

**ROLE OF PARLIAMENT IN FOREIGN POLICY  
FORMULATION OF PAKISTAN (2013-18)**

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**BY**

**RABIA SHAFQAT**

**REGISTRATION # 14002287079**

**Master of Philosophy**

**Department of Political Science & International Relations**



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**UNIVERSITY OF GUJRAT**

**Session 2017-19**

**RABIA SHAFQAT**

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Award of Degree of**

**Master of Philosophy**

**In**

**Political Science**

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## **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

First of all I'm very thankful to ALLAH Almighty who is most merciful to enable me to complete my research work on time, it was not an easy task but with the grace and blessings of ALLAH and my Family prayers I completed all my research work on time. I would like to thanks my Supervisor for guiding me in right directions, I am tremendously lucky to have one mentor to guide me in my thesis, He was very kind to me, encouraged me in my research work, special thanks to Dr. Muhammad Mushtaq for helping me he guided me in my all research work as expert and my mentor. He responded all my calls and guided me to compile my thesis. He supervised me in my research. He helped me to finalize my thesis with dedication. I would like to thanks to library staff for providing me a peaceful place for research. I am also thankful to my father Shafqat Ali for encouraging me for higher studies, my brother Shah Nawaz, and my sister to spare me for thesis research during my research work. And I am very thankful to my friend Faiza Sahi who helps me to arrange my thesis according to University Format.

**Rabia Shafqat**

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate my thesis to my Sister (Atia Shafqat), without her support and prayers it was not possible for me to complete this hard work. She always encouraged me, from my first class to the completion of my MPhil.

**Rabia Shafqat**

## **DECLARATION**

I, Rabia Shafqat, Roll No # 17091715-007, MPhil Political Science Scholar, Department of Political Science & IR, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Gujrat, hereby solemnly declare that this thesis titled “Role of Parliament In Foreign Policy Formulation of Pakistan (2013-18)” is based on genuine work and not yet had been submitted or published elsewhere. Furthermore, I shall not use this for obtaining any other degree from this University or any other institution.

I also understand that if evidence of plagiarism found in this thesis at any stage, even after the award of the degree, the degree may be cancelled and revoked by the University.

**Rabia Shafqat**

It is certified that Miss. Rabia Shafqat, Roll No # 17091715-007, MPhil Political Science Scholar, Department of Political Science & IR, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Gujrat, Pakistan worked under my supervision and the above stated declaration is true to the best of my knowledge.

Dr. Muhammad Mushtaq  
Research Supervisor  
Department of Political Science & International Relations  
University of Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan  
Email: muhammad.mushtaq@uog.edu.pk  
Dated: \_\_\_\_\_

## THESIS COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

It is certified that this thesis titled “Role of Parliament In Foreign Policy Formulation of Pakistan (2013-18)” submitted by Miss. Rabia Shafqat, Roll No # 17091715-007, MPhil Political Science Scholar, Department of Political Science & IR, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Gujrat, is evaluated and acceptance for the award of degree “Master of Philosophy (MPhil) in Political Science by the following member of the Thesis/Dissection Viva Voice Examination Committee.

The evaluation report is available in the Directorate of Advance Studies and Research Board of the University.

---

Dr. Yasmin Roofi  
Professor/External Examiner  
Department of Political Science, Islamia University Bahawalpur  
Email: yasmin.roofi@iub.edu.pk  
Date:

---

Dr. Muhammad Mushtaq  
Research Supervisor  
Department of Political Science & International Relations  
University of Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan  
Email: muhammad.mushtaq@uog.edu.pk  
Date:

---

Dr. Muhammad Mushtaq  
Chairperson of Department of Political Science & International Relations  
University of Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan  
Email: [muhammad.mushtaq@uog.edu.pk](mailto:muhammad.mushtaq@uog.edu.pk)  
Date:

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## **ABSTRACT**

In a democratic setting Parliament as institution of public represented public and public interests, performed an active role in reviewing and formulation of foreign policy. Before the development of democracy it was function of diplomats and the soldiers but in democracy the executives are responsible to public and they exercise their power through elected institution of parliament. Relations with other states could not be expanded without the collaboration of individual, institutions, and states. The role of Parliament is very important because it is an elected institution of public. The government and opposition possess their own position in parliament. Being a public institution parliament fulfill its duties accurately. Civil and armed forces persuade this institution in different circumstances for their own interests. Parliament some time plays its own role and some time it work under pressure of rulers. If the institution of parliament is strong, it can perform its role accurately, and can ensure the rule of law in making the country stable. Individual and states makes a country invincible with their collaboration. The parliament can debate the foreign policy and can perform a very active role in foreign policy formulation. Parliament got information from the executive branch related to foreign policy and it also provides the guiding principles for the handling of foreign policy. Those guiding principles are different in its nature. The institution of parliament has not only manage the foreign policy formulation process not mismanaged it. It is an important study that endeavor and highlight the function of parliament in foreign policy formulation process during the third term of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

### **INTRODUCTION**

To get its national objectives and to manage its foreign affairs with other nations a modern state needs comprehensive foreign policy. An effective foreign policy needs effective decision making machinery. The structure of decision making units of foreign policy is very complex as many actors, agencies and institutions are involved in this process. The providence of policy is also greatly influenced by the quality of leadership that is an integral part of policy making units. Foreign policy is a pattern of behavior that a state adopts in dealing with other states. Foreign policy referred to behavior of state acts in dealing with external actors. Foreign policy of a country is characteristic of national policy if national governance is not working accurately foreign policy also cannot deliver very well. Since its beginning FP of Pakistan has been at the forefront of the strategic thinking of country leadership. Pakistan is strategically an imperative state and the success of its FP depends on how Pakistan utilizes its assets. If this is not use as an asset it becomes a liability. Formulation of foreign policy involves many institutions and inputs (Rehman, 2012).Parliament as public institution represented the public and interests of public and also plays a significant role in foreign policy formulation in the democratic system. Before the evolution of democracy foreign policy had made by diplomats and soldiers. In democracies the executives are responsible to public they exercise their power through elected institution of public (PILDAT, 2004).

But the role of parliament is supreme because it is elected by general public. In parliamentary form majority party has vital role, Party's manifestos also influence on the foreign policy. In presidential structure of government, the executive plays vital function in the foreign policy formulation procedure and the parliament has subservient role. In parliamentary democracies parliament is provided much role and cabinets get sufficient input by the parliament. In this background, this research project aims to investigate the function of parliament in the foreign policy formulation process of Pakistan. The responsibility of the parliament will be gauged through the analysis of parliamentary debates, the scrutiny of committees work, and the oversight function of the parliament on the subjects related to the foreign policy. Countries adopt their foreign policies according to the general emerging environment. That's no single country has the ability to shape its foreign policy according to its wishes. In emerging international environment we have to deal with a gradual shift of economic and political center of gravity from bipolarity towards multi polar world (PILDAT, 2004).

