

12

BRIEFING PAPER NO.

PILDAT

APRIL 2004

BRIEFING PAPER

FOR PAKISTANI PARLIAMENTARIANS

Strengthening National and Provincial Legislative Governance

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

www.pildat.org

PILDAT
Pakistan Institute of
Legislative Development
And Transparency

12

BRIEFING PAPER NO.

PILDAT

APRIL 2004

BRIEFING PAPER

FOR PAKISTANI PARLIAMENTARIANS

Strengthening National and Provincial Legislative Governance

**THE PROCESS OF
FOREIGN POLICY
FORMULATION
IN PAKISTAN**

www.pildat.org

PILDAT
Pakistan Institute of
Legislative Development
And Transparency

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY
FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

CONTENTS

Foreword

Profile of the Author

Introduction	06
The National Scene	06
The Formal Foreign Policy Formulation Process	06
Roles of the President, the Cabinet and the Prime Minister	06
Role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	06
Role of the Parliament	07
Role of the Security/Intelligence Agencies	08
Informal Factors influencing the Foreign Policy Formulation Process	08
Regional and International Factors	09
Overview of the Foreign Policy Formulation Process in Pakistan	10
Evaluation of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Formulation Process	10
Recommendations	12
Appendices	
Appendix I: Allocation of Business to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the Rules of Business (Schedule II)	14
Appendix II: Diagram I: Organisational Chart of the Foreign Office	15
Appendix III: Diagram II: Foreign Policy Formulation Process in Pakistan	16

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY
FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

FOREWORD

The *Process of Foreign Policy in Pakistan*, a briefing paper by PILDAT, is the leading presentation in the context of the PILDAT Short Course for Parliamentarians and Politicians on *The Foreign Policy Process in Pakistan*. Developed by PILDAT, as a part of the Pakistan Legislative Strengthening Consortium - PLSC, supported financially by the USAID, the paper covers the formal process of foreign policy formulation in Pakistan while it comments on the role and influence of major actors influencing foreign policy formulation in Pakistan.

Authored by **Ambassador (Retd.) Javid Husain**, the paper covers both the formal and the practical aspects of foreign policy formulation in the country. Commissioned by PILDAT, the objective of the paper is to orient parliamentarians to the process of foreign policy formulation so as to enable them to play a better role in the area. The paper also examines the role, or lack thereof, of the Parliament and its Standing Committees on the process and review of foreign policy formulation and offers recommendations for a pro-active role of the Parliament as given in the Constitution of Pakistan.

The author, PILDAT and its team of researchers have made every effort to ensure the accuracy of the contents of this paper. PILDAT, however, does not accept any responsibility of any omission or error as it is not deliberate.

The views expressed in this paper belong to the author and are not necessarily shared by PILDAT, PLSC or USAID.

Lahore
April 2004

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY
FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

PROFILE OF THE AUTHOR



Ambassador Javid Husain retired from the Foreign Service of Pakistan in March 2004 after a distinguished diplomatic career during which he served as the Ambassador of Pakistan to the Netherlands (1992-1995), to the Republic of Korea (1995-1997) and Iran (1997-2003). During his posting at Tehran, he was also the Pakistan Permanent Representative to the Economic Cooperation Organisation

(ECO). His last posting was as the Head of the Foreign Service Academy from 2003 to 2004.

After joining the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1967, he served on diplomatic assignments in Pakistan Embassies/Missions in several important capitals including Paris (1969-1971), Tripoli (1971-1974), Washington (1974-1978), New York (1982-1985) and Beijing (1985-1988). He was First Secretary (Political) during his posting at the Pakistan Embassy, Washington, D.C. At the Pakistan Mission to the UN at New York, he served as Counsellor and later as Minister. From 1985 to 1988, he served as Minister and the second highest ranking officer in the Pakistan Embassy at Beijing

He has been a member of the Pakistan delegations to International Conferences and Meetings, notably UN General Assembly sessions, UN Security Council Meetings, Non-Aligned Summit and Ministerial Conferences, Organisation of Islamic Conference Summit and Ministerial Meetings and ECO Summit and Ministerial Meetings.

He was born on March 3, 1944. He holds a Masters Degree in Economics from the Government College, Lahore. He is married with two children, a daughter and a son.

Since his retirement from the Foreign Service of Pakistan, Ambassador Javid Husain keeps himself busy in academic pursuits including delivering lectures at prestigious institutions and writing papers on foreign policy issues. Currently, Ambassador Javid Husain represents Pakistan on the ECO Eminent Persons Group which has been mandated by the Organisation to look into ways and means of improving the ECO's efficiency and effectiveness in the achievement of its goals and objectives.

