policy foster an unstable and uncertain domestic political climate, which diminishes Pakistan's credibility and hampers its ability to sustain stable worldwide relations. This predicament poses a challenge for the government as it endeavors to reconcile domestic priorities with foreign policy goals. Moreover, the lack of a coherent long-term strategic vision, coupled with competing political agendas, exacerbates the connection between domestic policy

shortcomings and conflicting foreign policies. Political leaders in the country frequently favor immediate political gains over enduring objectives, leading to unreliable policies and a deficiency of coherence in both domestic and international matters (Gasura, 2023).

According to Senator retired Lt Gen Abdul Qayyum (2020), foreign Missions are not effectively fulfilling their role in advancing national interests. While Parliamentary Committees provide recommendations to the government, they lack the authority to compel action. There is a lack of a time-bound and task-oriented action plan to achieve strategic objectives, improve the country's political image globally, and establish meaningful diplomatic relations with more nations. The current approach of ad hoc responses and internal efforts may not yield the desired outcomes, as Pakistan's diplomatic missions struggle to garner necessary support on various fronts. Moreover, the conflicting messages, retractions, and clarifications from the government regarding external policy matters are eroding the credibility of the Foreign Service and tarnishing the country's reputation on the international stage. Pakistan's political and economic crises have consistently stemmed from governance issues, with ruling elites often avoiding necessary reforms to address deep-seated problems. The strength of institutions is crucial in determining how effectively policy measures and reforms are put into action (Lodhi M., 2023).

India, a huge democracy with its diverse ethno-linguistic and religious sets, separatist factions, occupied territories, and more, presents a governance challenge that is no less complex than that of Pakistan. However, India's commitment to democracy and constitutional supremacy left Pakistan trailing behind. Presently, India's annual foreign direct investment surpasses that of Pakistan by a staggering 40 times. Additionally,

India's central bank reserves stand at over \$580 billion, while Pakistan's are a mere \$8 billion. India has also surged ahead of Pakistan in various human development indicators. This remarkable progress can be attributed to internal political stability, consistent policy execution, and a resolute political will that continues to strengthen India both politically and economically. Conversely, Pakistan grapples with a grave governance issue, marked by lack of democracy, inconsistency in policies and institutional conflicts (Ismail, 2022).

Despite changes in leadership, foreign policy in most countries tends to remain consistent. This is also evident in India, where there has been continuity in foreign policy over time and across different governments. For example, India has persistently sought a permanent seat at the UN Security Council since the early 1990s. Additionally, India has taken a leading role in trade negotiations at the WTO on behalf of the developing world. Furthermore, India has consistently refused to join the Nonproliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, while also maintaining a policy of isolating Pakistan in the international community. These external policy positions have remained unchanged despite shifts in regime. The representative governmental system in India ensures a consistent, stable, and adaptable external policy approach, irrespective of shifts in government (Debak Das, 2019).

9.2 Significance of Strategic Approach in Indo-Pak Foreign Policy Making

Strategic planning encompasses the essential qualities of prudence, wisdom, and vision, which are crucial for ensuring success in the policy formulation process. Strategic foresight refers to a systematic and structured approach of utilizing future-oriented ideas to anticipate and effectively prepare for forthcoming changes. It involves exploring various possible scenarios that may arise, along with the opportunities and challenges

they may bring. Due to short-term planning and lack of foresight, Pakistan's external policy and economic policy-making has suffered greatly. Likewise, Pakistan's diminishing political, educational, and societal institutions poses significant challenges. The focus of strategic planning and foresight in the country primarily serves the interests of the privileged elites, particularly those in power, which is why the country is grappling with its survival (Ahmar, 2023).

The historical relationship between Pakistan and India is characterized by notable divergences in their foreign policy strategies. Following the events of September 11, 2001, the international environment has experienced considerable shifts. The Taliban, previously regarded as resistance fighters against the Soviet Union, are now classified as terrorists, resulting in heightened scrutiny of their supporters. In contrast, Pakistan has been uncertain to adjust to these evolving circumstances, predominantly depending on past experiences. Consequently, Pakistan has encountered criticism due to its perceived implicit endorsement of groups engaged in conflicts in Afghanistan and Kashmir. Pakistan's approach should have been to unequivocally convey to the international community that the factions operating in Kashmir are internal freedom fighters; however, India has exploited Pakistan's foreign policy deficiencies and divisions, framing it as a supporter of terrorism in both Afghanistan and Kashmir. India has accused Pakistan's security apparatus of providing assistance to these groups. Additionally, there have been concerns raised from within Pakistan, as demonstrated by the Dawn leaks controversy, regarding the backing of jihadist organizations, which has resulted in considerable political and economic difficulties for the country on both domestic and international

fronts, particularly when Pakistan was placed on the FATF's grey and black lists (Haider, 2019).

India has consistently demonstrated proficiency in its foreign dealings, particularly by utilizing soft power strategies not only to achieve its global political and economic objectives but also to undermine Pakistan's reputation across the globe by projecting it as a terror sponsoring state. Conversely, Pakistan has struggled to devise effective measures to counter India's narrative on the international platforms and to reveal the extremist and fascist factions operating within India, such as the RSS. These factions pose a threat to the rights of minorities and dissenters domestically and internationally, often receiving backing from certain state apparatus. Recent incidents, including the targeted assassinations of key Sikh movement leaders in Canada, the United States, and Pakistan, have exposed links between these factions and state entities. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, addressing the House of Commons, condemned any association of a foreign government in the murder of a Canadian citizen as a defilement of Canada's sovereignty. He specifically linked Indian agents to the assassination of a Sikh nationalist leader in British Columbia in June 2023 (Reuters, 2023).

There are three prominent right-wing extremist organizations in India, namely Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), and Hindu Sena. The RSS has a history of being banned four times during the British era, after the assassination of Gandhi, in the course of the 1975-1977 emergency in India, and following the demolition of the Babri Mosque in 1992. It is argued that a group whose members rejoice the killing of India's founding father should not legally exist, as it goes against the principles of a secular India. On the other hand, VHP is considered an

extremist group that conducts programs to re-convert Hindus who had earlier converted to Christianity or Islam through qualified missionaries known as Dharma Prasar Vibhag (Dharma Propagation Unit), often involving involuntary conversions. For instance, in June 2002, VHP converted 143 tribal Christians into Hindus in Tainser village of Sundargarh district. In 2005, VHP organized a reconversion ceremony for 567 Christians in Bargarh, who signed affidavits confirming their decision to change their religion. Additionally, around 600 Dalit tribal Christians were converted to Hinduism in Bijepur, Orissa. The requirement of affidavits raises concerns about the authenticity of these conversions, suggesting they may have been done under duress. Lastly, Hindu Sena is a Hindu-based organization focused on Hindutva and Hindu nationalism, also supporting the independence of Baluchistan and backing Baloch separatists in Pakistan and across the world (Zainab Murtaza, 2023).

In light of the aforementioned evidence, Pakistan has not been able to adopt a planned approach in exposing these organizations. It should have informed the global community about their operations and urged for their classification as international extremist groups. While the VHP has global branches advocating for Hindu rights, the rights of Christians, Muslims, and other religious minorities in India should not be overlooked. Entities such as the EU, UN, OIC, Human Rights Organizations, and other global platforms need to be informed about the extremist activities of the aforementioned groups. Moreover, these organizations receive financial backing from various countries worldwide. The Financial Action Task Force should have been provided with a comprehensive briefing on how the funds allocated to these groups are utilized for

terrorist actions against the Muslims and Christians in India, along with supporting efforts to weaken Pakistan (Haider, 2019).

India has employed a multifaceted approach to weaken Pakistan's resilience. This approach includes exerting military and political pressure, engaging in insurgency and terrorism, isolating Pakistan diplomatically, slandering it in the media and public sphere, and asserting cultural dominance. In contrast, Pakistan has struggled to formulate a unified and agreeable strategy to effectively counter each aspect of India's policies targeting Pakistan. Clash of priorities among major institutions involved in external policy-making, where one pursues security oriented policies while another pursues an economic policy without knowledge of each other's actions, is causing severe damage to Pakistan's interests. This has resulted in credibility issues and has had a detrimental impact on Pakistan's foreign policy as a whole (S.H. Raja, Personal Communication, Feb. 8, 2023).

In a similar vein, Afghanistan presents another case where Pakistan's policy has been lacking strategic foresight; resulting in it becoming a victim of its own flawed decision-making and policy miscalculations. Contrary to its previous position, policymakers in Pakistan now believe that Afghanistan has become more receptive to anti-Pakistan elements, fixing the responsibility squarely upon the Taliban. All groups based in Afghanistan are solely targeting Pakistan, prompting Pakistan to adopt a firm stance against the Taliban's de facto regime. Consequently, Pakistan has chosen not to support the Taliban regime on the international stage or provide any other form of assistance, recognizing that its Afghan policy, which relied on the hope of securing the

Taliban's support against the TTP, was a strategic blunder (S.H. Raja, Personal Communication, Feb. 8, 2023).

As hope is not a viable strategy, anger cannot serve as a policy. Pakistan's oversimplified approach not only underestimated the Taliban's ability to act autonomously, but also overlooked their strong ideological, racial, historical, and geographical connections with TTP. Following the Taliban's resurgence, Pakistan faced unforeseen outcomes contrary to its initial expectations. Clearly, Pakistan did not foresee the enduring implications of the Taliban's control over Afghanistan on its own security, nor did it fully grasp the extent of the ties between the Afghan Taliban and TTP. Pakistan's Special Envoy for Afghanistan, Asif Durrani, recently expressed that achieving peace in Afghanistan has proven to be a challenging task for Pakistan. He emphasized that policies should be based on rationality and logic rather than assumptions. As a significant change in policy, Islamabad has decided to refrain from supporting the Afghan Taliban on the global stage and providing any further backing due to the Kabul government's inability to eliminate the banned Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) (Basit, 2023).

The Afghan dilemma, in reality, symbolizes the recurring shortcomings of Pakistan's security and foreign policies, specifically its pursuit of 'strategic depth' policy inbordering Afghanistan. Recently, when Taliban assumed control of Kabul, Pakistan was expected to have a trustworthy and responsive regime in Kabul. However, it appears that the state has miscarried to fully comprehend the mindset of the Taliban. Pakistan's enduring approach towards Afghanistan has proven ineffective in achieving its main purposes, predominantly in countering the threat modeled by India. This

strategic discontent has allowed and empowered the Afghan Taliban to exploit Pakistan for their schema, strengthening their grip over Afghanistan with the backing of the TTP, while sidelining all other Afghan political forces (Qazi, 2022).

India's Soft Power is gradually becoming a significant aspect of its diplomacy and external policy, running parallel to the growth of its Hard Power resources. This Soft Power possesses a civilizational aspect, as the Indic civilization has a rich history dating back more than 5,000 years, making it one of the world's main cultural formations. Its influence is evident in various domains, including religion, architecture, literature, as well as trade and travel. Moreover, present-day India's soft power is bolstered by its secular federal democracy, pluralist ideals, and robust institutions, along with its vibrant civil society. India's media, IT, and communications businesses play a crucial role in publicizing its soft power resources. Notably, India takes advantage from its customary practices such as Ayurveda and Yoga, which have gained immense popularity worldwide. Furthermore, the country's diaspora has contributed to the transmuted image of India, further enhancing its soft power (Bhatnagar S. , 2021).

