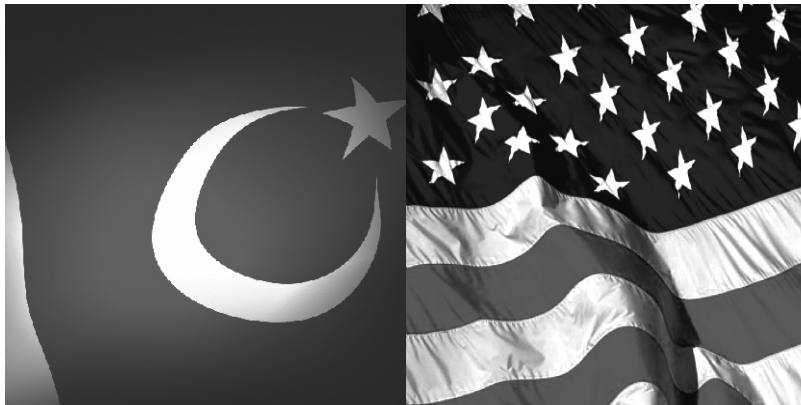


Strengthening National and Provincial Legislative Governance Project

STUDY TOUR REPORT



The Pakistani Parliamentary Delegation Legislative Study Tour to the **UNITED STATES**

September 22 - October 02, 2004

Funded by



Lead Grantee

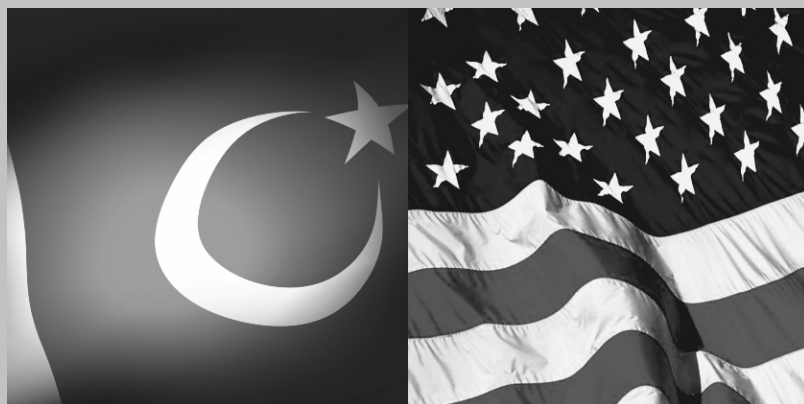


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World Vision



PILDAT
Pakistan Institute of
Legislative Development
And Transparency

Prepared By

Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And
Transparency - PILDAT



As a Part of
Pakistan Legislative Strengthening
Consortium - PLSC



For the project
"Strengthening National and Provincial Legislative Governance - SNPLG"

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The Delegation in front of the Capitol Hill in Washington D.C.



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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CRS	Congressional Research Service
CSIS	Centre for Strategic and International Studies
D	Democrat
FY05	Financial Year 2005
MMAF	Mutahidda Majlis-e-Amal Pakistan
MQM	Mutahidda Qaumi Movement
NA	National Assembly (of Pakistan)
PA	Provincial Assembly
PILDAT	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency
PLSC	Pakistan Legislative Strengthening Consortium
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz Group
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PPPP	Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
R	Republican
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WV	World Vision
WVUS	World Vision United States



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Acknowledgments

PILDAT wishes to acknowledge the support provided by USAID for this study tour under the project of Strengthening National and Provincial Legislative Governance - SNPLG. We also wish to thank World Vision-US for their support in organising and coordinating the programme of the study tour in United States. Special thanks are also due to Ms. Lori Hill of Lori Hill Productions, and her team, for a skilful coordination of the tour as the event management team enlisted by the World Vision US for the study tour.

We also acknowledge the cooperation of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pakistan, especially the Secretary of the Ministry, Mr. Riaz Khokhar and Director General (Americas) Mr. Alamgir Babar for a pre-departure briefing to the Parliamentary delegation and for facilitating the travel of Parliamentary delegation, wherever possible, through the presence of foreign office personnel for protocol reasons. We also thank Mr. Mohammad Sadiq, Deputy Chief of Mission and Charge d' Affairs of Pakistan Embassy in Washington DC and his colleagues, for their invaluable input into the draft programme of the study tour, his support in facilitating arrangements, where necessary, for the delegation in Washington DC, and last but not the least, for hosting a reception in the honour of the delegation at the newly-built Pakistan Embassy building.

PILDAT, thanks all those individuals and organisations who cooperated through their time and availability for making this legislative study tour to the United States a success. We thank the Congressmen and Women, State Legislators of Virginia and Pennsylvania, Staffers, and all individuals and organisations who met with the delegation in order to enrich the delegation's understanding of the system of political governance in the United States.

Background

The Legislative Study Tour to the United States was implemented by PILDAT as a part of the Pakistan Legislative Strengthening Consortium - PLSC which is responsible for implementing the 3-year USAID-funded project of Strengthening National and Provincial Legislative Governance - SNPLG in Pakistan. The study tour was undertaken as a part of the objectives under SNPLG to equip legislative stakeholders with know how and tools to better perform their representative, legislative and oversight functions through training and technical advising.

Objective of the Legislative Study Tour

The objective of the Legislative Study Tour was to provide Pakistani legislators and legislative staff with an opportunity to learn from the tools, techniques and best practices of the US legislative system so as to enable them to understand the support infrastructure, staff and institutions that assist deliberation in the US federal and state legislatures.

The study tour programme, designed in the light of the objective, provided the opportunity for the delegation to discuss the tools, techniques and technologies which support the legislative process and communication between the public and legislators in the US. It also offered avenues to compare the roles and responsibilities of Pakistani National and Provincial Legislatures with those of the US through visit and interaction with the US Congress and selected state legislatures in the US. In addition, the tour also addressed the relationship of legislators and their constituents as practised in the US so as to offer the Pakistani legislators an occasion to compare the relationship of legislators to their constituencies at the provincial and the national levels.

It is hoped that the study tour, together with the dialogue and discussions that take place in Pakistan upon completion of the tour, will contribute to modernising and strengthening of the legislative system in Pakistan.

Selection Criteria

The Parliamentary Delegation was selected on the basis of planned criteria to ensure objective selection of delegates. Following is a brief description of the criteria that was set and followed to select the delegation:

1. According to the outline of the USAID-funded Project of Strengthening National and Provincial Legislative Governance in Pakistan, 20 delegates are to undertake the study tour each year on the average, with a total number of 60 legislators and legislative staff to be exposed to US Legislative Governance System in the three-year duration of the Project.
2. It was agreed that for the first year, the average number of 20 should be increased to invite Presiding Officers of the four (4) Provincial Legislatures to be part of the Study Tour. Hence, a delegation of 26 persons is to join the Study Tour to the USA for the year 2004, comprising four (4) Presiding Officers of Provincial Legislatures, 18 Legislators and 4 Legislative Staff.
3. Out of a total of 22 delegates, 82 % (18 persons) will be legislators, 18 % (4 persons) will be Legislative Staff.
4. The delegates will be chosen from the National Assembly, Senate and the four Provincial Assemblies in



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- the same proportion as the share of these legislatures in the total number of legislators combined. For example, the total number of Legislators in the National Assembly, Senate and the four Provincial Assemblies is 1170. Out of this, National Assembly members are 342 or 29 %. The representation of Members of the National Assembly in the total number of legislator-delegates works out to be 6 out of 18 (33%). Similarly, the delegation will have 2 Senators, 5 Members of the Punjab Assembly, 2 Members each from the Sindh and NWFP Assemblies and 1 Member from the Balochistan Assembly.
5. The legislators from each legislature will be selected from various political parties represented in that legislature in the same proportion as the strength of a political party in that legislature.
 6. 18 Legislators will be so selected that their provincial composition remains roughly the same as the provincial composition of legislators in the total number of legislators in the six legislatures.
 7. All efforts will be made to facilitate 30 % of delegates to be women.
 8. Legislators from Non-Muslim minorities will also be represented in the delegation in the same proportion as they are represented in the total pool of legislators from the six legislatures. There are a total of 33 legislators from Non-Muslim minorities among the total strength of 1170 legislators from the six legislatures which translates to 2.82 %. This corresponds to less than 1 legislator among a total of 18. However at least 1 legislator from the minorities will also be included in the delegation.
 9. Out of the 4 Legislative staff members on the delegation, it is proposed to select 1 each from the National Assembly, Senate, Balochistan Assembly and Punjab Assembly. Staff from the other 2 provincial assemblies will be accommodated in the delegation in the next year.
 10. Satisfying the above criteria, individual legislators will be selected keeping in view their interest in legislative training as demonstrated by their attendance in the Legislative Training Sessions during the past year.
 11. Presiding Officers of National Assembly, Senate, Balochistan Assembly and Punjab Assembly will be requested to nominate one staff member from the secretariat for the study tour.

Programme

Programme of the legislative study tour combined the Pakistani Parliamentary Delegation's interaction with the Members and Staff of the US Congress with their exposure to the research facilities and support staff available at US Congress as well as opportunities of comparison of Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of the Pakistani and US Legislatures. The programme also provided avenues of learning in detail about demarcation of roles of federal, state and local government with an intent to compare the same with the demarcation of role in Pakistan.

The programme began by a pre-departure orientation by the USAID in Islamabad a day before the delegation's departure for the United States. This was followed by a pre-departure briefing by the Foreign Office of Pakistan to the Parliamentarians. The delegates were briefed in detail on the structure and political system of the United States upon their arrival in the United States, with special emphasis placed on separation of powers, and the demarcation of roles between the centre, state and the local government systems in place in the US. The delegation was split in two groups to visit two separate State Legislatures, Virginia and Pennsylvania respectively, to focus on the working of the state governance system in the United States in relation to the other tiers of governance. A special debriefing session was organised after the return of the groups in Washington DC to share the groups' exclusive learning experiences. Major aspects of the study tour included a detailed exposure and avenues of learning and interaction with the Congressional support infrastructure such as Library of Congress, the Congressional Research Service and the individual/committee staffers of Congressmen and

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women; introduction to the system of lobbying and how it operates in the United States vis-à-vis Congress and other branches of governance, and the special niche of think tanks and their role and influence in decision making in the United States.

Appendix A carries the detailed programme of the legislative study tour.

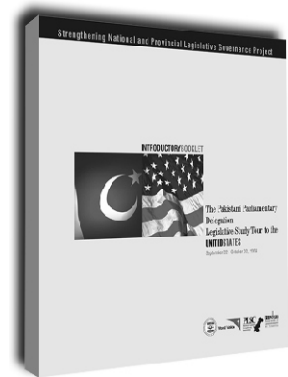
Parliamentary Delegation

The delegation comprised 19 members including Speakers of the Provincial Assemblies of Balochistan and NWFP; 13 legislators: 5 MNAs, 3 MPAs (Punjab); 2 MPAs (Sindh), 2 MPAs (NWFP) and 1 MPA (Balochistan); and 4 members of the Legislative Staff including Secretary Senate, Additional Secretary National Assembly and Secretaries of Balochistan and Punjab Assemblies.

Complete Profiles of the delegates are given as **Appendix B**.

Introductory Booklet

An Introductory Booklet was prepared containing information about the study tour, its objectives and the programme. In addition, the booklet carried brief profiles of the members of the delegation alongside their photographs and constituency details so that the booklet could be offered as a brief introduction of the delegation during its meetings and interactions in the United States. The Introductory Booklet also carried brief introductions of the supporters and organisers including USAID, PLSC and PILDAT.



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Group Photo of the Delegation at Pre-Departure Orientation by USAID

Pre-Departure Orientation by USAID

A pre-departure orientation for the departing delegation on the Legislative Study Tour to United States was held by the United States Agency for International Development USAID Pakistan on September 21, 2004 at Hotel Serena, Islamabad.

Her Excellency Ms. Nancy Powell, US Ambassador to Pakistan, welcomed the delegation leaving for United States. She expressed the hope that through learning avenues built into the programme of the study tour, the Parliamentary delegation will not only be exposed to the governance structures in the US,



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but would also be able to bring back with it certain best practises that would help strengthen the legislative process in Pakistan.

Introducing USAID Pakistan to the delegation, Ms. Lisa Chiles, Head of USAID Mission in Pakistan, said that USAID is helping Pakistanis improve their lives through assistance in the sectors of Education, Health, Economic Growth and Governance. USAID funding for these sectors is: US \$ 100 M in Education with a request for additional funding of US \$ 31 M in 2005; US \$ 115 M in Health with a request for additional funding of US \$ 23 M in 2005; US \$ 53 M in Economic Growth, with a request for additional funding of US \$ 30 M in 2005 and US \$ 38 M in Governance Sector with the request for additional funding of US \$ 16 M in the year 2005. Providing a brief overview of these USAID initiatives in Pakistan, Ms. Chiles emphasised that USAID is working through indigenous entities and local partners to improve the condition in these sectors. In Governance, she added, the goals are to improve legislative governance in Pakistan.

Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, Executive Director of PILDAT, gave a brief overview of the programme of the study tour to the delegation. He briefed the delegation about certain rules such as punctuality and participation in meetings that would guide the programme of the study tour in the United States.

The Pre-Departure Orientation concluded with a Group Photograph of the departing delegation.

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Members of the Delegation at Pre-Departure Briefing by Ministry of Foreign Affairs Pakistan

Pre-Departure Briefing by Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, upon request from PILDAT, organised a pre-departure briefing for Parliamentary delegation on September 21, 2004 at Hotel Marriott Islamabad. Mr. Alamgir Babar, Director General (Americas) and Mr. Riaz Khkohar Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs, addressed the delegation at the briefing.

Setting the context to the briefing, Mr. Alamgir Babar said in his presentation that with the 9/11 attacks dramatically transforming international political architecture, terrorism became the new global threat to international peace and security, which brought new dynamics to Pakistan-US relations. Throwing light on Pakistan's cooperation with the United States to combat terrorism, Mr. Babar highlighted that Pakistan is fulfilling all the obligations under international law on counter-terrorism. However, he said, that Pakistan's stance clearly remains that the right of peoples to self-determination and terrorism are clearly distinct and that Pakistan continually advocates that the World powers need to understand and address the underlying causes that give rise to frustration and anger in the Muslim world.

On the economic side, he emphasised, the dynamics

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of new relationship have resulted in the revival of the Joint Economic Forum, Trade and Investment Framework Agreement, setting up of Pakistan-US Business Council last year under the US Chamber of Commerce and US \$ 3 billion multi-year assistance package. According to the current situation, he added, bilateral debt of US \$ 1.5 billion is written off; the total allocation for Pakistan in the FY05 is US \$ 701.150 M while the US is Pakistan's largest trading partner as well as the largest foreign investor. The military assistance to Pakistan has also been resumed and the Defence Consultative Group has been revived. One of the major achievements, believed Mr. Babar, was that a Congressional Pakistan Caucus was formed for the first time which was due to be inaugurated by President Gen. Pervez Musharraf in his ongoing visit of the United States.

Mr. Babar informed the delegation that the G-8 has launched a Partnership for Progress and Common Future with the Region of Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative (BMENA) and Pakistan will participate in the Preparatory Meetings of the Forum for the Future in New York and Washington DC.

One of the delicate areas is the issue of proliferation. Mr. Babar said that the Pakistan Government moved swiftly to dismantle an international nuclear proliferation network and the Parliament adopted legislation on an export controls regime but some voices in the US and the West continue to be critical.

Upon conclusion, Mr. Babar said that both Pakistan and United States seek to broaden and deepen the existing relationship. We believe, he added, that the US long-term engagement is essential for peace and security in the region and that US is to encourage India to resolve bilateral issues, in particular the Jammu and Kashmir dispute to achieve that objective.

Mr. Babar's presentation was followed by an interactive Q&A Session. Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Riaz Khokhar also answered questions of the parliamentary delegation and remained with the delegation during dinner.

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Delegates at the Welcome Luncheon with the hosts

Welcome Luncheon

On September 23, 2004, World Vision US hosted a welcome luncheon for the delegation at Washington DC to formally set off the programme of the legislative study tour to the United States.

Mr. Serge Duss, Director Public Policy and Advocacy WWUS formally welcomed the delegates on behalf of World Vision and presented a brief overview of the programme in the days to come.

As a keynote speaker at the luncheon, Mr. Edward J. Fox, Assistant Administrator Legislative and Public Affairs, USAID, presented an overview of the US System of political governance to the delegates. He believed that although Pakistan and US follow two different systems: Parliamentary and Presidential, despite that there are similarities in the two systems that allow the two countries to benefit and learn

from.

Basic definition of American political system rests with the separation of powers and the tensions that are in-built into the system by way of checks and balances, said Mr. Fox. Congress is of paramount importance due to its monetary control through the purse strings in the hands of the Congress although the President has the executive authority. There are instances in which majority of Congress and the President do not belong to the same party, but even the current scenario, with the majority in Congress and the President from the same party, does not reduce the tensions in the system of checks and balances, he added.

Mr. Fox explained that the major focus of the energies of members of Congress are towards their 500,000 voters in each constituency. As a result, most legislation relates to safeguarding the wellbeing of constituents. Senior members of Congress advise their freshmen colleagues to devote their energies in setting up a system of immediate redressal of their constituents' issues and they can get into legislation and policy issues in their remaining time.

Mr. Fox believed that Pakistani parliamentarians need to focus on the independent and non-partisan sources of information and research capacity that is made available to the members of Congress in the shape of Library of Congress and Congressional Research Service. This research facility, combined with staffers and researchers with each member of the Congress, in reality drives the legislative agenda and work of each member of the Congress. Not only independent sources of information are necessary for individual members of congress but these are essential for congressional committees to perform their oversight functions through independent research and analysis capacity provided to them. The thirst and desire for independent sources of information is so strong that members of congress and congress committees open up to foreign governments to listen to their view point vis-à-vis the point of view of US government.

Mr. Fox explained that interest groups and lobbyists

are crucial partners in the system of governance in the United States. Transparency and openness are the hallmark of the system of governance in the United States, said Mr. Fox and Congress strictly follows that principle.

Mr. Fox's speech was followed by a Q&A Session. Answering a query about separation of power of the Congress and the President and the oversight role of the Congress, Mr. Fox quipped that there is a saying that 'President proposes, Congress disposes.' A piece of legislation can be introduced in the Congress through a Member of Congress; however it becomes a law after the President's signatures. To help oversight of the money matters, Congress has created a General Accounting Office to investigate and report to Congress.

Answering another question about the number of staffers available to each member of the House of Representatives and the Senate, Mr. Fox said that approximately 16 staffers are associated with a member of the House of Representatives while the Senators are allowed more staffers. A third of these staffers are located in the constituency of a member while the remaining are based in Washington.

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Delegates listening to Mr. Walter Oleszek

Orientation to the US Legislative Process

by Mr. Walter Oleszek

Senior Specialist, Congressional Research Service;
Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University; The Capitol.Net Facilitator

Major thrust of Mr. Walter Oleszek's presentation was to put in perspective the legislative process that US Congress follows for the benefit of Pakistani parliamentarians.

Mr. Oleszek began by saying that the resources and technology available to US Congress and its members can be daunting to look at for foreigners but the real message of the study tour is not to be awestruck by those resources but to understand the underlying meaning and necessity for the availability of basic resources, however downscale, for the aid of legislators. He believed that independent research facilities and staffers were crucial for effective functioning of any legislature.

Explaining the US Legislative Process, he said that like other American traditions, legislative process is also a series of adaptations from the British Parliamentary procedures absorbed into the peculiar

US system. However, he added, the system is constantly revisited to evaluate if it is working and constant amendments are made into it to suit the changing requirements of Congress.

While the members of Congress are full-time, most state legislatures work part time with part time legislators. Answering a query of whether part time legislators versus full time Governors in certain States result in a stronger executive, he said that is the case, however the budgetary control remains in the hand of the legislature. States follow bicameral system while their elections are not held on the same day as the federal legislatures. Each state however has its own political culture and its legislature largely follows that, he added. In certain States, a lot of part-time legislators also serve as public employees such as school teachers. This is a controversial issue but is not overruled still, he said. Answering another question of whether there is any reservation of seats for religious minorities, Mr. Oleszek said that the system does not safeguard seats on the basis of religion; however there are safeguards inserted into the system for racial minorities. As for the gender ratio in federal legislature, some 11-12% legislators are female, he added.

Moving to the legislative processes, he said that it is a highly complex system. The real question to ask in such a system is not who is in-charge but if anybody is in-charge, he quipped. Speaker in each house is a leader of the majority party. Only members of the Congress can introduce legislation. Most legislation is bi-partisan and not introduced on party basis. Most bills are dead before they are introduced while for a successful bill many majorities are constructed before it is successful. By design, Congress is slow in moving, he added.

Members of the Congress first conceive an idea and then it is drafted into a bill. Some major areas of consideration, however mundane these may sound, are to get an attractive title for the bill and a number by which it is introduced into the house. In the House of Representatives, first 10 numbers are reserved for the Speaker while this number is 5 in the

Senate. Another important aspect of the passage of the bill is the committee stage where members try and get it into a sympathetic committee by play of words. To be discussed, bills are put on the calendar. Some of these bills just die on the calendar as enough support is not available for those. Suspension of rules is sometimes applied for the passage of bills, he added.

Explaining the role of committees Mr. Oleszek said that committees come in all sizes and shapes while the major ones can be categorised as standing committees, which are permanent in nature, select or special committees that are temporary, while these are sub-divided into permanent select committees and subcommittees. Conference committees are to resolve differences between the houses. Members of Congress try to get on to a committee that can get them re-elected, that gives them more power or that is nearer to their area of policy interest. Membership of committees is decided by each party initially while finally the full house and the Senate vote on it. Chairmanship of committees is decided on party considerations based on seniority. Committees generally hold public hearings due to the culture of transparency; however they have the option of holding in-camera hearings.

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Delegation at the Law Library of Congress

Legal Support to Congress

Briefing on Legal Support to Congress with special reference to Global Legal Information Network (GLIN) was facilitated by Law Library of Congress on September 24, 2004. Dr. Rubens Medina, Law Librarian of Congress, gave a briefing to the delegation on the legal support provided to members of Congress through the Law Library. He explained that it is the responsibility of Law Library to provide to Members of the Congress free and reliable texts of laws and regulations and offer the experience of staff. This service which was primarily available through the traditional means of books and papers has now been digitised and converted into GLIN to make available official version of all US laws in electronic format to not just legislatures but also all citizens. GLIN, he emphasised, looks to put laws of other countries on it too for the benefit of the audience at home and abroad. Other countries are invited to consider being members of the GLIN. Participation is not charged but the cost is to contribute the country's laws. He

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said negotiations in this regard were started with the Government of Pakistan as well and Law Library will be pleased if that process could be facilitated by the Parliamentary delegation.

Guiding through an introduction and demonstration of GLIN, he explained the architecture of GLIN which carries statutes and regulations, thesaurus, registration record and judicial decisions. The texts are available in both editable and acrobat formats. GLIN is to be a multilingual project with texts retrievable in other languages. In addition to original texts, legal analysts are to generate a summary representative of the content. The system is web enabled and is based on Oracle database.

Speaking about legislation research service provided through law library and its various divisions, Mr. Kersi B. Shroff, Chief Western Law Division, Directorate of Legal Research, said that the research service is not just made available to Congress but to other agencies as and when they may require. The legal research directorate today has 2.6 million printed books and records and it is the job of the researchers to analyse a required law or regulation and provide it to a member of congress or a committee upon request. There is a staff of 30 researchers to perform legal research and analysis in this regard, he added. The Law Division is regularly used for legislation purposes by the members of the Congress while Congressional Research Service also utilises its services.

Mr. Krishan S. Nehra, Senior Legal Specialist of American-British Law Division, in his briefing added that Pakistan is a very important subject with Congress and the division has to regularly respond to requests relating to information on the subjects. He emphasised that the Library of Congress has over 100 million books while the annual budget of the Library of Congress is around US \$ 600 M.

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(From Left -Right) Dr. Rubens Medina, Mr. Douglass E. Bellis and Mr. Kersi B. Shroff

Support to Congress on Drafting Legislation

by Mr. Douglass E. Bellis,
Deputy Legislative Counsel, US House of Representatives

Mr. Douglass E. Bellis informed the Pakistani delegation that support on drafting legislation is provided on a non-partisan basis to all members of the congress. Drafting legislation requires the use of legislative language and generally lawyers are hired to assist with that.

Explaining the process as it unfolds, Mr. Bellis said that his job and the job of many others in drafting legislation is to translate the world of politics into the language of law. Often members of Congress themselves or through their staffers just present an idea which has to be drafted into the shape of a legislation. Often it requires a discussion and dialogue with the presenter of the idea so as to organise it meaningfully into the shape of legislation.

Mr. Bellis said that the job of drafters is of extreme

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sensitivity. On the one hand, while drafting legislation they have to keep in mind how the courts will look at it. If courts sue a piece of legislation, it will be embarrassing for the drafter. On the other hand, drafters have to also ensure that their personal biases do not shade the draft in any way. Moreover drafters can not divulge information about an idea to other members or staffers.

Answering a question as to whether two teams working on separate ideas need to be fire walled for reasons of privacy, Mr. Bellis emphasised that drafting of legislation is a technical service provided to the clients, i.e., members of Congress and since drafters cannot advocate their positions, no firewall is required.