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

Introduction

In this growingly interdependent world, the process of foreign policy formulation is becoming more and more complex in which, besides national actors, regional and international forces play an increasingly important role. Pakistan, which is located at the crossroads of South Asia, the Middle East and Central Asia, is no exception to this rule. Therefore, Pakistan's foreign policy has been shaped by national, regional and international factors which have influenced both the process of its formulation and the final outcome. This paper outlines the process or the complex interplay of forces which influences and determine Pakistan's foreign policy.

The National Scene

To start with, one can look at the formal foreign policy formulation process at the national level, which is the process through which formal foreign policy decisions are taken in the country. This includes the various domestic forces which influence the foreign policy decision-making process informally, and the domestic political framework within which foreign policy decisions are shaped.

The Formal Foreign Policy Formulation Process

For understanding the formal foreign policy formulation process, one needs to consult the Constitution of Pakistan and the Rules of Business of the Government of Pakistan made in pursuance of Articles 90 and 99 of the Constitution.

Constitutional Roles of the President, the Cabinet and the Prime Minister

According to the Article 90 of the Constitution, 'the executive authority of the Federation shall vest in the President' but the Article 48 of the Constitution requires that the President shall act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet or the Prime Minister in the exercise of his functions with the exception of those matters in respect of which he is empowered by the Constitution to act in his discretion. Thus, all important foreign policy decisions ultimately must be taken by the Cabinet or the Prime Minister and formally communicated to the President.

Under the Rules of Business, no important foreign policy decision can be taken without the approval of the Prime Minister [Article 5(1)]. However, under Article 16 of the Rules of Business, all proposals involving negotiations with foreign countries, e.g., exchange of diplomatic and commercial representation, treaties and agreements, visits of goodwill missions, representation at international conferences and meetings, etc. shall be brought before the Cabinet. Besides, the Cabinet is required to consider all matters relating to vital political, economic and administrative policies. In short, the Cabinet is the supreme foreign policy making authority under the Constitution and the Rules of Business. However, under Article 16 of the Rules of Business, the Prime Minister may, in any case, give directions as to the manner of its disposal without prior reference to the Cabinet.

The Cabinet may constitute Standing or Special Committees for the disposal of its work. Normally, the decisions of the Committees must be ratified by the Cabinet before they can take effect.

Role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the focal point for the initiation of all proposals relating to the conduct of Pakistan's foreign affairs with the exception of any matters that may be assigned to other Divisions/Ministries of the Government. This should be clear from the reading of the subjects allocated to the Ministry under the Rules of Business (Article 13 of Schedule 11 of the Rules of Business. See **Appendix I**). In addition, Rule 13 of the Rules of Business clearly lays down that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall be consulted on all matters which affect the foreign policy of Pakistan or the conduct of its foreign relations.

At the same time, the Inter-Division consultation procedures require the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to consult other Divisions in the conduct of its business when a matter concerns them. Not only that, several Divisions e.g., Aviation, Commerce, Communications, Culture, Defence, Defence Production, Economic Affairs, Education, Finance, Food, Information, etc., have been assigned subjects which relate to different aspects of Pakistan's foreign relations. These Ministries/Divisions, therefore, play a role in the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy. However, as stated above, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs remains the focal

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

point in the foreign policy making field.

At the Departmental level, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is headed by the Foreign Secretary who is in turn assisted by Additional Secretaries. At present, there are eight Additional Secretaries looking after different areas of Pakistan's foreign relations. They are supported by Directors General, Directors and Section Officers in a descending order. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also assisted by the Pakistan Ambassadors and other Heads of Pakistan Missions abroad who both receive instructions from and submit their views and recommendations to the Ministry. Please see the organisational chart of the Foreign Office at **Appendix II**.

Proposals relating to Pakistan's foreign policy are generated at the level of Section Officers in response to new developments or at their own initiative and occasionally in response to instructions from above. Sometimes, they may be initiated at a level higher than that of the Section Officer if the situation so demands. They are refined and modified as they travel up the ladder to Directors and Directors-General. Where necessary, there would be horizontal consultations with other Directors and Directors-General. Depending upon the requirements of the situation, the Foreign Office may also consult the concerned Pakistan Missions abroad and other Ministries/Departments. If the proposal falls within the parameters of an existing policy, the matter would be decided at the level of the Director General concerned or may go up to the Additional Secretary concerned for approval depending upon its importance. In very important cases, the file may travel all the way up to the Foreign Secretary who may consult the Foreign Minister and the offices of the Prime Minister and the President if the situation so demands.