True soft power ingenuities in Pakistan remain scarce and distant. It is noteworthy that each time Pakistan attempts to showcase its positive aspects to the international community; it faces setbacks owing to divided foreign office as a result of civil-military clashes and conservative clergy. The country has yet to fully grasp the importance of its soft power. In spite of having significant potential, Pakistan has not been able to effectively leverage its ideals, values, ideology, and system on a worldwide scale. Its ranking has dropped to 63rd in the Global Soft Power Index, 2021 from 53rd in the preceding year amongst 105 countries (Brand Finance, 2021). Internationally, Pakistan is

often associated with religious fanaticism, terrorism, illiteracy, poverty and political uncertainty rather than being recognized for its potential in tourism, sports feats, and varied ethno-lingual civilization (Musab Saeed, 2021).

9.3 Role of Internal Security and Terrorism in the Effectiveness of India-Pakistan Foreign Policies

Since 9/11, terrorism and growing global extremism has also played a primary role in altering and influencing the external policy choices of India and Pakistan. In the wake of 9/11, Pakistan encountered numerous challenges in striving for prosperity and peace, primarily due to a lack of national consensus on the global war against terrorism led by the United States, along with the absence of democracy, and prevalence of direct military rule. Conversely, India has preserved its internal peace and stability by consistently supporting its democratic institutions and maintaining policy continuity. The responsibility of state is to protect its nationals irrespective of faith, political beliefs and their conduct in society. The sense of shelter for the people by the state is what results in patriotism. The best part of Pakistan is that people at large remain patriotic regardless of how the state has been weakening in its obligations towards the people of the country. Pakistan like any other country needs dual protection, one from the external threats and other from the internal challenges. The internal stability, peace and harmony can ensure the success of its external policies (Sheikh H. , 2022).

Pakistan's deteriorating external relations can be attributed to its foreign policy choices and internal turmoil. The prevailing security issues within the country poses a considerable challenge for foreign investors and allies. Recurrent episodes of violence and political instability have fostered an atmosphere of unpredictability and risk. Such instability discourages foreign investment and obstructs the progress of ongoing

initiatives, as illustrated by China's reluctance to advance various agreements due to constant terrorist attacks on Chinese nationals in the country. Additionally, Pakistan's economic difficulties exacerbate its foreign policy challenges. The nation's faltering economy, soaring inflation, and reliance on external assistance constrain its capacity to form substantial economic collaborations or execute large-scale projects with other countries. This economic fragility also diminishes Pakistan's leverage in international dialogues and restricts its ability to maintain an autonomous foreign policy. The volatile political landscape in Pakistan, characterized by frequent changes in government and military involvement, has severely undermined its counter-terrorism strategies and diminished its reputation as a trustworthy partner (S. Kamran, Personal Communication, Dec. 10, 2021).

At present, Pakistan is beset by twin crises. An economic meltdown, underway for several years, has metastasized into a full-blown balance of payments crisis. The nuclear-armed country is facing challenges to pay for essential imports, such as oil and other essential commodities. Similarly, assistance from the IMF remains stalled since Pakistan's ruling elite is reluctant to enact a range of essential reforms. Alongside, an anti-Pakistan terrorist group, the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), has resurged, fueled by the return to power of the Taliban in Afghanistan enabled by Pakistan's own policy of supporting the Taliban against the Ashraf Ghani regime in Afghanistan. This illustrates the challenges in formulating a rational foreign policy due to the absence of a unified stance on the Taliban issue among the nation's civilian and military institutions (S.H. Raja, Personal Communication, Feb. 8, 2023).

Owing to Pakistan's ambiguous policy concerning the Taliban and other non-state actors, India has consistently branded Pakistan as a sanctuary and financial supporter of terrorist organizations. India has disseminated this narrative globally, asserting that Pakistan remains engaged in cross-border terrorism, particularly affecting Afghanistan and India, warranting its demotion to a blacklist status. The BJP administration has made numerous efforts through coercive diplomacy, especially within the United Nations, to impose sanctions on groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed. The international community tends to accept the Indian perspective, largely because of Pakistan's feeble and divided counter-narrative, which is influenced by its challenging domestic situation characterized by a lack of policy agreement among civilian and military authorities on how to address these organizations. This discord ultimately leads to Pakistan's weak diplomatic efforts to counter India's initiatives (Sheikh S. R., 2023).

The foreign policy of Pakistan is molded by its internal security challenges, such as terrorism, insurgency, and sectional violence. The main priority of the state is to tackle these security risks, resulting in a security-focused approach in foreign affairs, with a strong emphasis on counter-terrorism efforts, border safety, and regional stability. Likewise, Pakistan's external policy is impacted by its perceived security needs in relation to bordering nations, particularly India and Afghanistan. The intimate security challenges confronted by Pakistan, including terrorism and violent extremism, have made it the subject of international surveillance and diplomatic demands. An unstable security environment has led to a sense of unpredictability, deterring foreign investment and hindering local economic endeavors. The presence of terrorism and internal ethnic clashes discourages foreign investors and tourists, necessitating substantial government

expenditures on security measures that detract from vital areas such as education and healthcare. Additionally, this situation adversely impacts credit ratings, posing challenges for Pakistan in accessing global financial markets (Aftab, 2023).

India's internal peace and stability are indeed closely tied to its democratic system and permanency of policies. There are internal security challenges particularly rising instances of terrorist activities after the Mumbai attacks and growing religious intolerance especially in the context of Hindutva, which has influenced India's external policy priorities, strategic designs, and diplomatic engagements, however, India has maintained its control to combat these challenges in a peaceful way with the help of its robust democratic system. India's democratic system of governance establishes a structure for citizens to actively participate in politics, resolve conflicts and make inclusive decisions. This framework plays a crucial role in maintaining internal peace and stability within the country. India's commitment to upholding the constitutional principles acts as a strong defense against internal discords. Similarly, India's tradition of upholding policy continuity, even amidst changes in government, ensures constancy, certainty, and coherence in the governance process. Although political parties have differing beliefs and approaches, there exists a broad accord on key nationwide priorities such as economic development, societal well-being, and national security, which surpasses partisan divisions. This consistent approach to policies instills a sense of steadiness and confidence among citizens, investors, and stakeholders, thereby contributing to India's progress and prosperity (G. Parthasarathy, Personal Communication, Dec. 15, 2023).

9.4 Impact of Civil-Military Relations on Foreign policy Making in India and Pakistan

The level of civil-military interaction within a state serves as a crucial indicator of its political progress. The global political landscape is shaped by the pursuit of genuine democracy, highlighting the significance of a nation's ability to influence and integrate into the international community. The stability, effectiveness, and consistency of a country's institutional framework are fundamental in determining its position on the world stage. Pakistan, a nation grappling with inherited challenges and internal conflicts, exemplifies a dysfunctional civil-military relationship, a reality reflected in its political history. Analyzing this complex dynamic is essential in grasping a state's ability to navigate internal and external threats effectively. Pakistan has witnessed four military coups throughout its history, while its notable adversary, India, has embraced democracy and established stable democratic governments. India has successfully fostered a strong sense of trust and cooperation between its military and civilian authorities (Ahmad, 2015).

India has solidified its position as one of the few post-colonial nations with a flourishing democratic system as it nears its 75th year of independence. India has set itself apart from other former European colonies by the way the military operates within the government, showcasing its unique status at a time when many neighboring countries struggle to maintain their democratic principles and political stability. This concept, known as "civil-military relations" in academic circles, focuses on regulating the interactions between the military and civilian leadership, two crucial components of the state. This fundamental principle establishes the limits of authority for both in accordance with a specific democratic framework. However, its practical implementation has proven to be complex. As seen in numerous democracies worldwide, including those

neighboring India, there have been instances where military leaders have seized power from civilian authorities through coups, or where the military has played an outsized role in national politics (Horimoto, 2017).

The situation in India, however, presents a contrasting scenario. The country has consistently upheld the fundamental principle of civilian supremacy over the armed forces, resulting in a diminished influence of the military on domestic politics and policy formulation. As per the Constitution, the President serves as the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian military. In practice, the elected representatives, the council of ministers, various committees, and the bureaucracy are utilized by the central government to engage with the military. The primary objective of India's Ministry of Defense has been to ensure civilian oversight of the military. This has been accomplished by gradually implementing a set of protocols in its dealings with the armed forces. There are certain cases where Indian armed forces have expressed their displeasure and dissenting opinion with their political bosses, for instance, during the recent indo-china border conflicts in 2020 and clashes with Pakistan post Pulwama attack in 2019, the military leadership in India wanted their civilian bosses to refrain from involvement in operational matters. However owing to civilian supremacy and democratic endurance in India, the military has always remained compliant to civilian authorities, making civilian supremacy unchallenged (Manoj Joshi, 2022).

In recent year, due to growing Hindutva extremism and one man influence in the governmental affairs, International watchdogs have reported a decline in the quality of democracy in India, with the Sweden-based V-Dem Institute designating it as an 'electoral autocracy' in 2021 due to reduced press freedom, civil liberties, and the

politicization of institutions (Gastaldi, 2021). Freedom House classified India as 'partially free,' pointing to the harassment of opposition figures, intimidation of the media, and assaults on minority groups. Modi and his political party BJP are tragically driving India itself toward authoritarianism," Freedom House said in its annual report. Since Narendra Modi assumed the role of Prime Minister in 2014, there has been a noticeable decline in political rights and civil liberties in India, resulting in the nation's classification shifting from Free to Partly Free in 2020 (Biswas, 2024). Additionally, The Economist's Democracy Index has categorized India as a 'flawed democracy,' referencing the deterioration of political culture and civil liberties. Under Modi's leadership, India appears to have forsaken its opportunity to act as a global leader of democracy, prioritizing specific Hindu nationalist agendas over its foundational principles of inclusivity and equal rights for all, as noted in the annual report by The Economist Intelligence Unit (Mehta, 2021).

India's transition towards a civilian autocracy illustrates the contemporary political tactics employed by the BJP administration under Narendra Modi since 2014. Researchers draw parallels between India's path and the concepts presented in *How Democracies Die* (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018), which discusses how elected officials gradually erode democratic principles. Since 2014, the Modi government has engaged in the systematic appropriation of institutions, including the manipulation of courts, election commission, and investigative bodies by appointing loyal supporters. Additionally, it has characterized dissenting voices as 'anti-national' and utilized Hindu nationalism as a means to strengthen its hold on power. The largest democracy in the world is experiencing a shift towards authoritarianism. Recent assessments have attributed this

decline in democratic standards to Prime Minister Modi and his Hindu nationalist BJP administration. Under Modi's leadership, there has been a notable increase in the harassment of human rights organizations, intimidation of journalists and activists, and a rise in violence, particularly targeting Muslim communities. This situation has resulted in a significant erosion of political and civil liberties within the nation. Populist leaders typically begin by gaining control over key state institutions, such as politicizing civil service appointments or diminishing judicial oversight. Subsequently, they often suppress freedom of expression through media censorship, restrictions on academic independence, and limitations on civil society activities (Morse, 2021).

The government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi has diminished the military's influence in policy formulation, as demonstrated by a trend towards centralized decision-making, the politicization of military operations, and structural reforms that favor political aims over the autonomy of military institutions. Two high-ranking military officials, Air Marshal S.P. Dharkar and Lt. Gen. MV Suchindra Kumar, were dismissed and detained for opposing Modi's aggressive military strategies against Pakistan. Their removal was politically motivated, serving as retribution for their resistance to policies that seem to align more with Modi's electoral ambitions than with the nation's security needs. Furthermore, the government has faced criticism for leveraging national security incidents, such as the Pulwama attack in 2019, to rationalize military escalations like the Balakot airstrikes, despite the presence of contradictory evidence (Khalil, 2025).