The service of drafting legislation is designed to respond immediately to the needs and request of the members of congress. Based in Library of Congress with a team of 40 lawyers and 20 paralegal staff, the legislative drafting team follows no hierarchy. Often legislators have their preferences to approach a specific individual or else the front office guides callers according to their ideas to the teams most suited to drafting on that idea due to experience of work in that area. Mr. Bellis explained that the preference of the counsel is to keep a drafter for a long duration, however government cannot compete with the market to keep them for very long here. In terms of approach, drafters are the people who do not want to make political decisions as their ideas could come into the way of their work which is to be completely objective and non-partisan.

Answering another question, Mr. Bellis informed that 100 per cent of the Congress uses the services of legislative drafting. Around 5000 to 6000 pieces of legislations are written and presented every year out of which 100-200 get passed. A typical member introduces close to a 100 pieces of legislation through his or her term.

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Delegation listening to a briefing about CRS

Research Support to Congress through Congressional Research Service - CRS

Mr. K. Alan Kronstadt, Analyst in Asian Affairs at the CRS, Mr. Paul Rundquist Specialist, and Mr. Christopher Davis Analyst in American National Government, Government and Finance Division at the CRS presented a brief overview to the Pakistani delegation about the CRS and how it operates for the aid of Congress.

With a budget of around US \$ 100 M a year, CRS works as an independent and non-partisan research support service exclusively for the use of Congress. It has around 700 employees. Administratively CRS is a part of Library of Congress but it is independent in terms of its management. The structure and areas of work of CRS match to a university group of departments. CRS provides research support to members of the congress, their staffers and the committees in such diverse areas as legislative procedures, macroeconomics, taxes, regulations, international affairs, etc.

The non-partisan posture of CRS research is a crucial aspect of its existence. While presenting research, analysis or advice to members of congress or committees on an issue, CRS does not and cannot take a position along either of the party lines. When a research work is produced for a member or a committee, an immediate supervisor of an analyst or researcher checks it for neutrality. While regular briefs, reports and analysis are prepared by CRS, special requests also frequent CRS from the members of the congress or their staffers. Special requests are often asked and taken as exclusive.

Another aspect of CRS' work is to run regular trainings about rules of procedure of Congress for the staffers and new members each time they are elected. In addition, CRS also holds subject area briefings for the members of congress and their staffers. There is a continuous series of staff training programmes for congressional and committee staffers. CRS also regularly works on the rules of procedure of Congress to see they sufficiently fulfil the requirements of the Congress.

In terms of its work with committees, CRS also provides strategy advice to committees. It also produces exclusive reports for committees on request that serve as the basis of committee decisions. CRS staff is also asked to testify on an issue for the information of Congress or its committees.

Answering a query about the sources of information for CRS for analysis of foreign country situations, Mr. Kronstadt responded that other than Press, relevant sources as state department, USAID and CIA etc are also used and analysts generally know who to call for information at the right place. Lobbying initiatives also continually remain in touch with CRS but the objectivity and independence of analyst depends on the fact that they do not get influenced by them. There is immense interest in members of Congress about Pakistan. While Indian lobbyists and Indian community continue to e-mail on issues relating to India, Pakistani community or lobbyists as opposed to that are not as active, he said.

Answering another query about CRS' role in the amendments to Congressional rules and the role of the Speaker's office in it, Mr. Kronstadt said that unlike the British System, it is the Parliamentarian's Office, instead of the Speaker's Office which is involved with the change of rules. Parliamentarian's office is a neutral entity; as the appointed official, the Parliamentarian's chief duty and responsibility is to advise the Presiding Officer on parliamentary aspects of Congress activity. The Parliamentarian advises individual members, committees and committee staffs and is called upon by other branches of Government, the press, and the public for information regarding procedural aspects of Congress. Parliamentarian's office is happy to share its burden with CRS. Rules are reviewed and if changes required, they can be facilitated. For the most part, however, congressional rules are taken as divine; Congress agrees to ignore rules whenever they get in the way instead of changing them. But every two year, the House of Representatives has a chance to review or amend the rules. However, amendments are never made in fundamentals, he added. In addition the Rules Committee has the power to rewrite rules at will and the majority party can and does rewrite rules as and when required.

Answering a question of what is the difference between CRS and a think-tank, Mr. Davis responded that the CRS is funded by Congress as opposed to think-tanks which are run by contributions from organisations and individuals with ideological leanings that reflect into the agendas of think-tanks. At the CRS, there are no ideological positions and CRS does not advise Congress on what it should do but merely presents situations as they are.

Mr. Davis, in answer to another question on what are the items that traditionally cannot be discussed or voted upon in a budget, said that generally old age pension and medicare, etc. are such topics. On defence, every Congress has to pass a bill to first legalise defence and then allocate money for it, adding that it is done in the spirit to show that Congress is really in-charge as representatives of the public over defence.



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On discussing current issues with Pakistani legislators as a response to their queries Mr. Kronstadt commented that if Democrats win the presidency in United States the shift in US relations with Pakistan may be seen on the issues of democracy and nuclear proliferation. He also said that there are no changes in CRS after the change in government as CRS was created to balance the legislative branch. In terms of understanding on the part of congress for Pakistan's cooperation with the US on anti-terrorism front, he said that Congress has questions about full cooperation of Pakistan as opposed to the Administration which is fully confident of complete support of Pakistan. Congress does not have a unified voice on the issue, he added.

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A group of delegates at the Lincoln Memorial

Tour of Washington D.C

The delegation was given a guided tour of Washington D.C. as part of the programme of the Study Tour. The tour mainly included visit to sites such as Arlington Cemetery, Washington Monument, Jefferson Memorial, World War II Memorial and Lincoln Memorial, etc. A brief history behind each monument, memorial and building was given to the delegation by a tour guide.

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Introduction to State Legislative Process before departure to Virginia and Pennsylvania

Introduction to State Legislative Process

by Mr. John Doyle (D-WV) West
Virginia Delegate District 57

As a way of imparting understanding of the state legislative process in the US to the Pakistani delegation, Mr. John Doyle invited questions and answered them. The session was held immediately preceding the departure of the Pakistani delegation to the two state legislatures of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Initially the division of subjects between the federation and the states was that the centre was responsible for defence, postal system and water ways, but gradually that list has increased to include many more areas now under the jurisdiction of the centre in the United States, said Mr. Doyle.

There are tensions, resentments and encroachments in the role and boundaries of federation, state and the local level, especially with the role of federal government growing through schemes like 'no child

left behind scheme' in education, and the role of local governments increasing, he added.

Answering a question on division of resources between the federal, state and local system, he said that it is a competitive situation. Federal government determines major things and people pay income tax to federal government, sales tax to state governments and property tax to local governments.

In terms of public interest in politics, average person knows enough about the system but does not have the time, he held. State Legislatures generally have 4 major committees and dozen minor committees on topical areas. The legislative system is replicated in the state legislatures with similar tensions between the roles of state legislature and the state governors. Committees have the powers to determine main and departmental budgets and where the money will come from. Governor's budget can be changed too while the governor can only strike out but cannot add to the budget. In part time legislatures such as Virginia, the budget process spans over 60 calendar days with permission to increase the days.

Answering a query as to what are the basis of the identity of the states, Mr. Doyle responded that mainly geography has divided states as they are. If American people want to do way with state boundaries, they can. In terms of the average problems of people that the state legislators have to face in their constituency, he said that generally there are issues of growth and issues along institutional lines than personal.

Visit to the State Capitol of Virginia at Richmond

Historical Tour of the Capitol

The two day programme of the visit to Richmond, the state Capitol of Virginia, began with a historical tour of the capitol highlighting the historical value of the building of the state legislatures, designed by famous Thomas Jefferson, and the historical evolution of the state legislature of Virginia. The Virginia General Assembly is the oldest, continuous English speaking lawmaking body in the New World and the first session of the Virginia legislature took place in 1619. The present capitol building, the delegates were told, ranks as the second oldest working capitol in the US, having been in continuous use since 1779.

The programme of the tour also included visits and tours of the Supreme Court and the Governor's Mansion. Major features of the programme included overview of the General Assembly of Virginia which is the official name of the State Legislature of Virginia; meetings and discussions with General Assembly Members, staffers of the State legislature, the Governor's office, Senate Finance and House Appropriations Committees and meetings with the members of the Press, Lobbying organisations and the Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission. Appendix C carries the List of the Group that visited Richmond, Virginia while the following paragraphs report the main features of the various meetings of the programme.

Overview of the General Assembly

Presenting an overview of the General Assembly of Virginia, Mr. Nathan Hatfield, Information Officer of the Senate and Ms. Shara Vernor, Information and Public Relations Officer of the House of

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Group Members in the House of Delegates

Delegates said that the House of Delegates has 100 members while the Senate has 40 members. Being a part-time legislature, the General Assembly meets annually for 60 days in even-numbered years and for 30 days in odd-numbered years with an option to extend the annual session for a maximum of 30 days. The General Assembly, which includes both the House and the Senate, has the power to levy taxes, enact laws not specifically prohibited by the state or federal constitutions, confirm governor's appointment of state agency heads and board members, approve the budget, elect state Supreme Court Justices, Court of Appeals, Circuit and District Court Judges and the members of the Judicial Inquiry and Review Commission, elect the Auditor of Public Accounts, the commissioners of the State Corporation Commission and members of the Virginia Workers' Compensation Commission.

State/Local Government Relations and Jurisdictions

Speaking on State/Local Government Relations and Jurisdictions, Delegate Floyd H. Miles said that from the point of view of the general public, a clear distinction of roles does not exist between state and the local government. However as far as the two work in accordance with their jurisdiction, this confusion is not of paramount importance. Compared to a politically distributed House which has according to the current count, 61 Republicans, 37 Democrats and 2 Independent members, the Local Government is mostly non-partisan. Explaining the systems in the House of Delegates, he said that it follows strict protocols with seniority numbers attached to every delegate. The lower the attached number, the higher the seniority while the seating in the House is also based on seniority. The General Assembly carries out most of its work through the Committees with the Appropriations Committee in the House and Finance Committee in the Senate as the most sought after. The Joint

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Assembly meets at the start of each session in which the Governor reports to the General Assembly on the condition of the state. The Joint Assembly is held in the Chamber of the Delegates and is presided over by the Speaker of the House. Budget needs to be passed by both houses of the General Assembly and a Compromise Committee exists, comprising members of the two houses, to remove any deadlocks that may be created over bills or other issues between the two houses, he said.

Tour of the Supreme Court

Mr. Douglas B. Robelen, Chief Deputy Clerk of the Supreme Court of Virginia conducted a tour of the Pakistani delegation to the Supreme Court of Virginia while highlighting its role. He briefed the delegation that the Supreme Court is the highest court in the judicial system of Virginia. The primary purpose of the Supreme Court is to review decisions of lower courts in which appeals have been allowed. The Supreme Court decides the constitutionality of laws and determines whether laws are properly

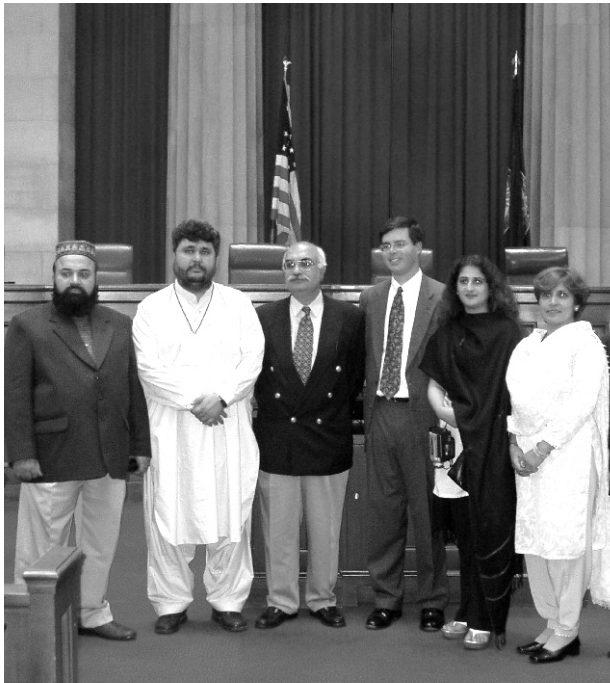
applied and interpreted. He explained that the Supreme Court consists of 7 judges each of whom has the title of a justice. These justices are elected by the joint vote of the two houses of the General Assembly. The Supreme Court also has original jurisdiction in matters filed by the Judicial Inquiry and Review Commission relating to judicial censure, retirement and removal of judges, he concluded.

Tour of the Executive Mansion

The delegates were also given a tour of the main floor of the Executive Mansion of Virginia which is the official residence of the Governor of Virginia since 1813. Governor of Virginia is elected every four years. The Governor's Mansion is said to be the oldest governor's residence still used for its original purpose.