Where a foreign policy proposal attempts to break new ground, it would invariably travel all the way up to the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister through the Foreign Secretary for approval. However, the Foreign Office would certainly consult other Ministries/Departments/Agencies, if the matter concerns them, before submitting it to the Prime Minister/Cabinet for a decision. Where required under the Rules of Business or by the importance of the matter, it would be placed before the Cabinet for its consideration and decision. In the case of very important matters, the President would also be consulted formally or informally before a final decision is taken. Further, the Foreign Minister or the Prime Minister may also take the Parliament into

confidence by consulting the parliamentary leaders or by having the matter debated in the Parliament.

In the consideration of foreign policy issues in the Foreign Office, the views of the media, civil society, etc. are generally taken into account. However, there is no precise or systematic mechanism for doing so.

Once a decision has been taken by the competent authority, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would assume responsibility for its implementation with the help of the personnel at the Headquarters and/or Pakistan Missions abroad.

Role of the Parliament

As in any other Parliamentary form of government, the Parliament in Pakistan, besides acting as the legislature, elects the Prime Minister through a majority vote in the National Assembly. The executive, that is, the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister, is responsible to the National Assembly which can remove the former through a vote of no confidence. Thus, the executive and its internal and external policies must enjoy the confidence and support of the National Assembly to remain in power. As for the Senate, which represents the federating units, its support is also vital for the smooth functioning of the legislative process. Further, the views of the Senators, as representatives of the federating units, on external relations deserve due attention of the executive.

The Parliament can pass a bill in respect of any aspect of Pakistan's external relations as provided for by the Constitution in the Federal Legislative List, thus, giving it the force of law. In practice, however, in a parliamentary form of government that exists in Pakistan, the initiative for such a bill would normally come from the executive which, because of the support of the majority in the National Assembly and possibly in the Senate, would normally succeed in getting it adopted by the Parliament. Certainly, a private bill relating to Pakistan's external relations can also be moved by any member of either House. But the possibility of its adoption by the Parliament without the executive's support is almost nil because of party discipline.

The Parliament can influence the foreign policy formulation and implementation process by adopting non-binding resolutions on foreign policy issues; by holding hearings on

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

crucial issues in the Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs and by asking questions on foreign affairs in the House.

These powers provide a substantial role to the Parliament in Pakistan, even though an indirect one, in the formulation and implementation of the country's foreign policy. It must, however, be underscored that the formulation and implementation of the foreign policy is generally considered to be the prerogative of the executive all over the world. The Parliaments, at best, can influence this process by making known their views on important foreign policy issues. This is particularly true in a parliamentary form of government as in Pakistan where the executive automatically commands the support of the majority at least in the National Assembly and possibly in the Senate because of party discipline.

Historically, the Parliament in Pakistan has failed to play its due role in the foreign policy formulation primarily because of the frequent military take-overs. As a result of these take-overs, the Parliament ceased to exist for long intervals and its authority and position was undermined even when it was functioning. The weakness of the political institutions and the predominant influence of the military generally, even when the civilian rule was restored, also had a negative impact on the ability of the Parliament to play its due role in the formulation of foreign policy. Finally, it needs to be acknowledged that the inexperience of the parliamentarians for which military take-overs were partly responsible also had its share in weakening the Parliament's role in the foreign policy formulation.

Role of the Security/Intelligence Agencies

In any country, the Security/Intelligence Agencies play an important role in the formulation of its foreign policy by gathering information relevant to it through overt and covert means, and presenting their assessment to the policy makers. The effectiveness of these assessments depends upon the objectivity and quality of the intelligence gathering and assessing process as well as on the system of government in the country.

These Security/Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan, especially those connected with the military, have acquired a predominant role in the foreign policy formulation process because of the fragility and weaknesses of the civilian institutions and the frequent military take-overs. It should

not be surprising that on the matters of policy formulation, the military rulers of the country felt more comfortable with Intelligence Agencies having military background. Consequently, these Intelligence Agencies have acquired a more predominant role in the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy than would be the case in a normal democratic country. This has worked to the disadvantage of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs whose role has been marginalised in the process particularly in the consideration of issues of critical and strategic importance to the country.

Informal Factors influencing the Foreign Policy Formulation Process

Besides the actors who have a formal role in the formulation of foreign policy in Pakistan, informal factors such as the media, think tanks, academics, scholars, pressure groups especially the business community, NGOs, political parties, etc., play an important role in influencing the country's foreign policy by debating important foreign policy issues and projecting their views on them. The airing of their views influences the thinking of the players directly involved in the foreign policy formulation process. It also has an impact by shaping and reshaping the thinking of the people at large on foreign policy issues. For instance, the views of these players, particularly the media, political parties and academics/scholars, played an important role in dissuading the government from sending Pakistani troops to Iraq in 2003 after the fall of the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's regime when the matter was receiving the government's serious consideration.