Parliament can use to influence foreign policy formulation process generally there are three important mechanisms. Firstly as PM and the cabinet are answerable to the parliament the latter can exert pressure to transform their policies. Parliament can alter the PM and promote a person who will carry out their desires if foreign policy formulation is unacceptable. Secondly the members of parliament must build up professional capacity to deal with foreign policy process. Mostly they follow the party lines and provide those statements which gave them space in media. The members of parliament should make mature proclamation related to foreign policy; those reflect deep thinking and an understanding of dynamics of international politics. Parties represented in the parliament should arrange briefings by specialists and professional staff so they can better arranged to deal with complex foreign policy issues. Thirdly the committees of both houses dealing with foreign policy formulation process should be strengthened. These committees should have research staff to provide those basic data and short overview related to foreign policy formulation. The parliamentary committees should also ask for professionals for analysis of foreign policy (Farani, 2017).

In Pakistan cabinet headed by PM is the extreme foreign policy making body. All important foreign policy decisions ultimately must be taken by the PM and cabinet and properly communicated to the President. Theoretically parliament of Pakistan can pass a law in respect of any characteristic of Pakistan relations with other states. But there is great difference between theory and practice. Generally the formulation of foreign policy is considered to be the duty of executive internationally. Historically parliament in Pakistan failed to perform its function in the foreign policy formulation the main reason behind the low performance of parliament was military coups in past. Foreign Policy process also affected by lack of harmonization between foreign office and think tanks those are recognized by government for policy research. In reality twins houses and its standing committees of parliament of Pakistan are not active in deliberation of foreign policy as it should have been (PILDAT, 2004).

### **1.1: Significance of the Research**

This study focuses on the formulation of foreign policy in Pakistan. We focus on parliament and evaluate the effectiveness of parliament in the foreign policy formulation process in the country. In foreign policy process role of legislatures it has a focus of attention of scholars worldwide. In the case of Pakistan not any study available that deeply examines the role of parliament in foreign policy formulation during 2013-2018. It is first kind of study that investigates the role of parliament in foreign policy formulation in better way from 2013 to 2018. Findings of this study should be use full for parliamentarians and government to revise their policies.

## **1.2: Problem Statement**

This study deals with the function of parliament in the formulation of FP in Pakistan. The vital question which this study attempt to answer is that to what extent has the parliamentary system in Pakistan been effective or not in foreign policy formulation? Parliament plays significant function in FP formulation in parliamentary system. But in Pakistan as the political institutions are not well established and its role is not well defined so like other institutions the role of parliament is also not well defined. Parliament being the representative of the people should play a meaningful role but unfortunately it is not playing significant role. Through this study we examine that how parliament as representative of people can play its important function in foreign policy formulation process.

Top leadership discourages the role of parliamentarians in FP issues. It might be possible that they discourage because of their own insecurities. Parliament of Pakistan is also under resourced in terms of policy analysts as well as staff and also there is no demand from parliamentarians for these resources. The lack of political will is also a major factor not only lack of resources. Foreign policy is a very important subject it requires scientific research and expertise. Parliament lacks all of these dynamics. Parliamentarians should demand investment in resources like research and expertise. The main intention of this study is to evaluate the function of Pakistan's parliament has performed in the formulation of the country's foreign policy from 2013-2018.

## **1.3: Research Questions**

The core of this research is to evaluate connection between parliament and foreign policy formulation. In this study we shall try answer following questions.

Q1. How the parliament contributes to the process of foreign policy formulation in Pakistan?

Q2. How much meaningful debates are prevalent in parliament regarding the foreign policy issues?

Q3. How much committees of the Pakistani parliament focused on the issues related to foreign policy during 2013-2018?

Q4. How much parliament performed the oversight functions on the issues related to foreign policy during 2013-18?

Q5. Which factors limit the efficiency of Pakistan parliament in foreign policy formulation?

#### **1.4: Methodology**

This thesis is consisting of secondary sources of materials. Main focus of the study is to describe the role of parliament in FP formulation. Original documents of parliamentary debates from 2013 to 2018 are discussed. The secondary sources relevant data from books research articles published in well-known journals newspaper articles online published material and official websites are also used. Qualitative approach would adopt in this thesis.

#### **1.5: Scheme of the Study**

The study is consist of six chapters every chapter consist of brief introductions and explanations of main contents of that chapter and lastly concluded with analyzing with the basic arguments that are debated in the chapter.

The first chapter of this thesis is introducing the work plain to the reader. It would present the significance of the study and the research questions. It consists of Outline of research.

Second chapter is consisting of literature review all ready published literature from credible sources relevant to the research.

In Third chapter the parliament and foreign policy formulation in Pakistan is discussed.

In fourth chapter we are discussing the performance of National Assembly in FP formulation in 2013-2018. With special reference of parliamentary debates and reports of standing committee on foreign affair are also be discussing.

In fifth chapter the role of senate in foreign policy formulation during 2013-2018 is discussing and reports are being discussed.

Last chapter is end with Conclusion and recommendations. This study is being a good addition in FP process in Pakistan.

### **REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

A number of scholars had done studies on legislature's role in foreign policy. Though there is scarcity of literature which examines the role of parliament in foreign policy formulation process in Pakistan. This section is consisting of some available literature on FP formulation process and function of legislatures in general. FP is a multifaceted process and the survival of any state depends on it. Many institutions perform its role in foreign policy making process. To study the FP formulation practice different methods are used but level of analysis are very essential in this regard. Level of analysis consists of individual state as well as system level. Individual level of analysis analyzes how individually people make policies and decisions. It can be examined from individual nature, people behavior in organization and inspiration of particular persons (Syed, 2012).

We ignore the human behavior in political system it is a big mistake of our political thinking. The function of head of state is very important in foreign policy decision building of every state. Being human to justify our decisions we convince ourselves that our decisions will be very successful and our choices are good. Like it is also hard to understand that why Saddam Hussain had chosen to war rather than exile. The reasons behind his decisions were different according to his former aides he believed that he would survive in power (Denny, 1985).

Psychologically man adopted the strategy of shortcuts and ignores the accessible data and facts this is called stereotype. Leader's think that they adopted the policy of balanced but in actuality there are special cases occasionally man is sad, annoyed, disheartened and act emotionally. For example President Bush had expressed his thoughts after 9/11. Common characteristic of human beings is that they think differently in organizational setting than they do as individuals. State level of analysis has emphasis the characteristic of states and how they make and implement foreign policy choices. In world politics states are the dominant factor. Foreign policy of a country had also affected by political formation and communication among policy makers.