In 2019, Modi established the position of Chief of Defense Staff (CDS) to unify military command structures under a singular authority. The CDS now manages the Department of Military Affairs, which is responsible for promotions and defense

planning, thereby diminishing civilian bureaucratic oversight and potentially aligning military objectives with political interests. The military's historically nonpartisan nature is being challenged as Modi's administration increasingly merges defense policy with Hindu nationalist principles. For instance, the inauguration of the Ayodhya temple and other symbolic actions that connect military events to Hindu civilizational pride illustrate attempts to synchronize the armed forces with the BJP's cultural agenda. Under Modi, the military's involvement in foreign policy has grown, yet decisions frequently favor populist narratives, such as the Maldives boycott, rather than strategic coherence, indicating a transition from institutional contributions to centralized directives (Khalil, 2025).

Since 2014, India illustrates a framework in which civil-military and diplomatic entities seem unified due to the suppression of dissent rather than the establishment of genuine consensus. The outcomes of foreign policy arise from a hierarchical process dominated by political aims, with institutions adhering rather than challenging. This phenomenon corresponds with wider patterns observed in electoral autocracies, where superficial collaboration conceals the erosion of deliberative democracy. The lack of visible discord within the foreign office or military signifies centralized authority rather than authentic cohesion. While cooperation continues, it is increasingly unbalanced, influenced more by Modi's political agenda than by fair institutional negotiations. The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) appears cohesive, yet its independence has diminished. Diplomats are compelled to conform to Modi's ideological goals, such as advancing Hindu civilizational narratives internationally. Former Foreign Secretary Vijay

Gokhale (2024) remarked that Modi's approach to "personalized diplomacy" undermines institutional expertise in favor of direct political oversight.

Traditional definitions of national security typically involve safeguarding a nation's territorial integrity, internal stability, and sovereignty. The responsibility for this usually falls on the armed forces. However, in today's interconnected and globalized world, the concept of national security has evolved far beyond these traditional boundaries. Various non-traditional threats are emerging, prompting countries to adopt a comprehensive and all-encompassing approach. The concept of Comprehensive National Authority (CNA) has emerged as a key factor in a nation's ability to defend itself, encompassing leadership, economic stability, diplomatic influence, and the coercive elements of state power. Ensuring national security necessitates a collaborative approach encompassing civil and military strategies, alongside socio-political, economic, military, and diplomatic measures at both domestic and international fronts. As Mao Tse-tung famously stated in his book "On Guerrilla Warfare" in 1937, military actions are a means to achieve political objectives, emphasizing the interconnectedness of political and military strategies (Mukherjee A. , 2019).

The imbalanced institutional equilibrium in Pakistan has given rise to numerous challenges for the nation, both domestically and internationally. To effectively address the majority of national security concerns, a cohesive and coordinated strategy is essential, requiring the civil and military sectors to collaborate closely in both planning and execution. This imperative is particularly crucial in today's interconnected world, where security is viewed holistically as a manifestation of state power. However, Pakistan finds itself in a different scenario. The civil and military institutions in the

country have their own distinct interpretations of the country's national interest along with varying approaches to addressing internal and external issues related to national security. Consequently, divergent policies often prove ineffective, leading to a tarnished reputation for the nation on the global stage. The policy-making discrepancies between civilian and military authorities in Pakistan can be attributed to several underlying factors, including the fragility of civilian institutions, political instability; lack of political legitimacy and determination, military's desire for power, vested interests of decision-making elites, and a lack of accountability and transparency in the country (Jaffery, 2020).

Pakistan's international standing has been significantly damaged due to internal disagreements between the civilian and military leadership over key security and external policy choices. These differences have led to diverging public stances on key issues, both domestically and internationally. Consequently, Pakistan's reputation and position in the global community has suffered, resulting in various socio-economic and political challenges. The country's weakened and divided Foreign Office has made it vulnerable to accusations particularly from India, concerning the alleged export of terrorism across the world. It was witnessed during the 19th SAARC Summit in Islamabad, where several member states, including Afghanistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan, boycotted the summit, censuring Pakistan for sponsoring terrorism. This boycott dealt a significant blow to Pakistan's national interest and external policy objectives (Shams, 2016).

Pakistan's foreign policy suffered another setback when China, a key ally, aligned with other nations in the BRICS Summit declaration. This declaration urged Pakistan to take action against the terrorist groups operating within its borders. Consequently, the

Indian position was bolstered, further isolating Pakistan on the diplomatic front. Additionally, Pakistan was placed on the "grey list" by the FATF, a coalition of 37 countries combatting global crimes. This action required Pakistan to adhere to FATF demands, particularly focused on terror financing along with other deficiencies in its financial system that modeled a serious threat to the global financial stability. These developments highlight the complications arising from the conflicts between civilian and military authorities, especially in tackling national security concerns such as the presence of non-state actors on Pakistan's soil and the military's approach towards distinguishing between good and bad Taliban, which ultimately disrupts decision-making and impedes the formulation of effective policies (Shah, 2021).

The formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy has been historically influenced by conflicts between civilian and military authorities, with the military often exerting control over significant strategic matters while civilian administrations endeavor to maintain institutional independence and political legitimacy. The military has consistently regarded foreign policy as an extension of its security agenda, particularly in relation to India and Afghanistan. Since the nation's inception, defense and foreign policy have been intertwined, with the military positioning itself as the protector of Pakistan's ideological and territorial sovereignty. It has traditionally controlled the country's approach to Kashmir issue, perceiving it as a fundamental national concern. Civilian leaders, including Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, encountered significant opposition when they sought to engage in negotiations with India without the military's consent. Nawaz Sharif's initiatives to foster better relations with India resulted in his ousting in 1999 and again in 2017. The enduring civil-military tensions concerning foreign policy in Pakistan

illustrate a systemic disparity where the military's institutional authority, ideological narratives, and economic influence eclipse civilian supremacy (M. Lodhi, Personal Communication, July. 20, 2023).

According to the annual report published in 2024 by Freedom House, the Washington-based pro-democracy research group, concerning political rights and civil liberties in Pakistan, the country ranked as 'partly free'. As per the report, Pakistan since 2008 conducts regular elections within a competitive multiparty framework. However, the military wields significant influence over the establishment of government and policy decisions, employs intimidation tactics against the media, and operates with a sense of impunity concerning the arbitrary or unlawful application of force. The dynamics between military and civilian authorities have become increasingly strained in recent years, according to Freedom House report (Tribune, 2025).

9.5 Political Maturity and Foreign Policy Effectiveness in India and Pakistan

The structural components of a state are typically connected to the foundation of its political transformation. India and Pakistan have undergone two distinct models of political transition since their establishment. India asserts itself as one of the prominent democracies that has successfully established a stable democratic process since 1947, basing its transition on the principles of democracy. Conversely, Pakistan has experienced various forms of civil-military conflicts and decades of political instability since its inception. India has confronted criticism for issues related to human rights, corruption, and political rights limitations. However, it has consistently defended its position as the largest democracy and has intensified its diplomatic endeavors by utilizing soft power techniques. Pakistan on the other hand has struggled to achieve a clear

political transition, leading to its perception as a failed or irresponsible state. India has consistently leveraged its strong internal dynamics to enhance its global soft power image, whereas Pakistan, hindered by escalating internal political instability, has struggled to achieve a similar effect (Ahmad, 2015).

Pakistan's various political parties exhibit a lack of consensus on key foreign policy matters. The nation's foreign policy has undergone increased politicization particularly in light of the substantial changes that occurred after a governmental transition concerning earlier external policy issues. A pertinent example is the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), where the civilian government that took office after 2018 implemented significant modifications to the terms and agreements that had been set by the preceding administration with China, resulting in a climate of mistrust and tension in bilateral relations. This demonstrated the non-serious attitude of political leadership and erratic nature of external policy choices, reflecting a level of political immaturity. Throughout the years, the inconsistent pursuit of foreign policy goals has resulted in a shift from state-driven to regime- or individual-driven decision-making in Pakistan. This change has impacted the nation's interests and has prioritized the political interests of various political parties. It is crucial for countries to establish a strong foundation for their external policies to effectively pursue national interests while considering regional and global dynamics. The development of a robust foreign policy is influenced not only by international factors but also by a state's domestic environment. Internal policies should be considered as a whole when formulating foreign policy decisions, rather than focusing solely on the agendas of elites or political parties (Khan D. M., 2021).

Over the last several decades, the political elite has largely failed to provide significant support to the nation and its essential institutions. If successive administrations had prioritized self-reliance and self-sufficiency, foreign entities would have found it challenging to impose economic pressure or diplomatic coercion on Pakistan. Rather than adopting a strategy aimed at national integration to bolster economic and financial stability, various political factions in Pakistan have persisted in a blame game to secure political dominance. As a result, the tumultuous domestic political landscape has adversely affected the country's external policy. Certainly, the United States of America and the European Union serve as crucial export markets and a vital source of foreign exchange for the country. China's substantial investment in Pakistan via the CPEC has been of great significance. Additionally, the Saudis have also played a key role in supporting Pakistan's economy by offering discounted oil and extending payment deadlines. Therefore, the longstanding relationships between Pakistan and these nations should not be jeopardized due to internal political disputes. Pakistan must maintain a peaceful, hospitable, and accessible image in order to advance its economic objectives and its aspiration to emerge as a center for connectivity and tourism (M.A. Khan, Personal Communication, Aug. 30, 2022).

The political stability of a state plays a crucial role in shaping its overall progress, impacting its social and economic dimensions. Despite its rich history and diverse population, Pakistan has struggled to achieve a viable political stability. The country has been plagued by a prolonged political crisis, leading to a cycle of weakened democratic institutions and economic challenges. The dominance of political parties over fragile institutions has fueled instability, hindering progress in both social and economic realms.

In the absence of effective state institutions, various groups resort to violence to address grievances. Despite Pakistan's relatively stable political transitions following the elections of 2013 and 2018, the nation still faces significant challenges, including a vulnerable economy, political turmoil and rising domestic divisions (Rafique, 2023).

Political parties have profoundly influenced the trajectory of Pakistan's delicate democratic institutions. The political environment has been tainted by power conflicts, corruption, and insufficient dedication to democratic principles. The lack of internal party elections and an overdependence on individual charisma have obstructed the advancement of democratic norms and institutions. Consequently, this historical backdrop has perpetuated a destructive cycle wherein feeble democratic institutions breed political instability, further eroding the foundations of democracy. The absence of stability and an atmosphere of political brinkmanship have hindered policy coherence, constraining advancements in crucial sectors like economic progress and social well-being. This political instability has significantly impacted the country's economic situation. Ambiguity and a lack of trust in the political structure has obstructed economic advancement and discouraged both local and foreign investment. The frequent turnovers in leadership and policy modifications have disrupted strategic planning and diminished investor trust. The majority of global enterprises have departed Pakistan due to its feeble political and administrative frameworks. Moreover, executing essential economic reforms has proven to be difficult due to the political turmoil in the country. As political factions tend to prioritize short-term gains and populism, they have neglected the fundamental structural adjustments necessary to sustain long-term economic growth (M.A. Khan, Personal Communication, August. 30, 2022).

Pakistan has faced persistent political turmoil since its creation, worsened by regional distrust and extensive negligence. A variety of elements, such as debt burdens, ineffective governance, ethnic divisions, security challenges, and deliberately uninformed populace, have played a major role in exacerbating this deadlock. These enduring uncertainties have had grave consequences for the domestic and worldwide affairs of the country. South Asia's economic outlook (2020) revealed that Pakistan experienced a growth rate of 1.9%, while Bangladesh saw a growth of 8.1%, Afghanistan 3.9%, and India 4.2%. Pakistan has encountered numerous challenges, with political uncertainty being the most severe. It has led to a state of diplomatic paralysis, administrative incompetence, and institutional dysfunction. This has caused troubles in governance, frequent administrative turnover, and an absence of cooperation among governmental agencies. Consequently, Pakistan has faced obstacles in efficiently realizing foreign policy goals, and addressing evolving international challenges (Rafique, 2023).