Office of the Governor

Later, the Group was briefed about the Governor's Office and its work by Ms. Suzette Denslow, Deputy Director of Policy. Ms. Denslow said that Governor is the Chief Executive Officer in Virginia and under the Constitution; he/she is elected for a four year term and cannot serve for more than two consecutive terms. As the executive head, the Governor is responsible for the execution of the state laws, for the preparation of a biennial budget and appointment of executive agency heads and members of over 300 boards, commissions and advisory councils. The Governor has the authority to recommend legislation to the General Assembly and veto any bill approved by the legislature. The legislature can also veto Governor's decision but requires a two thirds majority in each House to be able to achieve that. In order to introduce a bill, the Governor has to pick a Senator to present it in the Legislature. Governor has a lobbyist whose job is to ensure facilitation of Governor's agenda and cordial relations with the legislature. Speaking of the current Governor Mr. Mark R. Warner, a Democrat, she said that he is a proactive Governor and is the chosen representative of 50 States on Education. She held that education is a state subject and there is a friction on the federal government's role in education policy



Group Members in the Supreme Court



Listening to briefing about Finance and Appropriations Committees and the Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission

versus that of the states' role. Answering a query about Governor's salary, she replied that it stands at US \$ 120,000 in the budget.

Senate Finance and House Appropriations Committees

Ms. Betsy Daley, Director Senate Finance Committee and Mr. Robert Vaughan, Director House Appropriations Committee briefed the Pakistani delegation about the working of the two most important committees of the General Assembly of Virginia. In a formal presentation to the delegation, they said that the budget process is a complex one and mainly handled through the committees. Only the General Assembly can raise taxes and appropriate revenues. In an even year session, biennial budget for succeeding two year period is approved and in odd year session, amendments to biennial budget are considered along the lines of pay raises and increases resulting from enrolment growth. Legislative Commissions and Study Committees review programmes and develop policy.

The two staffers were of the view that the legislative

initiatives tend to be more focused and longer-lasting than governors.' In the House of Delegates, the Finance Committee prepares the tax policy and the Appropriations Committee decides on the spending side. In the Senate both these duties are combined under the Finance Committee. The Governor prepares the budget in line with campaign priorities and defines its priorities and initiatives. The legislature, which has to pass the budget, takes a longer view of the budget in line with prior commitments. In this scenario, the role of the legislative staff is to critically examine the budget and develop alternative approaches and funding policies. In a part-time legislature, these committees have full time staff and meet regularly every month when the legislature is not in session. The Staffers provide their committees with independent source of information and recommendations and alternatives regarding funding and revenue decisions. Before the committees had their own staff, the Governor would lend his/her staff to the committees to be able to review the budget. The real job of the legislative staff is to peel off PR from the budget that is prepared by the Governor and present it in its actual

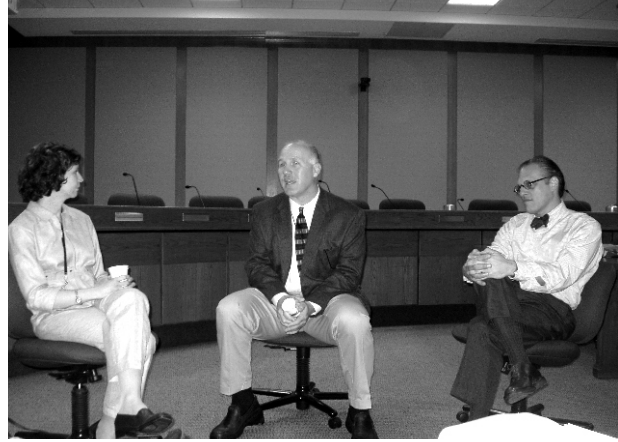
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shape and analysis to the committees. However both the Governor and the General Assembly work on the margins and the budget is driven by prior commitments, federal law funding formulas and population/enrolment, etc.

Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission

The Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission (JLARC) is one of the Legislative Commissions established under the Code of Virginia as Virginia's approach to Legislative Oversight. It mainly works in the area of legislative performance auditing and evaluation assisting the General Assembly. Dr. Gregory Rest gave a briefing about the role of Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission to the Pakistani delegation.

Established under the Legislative Branch, the JLARC has 15 members, 9 of which work with the House, 5 with the Senate and 1 as ex-officio. The JLARC staff are selected on a non-partisan and non-political basis and work to promote efficiency, effectiveness and economy in State Government. With the experience of research and fiscal analysis on the staff of the JLARC, it is equipped to undertake research and study and recommend to the State Legislature on issues relating to legislative oversight. The topics of study of JLARC are selected through four ways: Joint Resolution of General Assembly; Appropriation Act Language; Direct Request of the Commission through topic selection process and Special request of General Assembly member to the Commission. The JLARC, emphasised Dr. Rest, has researched and conducted studies on topics such as what are the factors and practises associated with high student performance in the public schools; How well the State Agency for Environment doing its job and Why was there US \$ 1.2 billion budget shortfall where revenues actually collected were far less than what was forecasted 1 or 2 years before, etc. Like a good research and study organisation committed to providing support to legislature in oversight, JLARC follows a systematic set of research process to ensure quality and relevance through a diligent use of research and analysis methods, he said. After JLARC



Ms. Christina Nuckols, Mr. Bob Lewis & Mr. Jeff Schapiro

studies are complete, formal briefings are made to legislative committees, Agency under study and public and other interested organisations. The Commission reports to receive staff report for printing and distribution.

The Role of the Press

Programme of the Tour also included a brief interaction of the Pakistani delegation with the local press to understand the relationship of the press vis-à-vis the Legislature. Mr. Jeff Schapiro of Richmond Times Dispatch, Ms. Christina Nuckols of Virginian Pilot and Mr. Bob Lewis of Associated Press interacted with the delegation. In explaining the Press' relationship with the State Legislature, the journalists opined that the role of the press is that of a watchdog as well as of a reporter of events. With transparency culture in the political process there is complete disclosure if a candidate spends a million US dollars on a campaign. Press, however, is working in a tight situation. Interest in Newspaper reading is going down and credibility is also an issue. In discussing the question of public interest in politics, the journalists said that the interest of the public is waning in politics. There is also confusion in American public on what are the clear roles of a member of the Congress, a State Legislature and a local government representative. Locally, legislators are still expected to fix potholes and remove dead animals from the streets in front of their

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Roundtable Discussion with General Assembly Members

constituents' houses.

Lobbying for Education

The Pakistani delegation interacted with a group of lobbyists working in the different sectors of education to understand the institution of lobbying and how it operates with the State Legislature.

The participants of the discussion explained that interest groups and lobbyists, both paid and unpaid, according to their own objectives, create legislative programmes and agendas based on their objectives. These legislative agenda are then lobbied with individual legislators working on relevant committees and their chairs. The interest groups and lobbying organisations also influence their area delegate for their objectives. On the other side, the legislators also look towards such interest groups and lobbyists to brief them about their position. Policies are created or amended through a matching of minds.

Roundtable Discussion with General Assembly Members

As a concluding point to the visit, a roundtable discussion was arranged through which the Pakistani delegation could interact with their counterparts in the State Legislature of Virginia. The State Legislators included Senator Benjamin J. Lambert, Senator Stephen H. Martin, Senator Henry L. Marsh and Delegate Franklin P. Hall.

The discussion concluded with exchange of mementoes by the Pakistani Parliamentarians and the Virginia Legislators.

Visit to the State Capitol of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg

The two day programme of the visit to Harrisburg, the state Capitol of Pennsylvania included visits and tours of The Pennsylvania Capitol that houses the State Legislature, the Supreme Court and the Governor's Office; Meetings with the Justices of the Supreme Court, Lieutenant Governor, Adjutant and Deputy Adjutant General, Secretary of Labour and Industry, Chief of Staff for General Services, Chief of Staff for Governor's Office, Representatives, Inspector General and the Speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. Appendix D carries the List of the Group that visited Harrisburg, Pennsylvania while the following paragraphs report the main features of the various meetings of the programme.

Historical Tour of The Pennsylvania Capitol

The programme began with a historical tour of The Pennsylvania Capitol, which is the functional seat of the Pennsylvania government and houses the State Legislature, the Supreme Court and the Governor's Office, noted the Group. The guided tour highlighted the historical value of the building of the state legislatures, designed by architect Joseph Miller Houston and termed by President Roosevelt as the 'handsomest capitol' he ever saw at its dedication ceremony. The building was officially opened in 1906. The tour of the building included visit to the Rotunda, the House Chamber where the House of Representatives meets; the Senate Chamber, where the Pennsylvania Senate meets; the Supreme Court; the Governor's Reception Room which is used by the Pennsylvania governor for news conferences, meetings and receptions; the East Wing which houses around 100 legislative offices, rooms for public hearings and a public cafeteria and the Soldier's Grove, dedicated to Pennsylvania veterans.



The Group with the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania

The tour highlighted the various artefacts, paintings and the adorned ceilings and walls painted and designed by various famous artists of the time.

Meeting with the Justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania

The Supreme Court is the highest court of the State and consists of seven judges including the chief justice. In the Group's meeting with the Justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the Group learnt that the judges of the Supreme Court are elected by the people, campaign the same way as legislators and require party and financial support too for their elections. Answering a query whether financial support by public is given in return for a promise of help, the justice said that the public supports the elections of judges on the basis of ideology and choice of leadership and not for any vested interests. If the funding is tied up with any

vested interests, it ought to be refused, he believed. Such conflict of interest almost never occurs in the case of judges, but if it does, the judge or justice in question has to step down, he added.

Meeting with Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania and Proceedings of the Senate

The Group had a meeting with Ms. Catherine Baker Knoll, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, who is the first female lieutenant governor of the state. Ms. Knoll briefed the group about the responsibilities and the roles of the governor and the lieutenant governor. Ms. Knoll also explained the working of the Senate to the Group and took them to a tour of the Senate Chamber where the Senate Session was to begin chaired by her.

Upon the start of the Session of the Session, the Lieutenant Governor as the President of the Senate



The Group during a discussion

announced the presence of the Pakistani delegation seated in the visitor's gallery of the Senate Chamber. The Lieutenant Governor identified each member of the Pakistani Group by name and all the Senators present stood on their seats, turned their faces to the visitor's gallery and gave a standing ovation to the Pakistani delegation as a welcome to the Senate of Pennsylvania. Followed by this, the Senate Leader of the Majority and the Senate Leader of the Minority welcomed the delegation in their respective welcome speeches to the delegation thanking Pakistan for its support to the US for its war against terrorism.

Luncheon Meeting with Adjutant and Deputy Adjutant General Military and Veteran Affairs

The Group had a luncheon meeting with Jessica Major General Wright, Adjutant General of Pennsylvania and Robert Brigadier General French, Deputy Adjutant General Military and Veteran Affairs. Major General Jessica Wright welcomed the Group to Pennsylvania. She informed the group that she was a part of Governor's cabinet and represented the National Guard. Briefing the Group about the National Guard, she said that the National Guard serve under command from the State Government but also have links with the federal government and can serve abroad. The arms and ammunition and the competence level of the National Guard is same as that of Armed Forces at

the federal level. Describing her experiences as a female officer in response to a query, she said that during her career, she did not experience any sexual harassment from her colleagues. However if harassment occurs, serious action is taken immediately against it.

Meeting with Secretary of Labour and Industry

According to the schedule, the Group also held a meeting with Mr. Stephen Schmerin, Secretary of Labour and Industry and a few members of his staff. The secretary briefed the group about the Department of Labour and Industry and the role of the secretary. The Group learnt during its interaction with the Secretary that the departments of local, state and federal governments experience similar tensions in their relationships and work as is experienced in Pakistan between these three tiers of government. The major feature of the success of the system in the US, however, is that there is acceptance on the part of each tier of the role of the other and a major emphasis is placed on consultations to do away with confusions and overlapping where it exists. The secretary also informed the Group about the state of employment and industry in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Meeting with Chief of Staff of General Services

The Group held a meeting with Ms. Anne Rung,



Presenting a Memento to Adjutant General



Meeting with Inspector General of Pennsylvania

Chief of Staff of General Services who briefed the Group about her role in the government. She said that her role is to look at the overall financial environment and expectations and economise on the spending without sacrificing quality standards. She also informed the Group about the effectiveness of the approach used by her to economise spending through centralising the purchase of the stationary as an example of her work and area of her assistance to the government.

Meeting with Deputy Chief of Staff of Governor's Office

The Group was given a briefing about the role of the governor and its office in a meeting with the Chief of Staff of the Governor's Office. Major emphasis of the Office's work is placed on relations between the government and the General Assembly: Senate and the House of Representatives. The Chief of Staff said that these relations on various issues and policies are constructed and maintained through active negotiations and compromise strategies on both sides. He believed that both sides are aware that they have to be answerable to their electorate in terms of their performance towards improving the lives of their electorates. Hence, not only major

emphasis is placed on policies that address constituents' issues and concern their lives, but efforts are made, both by the Governor's office and the legislators, to negotiate and agree to resolve issues.