Head of state is the most significant actor in foreign policy building process. Second important actors are bureaucratic organizations. Type of government could also affect the FP of a state this sort of government can be authoritarian as well as democratic governments. In authoritarian governments foreign policy will center in narrow segments of government like president. Foreign policy formulation process is very complex it cannot be survive under any individual even in an authoritarian government so secondary leaders perform its role in even authoritarian political system. In the other hands democracies are more openly get inputs

from legislatures. In democratic governments media opposition parties' public opinion and other actors also perform its function in foreign policy making. Formal powers by constitution and recognized regulation give authority to diverse institutions. Unlike Chief Executive is also commander in chief of armed forces and he can take assessments by himself. Formal powers are those that authorities enjoy and can obtain political decisions independently those are good for the welfare of state and not proved by constitution. Executive has special expertise like administrative legislative and public affiliation (Hudson, 2005). Ministry of Foreign is also very essential in foreign affairs and Minister of foreign affairs performs its duties as focal person. Foreign minister has generally having great knowledge of foreign affairs. Minister of Foreign affairs performs a function of bridge among foreign ministry and executive and also manage the enduring bureaucracy of foreign office.

Informal actor's political parties' media, pressure groups researchers and think tanks also perform its roles in foreign policy of a state in huge extent. Media is playing very active role it pass opinion on the administration policies regarding foreign policy. It is also consider the fourth stake of government. Currently media develop an intellect of responsibility in public mindset as well as their ideological visions. Common man is well aware and presents their point of views with logics. In Pakistan media got freedom in Musharraf tenure now print as well as electronic media are performing very active role as compare to pervious ages.

In Pakistan which factor deeply influencing FP process making are political parties and pressure groups. These political parties lack of political will and also lack of think tanks wings in their parties. There is lack of academic and Think Tanks although they develop definite analysis on each subject and give obvious instructions to FP makers. Internationally in modern democracies political parties are well discipline and organized in policy formulation and for this purpose certain think tanks are working which are essential part of policy making and opinion formation. Almost 6300 think tanks are existed worldwide. Essentially three sorts of think tanks are existed. Explore leaning: focusing on areas of general interests; Advocacy oriented: pursuing an agenda or policy supporting and opposing an issue; Party affiliated: promoting an ideology of a specific party they provide policy guidance to political leader ship and also train and educate themselves (Syed, 2012).

Politics of Pakistan is influenced by the ideologies of political leader ship as well as political parties. Some parties are regional and some are mainstream parties can be strengthen if they adopted research based policies. In authoritative regime military foreign ministry directly controlled by military dictators but in democratic regime civilian's government controlled it although some sensitive matters like United States, India, Kashmir and nuclear concerns are not managed directly through civilians (Rehman, 2012).

Throughout Kargil crisis Strataj Aziz go to India but before departure and after coming back he meets to Musharraf rather than prime minster Function of intelligence agencies is also a dominating factor in authoritative regimes. Intelligence agencies offered inputs to the policy manufacturers on the name of general security. Pakistan remained under the military coup so role of intelligence agencies in foreign policy also remain important. Agencies adopt such policies that are favorable for the authenticity of military dictators. Agencies disregard lots of dynamic that are better for common man. In democratic era the role of these agencies exists as a formal institution (Aziz, 2009).

Usually political leadership holds bureaucracy although it is hard to manage the huge formation of government. Like President Bush along with President Vladimir Putin in joint press conference disclose that there is a breach among official plus actual authority. Both said slender minded bureaucracy always cooperate their understanding rather than government. And there is constantly a bureaucratic hazard to formulation of foreign policy (Hudson, 2005).Agencies also play important function in FP making in the formation position of these Agencies was inadequate but after Cold War in 1979 the role of agencies enhanced. Dictators had not political force so they always relay on these Agencies.

System level of analysis deals with realities of global structure and its manipulation. Diverse factors determine the system like structural factors economic factors norms behavior and power relationship. Any state cannot prepare its foreign policy in isolation rather in international system states are interdependent to each other. Major intention of FP of a country is safeguarding its national interests. Geostrategic location financial system domestic circumstances all are important determinates of a country foreign policy and these factors also affected Pakistan (Hudson, 2005).

Resources and power are tools of sates hegemony in today global world. Balance of power uni-polarity, bipolarity all are the name of powers. Like other informal institutions public opinion is also very important. In some situation public opinion play vital role. For example US had decided to go out of Vietnam War as public antagonism to involvement in war. The role of civic is very limited in foreign policy but public role is also important. Reason of public limited role is citizen focused on international issues rather than domestic issues.

Terrorism and Iraq war were major issues during 2004 election and these issues had become caused of the reelection of president bush. It is not accurate to declare that public opinion is same about foreign policy issues some time public respond actively. For example crisis war terrorism and trade are some important public issues. Public respond on policies issues according to their nature. In some states public has influence on foreign policy matters but in democratic states policy matters mostly chosen by officials. But public has roundabout

democratic control on policy matters because of voting procedure. Only those policies are better that are supported by public. Some time there is breach among leaders and nationals on convinced issues. Trade unions pressure groups business communities significantly influence on the foreign policy process. Role of pressure groups is extremely important in foreign policy building process. These groups or individuals have pressure on society and they are more consequent as compare to individuals. These groups criticized government policies and make their own views (Qazi, 2004).

These groups not take part in elections directly but they support one political party so through party support they protect their interest in parliament. Mostly these interest groups raise voice on domestic issues but in certain issues they also raise voice on foreign policy issue these all are based on interest. Trade unions also play important role in recent era but this is the voice of powerful business groups Pakistan is as well facing this and division of free trade zone.

Non state actors become very important in foreign policy after 9/11. Every state makes its policies according to international scenario. In international level every state is struggling for endurance and desires to enhance power. Pakistan is also facing major FP issues. Non state actors are disturbing Pakistan but it must be control. Drone attacks terrorism nonproliferation were some factors that country is facing seriously. Entire factors are affecting foreign policy of Pakistan. Although in the country like Pakistan think tanks and scholars can be manage these institutions. In the beginning foreign policy was design by diplomats and solders without captivating the public addicted to confidence. That procedure was very common turn over WWII in European realm. But democracies totally distorted this system and introduced the democratic institutions like parliament pressure groups media non state actors and civic outlook in this field (Ware, 1991).

Mostly FP making process had immense in executive branch internationally. Head of government mostly play the role of political executive and foreign minister and defense minister perform its role under his leadership. Function of head of state is dogged by sort of government condition and policies that are different in everywhere. In parliamentary form of government head of government selected by best part of parliament so it is not essential approval about foreign policy.

British parliament does not have accurate powers to restrain the executive as like US congress. Foreign policy is control by crown and is shared with the legislature only to the extent that the crown considers this desirable. Main function of the parliament in UK is to observe the policies which cabinet has decided. There are numerous procedures which facilitate the parliament to exercise its control over the FP. British parliament has three committees dealing with matter of FP these are Foreign Affairs Committee, Committee on

European Legislation and the Committee of Public Accounts which exercise significant checks on foreign policy. As compared to the US system the foremost benefit of British system is that the government is not paralyzed in conducting its foreign policy vis-à-vis other nations. Sometimes government may make wrong opinion which may harm the national interests. Related to Iraq policy Blair government had faced lots of criticism. In order to justify the war against Iraq government had laid to public about Iraq control of weapons of Mass Destruction but in reality the WMDs were not found (PILDAT, 2004).