In India, early leadership like Nehru laid the groundwork for principles of secularism, federalism, and parliamentary accountability. However, recent developments under Modi, characterized by a centralization of power and the politicization of institutions, have raised concerns, although the democratic framework continues to demonstrate resilience. The principles of secular constitutionalism and a diverse national identity have helped to alleviate ethnic divisions. Despite ongoing communal tensions, institutions like the Election Commission play a crucial role in ensuring inclusive representation in India. Political parties in India have shown increased institutionalization, marked by organized coalitions and adaptability. There is a growing emphasis among Indian political parties on development-oriented agendas. Despite

various controversies, including accusations of power misuse, elections are generally perceived as credible. Both the opposition and the government have historically accepted the election outcomes without generating post-election disputes. Conversely, in Pakistan, public confidence has been undermined by claims of electoral fraud and military involvement (H.V. Pant, Personal Communication, Jan. 7, 2023).

Historically, both the ruling and opposition parties in India have demonstrated a unified stance against the external threats, especially in relation to Pakistan and China. There exists a fundamental agreement between the opposition and the government regarding national security and the preservation of territorial integrity. The political maturity of India is rooted in its institutional resilience and the supremacy of civilian authority, even in the face of challenges such as bureaucratic inefficiency and the increasing influence of majoritarianism. In contrast, Pakistan's trajectory reflects military dominance and weak political structure, influenced by recurrent military interventions and a fragmented governance structure (Syed, 2022).

9.6 Elements of Openness and Adaptability in Foreign Policy Making; Implications for India and Pakistan

India and Pakistan exhibit starkly contrasting approaches to foreign policy, shaped by their historical trajectories, domestic ideologies, and institutional dynamics. India has adopted a liberal and multipolar strategy that merges ideological assertiveness with economic realism, allowing it to adeptly manage changes in global power dynamics. Conversely, Pakistan's traditional, military-oriented approach is hindered by security challenges and inherent structural vulnerabilities. India has made concerted efforts to position itself as a formidable nation, striving to transcend the adverse effects of structural limitations and historical legacies that impede the advancement of its foreign

policy. India's foreign policy demonstrates openness through its readiness to collaborate with a variety of partners, adopt multilateral approaches, and incorporate economic and technological cooperation into its international strategy. India actively participates in multilateral forums such as the G20, BRICS, Quad, and ASEAN, advocating for inclusive global governance (Chadda, 2019).

India's foreign policy has traditionally demonstrated a blend of liberal and pragmatic strategies. India has evolved from a stance of non-alignment during the Cold War to one of strategic autonomy, emphasizing self-reliance while interacting with rival powers. For instance, India sustains strong defense relations with Russia, exemplified by the acquisition of S-400 missile systems, while simultaneously enhancing security collaboration with the United States through the Quad initiative. This approach of 'multi-alignment' enables India to confront challenges such as China's border aggression without sacrificing its sovereignty. By drawing on its rich cultural legacy, democratic values, and diverse civilization, India has effectively projected its soft power image on the global stage. Through ethnic diplomacy, scholastic exchanges, and public diplomacy initiatives, India managed to bolster its international influence and shaped worldwide perceptions. In navigating relationships with major powers like the United States, Russia, China, and the European Union, India maintained a balance to protect its national interests and to advance its strategic autonomy. Furthermore, India has placed a strong emphasis on economic aspects of national security over security aspects, prioritizing initiatives such as "Make in India" and the "Act East policy" to expand its economic presence (Banerji, 2023).

India's balanced position regarding the Ukraine conflict, maintaining oil imports from Russia while denouncing acts of aggression, demonstrates its flexibility. This strategy emphasizes economic priorities without estranging Western allies. In a similar vein, India pursues economic engagement with China (for instance, \$113.8 billion in bilateral trade in 2023) while addressing territorial disputes through military enhancements and partnerships within the Quad framework. A foreign policy that fails to acknowledge the realities of local, regional, and global dynamics is ineffective. It not only fails to achieve its objectives but also poses a significant threat to the country it aims to safeguard. In the case of Pakistan, policymakers have historically overlooked this vital aspect of a balanced foreign policy approach, driven by their wrong pursuit of unattainable goals or the desire to appease the public. Consequently, the nation has suffered immensely on political, economic, diplomatic, and military fronts. Even today, Pakistan continues to face the consequences of those past mistakes (Raja S. H., 2023).

Pakistan has experienced a significant degree of isolation, primarily attributed to its ambiguous anti-terrorism strategies particularly in the post 9/11 era. This was highlighted during the recent vote in the UN Security Council Committee on terrorism, where only China supported Pakistan, while 14 other nations, including Indonesia and Kuwait, opposed its position. The policy choices made by Pakistan appear misaligned with the shifting dynamics of the global environment. Mahathir Mohammad, Malaysian Prime Minister, a prominent ally of Pakistan and the distinguished guest at the Pakistan Day parade, underscored that Malaysia would remain neutral in the event of a conflict between Pakistan and India. The absence of backing from a fellow Muslim country has

raised considerable apprehensions for Pakistan. The conservative approach adopted in formulating strategies has proven to be impractical(Khan R., 2018).

Pakistan has mostly adopted a conventional viewpoint in its foreign policy making. Policymakers in the country have not fully recognized the importance of non-military factors in safeguarding national security. This oversight can be linked to the enduring influence of non-elected institutions in the decision-making framework. As a consequence, liberal ideals, including those associated with liberal internationalism such as free trade, have not influenced Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan has historically prioritized security concerns over economic interests in its decision-making processes. This is evident in its relationships with countries like the US, China, India and Afghanistan where security issues consistently takes precedence over economic matters. Therefore, the majority of the Pakistani population has not reaped significant benefits regarding their welfare or advancement due to the nation's external policy (Husain, 2019).

9.7 Political Legitimacy in India and Pakistan; Consequences for Foreign Policy

Legitimacy refers to the widespread belief held by a significant portion of the population that the government, its frontrunners, and its actions are legitimate, fair, just, and deserving of support. A government is considered legitimate when the majority of its citizens view it as appropriate and correct enough to be followed in most cases. Legitimacy serves to establish lawful and customary connections between those in power and those being governed. Distrust or skepticism towards institutions may lead to legitimacy crises. Essentially, legitimacy is a moral dilemma and a matter of personal perspective, primarily influenced by attitudes and emotions (Ali J. , 2022: 27-37).

The apparent strong trust of the public in the Indian democratic system has proven advantageous for Indian foreign policy. The Global Trust Index (2020) has placed India among the highest-ranking nations worldwide in terms of trust between the public and the state. This annual publication, released at Davos, reveals that India now holds the fifth position out of the 27 nations assessed. Similarly, India has secured the top spot in the Global Trustworthiness Index (2022) among 22 nations, demonstrating a significant level of trust among both the public and the military. The presence of a mature political system, strong institutions, and continuity of policies in India all contribute to the fact that Indians have a substantial amount of trust in their representatives and state institutions. This trust eventually leads to effective decisions on both the domestic and international level(Chong, 2019).

Pakistan is grappling with significant issues related to governance, accountability, justice, lack of democratic continuity and consistency of policies. These factors collectively lead to a notable deficit in public trust towards the state and its institutions. As a result, Pakistan is encountering significant obstacles both at home and abroad as a consequence of the insufficient backing for governmental initiatives. Pakistan's current state of governance is deeply concerning, as demonstrated by a multitude of indicators. According to the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators, Pakistan ranks in the 20th percentile for rule of law, the 29th percentile for government effectiveness, the 27th percentile for regulatory quality, and the 19th percentile for corruption control, all based on 2016 statistics. Furthermore, Pakistan's position in the ease of doing business rankings has deteriorated, dropping from 144th place in 2016 to 148th place in 2018. The UNDP's Human Development Report, released in 2017, also places Pakistan at a low rank of

147th. These statistics paint a bleak picture of the country's institutional performance. Additionally, the institutional deficiencies in Pakistan create opportunities for the military to step in and assume responsibilities for service delivery that civil institutions cannot or will not fulfill. This trend further sidelines civilian institutions (Michael Kugelman, 2018).

The legitimacy of the government is called into question due to its dysfunction, which is now linked to its effectiveness. Ultimately, the ineffective administration of the government results in the erosion of law and order and acts as a catalyst for various conflicts. As a result of the breakdown of legitimacy, the government is unable to safeguard its interests or pursue its national and international agendas. The dysfunction within government institutions and the growing divide between the public and the government have rendered our nation dysfunctional. The issue of ethnic divide and militancy in Pakistan has been a long-standing challenge in the country's political landscape. The failure of the state to effectively address the socio-cultural diversity and deprivations within its borders has contributed to the ongoing struggle for political order and legitimacy. Pakistan must find a way to balance the diverse ethnic interests while maintaining its political unity (Kukreja, 2020: 28-42).

9.8 Foreign Policy Priorities in India and Pakistan

Pakistan's emphasis on security concerns in its foreign policy making is firmly established in its historical legacy, geo-political settings, and strategic necessities. Pakistan's security is of utmost importance given its geo-strategic position. Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has consistently faced security challenges. It is undeniable that the eastern neighbor poses a significant threat to Pakistan's security. The

historical reality is that Pakistan and India have been involved in three wars since their inception. Pakistan's rivalry with India, specifically regarding the disputed region of Kashmir, has resulted in a substantial allocation of resources towards defense and security measures (Chaudhry, 2022).

Pakistan on the western frontline involved in a proxy battle with the Soviet Union in Afghanistan for a decade. This is also one of the reasons why security concerns have dominated Pakistan's external policy. A comprehensive national security approach can contribute to securing peace, stability, and development within a country. Without adequate economic capitals, Pakistan is incapable to bring even the most rudimentary military security, and it is even less likely to guarantee the safety and well-being of its citizens. Pakistan has frequently experienced how its economic dependence on donors severely restricted its ability to make independent policy decisions (Jaffery, 2020).

The synchronization of domestic security, economic security, and external security in Pakistan has been lacking, resulting in the absence of a comprehensive national plan for a practical and optimistic future. The prioritization of short-term goals over long-term has influenced the formulation of foreign policy. Rather than focusing on strategic alignments and stirring visions for the future, policy-making has predominantly revolved around tactical adjustments to daily events. This approach has negatively influenced external policy making due to unclear national priorities. Pakistan has often prioritized immediate security concerns over long-term security, which depends on economic growth and technological progress. Similarly, the military's influence in the formulation of foreign policy has led to an approach that emphasizes security, often at the expense of economic considerations (Hafiz, 2022).

India's external policy is indeed focused on economic security as compared to military elements of the national security. Economic progress and growth are top priorities for India, which aims to encourage foreign investment, backing trade liberalization, and cultivate economic relationships with nations globally. The comprehensive diplomatic initiatives undertaken by India constituted a meticulously orchestrated strategy to integrate foreign policy with domestic growth and economic rejuvenation. In addition to enhancing India's global standing, this holistic approach led to the formation of global alliances and garnered financial support for the country's key initiatives such as Make in India, Skill India, Digital India, and Start-up India among others. Through appealing foreign investments and fostering technological collaborations, this endeavor facilitated the setting up of manufacturing units and the generation of employment opportunities, thereby directly benefiting the Indian populace (Banerji, 2023).