Similarly, the government also takes into account and sometimes even solicits the views of the business community when considering important foreign economic policy issues. This is particularly true in the case of issues relating to Pakistan's foreign trade and programmes of cooperation of Pakistan's private sector with private sectors in foreign countries. For instance, in considering Pakistan's trade relations with the European Union and the establishment of free trade zones, the government takes into account the views of the Pakistani business community. It is, of course, a separate question whether and how this process can be made more effective to serve the best interests of the country.

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

Regional and International Factors

As mentioned above, Pakistan, like any other country, cannot afford to pursue a foreign policy in isolation in this growingly interdependent world. All countries are affected by the currents and cross-currents operating at the regional and international levels. Their foreign policies must, therefore, take into account this complex interplay of forces in the process of formulation of their foreign policies with the objective of safeguarding and promoting their national interests.

Due to a variety of geo-strategic reasons and domestic circumstances, Pakistan has been particularly vulnerable to the regional and international forces in the conduct of its foreign policy. Soon after its independence, Pakistan was confronted with hostility from India. In the face of these challenges, Pakistan sought security by entering into alliances with the Western powers led by the U.S. during the cold war. This relationship enabled Pakistan to obtain the much-needed military and economic assistance. However, it was not sufficient to compensate fully for the consequences of its internal political instability and the Indian threat to its security as reflected during the tragic events of 1971 which led to the dismemberment of Pakistan. It also had the negative effect of damaging Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union.

Commencing from 1960s, Pakistan entered into a close friendly relationship with China which have stood the test of time and have proved to be a vital link for Pakistan's security and well-being.

For both ideological and strategic reasons, Pakistan also developed close ties with the Islamic World notably Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Indonesia, Malaysia, Egypt and Afghanistan, etc.

The end of the cold war and the demise of the Soviet Union have presented Pakistan with a new set of challenges and opportunities. It appears that Pakistan is still trying to come to terms with the consequences of these developments with only partial success so far.

The reality is that the U.S. has emerged as the sole super power after the end of the cold war with global military reach and capabilities. In the foreseeable future, no country would be able to pose a challenge to the U.S.' indisputable military

superiority. However, the position on the economic side is more complex with several other centres of power including the European Union and Japan besides the prospect of the emergence of new power centres including China, ASEAN and even India and Brazil.

The political landscape at the international level has been further transformed by the events of 9/11. Consequently, the war against terrorism and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction have emerged as the top issues on the agenda of the international community closely followed by the promotion of democracy and human rights and the advocacy of economic freedom and market economy.

The situation is made more complex by the Bush administration's doctrine of unilateral pre-emptive military intervention which has changed the rules of the game of international politics and has had the effect of minimising the scope of the UN role in international issues of strategic importance.

Finally, one must make a brief reference to the phenomenon of globalisation which is turning the world into a global village through instantaneous communications, real time coverage of global events by the electronic media, lowering of market barriers, development of fast means of transportation and the global reach of multi-national corporations.

It is in this context that Pakistan must pursue its foreign policy to safeguard and promote its national interests. It is inevitable that in the process, it will have to take into account the policies of the regional and non-regional countries. The change in Pakistan's Afghanistan policy and our joining with the international coalition against terrorism in September 2001 provide a telling example of the influence that foreign countries and international currents and cross-currents can have on Pakistan's foreign policy as it steers the ship of the state through the choppy waters of international politics ahead in pursuance of its supreme national interests.

Definitely the interaction between Pakistan and the regional and international players, whether in the form of states or non-state actors like international and regional organisations, is not a one-way traffic. As these forces influence Pakistan's foreign policy, we can also try to influence their direction and content in pursuance of our national interests. However, our success in so doing will be

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

directly proportionate to our relative political, economic and military strength as well as the quality of our diplomacy. In other words, our success in influencing the foreign policies of other countries and regional/international developments will be determined by our relative national power measured in political, economic and military terms and the way we bring to bear this power on the regional and international scenes.

Overview of the Foreign Policy Formulation Process in Pakistan

The formulation of foreign policy is a complex process involving national, regional and international players as explained above. **Appendix III** attempts to highlight the main players in this process at the national level and how they act and react in the making of Pakistan's foreign policy.

It would be seen that foreign policy proposals, as and when required, are initiated by the Foreign Office and submitted to the Prime Minister for consideration. While doing so, the Foreign Office would consult other Ministries and Departments concerned. The proposals submitted by the Foreign Office would be either disposed of by the Prime Minister or would be referred to the Cabinet for a decision if required under the Rules of Business. In this process, the views of the Parliament as expressed in the two Houses or in the hearings of the Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs would be taken into account. This would be particularly so at the level of the Cabinet where there is a close and formal interaction with the Parliament.