In British parliament prime minister vote is not required for international agreements but if it affected law then it is necessary. In parliamentary system cabinet plays an important role in policy making rather than parliament. Turkey's position in war against Iraq was determined by parliament that Turkey must not allow America to use its territory for operations against Iraq (Kesgin, 2010).

Theory of division of power exists in US but constitution of US segregates powers among congress and president mutually play their functions in FP making. Legislative and Executive branches overlap to everyone in FP making process. Constitution of US divides powers among three branches executive legislative and judiciary for conduct of foreign policy and these are major apparatus of government (Denny, 1985).

Executive's essential function is to prepare FP and legislatures oversee it and judiciary interpret constitution in the case of divergence among executive and legislative. US Constitution kept the system of stability between executive and legislative (J. Buckley, 1990). President and head of executive enjoy his powers greatly in foreign policy formulation (Wayen, 1986). Presidents formulate FP with the aid of secretary of state cabinet, principal mentor and supporter of national Security Council. He also performed the function of commander in chief of armed forces and also can order troops to go fight. He can use Pocket veto alongside any act of legislatures which can only be superseded by two-thirds majority equally the houses of representative and senate that is termed as congress (Amin, 2008).

India had remained the British colony in the past so it follows the British constitutional model for foreign policy related issues role of cabinet which in turn are responsible to opinion expressed by lower house of Indian parliament (Grover, 1992). As India follows the British constitutional model as like UK Indian cabinet maintains its office as it enjoys the self-assurance of Lok Sabha. Constitution of US ratifies the treaties by senate but in constitution of India there are no such stipulations.

Authority of ratification of treaties remained in the hands of President and he can take final decision but before concluding any international agreement it is debated with the members of

parliament (Amin, 2008). This research is an effort to inspect the function of parliament in foreign policy formulation in the framework of Pakistan. There are some constitutional requirements in Pakistan that provides powers to president PM and cabinet. Article 90 of constitution elaborated the administrative authority of federation shall be in the hand of president but article 48 said that President shall act according to guidance of cabinet and PM to exercise his functions with exception of those functions which are authorize by constitution to operate in his judgment. All FP related issues should be taken by cabinet and PM and converse to president (Husain, 2004).

Article 5 (1) elaborated that most significant FP related decisions cannot be taken without the endorsement of government. But according to article 16 of rule of business all important FP issues consultation with other countries and diplomatic exchanges all would be brought in front of cabinet. All substance related to foreign policy has the responsibility of cabinet. In short constitution of Pakistan elaborated that cabinet is the extreme FP building body. At the similar time article 16 of rule of business prime minster presents directions to any issue and committees can be constituted by cabinet and cabinet endorse suggestion for comities (Husain, 2004).

Position of head of state is different in every country according to its constitution and form of supervision. Mostly legislatures play minimum role as compare to executives but it does not show that legislatures are ineffective. Legislatures play very important role in democratic states but in non-democratic sates role of legislatures is as rubberstamp. Legislatures and executives both are essential to each other. In war and emergency situation the role of executives become vital as compare to other institutions. In United States executive branch focuses on central issues in modern era FP issues are becoming domestic one because people showing their interest. Parliament functioning in foreign policy formulation is very important especially national assembly role is very central because it is directly elected house. Being representative of public vast liability depends on their shoulders. All vital assessments regarding FP are measures by cabinet and Prime Minster president is informed by PM officially (Pevehouse, 2005).

Pakistani Parliament consists of two house national assembly and senate it play the function of legislatures. PM is chosen by NA and he is also leader of cabinet. PM can be detached throughout vote of no confidence this is called suspension of cabinet. He can individually affect the foreign policy because of majority in assembly. Parliament can pass the bill related to foreign relations of Pakistan. These steps only are taken on the will of executives. Senate also supports the decisions of prime minster regarding FP. In Pakistan opposition and

government is a game of politics. Because of military interferences parliament cannot perform its role accurately. In democratic era role of parliament depends on party politics and leaders.

In Pakistan according to article 13 schedule 11 of rules of business foreign ministry see on foreign affairs and international relations. In Pakistan Minister of Foreign affairs is controlled by foreign secretary presently 8 additional secretaries are looking after different areas of foreign policy that are maintained by director of broad director and section officer. Purposeless commonly revised by high authorities. In significant issues foreign secretary consult with Minister of foreign and he can converse with PM or President. PM could debate the issue in parliament. Personality and approach of foreign minister also effect greatly on the FP formulation process (Amin, 2008).

In the foreign policy formulation political parties participate very important role Political parties have convinced proposals and it should perform according to its manifestos. Committee system in Pakistan is not good as like UK and USA. Prime minister is hassled by opposition in parliament. Islamic parties also affect the FP process in Pakistan and role of these parties could not be neglect through any military and civilian rule.

Inside Pakistan there is lack of think tanks and political parties are also not well organized. Necessitate for think tanks in political parties are extremely compulsory for good governess and good decisions. Unfortunately in Pakistan there is no culture of debates on the basis of consensus. Like Nawaz Sharif administration assessment after nuclear test to freeze the foreign accounts created dire image of Pakistan Globally. Similar mistake was repeated by Zulifaqar Ali Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif in the selection of Chief of army staff exclusive of consultation to think tanks and they face its result badly. In modern era Think Tanks provides improved views about the policies in every field like defense foreign affairs economy (Syed, 2012).

### **PARLIAMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN PAKISTAN**

#### **3.1: Formative Phase of Foreign Policy of Pakistan 1947-58**

From 1947 to 1973 Pakistan had a unicameral system of legislatures that was not much strong as required. Parliament had been working efficiently during the first parliamentary phase 1947-58. But after 1958 military takeovers weekend the institution of parliament. Under the independence act of 1947 first assembly of Pakistan was given shape it consist of 69 members. First sitting of constituent assembly was held in Tenth august 1947. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was selected the first president of Pakistan constituent assembly in 11<sup>th</sup> August. Transfer of power was held in 14<sup>th</sup> august 1947. 1935Act was the first provisional constitution of Pakistan. After a long struggle of many years Pakistan came into being and it had countenanced many difficulties. In this situation Pakistan foreign policy had faced numerous deterrents. It required strong sustainable and balanced policy for its endurance (Hussain, 2019).