India has also achieved a significant milestone in its external policy by effectively enhancing and restructuring its relations with the Gulf nations. This has been perceived as a deliberate and systematic effort to strengthen ties. India has conducted consular outreach in the energy-rich region, forging robust security and counter-terrorism cooperation with key nations such as Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Additionally, the transformation of the Look East policy into the Act East policy emphasized purposeful engagement with the tactically important region. Its investments in connectivity ventures like the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC) and the Chabahar Port stand as another noteworthy accomplishment (Zeeshan, 2022).

The security objectives of a nation are fundamentally shaped by its economic priorities. A notable illustration of this is the Soviet Union, which maintained a powerful nuclear arsenal to protect its territory, yet ultimately fragmented as a result of economic decline. Pakistan currently confronts a more pressing challenge that is financial in nature rather than security-related.

9.9 Role of Political stability in shaping the course of Indo-Pak Foreign Policies

Political stability plays a crucial role in keeping social unity and governmental legitimacy. It is an essential prerequisite for a state's economic progress, communal integration, and the supremacy of the legal system. The stability of the political system directly influences the process of nation-building and state development. In order for both of these aspects to thrive and progress, it is imperative to have steady political regimes. Without a robust political system, the advancement of a country and a state becomes unattainable, leading to a constant power struggle among opposing interest groups (Khalid, 2021).

The adverse effects of political instability are felt across the economic, social, and political realms. Pakistan, a nation rich in natural resources, fertile land, skilled populace, along with a strategic geographical position and nuclear capabilities, serves as a prime example of severe political instability. A politically stable nation caters to the needs of all societal groups and embraces diversity. This fosters a sense of loyalty towards the state and nurtures feelings of nationalism among its citizens; individuals, despite their diverse credentials, identify themselves as integral parts of the nation. Conversely, the prevailing political instability in Pakistan has deeply divided society, eroding trust and promoting self-serving agendas over collective and national goals. The void created by unstable

environment undoubtedly benefits detrimental forces, both from within and outside the country (Husain, 2022).

In today's interconnected world, competition, diplomacy, effective governance, and a thriving economy are the pillars of success across all domains. Any nation plagued by political instability will inevitably descend into chaos and disorder within its own institutions. The prevailing global trend involves the formation of substantial regional blocs and the establishment of economic and security coalitions with other governments. By aligning with such affiliations, a state ascends to the status of a prominent player in the international community. Consequently, a state's political and economic constancy has become a prerequisite for joining these alliances. Should a country lack stability in these crucial areas, no state would be willing to forge partnerships with weak nations, leaving them marginalized on the global stage. The undermining of democratic processes by the politicians as well as by the military poses a grave threat to the future of the Pakistani populace. Political unrest has already resulted in significant losses, such as the separation of the Eastern wing, and continues to fuel inner disputes. The regions of Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are particularly bearing the brunt of this political instability. This volatility hampers policymaking, hinders integration into global politics and the economy, and makes it challenging to garner support from other nations in areas of national security, social cohesion, and financial development (Khalid S. R., 2021).

The unstable political environment in Pakistan is further exacerbated by the weak political structure of its political parties. The absence of party elections, the prevalence of family, group, or ethnic dominance within the party, and the inadequate internal organization all contribute to the degradation of the political system. The political parties

exhibit poor organization and dysfunctional working, which paves the way for the formation of coalition governments. These regimes focus primarily on supporting the coalition structure, while constantly facing criticism from their coalition partners. This also has grave implications for policy-making. The successful application of domestic and external policies relies heavily on strong public support. However, when political parties operate ineffectively, they fail to provide the public with a platform to participate in political system of the country (Chaudhry A. , 2021).

India has increasingly emphasized the human rights issues, ethnic conflicts and political marginalization taking place in Balochistan during international deliberations, framing this as a counter-narrative to Pakistan's claims concerning Kashmir. For instance, India has taken up issues such as enforced disappearances, extrajudicial killings, and the exploitation of resources in Balochistan at multilateral platforms like the United Nations, with the intention of undermining the legitimacy of Pakistan's authority. This approach is consistent with India's overarching objective of revealing Pakistan's internal divisions while diverting focus from the Kashmir issue. Additionally, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which runs through Balochistan, is viewed by India as a strategic threat due to its closeness to the Indian Ocean and the potential military uses of Gwadar Port. In response to CPEC, India has made investments in Iran's Chabahar Port, which offers access to Afghanistan and Central Asia while circumventing Pakistan. By allegedly supporting insurgent groups such as the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), India aims to create instability in Balochistan, thereby jeopardizing CPEC initiatives and weakening both Pakistan's economic aspirations and China's influence in the region (S. Kamran, Personal Communication, Dec. 10, 2021).

India's democracy and political stability indeed has not only endured but grown deeper. India has made a significant progress in the economic and political spheres as a result of smooth democratic transitions, peaceful elections, continuity and consistency of policies, and institutional harmony in the country. India has successfully achieved smooth transfers of power through free and fair elections since gaining independence in 1947, despite its speckled and multicultural society. This political stability has had beneficial effects on the country's economy, as it instills confidence among investors, encourages monetary growth, and enables long-term planning and policy execution. Additionally, India's democratic ethos played a crucial role in encouraging societal unity, inclusivity, and multiplicity, promoting a sense of belonging and nationality among various groups, beliefs, and ethnicities. Democratic organizations and practices provide relegated groups, including women, minorities, and deprived communities, with opportunities to actively contribute in the decision-making processes. India confronted several separatist movements, but it managed to stay unified as a result of robust democratic system (Chong, 2019).

9.10 Role of Bureaucratic Framework in the Effectiveness of India-Pakistan Foreign Policies

The notion of a welfare state places the governance and administrative structures of a country at the core of promoting the prosperity and well-being of its citizens. In this system, the government is liable for the socio-economic well-being of its people and is held accountable for it. However, the aim of a welfare nation cannot be attained without a concerned, organized, and responsible bureaucracy. The bureaucracy plays a vital role in establishing a welfare state as it is the highest executive body entrusted with implementing laws. A concerned, pragmatic, free, and compassionate bureaucracy, along

with an efficient public service system, is essential for the proper functioning of a welfare system. They are the ones responsible for ensuring delivery to the general population at the grassroots level. The public discussions and intellectual conversations in Pakistan regarding the political landscape, security issues, foreign policy, and overall direction of the country inevitably defer to the influence of the powerful civil and military bureaucracy in shaping the lives of individuals and communities (Chaudhry A. , 2021).

Pakistan's external policy framework is characterized by disintegration and a lack of coordination among its various bureaucratic entities and agencies responsible for external policy formulation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Interior, and intelligence organizations each prioritize their own agendas, perspectives, and initiatives, which leads to conflicts over jurisdiction, dismissals, and inefficiencies in the formulation and implementation of policies. Divergent interests and priorities within the civilian bureaucracy further complicate the situation, as numerous governmental ministries, departments, and officials engaged in foreign policy development find it challenging to reach a consensus. Factors such as political patronage, personal rivalries, and bureaucratic inertia worsen the difficulties in fostering cooperation and building consensus, ultimately resulting in policy stagnation and unexploited opportunities in Pakistan's international engagements (Raja S. H., 2023).

Colonial attitudes are deeply rooted within Pakistan's bureaucratic framework. There exists a notable contrast in interpersonal relationships and trust levels between the general public and the national bureaucracy, hindering the efficient delivery of services. Various factors such as inadequate training, political appointments, superiority complexes, biased postings and transfers, and recruitment discrepancies all contribute to

the underperformance of the bureaucratic system in Pakistan. Certain bureaucratic elements tend to favor the affluent and influential individuals seeking to maintain unchecked power and immunity. This bureaucratic mindset has adversely impacted the policy-making processes within the country(Usman Khan, 2021: 678-685).

There are notable deficiencies within the institutional framework that hinder the progress of Pakistan's foreign relations. According to former Ambassador Abdul Basit, Pakistan's external missions are perceived as vulnerable due to lack of capability, coordination, and strategic vision. The other contributing factor is the appointment of junior Ambassadors based on internal lobbying and favoritism to key diplomatic positions. This flaw has a pouring effect, resulting in prolonged vacancies in crucial diplomatic posts. Foreign policy is a substantial endeavor and rightly regarded as a nation's foremost defense instrument. The formulation and articulation of policies require thorough deliberation and careful thought(Basit, 2022).

When examining the bureaucracies of India and Pakistan, distinctions become apparent: India operates under a fully civilian representative system, while in Pakistan, the ruling elite and military influence national policies. The bureaucratic decision-making process in Pakistan essentially turns bureaucrats into quasi-politicians. With the bureaucracy having operated for more than 70 years, it is clear that it maintains a position akin to that of ruling elite, characterized by a lack of accountability and an inability to perform its responsibilities diligently. This suggests that the bureaucracy views its role as one of governance rather than representation. Pakistan's civil service is robust and highly developed compared to the country's elected institutions. The country adheres to a traditional bureaucratic model that upholds the power and prestige inherited from

colonial times. The presence of a stable Westminster or parliamentary system poses a threat to the advantages and privileges linked to the bureaucratic framework. Consequently, Pakistan has struggled to establish a resilient and effective parliamentary system throughout its 75-year existence (Najam, 2022).

The primary administrative structure of the Foreign Office has a history of over 70 years. It consists of directorates, both political and administrative, with directors holding the highest positions and assistant/deputy directors at the lower levels. Director-general-led divisions are formed by combining two or more directorates. Additional secretaries are responsible for overseeing one or more divisions, all of which are under the guidance of a foreign secretary. The foreign secretary's main focus is to uphold the political power structure and address significant foreign policy matters. The Foreign Office of Pakistan has remained largely unchanged over the years, unlike other countries that have embraced matrix systems, flexible hierarchies, and various other advancements. As a result, its structure and culture are primarily focused on routine tasks or crisis management, with little emphasis on strategic thinking or addressing matters beyond political diplomacy. A lip service is paid to fiscal diplomacy, community engagement, strategic policies, and the welfare of overseas Pakistanis; these areas are not truly prioritized in the Foreign Office's agenda, which mainly revolves around complex geographical divisions (Khan H. , 2021).

Due to India's robust democratic system, bureaucrats are accountable to elected representatives, such as ministers and members of Parliament, who offer political guidance and supervision. Bureaucrats are anticipated to align their policy choices with the government's priorities and intentions, guaranteeing compliance with democratic

mandates and public prospects. Democratic principles stress the importance of transparency and public scrutiny in governance procedures, necessitating bureaucrats to conduct policy making in an open and responsible way. Bureaucratic choices, actions, and outcomes are subject to public check, media oversight, and engagement with civil society, fostering transparency, veracity, and public confidence in governmental institutions. Bureaucratic policy formulation is subject to legislative oversight mechanisms, including legislative committees, question hours, and discussions in the legislature. Bureaucrats are compelled to provide evidence, answer to queries, and defend policy decisions. India's representative system endorses policy steadiness and continuity, even during changes in government and political transitions. Bureaucrats play a vital role in ensuring the permanency of policies, official memory, and administrative steadiness across different governments, enabling long-term planning, application, and assessment of policies. The politicization of bureaucracy in India is not particularly pronounced. While there are cases of political intervention in bureaucratic decision-making, the adherence to democratic principles sets it apart. This ensures the maintenance of internal consistency, the perpetuation of bureaucratic values, and a strong continuity in its thinking(Kanti Bajpai, 2019: 1-26).