The Constitution requires that the Prime Minister shall communicate to the President all decisions of the Cabinet relating to the administration of the affairs of the Federation including of course those relating to foreign affairs. The President may require the Cabinet or the Prime Minister to reconsider the advice tendered by either of them, and the President shall act in accordance with the advice tendered after such reconsideration.

Similarly, the President may refer any Bill relating to foreign affairs passed by the Parliament to the latter for reconsideration. If it is again passed by the Parliament with or without amendment, the President shall not withhold assent therefrom.

In this whole process, the influence of the civil society, think

tanks, media, etc., is informally brought to bear upon the foreign policy makers including, inter alia, the Parliament although this link is not shown in the diagram due to the limitation of space.

Another point which needs to be highlighted but is not shown in the diagram adequately is the close interaction between the President and the Prime Minister on foreign policy issues.

A final relevant point which is not made in the diagram but needs to be underscored is that regional and international players including states and non-state actors such as international and regional organisations, also influence the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy through their interaction with the players at the national level whether they belong to the government sector or to the civil society.

In respect of those matters relating to foreign affairs which are allocated to Ministries other than the Foreign Ministry, the initiative for submission of proposals is taken by those Ministries in accordance with the same procedure as is followed by the Foreign Ministry. For instance, the Commerce Ministry would initiate proposals relating to Pakistan's external trade.

Evaluation of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Formulation Process

In actual practice, Pakistan's foreign policy formulation process suffers from the following drawbacks:

- a. Ideally, there should be a mechanism to synthesise the political, economic and security aspects of foreign affairs in the consideration of foreign policy issues. Unfortunately, there does not exist any mechanism or agency of the government which can perform this task in a sustained and systematic manner. The Foreign Office can analyse political and strategic aspects of foreign policy issues but is not equipped to deal with or analyse their economic and security aspects.

The Security/Intelligence Agencies tend to focus on military/security aspects to the neglect of the political and economic ones, while Economic Ministries/Departments lack the ability to deal

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY
FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

- with political, strategic and security aspects of foreign policy. Even in the Cabinet, there is no organisational set-up which in a systematic and sustained manner can analyze foreign policy issues taking into account their political, strategic, economic and security aspects, and put up well-considered policy options to the government for its consideration.
- b. As mentioned above, the Foreign Office, under the existing rules, is the focal point in the field of foreign affairs. However, in actual practice, the primacy of the Foreign Office has been undermined to a large extent by the tendency of the Security/Intelligence Agencies to bypass the Foreign Office because of their easier access to the rulers especially during military regimes. This tendency leads to the preoccupation with the security aspects of foreign policy issues to the neglect of the economic and the political ones resulting in decisions which sometimes are not in the best national interest.
- c. Unfortunately, the tendency to bypass the Foreign Office prevails among some of the Economic Ministries also. On the one hand, it is rightly demanded of the Foreign Office to be proactive in Pakistan's foreign economic relations. On the other, the Economic Ministries jealously guard their turf and sometimes do not involve the Foreign Office in the consideration of important issues relating to country's foreign economic relations. Consequently, the political and strategic aspects may be neglected in such matters.
- d. The Foreign Office, which is primarily responsible for initiating proposals for the review and change of foreign policy as and when the need arises, especially in political and strategic fields, has its own share of blame in the analysis of Pakistan's foreign affairs and submission of policy options to the government for its consideration. Historically, the Foreign Office has relied on short-term perspectives or on day-to-day working in dealing with such issues to the neglect of medium-term and long-term perspectives. It is, therefore, often accused of adhocism.
- Unfortunately, the policy planning function, which should deal with medium and long-term planning of Pakistan's foreign policy, has not received adequate attention and resources in the Foreign Office as the higher-ups in the Ministry are preoccupied with the day-to-day handling of foreign affairs rather than the consideration of medium or long-term foreign policy options. Consequently, the Foreign Office focuses on adjustments to Pakistan's foreign policy rather than its strategic directions.
- e. There is inadequate coordination between the Foreign Office and the various think tanks established by the government for research on foreign policy issues such as the Institute of Strategic Studies, the Institute of Regional Studies and Area Study Centres in various Universities. Ideally, the Foreign Office should task these think tanks for research on important foreign policy issues keeping in view medium and long-term perspectives. The outcome of this research in the form of papers and studies should be fed into the foreign policy formulation process for the development of medium-term and long-term foreign policy options. A beginning in this direction was made by the Foreign Office in 1991 by organising a conference of the representatives of the various think tanks which were assigned specific tasks. The process worked for a while but has been inoperative now for quite some time due to lack of follow-up by the Foreign Office.
- f. The foreign policy formulation process is inevitably affected by the political environment within which it takes place. The net result of the frequent military take-overs has been that in actual practice military/security considerations have assumed a position of primacy in the foreign policy formulation process to the neglect of economic considerations, particularly during the periods when the military regimes are in power. The foreign policy formulation process has, thus, been skewed to the disadvantage of non-military institutions and considerations. This has led, historically speaking, to serious flaws in Pakistan's foreign policy.