Roundtable Discussion with Representative Patricia H. Vance and Peter C. Wambach, Executive Director Bi-Partisan Management Committee and former Member of House of Representatives

The Group held a roundtable discussion with Representative Patricia H. Vance and Peter C. Wambach, Executive Director Bi-Partisan Management Committee and former Member of House of Representatives on understanding the concept and role of the Bipartisan Management Committee. Major responsibilities of the committee include overseeing and executing the functions assigned to the committee by law that include administrative, business and fiscal management of the House of Representatives. The Group was informed that the Bi-Partisan Management Committee was created under the Act of 104 of 1979 and comprises the Speaker, who serves as its chairman; the Majority and Minority Leader; and the Majority and Minority Whips. Two executive

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directors appointed by the five leaders administer the facilities, resources and multitude of services available to members and staff in a strictly non-partisan basis.

Meeting with Inspector General of Pennsylvania

In the Group's meeting with Mr. Donald L. Patterson, Inspector General of Pennsylvania, Mr. Patterson informed the Group that the role of his office is to maintain public confidence in governing by combating fraud, waste, misconduct and abuse in programmes, operations and contracts of agencies under the Governor's jurisdiction and by combating fraud in federal and state benefit programmes. The office of the Inspector General investigates activities relating to fraud, waste and misconduct in executive agencies and recommends policies for detecting, deterring, preventing and eradicating fraud, etc. in the executive agencies. He informed the Group that in 2002-2003 alone, the office of Inspector General saved and collected over US \$ 171.1 million. The office works with the assistance of professional white collar crime investigators, he informed the Group.

Meeting with Speaker and Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives

In the Group's meeting with the Speaker of the House of Representatives Mr. John Perzel and the Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives Mr. Clancy M. Myer Jr., the Group was informed about the working of the House of Representatives, its rules and traditions. The Pennsylvania House of Representatives is America's first independent Legislative body. The membership of the House stands at 203 who represent nearly 60,000 Pennsylvanians, the Group was informed. The rules of procedures and traditions are mostly conventions and rules as used more than three centuries ago. Members face re-election in November of even-numbered years which makes it the shortest term of any public office in Pennsylvania and is intended to keep representatives in close touch with their electorates. In a month following a general election,



Exchanging mementos with members & staffers

Republican and Democratic Members select their leaders and organise their caucuses. The party with more members is the Majority Caucus. Each caucus chooses a Floor Leader as its spokesperson, a Whip and five other officers: Caucus Chairman, Caucus Secretary, Policy Chairman, Caucus Administrator and Appropriations Chairman. The floor leaders and others in leadership positions keep their caucuses unified to gain passage of legislation approved by their members. The Majority Leader prepares the calendar, or weekly House schedule of bills, advance notice of which is provided to Members. Each House Member has an equal right to submit legislation and to debate on the floor. Each bill introduced in the House goes to a committee for analysis before its brought back to the House for vote.

Role of the Parliamentarian is to inform the Speaker about the rules of procedures, conventions and traditions during the sessions where necessary. The Parliamentarian stands next to the Speaker during Session for this purpose. The Parliamentarian informed that during the last 2 years, 5000 bills were introduced into the House while only 300 of those were passed. Budget of Pennsylvania is US \$ 67 M out of which US \$ 22 M is generated by the State while US \$ 45 M comes from the federal

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government.

In discussing the role of politics into the state legislature, the Speaker said that compromise and negotiations are the hallmarks of working of Legislatures with the Governors. He said that his party sometimes blames him for compromising with the Governor on the resolution of conflicts, but held that negotiations and compromise were the only way to move forward on policy issues. The Group noted that the nature of conflicts between Legislatures, Governors and Local Government is similar to Pakistan but the leadership takes these conflicts as part of politics and resolves these through dialogue.

The Speaker also said that the voter or the constituent does not talk about big issues but local issues so the focus of legislation and policies also remains essentially local for the legislators. In answering a query about the budget process, he said that the budget is presented in the first week of February and goes to Appropriations Committee which holds public hearing on it for three weeks. After that both the parties meet and hold a dialogue towards compromise and finally the budget is passed in June, thereby making it a 5-month long budget process in the Pennsylvania State Legislature, he added.

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Delegation sharing lessons of the States visits

Discussion and Debriefing of State Visits

Upon return of the two groups of the delegation from their separate visits to the State Legislatures of Virginia and Pennsylvania, a discussion and debriefing session was organised facilitated by Mr. Serge Duss of World Vision US and Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, PILDAT. Delegates belonging to both groups were asked to summarise their learning and interaction during these visits.

Major points discussed by the delegates in the debriefing session included:

- i. State-Local Relations
- ii. State-Federal Relations
- iii. Legislature-Executive Relations
- iv. Working of the State Legislatures, rules of procedures and support system available to legislators

Delegates from both groups unanimously believed



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that the two visits were very well organised and gave them the opportunity to study the legislative systems and procedures in detail. The visits also provided opportunities to experience the demarcation of roles and the separation of powers between state legislatures, local governments, and judiciary.

Major lesson to be learnt from the two visits, believed delegates, was the institutionalised support available to legislators at these legislatures in the shape of facilities, staff and research support. Also notable were the linkages with the public, lobbying groups and the media helping the process of public-friendly legislation. Appreciating the systems of checks and balances at both legislatures, the delegates noted that the governance structure worked smoothly despite majority of one party in the legislature while the office of the Governor occupied by the other party.

Delegates also noted that the state governments in the two states were grappling with issues of federal government's encroachment in certain state subject areas such as education and health. The major focus of attention for legislators is his/her constituency, it appeared. Transparency and public access are also hallmarks of the system while public access and interest is also enhanced through page and internship programmes at these legislatures.

Concluding their observations, the delegates believed that the major attributes of the governance structures in place in two states are directly proportionate to the maturity and continuity of democracy and the developed support infrastructures at place at legislatures. Individual integrity and accountability of the electorate over the legislatures while legislative accountability of the executive are excellent examples of a mature system, they believed.

Commenting on the observations of the delegates towards the end, Ms. Julie Koenen Grant, Senior Governance Advisor USAID said that the governance system in place owes its shape to the maturity. The system and structures have to be flexible enough to change with time so that those

practising it can review it from time to time if it is serving the purpose instead of becoming slaves to the system. Pakistan is not a pure Parliamentary democracy, but is a hybrid system today, she said. If Parliamentary democracy does not work for a country like Pakistan, it can decide not to follow it and instead bring in a system the people believe is most suited to the country's governance needs, she believed.

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Meeting with Principal and Vice President of Jefferson Government Relations

Introduction to Lobbying

An Introduction to Lobbying and how it operates in the United States was made in a presentation made by Mr. Tom Donnelly and Mr. John Desser, Principal and Vice President respectively of Jefferson Government Relations, a lobbying firm in Washington D.C.

Introducing the concept of lobbying in the United States, they said that interest groups such as industry and consumers, trade associations, individual companies, consumer groups and even foreign countries seek professional help of lobbying firms to propagate for their particular stance and ideas with the legislators and various branches of government. Lobbying is federally regulated through various laws

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and acts defining its ethics and boundaries. All lobbying firms have to register themselves. The size of lobbying in the US can be ascertained from the number of registered lobbying organisations which stands at over 32000 with the total spending in the last six months of 2003 at more than US \$ 1 billion. Other than big businesses and industries, non-government organisations and alliances for social causes also lobby with the Congress and its relevant committees for voicing their concerns and winning support for their agendas.

In answering a query about foreign governments' lobbying, Mr. Donnelly said that according to registered records, the Government of India is retaining 4 lobbying firms while the Government of Pakistan is retaining 2 lobbying firms for the purpose. In addition, lobbying is also undertaken by expatriate groups of the two countries residing in the US.

Answering another set of questions, Mr. Desser said that Jefferson Government Relations has rarely funded elections on both sides of a race but such a situation can arise. Major emphasis on lobbying is placed on the lobbyist's relationships and the trust a lobbyist enjoys with all parties, he believed. Major part of a lobbyist's work is based on building relationships with stakeholders and spending time with them. Successful lobbyists get clients through word of mouth and do not have to spend a fortune on publicity, he added.

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At a discussion with Mr. Gene Sperling and Ms. Carolyne Bartholomew

Lobbying for Education

As a case study of how lobbying works in the US on social issues such as education, the delegation was given a briefing by Mr. Gene Sperling, Senior Fellow and Director Center for Universal Education at the Council on Foreign Relations and Ms. Carolyne Bartholomew, Director for Basic Education Coalition.

Mr. Sperling, who has served as National Economic Advisor to President Clinton from 1996-2000 and represented Clinton Administration at the 2000 UN World Education Forum in Dakar, emphasised that the Center for Universal Education seeks to further strategic thinking on how to achieve universal education by producing accessible policy analysis and facilitating on-going discussions between donor countries, aid organisations and developing nations on the issues critical to promoting basic education in the developing world. The Center for Universal Education also plays a role among research and aid organisations in highlighting the need for a global compact between donor and developing countries to achieve universal education by the year 2015.

STUDY TOUR REPORT

In throwing light on the mission and working of the Basic Education Coalition, Ms. Bartholomew said that scattered groups working in the field of education existed in DC but there was no single platform through which they could lobby for the cause of education which brought about the creation of the Coalition. The coalition's mission is to raise priority among governments, donor organisations and private sector for support of quality basic education for all as an essential means of promoting economic development and human well being. A coalition of about 20 organisations working in the field of education and other areas, the organisation lobbies on the Capitol Hill for these causes on behalf of these organisations, she added.

Major lobbying work of these entities is through focus on the Appropriations Committee of Congress. Regular newsletters and bookmarks are sent to members of Congress and other stakeholders in this regard.

In answering queries of the delegates, Mr. Sperling said that Pakistan figures into the agenda of the two organisations as all developing countries do but the mission of the organisations is not country-specific. Congress has a huge focus on Pakistan anyway, he added due to the war on terror and the impact of religious schools as is seen here in Washington D.C. If Pakistan was to project itself in need of education reform, the entire congressional focus would shift towards Pakistan due to self-interest at present, he added.

Members of the delegation believed that there was a greater need to understand the education system in Pakistan and the huge gap filled by religious madrassahs as contrary to western belief, not all religious madrassahs were spreading religious hatred and teaching terrorism. Organisations such as Center for Universal Education and Basic Education Coalition, while they lobby for universal basic education, need to acknowledge the value and role of religious schools in promoting basic education in countries like Pakistan, they felt.

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Meetings and Tours

The Programme of the Study Tour also included meetings of the delegation with Senator Chuck Hagel (R-Nebraska) who is a member of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Senior staffers of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Congressman Adam Smith (D-Washington), Congressman Pete Hoekstra (R-Michigan) and Ms. Christina Rocca, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia.

Major subjects discussed during these meetings included US policies towards Pakistan in particular and the Muslim world in general; US War on Iraq and the congressional view on it; US support to military government in Pakistan and for strengthening democracy; nuclear proliferation, etc. Pakistani delegates were interested in learning about the difference in the approaches of Republican and Democrat congress members on some of these issues with special reference to the likely difference in approach in the event the US Presidency was won by the Democrat challenger Senator John Kerry.



Delegates with Senator Chuck Hagel

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The Delegation with Ms. Christina Rocca

Meeting with Senator Chuck Hagel (R-Nebraska)

In meetings with Senator Chuck Hagel and the staffers of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it was highlighted that the committee was instrumental in approving candidates for ambassadors and key foreign relations posts around the world. Membership in the committees reflected the percentage of parties in the House. Staffers assigned to the committee were also picked up on the same basis as those working for democrats and republicans while the size of the staff on each side also reflected the percentage of party majority in a committee. Policy differences are not discussed on party basis but on the basis of issues while efforts are undertaken to make the committee bipartisan in its approach. In answering a query about the issue of President General Pervez Musharraf keeping his uniform while serving as President in Pakistan, the staffers replied that the issue was discussed in a closed-door meeting of the committee.

Meeting with Congressman Adam Smith (D-Washington)

Meeting with Congressman Adam Smith (D-

Washington) mainly discussed issues of Democrats' approach to key policies in the country and the world. Presenting an overview of the working of Congress, Congressman Smith said that the majority party in the Congress acts as king and major battles are fought between House and the Senate. Answering a query about the difference of approach towards Iraq war in case of a democratic win of the presidency, Congressman Smith responded that a large number of US troops are occupied in Afghanistan and Iraq and people are reluctant to join armed forces now; hence no matter which of the two candidates wins Presidential elections, a reduction in troops will take place.

Brief Meeting with Congressman Pete Hoekstra (R-Michigan)

A brief chat of the delegation with Congressman Pete Hoekstra (R-Michigan) who is the chair of Select Committee on Intelligence mainly consisted of queries about the intelligence report leading to US invasion of Iraq and the necessary reform in the intelligence services resulting from that.