9.11 Influence of Populist Politics on National Security and Foreign Policy Decision-making in India and Pakistan

Populism, as defined in political science, posits that society is classified into two blocs engaged in an ongoing conflict: the 'corrupt elite' and the 'pure people'. The populist leader presents themselves as a savior, a genuine ally of the people, who will cleanse the system of those who have manipulated it for their own gain. The danger lies in the fact that populists can undermine democracy by asserting their moral superiority

and disregarding pluralism and tolerance for differing opinions. In doing so, democracy loses its essence and becomes an empty shell. The other equally challenging feature of populism is the way it causes followers of the 'savior leader' to become blind to facts. Presently, Pakistan is heading towards a perilous political ideology, namely populism. There is an intimate linkage between domestic and foreign policy of any state. A domestically cohesive and integrated state will have comprehensive and strong foreign policy vis-a-vis a fragile state. Foreign policy of Pakistan has always been deeply impacted by popular domestic policies and politics of its political parties and elite class. These policies made the foreign policy of Pakistan as people centric rather being state centric foreign policy based on its national and strategic interests (Niazi, 2018).

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) government from 2018-2022 inclination towards populism and efforts to connect with the public played a key role in shaping its external policy approach. PM Imran Khan frequently propagated unconfirmed claims of a U.S.-backed plot to remove him from power, outlining his ouster in 2022 as part of a foreign conspiracy. This narrative, while galvanizing his domestic electoral base, strained relations with the United States, a critical economic and security partner of Pakistan (Syed, 2022). The repeated allegations battered trust and painted Pakistan as unreliable on the global stage. His anti-Western rhetoric conflicted with pragmatic requirements, such as upholding ties with China for the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which he initially criticized but later embraced, revealing a lack of strategic coherence. Likewise, PTI government mingled religious identity with populism, framing Pakistan as a "citadel of Islam" and stimulating an anti-Western civilizational narrative. This approach estranged non-Muslim allies and reinforced Pakistan's global isolation.

Pakistan's foreign policy under Imran Khan prioritized populist narratives over pragmatic diplomacy, leading to diplomatic isolation, economic uncertainty, and declining global influence (Sheikh H. , 2022).

Foreign policy can be influenced by populist forces in different ways and to different extents. This trend can be observed in countries where populism holds sway. It is essential to inform the public about policy matters and promote a shared national identity regarding foreign policy goals and actions. However, there is a clear distinction between engaging in meaningful dialogue and making provocative or contentious statements solely for domestic consumption, which can have immediate repercussions on external relations. Adopting a populist approach towards foreign policy, often employing rhetoric aimed at arousing domestic emotions, can result in the perception of the nation as unreliable and negligent in its dealings with other nations. Addressing a local audience holds significance and reverberates on an international scale. Effective statecraft necessitates that external policy be articulated in a coherent, confident, and dignified manner. It should not be manipulated for populist agendas or used to gain political advantages domestically, at the expense of national interest and vital relations with other states and international organizations (Hussain Z. , 2019).

Likewise, in India, under Modi's leadership, the BJP has shaped a narrative that combines populism and nationalism, using foreign policy as a means to position themselves as the true representatives of the Indian people and the Hindu nation. Modi's strategy of diaspora diplomacy is designed to attract global investors to India by mobilizing the Indian diaspora as a lobbying force in external affairs. However, diaspora politics also plays a role in bolstering Modi's populist image, presenting him as the

authentic voice of the people and garnering admiration akin to that of a rock star wherever he travels. By engaging with ordinary citizens during his international visits, Modi projects an image of a Prime Minister who is in tune with the concerns and opinions of the public, rather than being solely focused on interactions with political and business elites (Chaulia, 2016).

The convergence of populism and Hindutva, under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has had a profound impact on the landscape of Indian politics and governance in the past few years. Throughout Modi's tenure, the BJP has actively promoted a strong Hindutva ideology, which has manifested in actions like the revocation of Article 370 and 35A in Jammu and Kashmir, the establishment of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya, and the enactment of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA). These policies have been presented as addressing the historical aspirations of Hindu nationalist organizations and reinforcing India's Hindu heritage. BJP's populist-Hindutva agenda has encountered grave criticism and debate, both within the country and on the international stage. Critics contend that these policies have worsened communal strains, sidelined religious minorities, and damaged India's secular underpinning. Furthermore, apprehensions have been raised concerning the erosion of democratic standards, freedom of expression, and institutional independence under the BJP-led regime. Despite facing criticism, Modi's populist-Hindutva agenda has struck a chord with a substantial portion of the Indian electorate, resulting in consecutive electoral triumphs for the BJP. Modi's leadership has been recognized for bringing economic progress and resolute governance, which has further bolstered his popularity and solidified the BJP's supremacy in the Indian politics (Dan Strumpf, 2024).

The significant foreign policy choices made by Prime Minister Modi following the Pulwama incident distinctly illustrate his popular Hindutva-centric ideology and self-serving approach aimed at preserving his political dominance within the domestic sphere. His security strategy in South Asia has exhibited aggressive military posturing that threatens regional stability. Furthermore, his allegiance to the RSS's agenda for the purification of India from non-Hindu populations is evident in his domestic policies. Regarding the Kashmir issue, his decision to revoke the special status of Jammu and Kashmir through the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution revealed a contradictory stance on promoting India as a secular democracy (M. Faisal, Personal Communication, Sep. 30, 2023).

India's democratic institutions, including the judiciary, bureaucracy, and electoral systems are strong and exhibit a significant resilience to populist influences. Although Prime Minister Narendra Modi's populist discourse, characterized by themes such as 'New India' and Hindu nationalism, has faced criticism for exacerbating divisions within domestic politics, it has not undermined the stability of institutional frameworks. Furthermore, Modi's foreign policy, while reflecting a populist tone, remains anchored in strategic pragmatism, as demonstrated by efforts to maintain balanced relations with the United States, Russia, and the Quad. Key institutions, such as the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) and national security apparatus, play a crucial role in ensuring continuity. Contrariwise, Pakistan finds itself in a tumultuous situation, engulfed by an irresponsible mainstream campaign led by prominent national figures driven by narrow party agendas and personal motives, despite the negative repercussions on the nation's stability, security, foreign relations, and economic prosperity (Husain, 2022).

Modi's populism emphasized developmental nationalism, exemplified by initiatives such as infrastructure development and the Digital India campaign, alongside a focus on cultural pride through projects like the Ram Mandir and the abrogation of Article 370. These themes resonated strongly with the majority Hindu electorate and were less likely to disrupt foreign relations. In contrast, populism in Pakistan has been characterized by narratives that are anti-elite and anti-corruption, intertwined with Islamic identity, leading to societal polarization and a diversion from effective governance. The prevalence of conspiracy theories, such as the alleged U.S. regime-change plot, has been viewed as a source of domestic and international destabilization. As the largest democracy and an emerging power, India possesses the geopolitical strength to manage populism with minimal repercussions. Its ongoing rivalry with China secures Western support, even amidst domestic challenges. Conversely, Pakistan's strategic position in a tumultuous region, coupled with its historical identity as a security state, heightens the dangers associated with populist blunders (A. Basit, Personal Communication, July. 10, 2022).

CHAPTER-10

10. CONCLUSION, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Conclusion

Foreign policy is thought as the facade of a country in the global community; as systematic, dynamic, effective and successful foreign policy elevates the stature of a country on the international stage, a weak and passive foreign policy causes failure and may lead up to negative consequences such as diplomatic isolation, economic downturn and political chaos. The research demonstrates that a modern-day nation necessitates an all-encompassing and proactive external policy in order to achieve its national goals, handle its interactions with other nations for harmonious coexistence, and promotion of comprehensive development within the country. Likewise, a prosperous and efficient foreign policy necessitates a dynamic and well-structured decision-making apparatus. The proficient management of external relations heavily relies on the efficacy of domestic elements that shape the decision-making processes in the country.

Political scientists have been engaged in a captivating discourse for a considerable period, deliberating on the potential connections between the domestic drivers of decision-making and external relations. Upon careful examination of their arguments and data collected, it can be concluded that the external relations of a state are indeed influenced by its domestic environment, just as its internal dynamics are affected by global settings. However, the degree of influence differs from case to case and varies over time. The domestic environment acts as a push factor for the decision maker in the process of foreign policy decision-making. Foreign policy is usually meant to achieve the

domestic agenda at the international fora. Therefore foreign policies are raised by a coalition of domestic and international actors and variables.

The political environment and the political system operative in a state are very crucial since it defines the powers vested in the decision maker. The political environment significantly affects the cognition of the decision maker. The type of government also predetermines the foreign policy orientation of that state. The Democratic orientation of a state defines a different foreign policy posture compared to the authoritarian one. The foreign policy decision-making process is eventually shaped by various domestic actors and factors, including leadership, ideology, political structure, rule of law, public opinion, bureaucratic roles, socio-cultural influences, economic and military capabilities, along with the geographical significance. These domestic actors and factors inevitably impact decision making and can sometimes compel the adoption of unfavorable choices in matters concerning external policies.

Domestic drivers of decision-making play a crucial role in shaping the external policies of India and Pakistan. They exert a substantial influence on the policy-making process and the priorities of each nation's foreign policy. The study has proved that the efficacy, encompassing both strengths and weaknesses, of the foreign policies of India and Pakistan heavily relies on the nature, role and effectiveness of their domestic decision-making drivers. Domestic obstacles, disparities, and divisions have the potential to limit the efficacy of foreign policy and impede a nation's capacity to adeptly maneuver through intricate global terrains. On the other hand, a cohesive national posture enables the development of coherent policies and enhances the credibility of a country's diplomatic efforts.

The domestic constraints on foreign policy behavior are compelling. The decision maker is simultaneously coping with the domestic and international imperatives, and in case of a conflict between both, the decision maker usually goes along with the domestic pursuits. If the option is between the domestic interest and international interest, the decision maker gives preference to the domestic interest, or he try to avoid the situation altogether. Different domestic issues coupled with the rhetoric built around them many times serves as a direct source of foreign policy. For instance, India's dealing towards Pakistan conditions through the public sentiment and an implied perception. The leadership regardless of the political affiliation has to cater the public sentiment while dealing with Pakistan. The same phenomenon was reflected in Modi's electoral campaign in 2014 as well as in 2019, when he was running for the office of the Prime Minister that we want to give Pakistan a jaw-breaking response. Blood and water can't flow together. We shall respond bullet with a bullet. The anti-Pakistan sentiment in India gets capitalized in the electoral campaigns hence a domestic issue comes at the forefront of foreign policy quarters. Pakistan is a domestic issue in India, and this issue significantly alters the course of foreign policy in India.

10.2 Findings

Issues within internal policy often correlate with issues within foreign policy. This correlation can largely be traced back to the surrounding context in which policies are formulated, encompassing factors such as the political system, social framework, power dynamics, legitimacy, and the interplay between the interests of the public and the ruling elite. This context plays a crucial role in decision-making processes and eventually shapes conditions that are either conducive or obstructive to the development of sound and

effective external policies. At times the domestic context catalyzes the selection and optimization of a particular foreign policy choice, and in certain circumstances, it impedes the decision-makers following a specific foreign policy choice.

This study has concluded that the foreign policy decision-making process in Pakistan and India is not driven by any singular actor or institution; rather it is a result of collective efforts, bargaining, contestations, and negotiations and is highly influenced by the given domestic political, social and geographical circumstances. A robust democratic system, commitment to constitutional supremacy, political stability, and smooth transitions of power, along with consistent and enduring policies ensure effective governance, accountability, and efficiency in the decision-making processes. Additionally, these factors contribute to the resilience and cohesion of institutions.