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY
FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

- g. In actual practice, the two Houses of the Parliament and their Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs have not been as active in the consideration of foreign policy issues as they could or should have been. This has been both because of lack of interest and sometimes lack of understanding of complex foreign policy issues on the part of the parliamentarians. Another factor which has contributed to this lack of activity on the part of the parliamentarians in the consideration of foreign policy issues is the party discipline which prevents the representatives of the majority party, who belong to the treasury benches, from questioning or criticising the government's foreign policy or taking a decision contrary to the government's wishes. Nevertheless, even within this limitation, the Parliament and its Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs could have been more active than was the case in actual practice. Currently, even after the passage of about one and a half year since the last general election, the National Assembly has merely established its Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs but its Chairman has not yet been appointed. As for the Senate, it has yet to even establish its Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- b. To ensure that policy makers receive well-considered options on foreign policy issues, it is necessary to establish an office under the Chief Executive/Prime Minister which would study inputs from the Foreign Office, the Security/Intelligence Agencies and Economic Ministries/Departments and put up carefully worked out policy options to the government on important foreign policy issues.
- c. To enable the Parliament to play an active role in foreign affairs in a systematic manner, it is necessary to activate the Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs of the two Houses. These Committees should study important foreign policy issues with the help of inputs from experts and officials, and submit their conclusions and recommendations to the full House for its consideration. For accomplishing this task, the Committees should be provided with necessary secretarial and financial support. The views of these Committees and the debates on foreign policy issues in the Parliament would provide to the policy makers a valuable and independent input representing the voice of the people.

- d. The executive should make a conscious effort to consult the Parliament and its leaders on foreign policy issues more frequently than has been the case in the past.

- e. It is essential that important issues and projects relating to Pakistan's foreign economic relations are handled by the Economic Ministries/Departments in their proper political and strategic perspective. This objective can be achieved by establishing a senior level coordinating body in the Foreign Office including the representatives of the Economic Ministries/Departments and the Foreign Office. This body should meet and consider periodically important foreign economic policy issues and projects so that the working of the Economic Ministries/Departments relating to foreign economic relations remains within the framework of the political and strategic compulsions.

Recommendations

The foregoing analysis suggests the following recommendations for improving and strengthening the process of foreign policy formulation in Pakistan:

- a. The Foreign Office must strengthen its Policy Planning Division both by allocating more manpower and financial resources and by ensuring that the Division focuses on medium and long-term policy planning in the field of foreign affairs by developing viable policy options for the consideration of policy makers. In so doing, the Policy Planning Division must seek the inputs of the various think tanks in a systematic, regular and sustained manner. Of course, it is equally important that the conclusions and recommendations of the Policy Planning Division must receive the careful consideration of policy makers.

APPENDICES



THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY
FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

APPENDIX I

**ALLOCATION OF BUSINESS TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ARTICLE 13 UNDER THE RULES OF BUSINESS (SCHEDULE II)**