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Congressman Adam Smith with the Delegation

Meeting with Ms. Christina Rocca, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia

The delegation's meeting with Ms. Christina Rocca, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, was arranged upon the invitation of Ms. Rocca. The meeting lasted over 2 hours and was held in-camera. Ms. Rocca had a candid exchange of views with the members of the delegation on issues including US support to the government of President Gen. Pervez Musharraf, deepening US discourse with political forces other than the ruling coalition and the military, US policies towards the Middle East in particular and towards the Muslim world in general, US support to strengthening democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan and the issue of nuclear proliferation and US stance on it, etc.

Ms. Rocca thanked the delegation for sharing of their views with her. The meeting ended with a group photograph of the delegation with Ms. Rocca.

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Farewell Dinner



Exchange of presents at the Farewell Dinner

Towards the end of the programme of the study tour, a formal farewell dinner was arranged for the delegation. Mr. Bruce Wilkinson, Senior Vice President World Vision US acted as a facilitator on the occasion while Mr. Mark Ward, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau of Asia and Near East, USAID, was the keynote speaker on the occasion.

Addressing the delegation, Mr. Mark Ward narrated the process leading up to the USAID's project of Strengthening National and Provincial Legislative Governance SNPLG in Pakistan under which the study tour was organised. PILDAT, he said, was the only local institution working in the field of legislative strengthening and capability building and USAID was anxious that it should be part of the proposal to which final grant is awarded.

Mr. Ward emphasised that the SNPLG project needs to focus more of its energies on provincial legislatures and legislators and he was glad that the



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delegation had a large number of provincial legislators as part of it. Major focus of these study tours is not to put Pakistani legislators under awe of the developments in the US system of governance but to expose them to best practises and demarcation of roles between federal, state and local government systems working in harmony with each other.

In the end, Mr. Mark Ward presented gift packs to the delegation on behalf of the project that included souvenirs.

Mr. Shah Mahmood Qureshi, MNA and the Chosen Leader of the Delegation also offered his vote of thanks on behalf of the delegation and presented mementos to the hosts from World Vision for their hospitality and excellent management of the study tour programme.



At the CSIS briefing

Introduction to the working of a think-tank: Center for Strategic and International Studies - CSIS

In order to introduce delegates to the system of think-tanks and how they operate in the policy-making arena of the United States, a briefing by the Center for Strategic and International Studies CSIS was arranged in the programme. Mr. Jay C. Farrar, Vice President External Affairs, Ms. Shireen T. Hunter, Director Islam Program and Ms. Huma Malik were the facilitators at the briefing.

As a think tank CSIS typically looks at regional and international security issues and policy perspectives that Congress will be looking at and analyse them for the future. There are over 200 different think-tanks working in Washington DC alone with special emphasis and specific areas of work. Each think tank, according to its own posture, researches and analyses a set of issues in its subject area and offer policy perspectives to the Congress and the Executive, informed Mr. Farrar.

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The CSIS has a staff of 200 people and its areas of focus include regional and international security issues including homeland security. CSIS typically looks at policy issues, in the areas that Congress deals with, and present analysis for the future on those issues. Currently, CSIS is working with Congress in developing proposals for reform of the intelligence community, said Mr. Farrar.

The work of CSIS remains completely non-partisan, so much so that all the staff of CSIS was told not to take sides in the presidential elections, he added. The scholars at CSIS have practical experience in legislative and executive fields and the turn over time is about 7 ½ years which ensures fresh perspective and approach to CSIS work. Annual budget of CSIS is US \$ 25 M while only 2 M comes from an endowment while the rest is earned from its research work and assignments. Major chunk of funding comes from foundations while 10-12% of it comes from US government, he informed.

In answering queries of the delegates, Mr. Farrar informed that CSIS was helping US policymakers rethink the strategy in Iraq. Ms. Hunter, in answering a query about the Islam Program of CSIS, said that it is a relatively young program and does not have a theological focus. Focus instead is on how Islam has interacted and is interacting with other social and economic forces and is shaping the Muslim world



During a discussion with Mr. Mohammad Sadiq, Deputy Chief of Mission, Pakistan Embassy

Pakistan Embassy Reception

Pakistan Embassy in Washington D.C. hosted a reception in the honour of Pakistani Parliamentary delegation. Mr. Mohammad Sadiq, Deputy Chief of Mission and Charge d' Affairs was the host on the occasion.

Upon arrival, the delegation was given a tour of the newly-constructed building of the Pakistan Embassy. Later Mr. Sadiq gave a briefing to the Pakistani delegation about the posture of the Pakistan embassy, its liaison with the Pakistani community in the United States and trade links and developments in the United States. He also answered various queries of the delegates before inviting them for refreshments.



Sharing of lessons learnt during the Study Tour

Wrap-Up: Lessons Learnt and Evaluation

Facilitated by Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, last item on the agenda of the study tour programme was the Wrap-up in the shape of sharing of delegates' views on the lessons learnt during the study tour and its evaluation in terms of achieving the desired results.

Delegates through sharing and concluding their experiences felt that the study tour offered them lessons that they would like to work on back home in their legislatures such as the provision of offices and staff and strengthening of research services, albeit at a smaller scale. They felt that donor support was required to initially support these services. Some delegates felt that the US, as a strong democracy, was required to help strengthen democracy in Pakistan and not weaken it through siding with undemocratic forces. Delegates believed that legislative study tours were a good learning tool. They felt that for maximising the potential of legislative study tours,



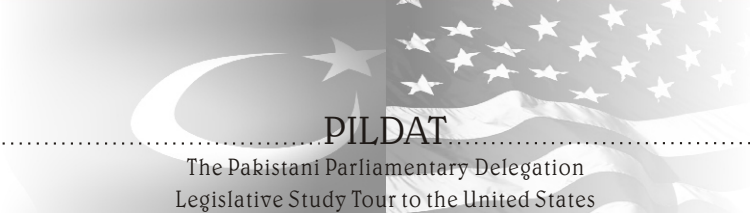
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these should also include countries that follow a parliamentary system of government.

Overall, the delegates felt that the study tour was a fruitful experience which helped them understand the American political system, its separation of powers model, the role, working and importance of Congress and its committees in terms of the power of the purse and the scrutiny and oversight of the executive, the exhaustive support infrastructure available to congress in terms of staffers, Library of Congress and the Congressional Research Service, working of state legislatures vis-à-vis the centre and the local governments, lobbying and how it influences and shapes the dynamics of American political system and the institution of think-tanks and their role in decision-making in the United States.



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APPENDIX A **Programme**



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Legislative Study Tour to the United States

STUDY TOUR REPORT

Pakistani Parliamentary Delegation LEGISLATIVE STUDY TOUR TO THE UNITED STATES

PROGRAMME
September 21 - October 04, 2004

Tuesday, September 21, 2004

Time	Activity
16:00 - 18:00	Pre-Departure Orientation by USAID at Hotel Serena, Islamabad. Pakistan
18:45 - 20:30	Pre-Departure Briefing by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pakistan at Hotel Marriott, Islamabad, Pakistan

Day 01

Wednesday, September 22, 2004

Time	Activity
07:00 - 07:30	Getting together at Hotel Marriott, Islamabad
07:30	Departure for Islamabad Airport
10:20	Departure by PK 785 to London Heathrow
14:30 (London Time)	Arrival at London Heathrow Airport
16:35	Departure by UA 925 to IAD, Washington DC
19:30 (Washington Time)	Arrival at IAD, Washington DC
	Check-In at: Hotel Marriott Key Bridge 1401 Lee Highway, Arlington, VA, 22209. Ph: (703) 524-6400



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Day 02
Thursday, September 23, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
12:30 - 14:30	<p>Formal Welcome Luncheon Facilitator: Serge Duss, Director, Public Policy and Advocacy, World Vision US (WVUS)</p> <p>Keynote Speaker: Ed Fox, Assistant Administrator, Legislative and Public Affairs, United States Agency for International Development (USAID)</p> <p>Venue: Hotel Marriott Key Bridge, The View Ballroom</p>	Formal
15:00 - 18:00	<p>Orientation to the US Legislative Process Facilitators: Walter Oleszek, Senior Specialist, Congressional Research Service; Ajunct Professor at Georgetown University; TheCapitol.Net Facilitator Venue: Hotel Marriott Key Bridge, Georgetown A and B</p>	
20:00	Dinner on your own	

Day 03
Friday, September 24, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
07:45	Departure from Hotel	Formal
08:15 - 8:30	Group Photo in front of the Capital Buiding	
09:00 - 10:20	<p>Legal Support to Congress including Global Legal Information Network (GLIN) Facilitator: Kersi B. Shroff, Chief, Western Law Division, Directorate of Legal Research, Law Library of Congress Venue: Law Library, Library of Congress, 101 Independence Ave. SE James Madison Building</p>	
10:30 - 11:45	<p>Drafting Legislation Facilitator: M. Douglass Bellis, Deputy Legislative Counsel, United States House of Representatives Venue: Law Library, Library of Congress, 101 Independence Ave. SE James Madison Building</p>	
Noon - 13:00	Lunch: Montpelier Room, Library of Congress	
13:30 - 14:30	<p>Friday Prayer at the Mosque Islamic Center, 2551 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, DC</p>	
15:00 - 16:30	<p>Research Support to Congress Facilitator: K. Alan Kronstadt, Analyst in Asian Affairs, Congressional Research Service Venue: Congressional Research Service (CRS), Jefferson Building, 101 Independence Ave. SE, Jefferson Building, Library of Congress</p>	
17:00	Return to Hotel	
20:00	Dinner (OPEN)	



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Day 04
Saturday, September 25, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker
	Free Day

Day 05
Sunday, September 26, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
09:00	Departure from Hotel	Casual
09:00 - 13:00	Morning Tour of DC	
13:30 - 15:30	Introduction to the State Legislative Process Facilitator: Representative John Doyle (D-WV) West Virginia Delegate District 57 Venue: Hotel Marriott Key Bridge, Georgetown Salon A <i>The delegates will be divided into two groups: one will visit State Legislature of Virginia and the other will visit State Legislature of Pennsylvania.</i>	
16:00	Departure of both Groups by bus to Virginia (VA) and Pennsylvania (PA) (Approximately 2.5 hours to Richmond, Virginia and 3 Hours to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) <i>(Approximately 2.5 hours to Richmond, Virginia and 3 hours to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania)</i> <i>(See Programmes for VA and PA for September 27-28, 2004 on Separate Sheets)</i>	
19:30	Group Dinner	

Day 08
Wednesday, September 29, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
09:00 - 11:00	Discussion and Debrief of State Visits Facilitators: Serge Duss, Director, Public Policy and Advocacy, WVUS and Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, Executive Director, PILDAT Venue: Hotel Marriott Key Bridge, Georgetown Salons A and B	Formal
11:30	Depart Hotel Introduction to Lobbying Facilitators: Tom Domelly, Principal JGR and John Desser, Vice President, JGR Venue: Jefferson Government Relations (JGR), 1615 L St NW Suite 650	
12:00 - 14:00		



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Day 08
Wednesday, September 29, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
14:30 - 16:30	Lobbying for Education: A Case Study of How Lobbying works in the US Facilitators: Gene Sperling, Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Universal Education, CFR Carolyn Bartholomew, Director for Basic Education Coalition Venue: Council on Foreign Relations, 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W	
19:00 - 20:00	Informal Debrief Facilitator: Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, Executive Director, PILDAT Venue: Hotel Marriott Key Bridge, Washington Room	
20:00	Dinner on your own	

Day 09
Thursday, September 30, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
09:15	Departure from Hotel	Formal
10:15 - 11:00	Meeting with Senator Chuck Hagel (R-Nebraska) Committee Member: Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs, Foreign Relations, Select Intelligence Venue: 248 Russell Senate Office Building	
11:30 - 12:30	Senior Staffers on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) Facilitators: Kim Savit, Lisa Curtis, Jonah Blank, Professional SFRC Staff Venue: 419 Dirksen Senate Office Building	
12:30 - 13:30	Lunch	
13:00	House Ways and Means Committee Meeting Venue: 1100 Longworth House Office Building	
14:15 - 14:45	Meeting with Congressman Adam Smith (D-Washington) Committee Member: Armed Services, International Relations Venue: 402 Cannon House Office Building (225-8901 Katie Kuciemba)	
15:00 - 16:15	Tour of the Capital Building Conducted by Staffers of Congressman Adam Smith	
16:30 - 17:30	Congressman Pete Hoekstra (R-Michigan) Committee Member: Education and the Workforce, Transportation and Infrastructure Committee Chair: Select Intelligence Venue: 2234 Rayburn House Office Building (225-4401 Leah Scott)	
18:30	Formal Farewell Dinner and Presentation of Gifts Facilitator: Bruce Wilkinson, Senior Vice President, WVUS Venue: Hotel Marriott Key Bridge, The View Ballroom	