In that difficult time the role of founder of Pakistan was extremely important and tough. He provides the solid principal in every field like economy, administration, in constitution building and foreign policy making process. Jinnah established the base of a lot of institutions which serves the state completely. First decade consist of civilian government and constitution making process was major issue in initial years. Primary constitutional assembly constructed in 1946 election earlier than partition. Quaid Azam became the first governor general and Liaqat Ali khan and first PM of Pakistan. Quaid e Azam said that FP of Pakistan is stand on pleasant dealings towards all nations. He wanted to set up friendly dealings with the whole world on the basis of fairness justice and reliability. During his existence Pakistan affairs with Islamic states and newly promising supremacy decided on the bases of good will. As a newly born state there were many difficulties but Quaid e Azam firm will provides flat mode in establishing good dealings with the entire nations. He emphasizes to set up good associations with nearby countries including India (Sattar, 2010).

Pakistan relations with big powers were divisive and debate able. Firstly Pakistan received incitement from Russia and USA invited India prior to Pakistan. Liaqat Ali khan determined to visit Russia but US thought Pakistan did not respond in the favor of Russia. And Moscow media also criticized Pakistan on the issue of Pakhtunstan to this act upset Pakistan greatly. US invited Pakistan and announced that FP of subcontinent could not complete without the involvement of Pakistan. Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan visited US as a substitute of Russia (Venkatramani, 1984). Foreign minister of Pakistan said that Pakistan sought to established

good associations with all nations and supported the side of equality while it's weak (Zafer Ullah, 1948). In the beginning Pakistan problems with India was also an important issue and on the other hand Pakistan leadership was trying to launch a new state in front of world community. That's troubles impact on foreign policy of India Pakistan and builds aloofness and disbelieves among both of states. Reasons at the back these problems were 3rd June plan and Indian independence act of 1947, water issues, property issues and Kashmir problem was also a major issue. Indian influential had given statements about unity of both countries (Rizvi, 2004). From 1947 to September 1948 occupancy was authoritarianism. FP of this occupancy was based on secularism, non-alignment and promotions of Islamic ideology. These procedures were followed till October 1951. In Ghulam Mohammad era relations with US strengthen and it was also the era of authoritarianism (Kapur, 1991). Kashmir issue was a major issue it was came under in cabinet meetings. Quaid Azam and foreign minister discussed that we did not accept Kashmir division we want fair solution of this issue. This shows that foreign policy in this era was not only designed by single person rather cabinet played its role.

Cabinet decided many issues with India like pre separation monetary problems, canal water issue, post partition problems. Kashmir issue was a fillet of disputation between India and Pakistan. In initial era Pakistan FP was sovereign and not it was not for American but after passage of time Pakistan face several severe issues like financial issues deficiency of wheat and price inflation so cabinet decided to develop relations with United States. But prime minster Naziamudin was in the favor of pro Britain relations rather than US (Numan, 2013).

In 1954 Pakistan and USA develop relations to each other military directly develop relations and ignore the cabinet decisions (Venkatramani, 1984). Pakistan was looking for allies and want to established relations with those who can support it in the field of defense. Pakistan signed mutual defense assistance agreement with US in February 1954. Through this agreement US decided to offer military equipments to Pakistan and Pakistan could not use this assistance for any other nation it could be used only for those who specified in the agreement. Pakistan made relations with United States because Pakistan was seeking for security ties and US was also paying attention in contradicting communism in the region. In September 1954 another treaty took place that was South East Asia treaty Organization (SEATO). Minister of Foreign affairs of Pakistan Zafar Ullah khan sought to sign this agreement but cabinet did not wanted to sign this treaty. Zafar Ullah Khan also threaten to cabinet that he would resign. According to constitution of Pakistan ratification from cabinet was compulsory so cabinet allowed him to sign the treaty. Pakistan withdraws from SEATO in 1972 because SEATO did not help Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 war with India in the preview of the treaty. Turkey and Iraq drafted another treaty in 1955 that is called Baghdad

pact. Due to protection issues Pakistan also become its member. Pakistan wanted that US also bond this pact on the other case it is not effective for us. Afterward on Turkey and Iraq assured Pakistan about US support to all regional participants. Consequently Pakistan decided to join this pact after cabinet approval. In 1959 Iraq withdraw from treaty and its named CENTO. Pakistan shared communication air base to US at Badaber for ten years 1959-69. United states use it for Russia and spy plans also used.

In this era Pakistan dealings with Muslim states was based on synchronization and cooperation. Pakistan wanted to create a Muslim block based organization although some Muslim countries like Afghanistan Indonesia and Egypt did not supported it in these efforts. Pakistan relations with some Muslim countries like KSA, Turkey, and Iran was extremely strong. Initially till 1954 Foreign policy of Pakistan was independent and cabinet ministers decisions given weight. But in the Bogra premiership civil military and bureaucracy made kitchen cabinet and some central FP issues were hold by them. But generally all the FP issues converses in cabinet meetings. In formulation of foreign policy cabinet play its role very actively in this time era Initial regime of Pakistan FP was diverse in the start it was dominated by national government and later on dominated by armed forces on the name of security impulsion (Numan, 2013).

### **3.2: Ayub Khan Tenure 1958-69**

President Sikander Mirza disbands the national and provincial assemblies jointly on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1958 and martial law was declared. He was appointed the commander-in-chief of military by president. He was the first military dictator of Pakistan. He was bias against the parliamentary system. Ayub Khan had once definitely stated that we are obvious in our sense that we cannot assume the parliamentary form of government. He took the swearword of president in 27<sup>th</sup> October 1958. On 17<sup>th</sup> February 1960 he had appointed the constitution commission and constitution Commission submitted its reports to government. Constitution of 1962 was shaped exclusive of a Parliamentary process and Ayub initiated the constitution as his own authority. According to new constitution general election were held in 28 April 1962. In the constitution of 1962 legislatures at center and in the provinces were unicameral. In constitution of 1962 all the executive authorities had existed in the hands of president. And Ayub selected his cabinet which was responsible to him rather than any other association (Hussain, 2019).

In his regime Pakistan foreign and domestic policy was not suitable for the homeland. There are many issues with the foreign countries in this era. Ayub khan had keen eye on foreign policy issues he focused on Pakistan US relations especially defense issues were matter of

attentions. He also presented India for dual defense pact. It was maybe under hassle of United States but later on India engaged within a border conflict in 1962 ( Durani,2009). US supported India and totally ignore Pakistan in Sino Indian war later on India used its weapons in 1965 war. When Pakistan talked about these weapons that India was using US rejected Pakistan claim and said those armaments should not use in opposition to Pakistan. Pakistan must established good relations with India (Khan, 1972). In the start he established FP relations with US, USSR, and China. Throughout Indo-Pak warfare in 1965 USSR played a neutral function. In January 1966 President Khan and PM Lal Bahadur Shastri met in Tashkent on the invitation of soviet PM and signed an accord that is also called Tashkent deceleration. This treaty was intended for normalization of relations among Pakistan and India. In 1962 Pakistan signed a border accord with china. Through this contract Pak china relations enhanced. With Eastern European countries, he also developed effective trade relations.