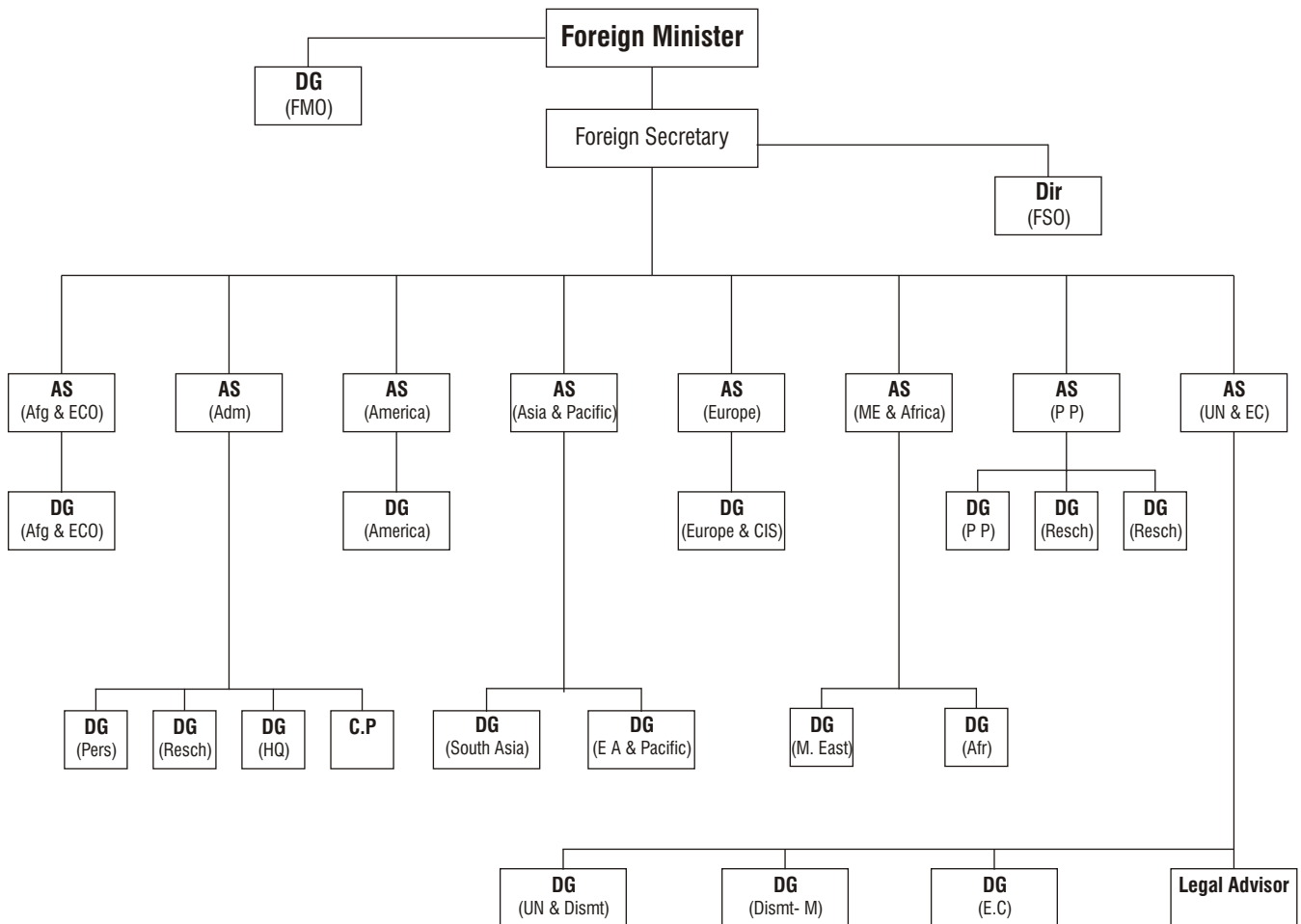
1. Relations and dealings with other countries
2. Matters (other than those handled by other Divisions) relating to:
 - a) international organisations and bodies and their decisions; and
 - b) agreements and treaties with other countries
3. Diplomats, consular, trade and other representation abroad (Selection of officers for appointment as Commercial Secretaries, Attaches, etc., shall continue to be made on the recommendations of the Special Selection Board and posting and transfer of such officers will be done by the Ministry concerned)
4. Declaration of war upon, and the making of peace with any country
5. Offences against the laws of nations
6. Foreign and extra-territorial jurisdiction
7. Negotiations for settlement of Kashmir dispute and implementation of agreements reached
8.
 - a) Administration of Foreign Affairs Group;
 - b) Pakistan Missions abroad;
 - c) Security and operation of cypher communications
9. Visits of Heads of States and foreign dignitaries to Pakistan and the Head of the Government of Pakistan to foreign countries
10.
 - a) Protocol and matters relating to foreign representatives in Pakistan;
 - b) Federal Government Guest Houses
11.
 - a) Policy regarding extradition to and from other countries
 - b) Repatriation of Pakistan nationals from abroad (other than those handled by Other Divisions)
12. Foreign awards to Pakistanis
13. Pakistan Institute of International Affairs
14. Coordination of all work pertaining to Economic Cooperation Organisation
15. Institute Strategic Studies

Source: Rules of Business 1973 (Federal Government); updated 2004.

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY
FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

APPENDIX II

DIAGRAM I: ORGANISATIONAL CHART OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE



Abbreviations: DG: Director General; FMO: Foreign Minister's Office; AS: Additional Secretary; AFG: Afghanistan; ECO: Economic Cooperation Organisation; ADM: Administration; ME: Middle East; PP: Policy Planning; UN: United Nations; EC: Economic Coordination; DG: Director General; Resch: Research; Pers: Personnel; M&F: Missions and Finance; HQ: Headquarters; CP: Chief of Protocol; EA: East Asia; Afr: Africa; Dismt-M: Disarmament Military.