STUDY TOUR REPORT

Day 10

Friday, October 01, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
09:15	Departure from Hotel	Formal
10:00 - 11:00	Center of Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Facilitators: Jay C. Farrar, Vice President External Affairs Shireen T. Hunter, Director, Islam Program Huma Malik, Fellow, Islam Program	
11:30 - 12:30	Venue: Center of Strategic and International Studies, 1800 K Street, NW Meeting with Ms. Christina Rocca, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, US Department of State Venue: Department of State, 2201 C Street NW Boxed Lunches Friday Prayer at the Mosque Islamic Center, 2551 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, DC Pakistan Embassy Reception Host: Mr. Mohammad Sadiq, Deputy Chief of Mission and Charge d'Affairs, Embassy of Pakistan, Washington DC Venue: Pakistan Embassy, 3517 International Court, NW Washington DC Wrap Up: Lessons Learned and Evaluation Facilitator: Ahmed Bilal Mehboob Venue: Hotel Key Bridge Marriott, Washington Room Dinner on your own	

Day 11

Saturday, October 02, 2004

Time	Activity
	Free morning
15:00	Check-out from Hotel Key Bridge Marriott
17:30	Departure for IAD Airport
21:30	UA 924 departs for London Heathrow



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Day 12

Sunday, October 03, 2004

Time	Activity
09:40 (London Time)	Arrival at London Heathrow
20:00	Departure for Islamabad by PK 786

Day 13

Monday, October 04, 2004

Time	Activity
07:40 (Pakistan Time)	Arrival at Islamabad Airport

STUDY TOUR REPORT

**Pakistani Parliamentary Delegation
LEGISLATIVE STUDY TOUR TO THE UNITED STATES**

PROGRAMME

September 27 - 28, 2004

Group 1: State Capitol, Richmond, Virginia

Day 06

Monday, September 27, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
08:30	Departure from Hotel	Formal
09:00	Arrive at the State Capitol Building Venue: Senate Room 4	
09:30	Historical Tour of the Capitol - Rotunda	
10:00	Overview of the General Assembly Nathan Hatfield, Information Officer, Senate Shara Varner, Information and Public relations, House of Delegates	
11:00	Venue: Senate Chamber	
12:00	State/Local Government Relations and Jurisdictions Delegate Flyod H. Miles, Charles City Venue: House Chamber	
13:30	Lunch: Bull & Bear Club	
14:30	Tour of the Supreme Court Douglas B. Robelen, Chief Deputy Clerk	
15:00		
16:30	Tour of the Governor's Mansion <i>Amy Bridge, Mansion Director</i>	
20:00	Office of the Governor Suzette Denslow, Deputy Director of Policy Venue: Senate Chamber	
	Adjourn	
	Group Dinner	

STUDY TOUR REPORT

Day 07

Tuesday, September 28, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
08:00	Departure from Hotel	Formal
09:00	Arrive at the General Assembly Building Venue: Senate Committee Room A	
9:15	Senate Finance and House Appropriations Committees Betsy Dailey, Director, Senate Finance Committee Robert Vaughn, Director, Senate Finance Committee Venue: Appropriations Committee Room, 9th Floor, GAB	
10:30	The Role of the Press Jeff Schapiro, Richmond Times Dispatch Christina Nuckols, Virginia Pilot Bob Lewis, Associated Press Venue: Senate Committee Room A	
11:15	Lobbying for Education Stella Edwards, Parent Teacher Association Bill Pruitt, Virginia Association School of Superintendents Robert Lockridge, University of Virginia Venue Senate Committee Room A	
12:00	Lunch: Downtown Club	
13:30	Roundtable Discussion with the General Assembly Members <i>Senator Benjamin J. Lambert, Richmond City</i> <i>Senator Stephen H. Martin, Chesterfield</i> <i>Senator Henry L. Marsh, Richmond City</i> <i>Delegate Franklin P. Hall, Richmond City</i> Venue: Senate Committee Room A	
16:00	Adjourn <i>Evening Departure for Washington DC</i>	
20:00	Dinner on your own	

STUDY TOUR REPORT

**Pakistani Parliamentary Delegation
LEGISLATIVE STUDY TOUR TO THE UNITED STATES**

PROGRAMME

September 27 - 28, 2004

Group 2: State Capitol, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Day 06

Monday, September 27, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
08:45	Departure from Hotel with escorts Kanchan Mahara and Anna Tkachenko	Formal
09:00 - 10:00	Historical tour of the Capitol Venue: Capital Building	
10:15 - 11:15	Meeting with Chief Justice J. Micheal Eakin, Supreme Court of PA Venue: Senate Court Room, 4th Floor, Capitol Building	
11:30 - 12:00	Meeting with Catherine Baker Knoll, Lieutenant Governor of PA Venue: Senate Chamber	
12:15 - 13:15	Lucheon with Jessica MG Wright, Adjutant General, and Robert BG French, Deputy Adjutant General, Military and Veterans Affairs Venue: Crown Plaza Harrisburg, 23 South 2nd St, Harrisburg, PA	
13:30 - 14:30	Meeting with Schmerin Stephen, Secretary of Labor and Industry	
14:45 - 15:45	Meeting with Anne Rung, Chief of Staff of General Services Venue: green Room, Main Capitol Building	
16:00 - 17:30	Break at Hotel	
18:00	Depart Hotel for Group Dinner at Hershey Convention Center	



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Day 07

Tuesday, September 28, 2004

Time	Activity/Venue/Speaker	Dress
08:50	Departure from Hotel with escorts Kanchan Mahara and Anna Tkachenko	Formal
09:00 - 09:45	Meeting with Adrian King, Chief of Staff for Governor's Office Venue: Governor's Reception room at 125 Key Stone Building	
10:00 - 11:00	Meeting with Richman Estelle, Secretary of Public Welfare	
11:15 - 12:00	Meeting with Donald L. Patterson, Inspector General of Pennsylvania	
12:15 - 13:15	Luncheon with Speaker of the house Mr. John Perzel and Clnacy Myer, Parliamentarian at 60 Venue: East Wing, Capitol Building	
15:00	<i>Afternoon Departure for Washington DC</i>	
20:00	Dinner on your own	



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The Pakistani Parliamentary Delegation
Legislative Study Tour to the United States

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APPENDIX B

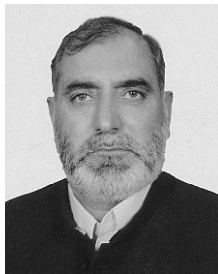
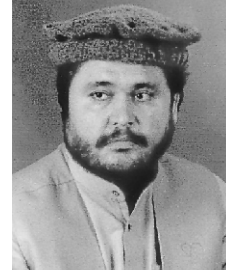
Profiles of the Delegates

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Legislative Study Tour to the United States
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Mr. Jamal Shah Kakar

Speaker, Provincial Assembly of Balochistan (Zhub-I, Balochistan, MMAP)

Mr. Jamal Shah Kakar was born on February 03, 1965 at Zhub, Balochistan. He is politically affiliated with Muttahidda Majlis-e-Amal Pakistan and was elected for his first-term as Member Provincial Assembly (MPA) in October 2002 and serves as the elected Speaker of Balochistan Assembly. Mr. Kakar holds a MSc. Chemistry degree from Balochistan University. Married, Mr. Kakar has six (6) sons and two (2) daughters.



Mr. Bakht Jehan Khan

Speaker, Provincial Assembly of NWFP (Bunair-III, NWFP, MMAP)

Born on May 02, 1953 at Village Toor Warsak, District Buner, NWFP, Mr. Bakht Jehan Khan holds Master and LLB Degrees from the Karachi University, Pakistan and is a practising lawyer. He was elected as District Council Member in 1979, 1983 and 1987. He contested general election in 1985, 1988, 1990 and 2002 and elected as Member Provincial Assembly of NWFP. Mr. Bakht Jehan Khan is politically affiliated with Muttahidda Majlis-e-Amal Pakistan - MMAP. He contested and won election for the slot of Speakership of the NWFP Assembly on November 27, 2002. He is married. He is the father of six (6) daughters and one (1) son.

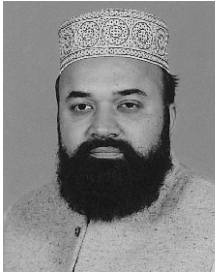
Ms. Asiya Nasir

MNA, (Non-Muslim-III, Balochistan)

Ms. Asiya Nasir was born on July 15, 1971 in Quetta. She is politically affiliated with the JUI (F) but was elected for her first term on an MMAP ticket from a seat reserved for the minorities. She holds a Masters in English Literature from Government Girls College, Quetta, Balochistan and a Certificate in Teachers Training from Notre Dame University, Karachi. Being the only minority female legislator in the National Assembly, she is very concerned about the uplift of minority women ethically, socially and economically. Educating the poor children of community is her prior interest. She is enthusiastically striving for the development of Pakistani minorities towards their progress as better citizens of Pakistan. She is a Member of the Executive Committee for the Young Parliamentarians Forum - YPF Pakistan, a member of the Standing Committee on Housing and Works and a member of Aurat Foundation. She is married with a son and two daughters.



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Jalil Ahmed

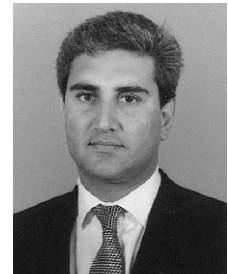
MNA, (Sheikhupura-II, Punjab, PML-N)

Mian Jalil Ahmed was born on March 06, 1962 at Sharaqpur Sharif. He is the youngest son of Pakistan's famous spiritual leader Mian Jameel Ahmed Sharaqpuri. Mian Jalil Ahmed entered in textile business in Faisalabad after obtaining Masters Degree in Economics from University of the Punjab in 1988. In 1992, he started the business of Garments export as Chief Executive of Lasani Nit. He undertook business tours of various countries and introduced Pakistani cotton garments in the World. Besides his business, Mr. Ahmed is the patron of Sher-e-Rabbani Scouts Open Group and Sharaqpur Welfare Association initiating a number of welfare works such as setting up of free dispensary, library, free supply of books and uniforms to students, etc. He began his political career in affiliation with the Pakistan Muslim League (N). He is married with two sons and two daughters.

Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Hussain Qureshi

MNA, (Multan-I, Punjab, PPPP)

Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Hussain Qureshi was born on June 22, 1956. An Agriculturalist by profession, he completed his BA in 1978 from Punjab University followed by a Masters Degree from Cambridge University, UK in 1983. Mr Qureshi was elected to the Punjab Assembly for the periods of 1985-1988, 1988-1990 and 1990-1993. As a Provincial Minister, he held the portfolios of Planning & Development from 1988 - 1990 and Finance from 1990-1993. In 1993, he was elected to the National Assembly and was appointed Chairman Prime Minister's Task Force on Agriculture. He served as Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs from 1994-1996. Mr Qureshi was also elected Chairman District Council Multan from 1987-1991 and in 2001, served as District Nazim Multan. Mr. Qureshi has been associated with organisations such as Farmers Association Pakistan (FAP), of which he is a founding member, and SOS. He is married with a son and two daughters.

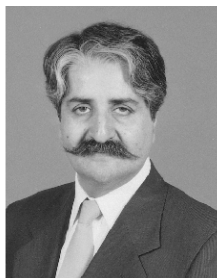
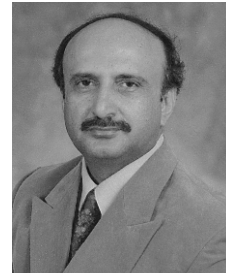


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Syed Javed Ali Shah Jillani

MNA, (Khairpur-II, Sindh, PML)

Syed Javed Ali Shah Jillani was born on May 08, 1948, in Khairpur Mir's, Sindh. He completed his B.A Hons and Masters in Political Science from University of Sindh, Jamshoro in 1970 and 1971 respectively. Mr. Jillani is politically affiliated with the Pakistan Muslim League and currently is the Parliamentary Secretary with portfolio of Production, Ministry of Industries and Production, Government of Pakistan. He is also a member of two Standing Committees in the National Assembly: Planning & Development and Local Government & Rural Development. Syed Javed Ali Shah Jillani is married and enjoys riding, reading and travelling with legislative interests in agriculture development, social welfare, tourism, economic affairs and finance. He takes active interest in social welfare work. At present, he is a patron of Red Crescent Society, Khairpur, Director Parliamentarians Commission for Human Rights, and Patron-in-Chief of NGO Coordination Council, District Khairpur.