RCD was established between Iran turkey and Pakistan. Relations with Afghanistan also normalized in this tenure UK and US recognized Durand line as enduring border line among Pakistan and Afghanistan. In 1960 Indus water treaty was signed among Pakistan and India for the solution of water issues. But after 1965 war relations between both countries could not normalized. Ayub confirmed emergency situation in country. Later on UN passed resolution and war has been stop. Minister of Foreign affairs Z.A. Bhutto had given statement we can brawl hundred years for the independence of Kashmiri people.

Bhutto said that armies should be removed from Kashmir territory. In 25 March 1969 Yahya Khan imposed second martial law Yahya took office as president and declare himself as chief martial law administrator on 31 March 1969. Later he issued LFO, Under LFO election was held in 7<sup>th</sup> December 1970. After election East Pakistan separated from Pakistan. Pakistan foreign policy failed during this era because there were political unsteadiness and external conspiracy because of separation of East Pakistan. He visited china and Pakistan had also hold up china to become member of UN. Yahya Khan had also encouraged china US good relations.

### **3.3: Era of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto 1970-77**

After loss of East Pakistan PPP came into power and Z.A Bhutto took the position as president on 20 December 1971. Already existed interim Constitution was adopted. This constitution was implemented from 17 April 1972 according to constitution presidential form of government was provided. Bhutto took the position as PM of Pakistan in 14 August 1973 and exist day new constitution was implemented. According to the 1973 constitution

parliamentary system of government was purposed, that was consist of two Houses Lower House and upper House. Seats of senates consist of 63 and National Assembly was 210. Through presidential order more seats were added and strength of National Assembly had reached to 237.

On 7<sup>th</sup> January 1977 Bhutto declare election before time. He said to president dissolved the assembly in 10 January 1977 and election were arranged in Seven March. Opposition parties had not accepted that results and claim of rigging charges on elections of National Assembly. They did not admit the outcomes of elections. Later on army imposed Martial law and took over the charge. Foreign policy position of Pakistan was in critical situation during Bhutto regime because he has a soft corner for communist bloc so PAK US relations shattered. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indra Gandhi signed Shimla agreement in 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1972. They convey the message of peace to each other through this agreement. He also established good relations with modern world. Z.A Bhutto took assessment to detach from South East Asian Treaty Organization and Central Treaty Organization (Hussain, 2019).

He admitted also Vietnam, Cambodia, and East Germany. When Bhutto took charge he visited US twice and tried to established good relations. In 1974 Henry Kissinger had Visited Pakistan and he declared that US wanted to establish good relations with Pakistan. When India exploded atomic bomb in 18 May 1974 Pakistan Minister of Foreign Affairs said in his visit of US we wanted security from US and United Nations. He claimed if India did not stop reframe from Pakistan in the return we also take initiative to balance and stability in the region. Pakistan had obtained steps to purchase atomic technology from France. US hassled to France not to provide atomic technology. He also developed good relations with Islamic countries second OIC was arranged in Lahore (Zain, 2012).

### **3.4: Zia Ul Haq Era 1977- 88**

In July 1977 General Zia forced Martial law and took charge. In foreign policy Zia ul Haq adopted the policy of impartiality. He joined Non Align movement in 1979 and withdraw from SEATO. Zia ul Haq had established good relations with neighboring states. He visited china many times in revisit Chinese President also visited Pakistan (Hussain, 2019).

When soviets intervened in Afghanistan in 1979 importance of Pakistan enhanced. US said in the case of Russian attack US will protect its integrity also provide military support against Russian aggression. In 1980 Zia ul Haq had visit United States and told their uncertainties about Russia. In 1981 foreign minister of Pakistan and India both meet and work on mutual relations. Zia ul Haq started dialogue with India and tried to normalized relation through cricket diplomacy. In 35<sup>th</sup> session of general assembly of UN Islamic world selected him as

their represented. He did not support to anyone in Iran Iraq War and remained neutral (Zahid, 2011).

### **3.5: From 1988-99 the Era of Democracy was Started**

In 16 November 1988 the elections of 8th National Assembly was apprehended. PPP came into power Benazir Bhutto took the position as the PM of Pakistan. She took oath as PM of Pakistan in 2<sup>nd</sup> December. Benazir Bhutto made accord with India not attack on each other atomic equipment. In this tenure US supply F16 to Pakistan. On 6 August 1990 President Ishaq Khan suspended the Assembly. On 14 October 1990 election of 9<sup>th</sup> assembly were held. PMLN was ruling party after election and Nawaz Sharif was elected PM on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1993. During Nawaz Sharif first tenure Pakistan US relations were not good. US aid for Pakistan was stopped by pressler amendment and it was very difficult time for Pakistani economy. In his tenure Pakistan established good relations with all of including neighboring countries. Pakistan passed resolution against India on the Babri Mosque incident (Anjam, 2008).

On 6 October 1993 election of 10<sup>th</sup> assembly were held and again Benazir Bhutto elected PM of Pakistan. Assembly was again dissolved by President Farooq Laghari in 1996 due to corruption charges. Elections of 11<sup>th</sup> national assembly were held on third February 1997 although Nawaz Sharif elected prime minister of Pakistan second time. Nawaz Sharif took his position as PM of Pakistan in 17 February 1997. Elahi Bakhs Soomro was speaker of NA and he took oath on 16 February 1997. Article 58 (2) b was misplaced from constitution through 13<sup>th</sup> amendment. On 28 May 1998 Pakistan explores its atomic bomb. After atomic explosion great powers pressurized Pakistan not to explore atomic bomb but Nawaz Sharif rejected their offers. In 1999 Pakistan and India signed an agreement called Lahore declaration and relations of both sates go towards improvement. But Kargil crisis put bad impact on these relations. In his tenure Pakistan had accepted Taliban government in Afghanistan. Kargil crisis was very sensitive in its nature he did not take parliament into confidence and signed agreement lonely in Washington.

### **3.6: Musharraf Regime 1999-2007**

On 12<sup>th</sup> October 1999 General Pervez Musharraf who was chief of Army staff took over charge from Nawaz Sharif and proclaimed emergency. He issued PCO on 14<sup>th</sup> October 1999 and suspended national and provincial assemblies. Elahi Buksh Somro speaker of Assembly and Syed Zafer Shah defy the adjournment orders in Supreme Court of Pakistan but Supreme Court validates the military takeover on 12<sup>th</sup> may 2002. Court validate military takeover and give time of three years. The Court allowed to military government it could bring some

constitutional amendments those are necessary. But these amendments could not transform in the essentials features of Parliamentary form of government, Judiciary and on sovereign Islamic Provisions. On 20<sup>th</sup> June 2001 chief executive assumed office as president. After 9/11 position of south Asia was changed for USA. Musharraf decided to collaborate with US on War against terrorism. Musharraf tried to recognized friendly ties with neighboring States. He also visited India and tried to normalized indo Pakistan relations through Agra summit.