Human errors, individual biases, deficiencies in policy formulation, bureaucratic influences, negotiations and bargaining among principal stakeholders, along with the complexities of the political system, and the constraints imposed by structural barriers, regulations, and standard operating procedures, are intrinsic to all systems. However, a nation's resilient domestic environment can provide a significant support, particularly when characterized by a strong democratic framework, political stability, and a commitment to constitutional governance. Such an environment facilitates the improvement of these shortcomings, addresses existing gaps, and promotes the efficient operation of governmental processes, ultimately leading to effective and sound decision-making processes. Should the internal environment be influenced by factors such as lack of democracy and constitutional authority, political instability and turmoil, along with recurrent political changes and policy reversals, it is likely to result in the deterioration of

institutions, increased political uncertainty, civil-military conflicts, crisis of legitimacy, policy gridlocks, governance shortcomings, and social challenges. This, in turn, would compromise policy autonomy, coherence, and overall effectiveness.

The aforementioned circumstances in the same way influence the effectiveness of external policy making in India and Pakistan. The policy making process (particularly the external policy) in Pakistan is the victim of frail democratic setup, hybrid system, political instability, frequent political transitions and lack of constitutional supremacy, consequently leading to the centralization of power among few individuals, institutional tussle, politicization of national goals, inconsistency of policies, and legitimacy crisis, which eventually marks its ineffectiveness and failure. Owing to the absence of democratic continuity in Pakistan, decision-making tends to be heavily influenced by personal preferences. While institutions do exist, the focus often shifts towards the role of the individual. As a result, these institutions frequently engage in internal conflicts and power struggles, hindering their ability to efficiently carry out their designated functions. Likewise, the decision-making process in the country particularly in the realm of foreign policy has predominantly been lopsided. The strong emphasis on security has allowed the military leadership to wield significant influence in shaping the foreign policy decisions, coupled with the incapability, inefficiency and disinterest of the civilian leadership.

Pakistan's foreign policy, which is essentially the external aspect of its national policy, is not the product of rational, realistic and democratic decision-making. It is instead the result of power plays between the elite institutions and their interests, the most powerful of which is the military. These institutional interests are not in conformity with the national interest even though they are presented in terms of the national interest.

Consequently, Pakistan's policies have been characterized by a lack of long-term consistency, a failure to bring about necessary reforms, and an inability to foster socio-economic development in the country.

In India on the other hand, the policy making process (particularly the external policy) is sheltered by the strong elements of the domestic environment i.e., the robust democratic system, political stability, civilian supremacy, along with the smooth transition of power and adherence to the constitution, which eventually marks its success and effectiveness. The country's robust tradition of democratic continuity guarantees the continuation of policies and the achievement of both short-term and long-term external policy goals. India has many of the same challenges that face Pakistan. But by and large it has stuck to democratic and constitutional governance, has invested in the political socialization of diverse ethnic groups, and has kept its military under civilian control. The policy making process in India is not dominated by any single institution. The civil bureaucracy is a significant part of the decision-making process and has more space in which it provides merit based professional advice, which cannot easily be ignored by the politicians and other key stakeholders. Upon examining the role of Indian leadership in the state's external policy decision-making, it has been found that the Indian leadership, their personality and preferences, do have considerable influence in the external policy making particularly where there is a favorable public opinion, and it has been mainly witnessed in the context of Pakistan, where they exploit their domestic environment by utilizing the prevailing anti-Pakistan public sentiments. However, as a result of deep-rooted democratic norms, external policy decisions are often reached through consensus

between various institutions, which eventually marks the effectiveness of Indian foreign policy.

India's postcolonial democracy, which functions effectively, has made its domestic and democratic political structure highly attractive and fascinating to the global community. As the world's largest democracy, India continues to captivate others with its ongoing democratic progress. Since its inception, India's democratic vanguard has significantly influenced the decision-making process, leaning more towards institutionalism. Additionally, this has also brought about a transformation in the dynamics of the state and society. A powerful society within a nation holds great influence in its actions. The gradual integration of democracy into Indian society has made various processes more meaningful and important. This momentum has resulted in the widespread acceptance of domestic affairs in the realm of governance. By prioritizing the democratic principle, efforts were made to strengthen the connection between voters and their representatives. Democracy has been wholeheartedly embraced and solidified in the Indian political system, becoming a defining characteristic of the relationship between the state and society in India.

The strengthening of democracy at the central level has also had an impact on the state level. This has resulted in the continuation of democracy as a political custom. India's unwavering democratic journey, with the exception of a single constitutional emergency, has primarily strengthened Indian state and society. Democracy has evolved into a shared dialogue where all conflicting ideas, viewpoints, and stories converge on the democratic destiny of India. The reinforcement of this political custom has influenced Indian politics significantly. The lens of democratic progress has contributed to one of the

clear-cut identities of India in global relations. While internal politics influences its foreign policy from various angles, India's commitment to democratic principles and values overwhelmingly benefits it. On the world stage, India's democracy, dedication to rule of law, and respect for its constitutional principles offer India an opportunity to effectively advance its political, social, and economic interests.

The foreign policy of any state is a reflection of its domestic state of affairs. There is a clear interdependence between domestic environment and global policies. Pakistan's foreign policy suffered from passivity, weakness, and an inability to achieve its desired objectives due to an unstable domestic environment. The study found that the failure of external policy making in Pakistan is a result of political instability and lack of democratic continuity. The dominance of certain political elites within the system has led to a constant power struggle among key institutions of the country and has resulted in insufficient leadership and a diminishing significance of decision-making processes. The stability of a nation's political environment is determined by the collective actions of the government, legislative bodies, individuals with the authority and other key stakeholders in order to shape the country's direction in a way that upholds established political norms and procedures. This involves governing the country in accordance with the laws outlined in the constitution. A strong political environment fosters socio-economic growth and provides a strong defense against turmoil by effectively managing challenging circumstances. However, nations grappling with political instability and unrest along with the lack of consensus and constitutional supremacy face challenges in various aspects of life. Pakistan is among those countries. Consequently, the nation has been trapped in turmoil, underdevelopment and an authoritarian control.

A stable domestic environment as a result of robust democratic system, smooth transition of power and constitutional supremacy helps India to effectively and rationally pursue its short-term and long-term foreign policy goals. India is excelling in the diplomatic arena, with no internal conflicts or power struggles hindering its progress. India's democratic system is founded on a strong constitutional structure that delineates the powers, duties, and roles of different institutions. As a result of the country's democratic tradition, institutions and the system take precedence over individuals. These institutions establish the structure in which individuals function, guaranteeing stability, continuity, and adherence to the rule of law in India's democratic setup.

India is constantly pursuing a balanced approach in its international dealings. In spite of the fact that Russia is currently facing sanctions imposed by the United States, India stands out as an anomaly by engaging in unrestricted trade with Russia and procuring its oil under advantageous conditions. Through the re-exportation of this oil, India plays a crucial role in indirectly aiding its longstanding ally in earning dollars. It is noteworthy that both of the world's major military powers, despite their opposing positions, view India as their ally, consequently signifying a significant diplomatic accomplishment for the nation. On the contrary, decision-makers in Pakistan exhibit delusion when evaluating the country's position. Their policies are short-sighted, devoid of vision and clear goals, as well as plagued by mismanagement and internal power conflicts among key stakeholders. For instance, the federal cabinet's decision to backtrack merely a day after the ECC's (Economic Coordination Council) endorsement, of the decision to bolster trade ties with India in 2021, specifically concerning the import of sugar and cotton, showcases the grave challenges faced by the country particularly in the

realm of external and economic policy making. This reflects the uncertainty within the governmental ranks. The ambiguity surrounding the external and economic policy making in Pakistan emphasizes the existing rivalry among various stakeholders of the decision-making apparatus and the lack of a clear coordination mechanism to involve all relevant stakeholders before reaching a decision.

Likewise, Pakistan's abrupt withdrawal from the December 2019 Kuala Lumpur Summit, prompted by the influence exerted by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, has resulted in considerable chaos and humiliation for the country. According to Abdul Basit, Pakistan's former Ambassador to India, this decision highlights a failure in the internal decision making process and emphasizes the importance of consensus building and thorough preparation before committing to international initiatives. The repercussions of Pakistan's actions have strained its relationship with Turkey, Malaysia, and Iran, countries that have traditionally supported Pakistan's stance on the Kashmir conflict. This incident underscores the inadequacies and inefficiencies within Pakistan's foreign policy apparatus.

Moreover, Pakistan's approach towards Afghanistan has proven ineffective in establishing a supportive regime in Kabul. Both the Mujahedeen and the Taliban, upon assuming power, adopted an anti-Pakistan stance and disregarded the international border between the two nations. Not only have the Afghan government led by Taliban refused to acknowledge this border, but their spokesperson, Zabiullah Mujahid, has criticized Pakistan's efforts to fence it, arguing that it divides the Pashtun ethnic belt and the nation as a whole. Afghan Taliban since their takeover have provided unwavering backing to

Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), a terrorist network responsible for numerous attacks within Pakistan. These militants have sought refuge and established bases in Afghanistan, where they continue to launch frequent and deadly assaults on Pakistan. Pakistan's Afghan policy in this regard clearly demonstrates a lack of strategic foresight and civil-military divide on the issue.

10.3 Recommendations

- Pakistan needs to establish a coherent and steady approach to policymaking. Indecisiveness in policy matters will hinder efforts to showcase Pakistan as a nation dedicated to leading in a new era in both domestic and international dealings. To effectively communicate its narrative, Pakistan must convey clear and unambiguous messages to the global community. This is crucial because any ambiguity from Pakistan's end can be exploited by its adversaries, who are already engaged in targeted disinformation campaigns. Sending conflicting messages on critical issues, such as Pakistan's relations with India or its stance on the Afghan Taliban, will undermine the country's credibility. Therefore, it is imperative to ensure coordination among key stakeholders and policymakers at the highest levels in Pakistan.

- Diverse Population requires democratic Representation. Thus, in order to ensure stability, it is necessary to have various and diverse segments of the population represented within the system. A democratic legislature is responsible to the electorate and strives to represent a wide array of groups and their interests. Democracies, along with political representation, contribute positively to economic development. Internally, effective representation minimizes volatility as the economic decisions tend to represent the majority of the population and their needs. Institutionalized processes such as

democratic elections solidify the domestic stability, transparency, accountability and predictability within a country and thus reducing potential volatility. Stable, accountable and foreseeable economy fosters confidence among external economic partners and encourages foreign direct investments. By leveraging democratic institutions and a robust electoral process, Pakistan can attract many investors and partners for developing trade.

- Pakistan needs to implement structural reforms in order to facilitate economic growth. As long as it continues to offer limited opportunities to the international community, its ability to connect with the global economy will remain limited. A recent study highlights the importance of reallocating resources from less productive sectors to more productive ones for Pakistan's economic transformation. Additionally, Pakistan must address barriers that hinder investment, such as inconsistent trade policies and bureaucratic complexities. Without addressing these systemic issues that hinder growth and damage its reputation, Pakistan will struggle to develop a credible and persuasive narrative to attract investment and promote its economic potential.

- National security challenges require a holistic strategy that ensures coordination between civil and military leadership in both planning and implementation. A fragmented Foreign Office will struggle to make meaningful advancements, and this division must be resolved. It is essential for civil and military leadership to unite in order to align their perspectives. The National Security Committee, which serves as a forum for the highest levels of civil and military leadership to share their insights, is ideally suited for this purpose. The NSC should meet as often as necessary to develop a cohesive strategy for Pakistan's worldwide interests. Currently, Pakistan is not advancing at the desired rate. Although the civilian and military leadership possess the ability to counteract anti-

Pakistan narratives, their lack of consensus and trust is a significant barrier. This distrust is undoubtedly impeding Pakistan's capacity to effectively advocate for itself on the global stage. In this context, Parliament can play a crucial role. Parliamentary Committees, including the Senate Committee of the Whole, National Security Committees, and Standing Committees on Defense and Foreign Affairs, can act as mediators between the two power blocs to promote unity. Furthermore, they can offer a diverse array of potential solutions to tackle the emerging challenges in foreign policy.