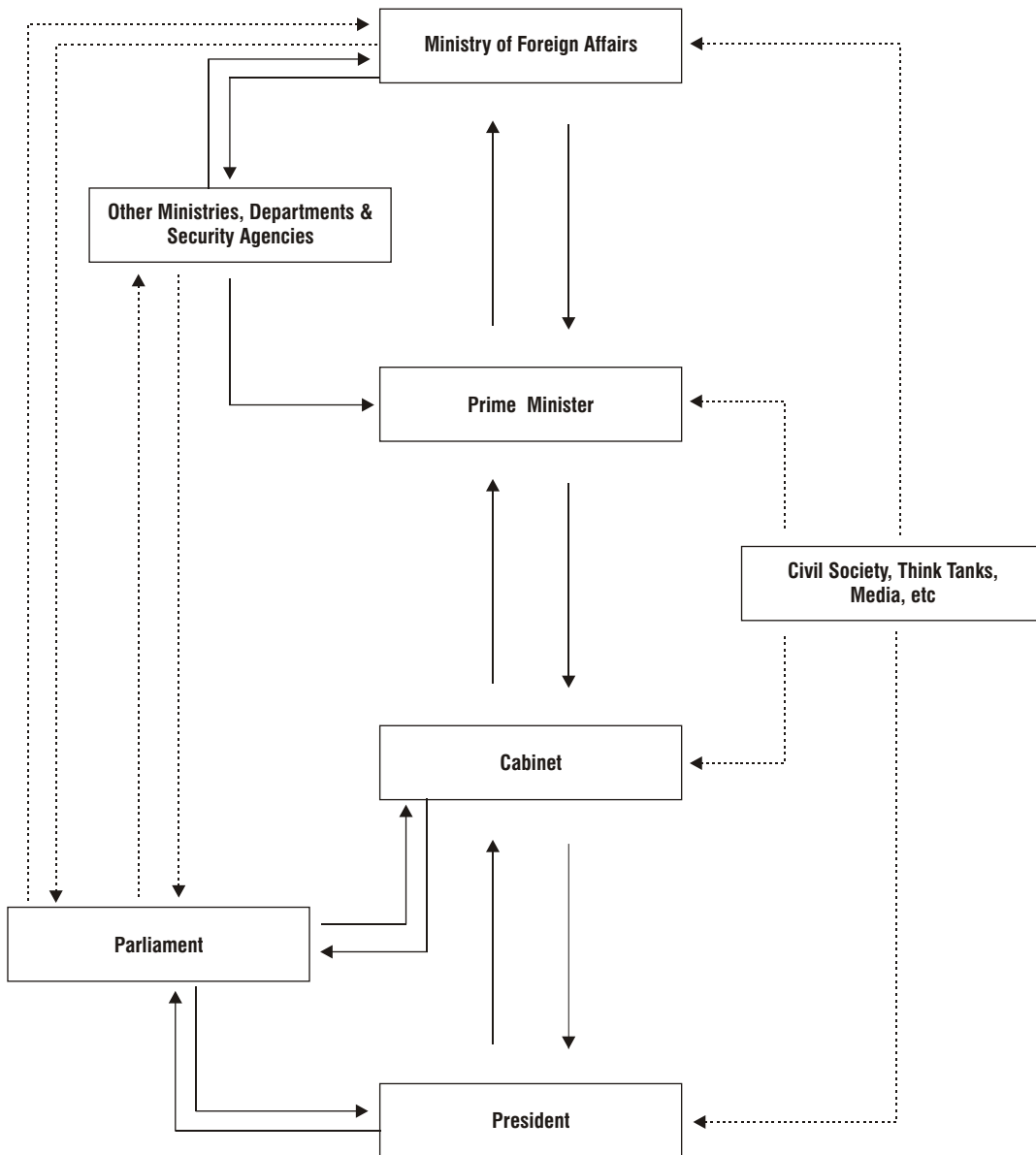
Footnote: Due to limitation of space, Directors and Section Officers working under Dgs are not shown in the Diagram.

Source: Drawn by the Author

THE PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY
FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN

APPENDIX III

DIAGRAM II: FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS IN PAKISTAN



Footnotes: 1) Normal lines show formal linkages. Dotted lines show informal links.
2) Due to limitations of space, the diagram does not fully reflect the close interaction.

Source: Drawn by the Author



Prepared by
Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And
Transparency - PILDAT

As a Part of
Pakistan Legislative Strengthening
Consortium - PLSC

With support from
United States Agency for International
Development - USAID



5-A, Zafar Ali Road, Gulberg V, Lahore-54000, Pakistan.
Tel: (+92-42) 111 123 345 Fax: (+92-42) 575 1551
E-mail: info@pildat.org URL: www.pildat.org