### **3.7: Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani Tenure**

Asif Ali Zardarii was elected the President on six September 2008. He addressed the shared session of the Parliament after he took charge on September 20. Gillani was selected the PM of Pakistan and he also got the vote of confidence from the House on March 29, 2008. On March 31, 2010 in the presiding of senator Raza Rabbani 18<sup>th</sup> constitution amendment was presented. It became part of constitution of Pakistan after consent of the president on April 19<sup>th</sup> 2010. National Assembly and senate were also passed 19<sup>th</sup> amendment.

It becomes part of constitution of Pakistan later than approval by president in January 1, 2011. Twentieth amendment was conceded collectively on Twentieth February 2012. Mr. Zardari accomplished his tenure of five years on 9<sup>th</sup> September 2013 and Memnoon Hussain took the charge as President at the same date (NA Deb, 2007). Zardari had signed accord on gas pipeline with Iran. In his tenure Gawadr Port was also handed over to china. He also addressed to United Nation GA and converse about the Pakistani efforts to reduce terrorism.

**FUNCTION OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN IN FOREIGN  
POLICY FORMULATION 2013-18**

Thirteen years after exile by military coup Nawaz Sharif returned to Pakistan. After 11 May 2013 elections PMLN become the ruling party? To invigorate economy of Pakistan Sharif sought out economic ties with china and turkey. Major concerns of Pakistan foreign policy were India Afghanistan and US. Relations with Afghanistan seen some improvements after new government in Pakistan in 2013.in September Pakistan released Mulah Abdul Ghani Bardar bilateral tensions was reduced after Bardar released. After elections in India may 2014 political changes also took placed. 10 years after ceasefire along the LOC India and Pakistan has seen volitions on line of control. Prime Minister Sharif and Singh meet in New York and agreed to maintain peace along the borders. But mutual violations on LOC had remained continued (Malik, 2014).

Nawaz Sharif in his tenure had tried to normalizes relations with India he visited India to attend the swearing ceremony of Modi. On the other hand Modi policy was towards opposite side. He decided to isolate Pakistan globally. India is working hard to isolate Pakistan internationally and also spooling the image of Pakistan. Kashmir is an internationally recognized issue but India claim that it is the part of India. India is playing terrorism cards and water terrorism to dominate Pakistan. Pakistan has been faced threat from India USA as well as Afghanistan in the form of cold star doctrine US and hybrid wars all are big threats for Pakistan. US secretary of state had visited Pakistan in July 2013 and announced fully fledged strategic dialogue with Pakistan. Pakistan US relations were not usual after Rymond Davis incident and US raid in 2011 to kill Osama Bin Laden. Drone strike is also a thorny issue. Pakistan civilian leadership also condemned it. Nawaz Sharif condemned and criticized drone strikes. MR Sharif also dialogued to Taliban but day after dialogue Hakim Ullah Meshsud was killed in drone strikes (Malik, 2014).

**4.1: Policy Statement on Various International Issues**

Instructor to prime minster on foreign affairs Srataj Azeez briefed the house on various issues related to foreign policy. He told that there is continuation on basic principles of foreign policy but with the passage of time specific issues get importance. He talked about LOC Pakistan US relations and lastly Syrian disturbing situation. Firstly discussed issue was Afghanistan because it was transition stage for Afghanistan in military and political process. He talked about withdrawal of foreign forces and election in Afghanistan. Stability in Afghanistan is very important for peace in Pakistan. Hamid Karzai visit to Pakistan in 26 to

27 August was very important for peace in both countries. Afghan Pakistan relations was deprived form many years so Karzai visit to Pakistan is new step in improvement of relations.

This visit improves both sides' relations and important decisions take placed. He said that visit of John Kerry to Pakistan was very beneficial. He admitted Pakistan stance that US was observing their relations with us with the lens of Afghanistan from the previous twelve years. But we should improve our relations with US. He said that the issue of drone attacks was also highlighted. Because many civilians were targeted by drone attacks and our international sovereignty also had affected. Lastly he talked about Syrian crisis and US intervention in Syria. We also send our stance in UN regarding Syrian situation (NA Deb, 2013).

#### **4.2: Role of NA on Constructions of Dams by India on the Waters of Pakistan**

Six government members and twelve opposition members contributed on this issue. A resolution had adopted unanimously. Lots of things can be change but the geography of a country could not be changed. In which region we are living our neighbors are Afghanistan china Iran and India Pakistan has not good relations with India from the beginning with the passage of time these issues increased one of them is water issue. Rivers had divided among India and Pakistan through Indus Water treaty. According to Indus water Basin plan on some rivers dams were built by Pakistan and on some rivers dams were built by India. There are some things in that section of Indus water treaty that are ambiguous.

India got benefits from ten to fifteen years and building dams. India claimed that these are dams and there are no catchments and they are run of the river and India did not violate the Indus water treaty. We always talked about our issues should be resolved but we did not emphasis on it. Surveyors are talking Pakistan would be water scarce country in next thirty to fifty years. There is a dispute resolution mechanism in Indus water treaty we should use this mechanism and try to resolve this issue this is beneficent for both of states. India is an upper riparian but it cannot be like an international law on water distribution you must keep in account the rights of lower riparian. Pakistan is lowering riparian and we do protest if India does anything to hurt the interests of Pakistan. India also giving subsidies on tube well to farmers so they are using water at huge rate. Our disputes will be on water issue because of shortage of in next decades. Indus water basin is an agreement on its place and there is no mechanism of this agreement.

Thailand and Vietnam had issues on Mekong River but if any issue escalates an authority resolve this issue. We should talk to India on this issue but we are also not making dams. We are opposing to India is making dams on our water Indian would not make dams without our consultation. Government stance on the issue was we should build consensus on Kala Bagh

dam and only through dams building we can save our water that we are wasting (NA Deb, 2013).

Government should take steps to resolve this issue internationally. Previous governments did not take any action we always adopt an apologetic attitude towards India on the other hand Indians always protest against Pakistan in very aggressive way. So we also highlight the issue of water as well as terrorism in international court of justice and clearly talked to India to resolve these issues accurately. Nothing wrong to say that Sindh and other provinces has got their reservations on Kala Bagh dam but we should think about more dams rather than focus only on Kala Bagh dam. We are talking about shortage of water .Our country needs dams and issue of dams should not tackle through political perspective national interests are more important than political interests. A special authority should be made in which representation of all provinces would be equal and consensus of all is necessary for construction of any dam (NA Deb, 2013).

#### **4.3: Foreign Policy with US**

NA of Pakistan collectively approved a resolution against the US drone strike in Pakistan and calling them violation of the charter of UN international laws and human rights. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif repeatedly demanded to stops the strikes. In December 2013 UN general assembly has been passed a resolution. A resolution was passed in NA of Pakistan on condemnation of accusations targeting Pakistan by U.S president in his statement. Foreign minister had sated very briefly on this issue. NA of Pakistan had responded unanimously on Trump statement on 21<sup>st</sup> August. NA had also rejected the claim NATO commander in Afghanistan related to Terrorists existence in the eras of Quetta and Peshawar .Given India's Known support to terrorism and its threatened policies in the region (NA Deb, 2017).