- The Pakistan Foreign Office should prioritize the establishment of stronger connections with relevant government ministries, especially those pertaining to the economy. It is also crucial to foster closer ties with the Ministries of Interior and Defense, which oversee matters such as visa processing as well as internal and external security matters. This objective can be realized through consistent meetings between the Foreign Secretary and their counterparts in these ministries, as well as by improving current partnerships. Furthermore, the Foreign Office should bolster its communication not only with other governmental organizations but also with external businesses, the diaspora, and civil society organizations.

- Pakistan is confronted with a chaotic and highly competitive global security environment marked by the dominance of power politics over international law, a diminished role of the UN in conflict resolution, civilizational divisions, the preeminence of economic might, the critical role of science and technology in shaping national power and development, the rise of new powers seeking to assert their interests within the global framework, and evolving alliances. In this unpredictable and often hostile international context, frequently referred to as a 'world in disorder,' Pakistan must maneuver

strategically to protect its security and pursue economic growth; thereby allowing its citizens to achieve their fullest potential. Pakistan must confront the ground realities and formulate a grand strategy that protects its national interests. This will undoubtedly be a challenging endeavor, but by considering the key aspects of the global and regional security landscape, drawing lessons from past experiences, and implementing a comprehensive blend of political, economic, security, and diplomatic policies, it should be feasible to develop a coherent and well-planned grand strategy to overcome the existing challenges.

- Political stability and unity are essential for inclusive and sustainable national development. Countries that have developed a stable, progressive, inclusive and tolerant political culture have achieved success in all aspects of their society. Pakistan needs to strengthen its democratic institutions and ought to promote political stability in order to guarantee effective policy formulation, coordination, and implementation. Sustainable economic prosperity and democratization, efficient institutions and a balance of power, national security and social cohesion, growth in industry, agriculture and employment opportunities, transparency and effective utilization of resources, freedom of expression, consistency of policies and a practical foreign policy are the outcomes of political stabilization.

- In Pakistan, lack of a strong parliamentary oversight has resulted in ongoing conflicts between the civilian and military authorities concerning national security and external policy issues. One key reason for this is the insensitivity of parliamentarians towards Pakistan's external policy. Despite the presence of multiple Standing Committees on foreign affairs in both houses of the Parliament, they have failed to provide a

significant input for policy development. These committees are comprised of members from political parties based on their representation in the house, however, much of them lack the required expertise necessary to make substantial contributions to foreign affairs. An additional factor contributing to their lack of effectiveness is the absence of a supportive work environment. Without a supportive team to aid them in their research and creative endeavors, their efforts are hindered. The lack of support and oversight from Parliament not only fuels power struggle among multiple power sectors of the country but also undermines Pakistan's global standing. Therefore, it is significant to strengthen parliamentary oversight in the country.

- It is widely recognized that how a country is perceived internationally has a significant impact on its position and influence in global affairs. There is strong evidence to support the idea that when a country incorporates soft power into its diplomatic strategies, it reaps substantial benefits in terms of trust and influence. Consequently, this enables the country to effectively advance its foreign policy objectives. Countries that earn respect through their actions benefit from a soft-power influence that enhances their global standing. India has successfully employed soft power diplomacy through various means, capitalizing on its diverse cultural heritage, economic prowess, and diplomatic efforts. Pakistan on the other hand incurs reputational damage by being seen to be perpetually in crisis, which hardly creates positive international perceptions of the country. However, it is important to recognize that every country, including Pakistan, has its own strengths and weaknesses. Pakistan possesses numerous soft power resources that have been largely overlooked by successive governments. It is crucial for Pakistan to identify and incorporate these resources into its international diplomacy to address its

longstanding external problems particularly concerning its image. By employing soft power strategies, Pakistan can mend misperceptions, highlight its positive socio-economic attributes, and showcase its rich heritage of arts, civilization, music, and culture.

- Pakistan ought to embrace a comprehensive strategy towards foreign relations that integrates national interests, security goals, economic priorities, and diplomatic interactions with both regional and global players. Pakistan should actively involve general public, civil society, media and diaspora communities in the decision-making processes to develop awareness, promote understanding, and secure backing for its external policy initiatives and priorities.

- It is essential for policymakers in Pakistan to recognize India's capacity to foster positive relations with multiple nations simultaneously, including KSA, Iran, UAE, and Israel; along with US and China; and historically, since the Cold War, with both the USSR/Russia and the US, thereby reaping advantages from each for its own strategic interests. In contrast, Pakistan has often found itself compelled to align with one global power over another. Pakistan's foreign policy should be cognizant of historical context, pragmatic considerations, dynamic strategies, and rational thought, rather than being influenced by illusions or emotional biases.

- Pakistan needs to improve coordination among different governmental organizations, ensure consistency in policies, and enhance the effectiveness of governance to make decision-making processes more efficient, allocate resources optimally, and improve policy implementation. Furthermore, it should increase transparency, accountability, and public oversight mechanisms in the decision-making,

application, and assessment of external policies to establish trust, maintain integrity, and boost public confidence.

- Pakistan should embrace academic scrutiny. In the midst of combating false propaganda, misinformation, and disinformation, the country must devise its own narrative. The policymakers in Pakistan should support researchers in producing high-quality, nuanced, and balanced academic publications about Pakistan. This will limit the influence of malicious actors in shaping the crucial information landscape. If Pakistan failed to document its own history, adversaries will do so, with potentially negative consequences. By actively engaging with academic and policy circles, Pakistan can effectively communicate its story and combat fake news and disinformation.

- Pakistan's foreign policy challenges stem from institutional fragmentation, economic fragility, and reactive decision-making. By depoliticizing diplomacy, investing in human capital, and aligning rhetoric with pragmatic goals, Pakistan can rebuild credibility and advance its national interests. Success will require collaboration across political parties, the military and civil society, with a focus on long-term stability over short-term goals.

- The historical context of Pakistan presents significant opportunities for relevant state actors to enhance and refine their foreign policy strategies. Implementing policies aimed at bolstering the economy through diverse economic and trade agreements at both regional and international levels would be greatly beneficial. Leveraging the potential of regional cooperation organizations, while using the European Union as a model, could significantly increase the country's productivity. Pakistan should strive to alleviate tensions with its neighboring countries while remaining vigilant regarding its borders

with Afghanistan and India. A proactive approach is essential to combat terrorism and ensure it remains contained. A policy grounded in a realistic assessment of the nation's resources, incorporating insights from all relevant military and civilian institutions, which fosters mutual peace and cooperation, is crucial for the prosperity of Pakistan.

By employing these suggestions with unwavering determination and perseverance, Pakistan has the potential to embark on a path towards reviving its democratic system, fortifying its political institutions, and achieving enduring socio-economic and political stability, ultimately benefiting its populace.

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Questionnaire

1. How vital interests of a country are incorporated in foreign policy formulation?
2. What objectives did India and Pakistan prefer while formulating their foreign policies?
3. What is the process of foreign policy formulation in India and Pakistan?
4. What is the mode and channel to get the approval of a foreign policy decision outcome in both the countries?
5. How different institutions particularly the Foreign Office and security establishment work and perform towards the external policy decision outcomes in Pakistan and India?
6. How rigorously an issue or option is discussed at the Parliament and the Cabinet or PM level in both the countries?
7. How national interests are factored in policy formulation?
8. How did Indian external policy plans jeopardize Pakistan's interests in the global arena?
9. What are the core domestic elements that contributed towards the formulation of Indian foreign policy?
10. What are the core domestic elements that contributed towards the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy?
11. Why Pakistan's external policy was for the most part reactive as compared to Indian external policy that was proactive? Which domestic actors and factors contributed towards the foreign policy effectiveness in both the countries?

12. What is the role of military in foreign policy decision making in both the countries?
How civil-military relations influence the formulation of foreign policy in both the countries?
13. How pulling and hauling among different departments works to reach the final aggregated policy outcomes?
14. Considering the diverse array of foreign policy decision-making models, what are the standards for making rational choices? How have the domestic drivers of decision-making in India and Pakistan impacted the rationality of their respective external policy choices?
15. What are the implications of Pakistan's passive external policy approach for its national security interests and its image on the global front?
16. How India's proactive foreign policy strengthened its say on the global front particularly against Pakistan?
17. How do domestic political considerations influence foreign policy decisions in India and Pakistan?
18. How do India and Pakistan foreign policy decisions impact regional dynamics in South Asia?
19. How do India and Pakistan navigate their relationships with neighboring countries, such as China, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh?
20. What changes are necessary to enhance the revival and efficacy of Pakistan's foreign policy? Additionally, which internal factors must be reinforced to ensure effective policymaking within the nation?

Interviews List

- I.** Interview with Dr. Muhammad Faisal, Former DG South Asia, Spokes Person Ministry of Foreign Affairs, held in Islamabad on September 30, 2023.
- II.** Interview with Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed, held in Islamabad on November 10, 2022.
- III.** Interview with Professor Dr. Hassan Askari Rizvi, Former Caretaker Chief Minister of Punjab, held in Islamabad on May 22, 2022.
- IV.** Interview with Mr. Shamshad Ahmed, Former Ambassador and Foreign Secretary, held in Islamabad on April 18, 2022.
- V.** Interview with Senator Sherry Rehman, held in Islamabad on June 14, 2022.
- VI.** Interview with Gopalaswami Parthasarathy, Former Indian High Commissioner to Australia, held online on December 15, 2023.
- VII.** Interview with Former Ambassador Shahid Hussain Raja, held in Islamabad, on February 8, 2023.
- VIII.** Interview with Professor Harsh V. Pant, Indian Academician, held online on January 7, 2023.
- IX.** Interview with Professor Dr. Rohan Mukherjee, Indian Academician, held online on December 4, 2022.

- X.** Interview with Mr. Mansoor Ahmed Khan, DG Afghanistan and Former Ambassador, held in Islamabad on August 30, 2022.
- XI.** Interview with Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, held in Islamabad on July 20, 2023.
- XII.** Interview with Mr. Touqir Hussain, Former Ambassador and Senior Diplomat, held in Islamabad on September 5, 2022.
- XIII.** Interview with Sheikh Tariq Rashid, Former Member National Assembly, held in Peshawar on December 22, 2021.
- XIV.** Interview with Mr. Abdul Basit, Former High Commissioner of Pakistan to India, held in Islamabad on July 10, 2022.
- XV.** Interview with Mr. Javid Husain, Former Ambassador to Iran, South Korea, and Netherlands, held in Islamabad on October 10, 2022.
- XVI.** Interview with Lt. Gen. (Retd) Naeem Khalid Lodhi, held in Islamabad on January 11, 2022.
- XVII.** Interview with Mr. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhary, Former Ambassador to the United States, held in Islamabad on December 10, 2021.
- XVIII.** Interview with Professor Rajendra Abhyankar, Former Ambassador and Secretary Ministry of External affairs, Government of India, held online on November 24, 2022.
- XIX.** Interview with Senator Rubina Khalid, held in Islamabad on December 5, 2021.
- XX.** Interview with Senator Sehar Kamran, held in Islamabad on December 10, 2021.