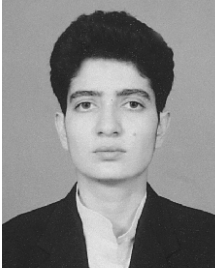


Syed Naveed Qamar

MNA, (Hyderabad-IV, Sindh, PPPP)

Mr. Qamar was born in Karachi on September 22, 1955. He started his political career with Pakistan People's Party and got elected MPA Sindh from 1988-1990. He was the provincial minister for Information during this term. He was elected as MNA for the terms 1990-1993, 1993-1996, 1997-1999 and returned to the National Assembly for his fourth term in October 2002. He served as minister for Privatization from 1993 to 1996, carrying out the largest capital market deals in South Asia at the time. He was appointed Federal Minister for Finance in 1996. He is currently the ranking opposition member of the National Assembly committees on Finance, Commerce and Rules and Privileges. Syed Naveed Qamar is a graduate in Computer Science and holds Masters Degrees in Management and Business Administration. Married, he is the father of three daughters and a son.

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Ms. Rahila Hameed Khan Durrani

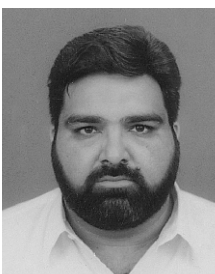
MPA, (Women, Balochistan, PML)

Ms. Rahila Hameed Khan Durrani was born on February 17, 1968. She holds a Masters in Mass Communications and an L.L.B. degree. Ms. Durrani's name is synonymous with the Women and Human Rights in Balochistan. Initially she joined journalism and was the first Pushtoon lady in the province to join this field. She remained associated with various leading newspapers and highlighted the real issues of women. She has also worked with a number of regional, national and international organisations working for the public welfare, especially women, in the province and the country. Ms. Durrani was elected as a MPA Balochistan on Women's Reserved Seat in 2002. In her capacity as a journalist, social activist, lawyer and a politician, she has represented the country at various international forums. She is a Member of National Commission on the Status of Women, National Commission on Human Development and Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.

Mr. Isrrar Ullah Khan Gandapore

MPA, (D.I.Khan-IV, NWFP, PPP)

Mr. Gandapore was born on August 06, 1975 and holds a Masters Degree in Political Science from the University of Peshawar and an M.Phil in International Relations. He has previously served as Tehsil Nazim Kulachi, NWFP under the devolution of power concept of the Musharaf Regime. As an MPA, he is the member of House Committees on Law Reforms and Control on Subordinate Legislation, Health; Law and Parliamentary Affairs and Human Rights. He is the Chairman of Standing Committee on Science Technology and Information Technology. His legislative interests include Foreign Affairs, Finance and Defence.



Mr. Kashif Azam

MPA, (Peshawar-VI, NWFP, MMAP)

Mr. Kashif Azam was born on October 02, 1971. He holds a bachelors degree from Peshawar University. His areas of legislative interests include Foreign Affairs, Health and Women Development. Mr Azam is married and has a son. He currently holds the portfolio of Population Welfare and Women Development as a Provincial Minister of NWFP.

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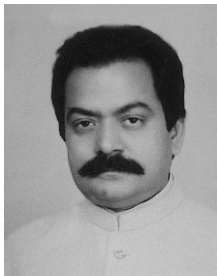
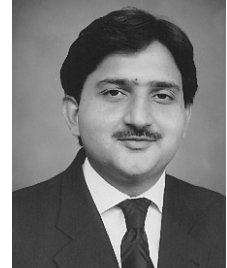
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Malik Muhammad Ahmed Khan

MPA, (Kasur-V, Punjab, PML)

Malik Muhammad Ahmed Khan was born on November 29, 1971. He holds a L.L.B (Honours) degree and is currently serving as Parliamentary Secretary for Law and Parliamentary Affairs at the Punjab Assembly. Married, Mr. Khan is the father of two sons and a daughter.



Mr. Rana Sana Ullah Khan

MPA, (Faisalabad-XX, Punjab, PML-N)

Mr. Rana Sana Ullah Khan was born on January 01, 1955 and holds a B. Com Degree from the Government College of Commerce, Faisalabad and an L.L.B. Degree from the Punjab University Law College. Mr. Khan is an advocate by profession. He has been previously elected twice as an MPA in 1990 and in 1997 from Punjab. He is the Deputy Leader of the Opposition at the Punjab Assembly. His legislative interests include Foreign Affairs, Education, Law and Religious Affairs. Mr. Khan is married and has a daughter.

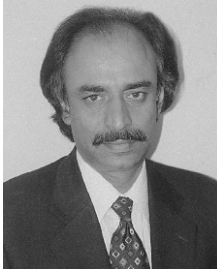
Ms. Shaheena Asad

MPA, (Women, Punjab)

Ms. Shaheena Asad was born on November 15, 1967 and holds a Masters Degree in Urdu from F.C College Lahore and Journalism from Bahauddin Zakaria University, Multan. Ms Asad is the General Secretary for 'Azim' welfare foundation and on the executive board for 'Sadaf', organisation for children with thalassemia. She is currently serving as the Chairperson of the Standing Committee for Tourism at the Punjab Assembly. Her legislative interests lie in the areas of Foreign Affairs, Education and Women's Development. She is married with one son.



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Mr. Nisar Ahmed Khuhro

MPA, (Larkana-II, Sindh, PPPP)

Mr. Nisar Ahmed Khuhro, Leader of the Opposition in the Sindh Assembly, was born on September 22, 1950. He was elected as a Member of the Provincial Assembly of Sindh for five times: 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 and 2002 from the platform of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). He has been affiliated with PPP at the district level and remained President of the District Larkana for four years; Vice President for the Province of Sindh for three years and President of the Province of Sindh for seven and a half years. He has also served as a member in the local government system. An agriculturist by profession, he holds a bachelors degree from University of Karachi. He is also involved in social welfare with patronship of various welfare organisations. He is married and is the father of five daughters. Education, Health and Women Development are his areas of legislative interest.

Syed Faisal Ali Subzwari

MPA, (Karachi-XXX, Sindh, MQM)

Mr. Subzwari was born on April 08, 1975. He holds B.B.A. Degree in Finance and a C.A. degree. Mr Subzwari completed his articleship with Fergusson & company. He has also worked as a chartered accountant with Muhammad Yousaf Adil & Company Chartered Accountants. He is married and has one daughter.



Mr. Shahiq A. Khan

Secretary, Senate of Pakistan

Mr. Shahiq A. Khan was born on October 21, 1950 at Muzaffargarh, in a respectable and educated family of the Punjab province. His father was a General in the Pakistan Army and his Grandfather the Chief Minister of West Pakistan. He has earned his Masters Degree in Political Science from the University of the Punjab. He is married with four children while his wife is a Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan. He joined the Senate Secretariat in 2003. He has worked in different departments in various capacities and has a vast experience in the field of Human Resource and top level management in private as well as government sectors. Since July 10, 2004, Mr. Shahiq A. Khan is performing as the Secretary of Senate. He has travelled extensively around the world including official visits to Algeria, Cuba, China and Fiji as part of his assignment with the Senate.

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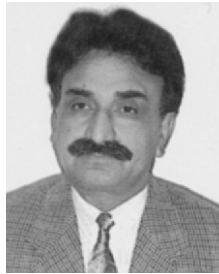
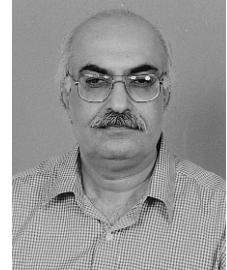
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Mr. Tariq Shafiq Khan

Additional Secretary, National Assembly

Mr. Tariq Shafiq Khan was born on March 24, 1950 at Lahore, Punjab. He graduated from Government College, Lahore in 1971 and obtained his Masters and Law degrees from University of the Punjab, Lahore in 1973 and 1974 respectively. He is a career civil servant having joined the civil service in 1974 batch. During his service he has held various senior administrative appointments both in the Secretariat and the field establishments. He is currently posted as Additional Secretary in the National Assembly Secretariat. He is married and enjoys reading books.



Mr. Muhammad Khan Mengal

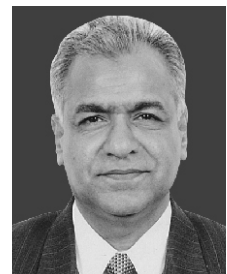
Secretary, Provincial Assembly of Balochistan

Mr. Muhammad Khan Mengal was born on July 23, 1950. He holds a Masters degree in Political Science as well as an M. Phil and an L.L.B degree from Karachi University. Mr Mengal has, to his credit, eight (8) years of practice in the field of law having practiced in both, the City Court and the Sindh High Court, Karachi. Mr. Mengal is also the Secretary to the Ad-Hoc Public Accounts Committee, Balochistan Provincial Assembly, Member of the Provincial Transitory Team and Deputy Relief Commissioner, Balochistan.

Mr. Saeed Ahmad

Secretary, Provincial Assembly of Punjab

Mr. Saeed Ahmed was born on March 05, 1947. He holds a Masters Degree in Economics from the University of Punjab. Mr Ahmed has 36 years experience of financial, administrative and parliamentary affairs in Assembly Secretariat. He has a major contribution in editing and compiling numerous publications for the Punjab Assembly. He is married and has four (4) daughters and two (2) sons.



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Ms. Bushra Jafar Malik

Governance Operations Manager,
World Vision International, Islamabad

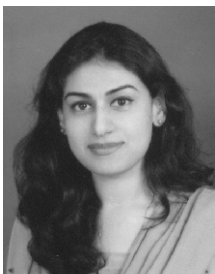
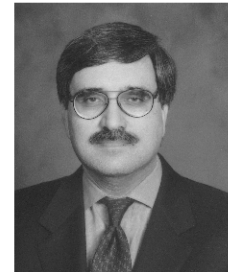
Ms. Malik's professional experience in the development sector has spanned over 13-14 years covering a diverse range of fields including rural development, gender roles, integrated programmes in planning, environment, refugee assistance, public relations, advertising and governance. Her career in the social sector has involved working with organizations such as Aurat Foundation, IUCN - The World Conservation Union, Action Aid and Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment. Ms. Malik has also spent about 3 ½ years in Uganda working with the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as a Public Information and Liaisons Officer. Ms. Malik joined World Vision in June 2004 and currently holds office as Governance Operations Manager.

Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob

Executive Director PILDAT

The founder director of the Pakistan Institute of Legislative development And Transparency PILDAT, Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob is a civil engineer by profession with over 20 years of experience in senior management positions.

Born on October 28, 1952, Mr. Mehboob is married with four children. Mr. Mehboob has travelled widely around the world and has participated in many international conferences as a speaker and has previously conducted five (5) Parliamentary study tours to Germany, United Kingdom and India.



Ms. Aasiya Riaz

Joint Director PILDAT

Ms. Aasiya Riaz is Joint Director at PILDAT and holds an MSc. Degree in Media and Communications from the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, UK. Ms. Aasiya Riaz specialises in political communication and is also involved in research on the emerging discipline of E-Democracy. She has extensive experience in managing international publications and has also worked as editorial writer in the mainstream English-language newspapers in the country.



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APPENDIX C

List of Group visiting Richmond, Virginia

List of Group visiting Richmond, Virginia

Name	Party	Legislature/Org
Jamal Shah Kakar, Mr.	MMAF	PA-Balochistan
Israr Ullah Khan Gandapore, Mr.	PPP	PA-NWFP
Jalil Ahmed, Mr.	PML-N	NA
Mehreen Razzak Bhutto, Ms.	PPPP	PA-Sindh
Mohammad Khan Mengal, Mr.		PA-Balochistan
Mohammed Ahmed Khan, Mr.	PML	PA-Punjab
Shaheena Asad, Ms.	PML	PA-Punjab
Syed Faisal Ali Subzwari, Mr.	MQM	PA-Sindh
Syed Javed Ali Shah Jillani, Mr.	PML	NA
Syed Naveed Qamar, Mr.	PPPP	NA
(Group Leader)		
Tariq Shafiq Khan, Mr.		NA
Aasiya Riaz		PILDAT
Bushra Jafar		WV



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APPENDIX D

List of Group visiting Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

List of Group visiting Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Name	Party	Legislature/Org
Asiya Nasir, Ms.	MMAP	NA
Bakht Jahan Khan, Mr.	MMAP	PA-NWFP
Kashif Azam, Mr.	MMAP	PA-NWFP
Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Hussain	PPPP	NA
Qureshi Mr. (Group Leader)		
Nisar Ahmed Khurho, Mr.	PPPP	PA-Sindh
Raheela Hamid Khan Durrani, Ms.	PML	PA-Balochistan
Rana Sana Ullah Khan, Mr.	PML-N	PA-Punjab
Saeed Ahmed, Mr.		PA-Punjab
Shahiq Ahmed Khan, Mr.		Senate
Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, Mr.		PILDAT
Abikok C. Riak		WV

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5-A, Zafar Ali Road, Gulberg V, Lahore-54000, Pakistan.
Tel: (+92-42) 111 123 345 Fax: (+92-42) 575 1551
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