Trump Administration had provided space to India in Afghanistan it was very harmful for regional stability. Administration of Pakistan did not accept the US claim of giving billions of dollars aid to Pakistan. NA had condemned the US President complete ignorance and lack of respect for Pakistan's enormous sacrifices in countering terrorism. Above the Seventy thousand Pakistanis had remained the victims of terrorism but US neglected scarifies of Pakistan. Pakistani Government should convey the determination of Pakistanis for the protection, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan (NA Deb, 2017).

#### **4.4: Role of NA on Indian Forces Firing and Shelling on Pakistan Border**

The house discussed the situation arising out of firing and shelling on border by Indian forces resulting in deaths and injuries to several Pakistanis. A parliamentarian from the government

provided his views on border situation. He said before 2003 this incident were happened on daily bases but in Musharraf era Pakistan signed a ceasefire. After ceasefire the situation was normal and environment of ceasefire was created. We should support Kashmiri people morally politically and diplomatically. It is a very serious issue and to make it reason of war is totally inappropriate. Pakistan and India both are nuclear powers and Pakistan show very responsible approach regarding its nuclear arsenal. If India use aggressive policies against Pakistan, than we will use nuclear capability. We had seen Indian violation on line of control and this is direct confrontation with Pakistan. The reason was clear that BJP government has always been anti Pakistan. Indians want to get into confrontational mode with Pakistan. They are well aware that we are fighting war on terrorism but they still persist on doing it. If they want counter terrorism insurgency than they should not create a new front for our forces and they should not open fire on line of control.

Violation on line of control showed that they do not want our counter insurgency war to be succeeded so they have opened an eastern front for us. BJP government was also against Zrab-e-Azb. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif went to Delhi for swearing in of Modi government. We were hoping that it would be reciprocated accordingly but unfortunately it has not happened. It is not the issue of cross border fighting rather it is the issue of human rights. Our government should send their special envoys to New York Geneva and Brussels (NA Deb, 2014). All political parties were united on this issue. In UNO prime minster speech was very compassionate and it was very elaborate in terms of internationalizing the Kashmir issue. We need to send our special envoys to permanent five Security Council member states and should try to get support of international community.

#### **4.5: National Assembly Debates on Kashmir issue**

Resolutions regarding the unity with Kashmir's people had adopted in national assembly unanimously. National assembly of Pakistan repeats its political, moral and diplomatic support for the right of self-determination preserved in UN resolutions. It salutes the brave Kashmiri people for resistance against the Indian forces. The house expresses concerns over gross violations of the rights of Kashmiri people. The house also denounced the killing of innocent people of Kashmir and continued arrest of leaders of Kashmir. NA called upon India for the release of the political persons particularly the leadership of Kashmir. National Assembly called upon India to stop brutality against the innocent people of Jammu and Kashmir by completely abolishes all draconian employed in Kashmir.

The house notes with regret the Indian attempt to libel the legitimate Kashmiri freedom struggle by demeaning it as terrorism, and appreciated that the Kashmir's condemn terrorism

in all its forms and manifestations. Elections were held in Jammu and Kashmir that was not an alternate to the plebiscite under UN sponsorship in accordance with the UN Security Council and UNCIP resolution. This house urges the international community to take efficient steps to safeguard the human rights of the Kashmiri people. The house calls upon the UN to perform implementation of the relevant UN resolution promising the right to self-determination to the people of Indian occupied Kashmir (NA Deb, 2014). House appreciated the courage of Kashmiri people and supported morally and at diplomatic level. The house condemned India to stop violence against the innocent people of Kashmir. And the house demanded to the Indian government to give access to international organizations of human rights to Indian occupied Kashmir. Peace of south Asia is not possible without the solution of this issue. The house focused on United Nation that it enhanced the performance of UN military observer groups in India and Pakistan (NA Deb, 2015).

A resolution was moved by opposition on Indian aggression on occupied Kashmir and killing of innocent Kashmir's. Minister of commerce has made a briefs statement on the behalf of minister of foreign affairs. He said that government is pursuing a steadfast policy of broaden political, proper and diplomatic support to the people of Kashmir in their struggle for their right to freedom. He said that the issue of individual rights violations in Kashmir has been highlighted frequently by his government at the UN human rights council. And permanent representative of Pakistan make a statement in every session of the council and insist on the international community to support the right of freedom of the Kashmiri people. OIC is an also an important forum where this issue has been raised frequently.

Opposition raised question on the performance of Kashmir committee and about cost of its member's tours all over the world and what was the results of committee. Chairman Kashmir committee stated that Kashmir issue is our national issue. This is not a topic which should discuss on the basis of party to party. In Kashmir committee we should talk as nation not on the bases of parties. Kashmir committee is a parliamentary committee but unfortunately the members of committee are only from national assembly (NA Deb, 2015). An adjournment motion was presented regarding atrocities by security forces in Indian occupied Kashmir. Chairman of Kashmir committee stated that Kashmir committee is also called special parliamentary committee but its TORs not strong. Basically we are responsible every issue but parliament did not bring our suggestions under consideration. If parliament is strong so its committee should also be strong. But the matter is that in front of public we are responsible but in reality all the matters are not in our hands.

Another member of parliament from opposition also condemned the martyrdom in Kashmir. She said after martyrdom in Kashmir our foreign office give immaterial statement we offer a

diplomatic moral, political support to the Kashmir struggle. She said chairman of Kashmir committee said that committee had no authority. But if committee under your chairman ship give some proposals to foreign office than we have some strong justification to proof that we demanded but foreign office neglect our proposals. She said in 1948 India brought the Kashmir issue in UN Security Council under chapter VI rather than chapter VII. If India brought the issue under chapter VII it means India called Pakistan an aggressive state in UN. But under chapter VI India admitted that Pakistan and India both are UN member's states and UN should resolve the issue. We should be clear diplomatically to the world that it's not an internal issue of India rather an international issue (NA Deb, 2016).

Prime minister Nawaz Sharif had given statement on Kashmir issue and Indian cease fire violations on LOC. he said that he demanded four things during his speech in general assembly of UN. First point was UN should perform its role to stop Indian brutality on innocent Kashmiri peoples. Second demand was to release political prisoners from the Indian jails. Third demand to Security Council was right of self –determination of Kashmir's. And lastly Security Council performs its function in evacuation of Indian forces from Kashmir. He said India always accuser to Pakistan to divert attention from its brutality in Kashmir. He said incident of Uri take placed when he was addressing the Kashmir issue in general assembly. We want peaceful region and also against the war we want peaceful solution of Kashmir issue (NA Deb, 2016).

#### **4.6: Foreign Policy with Afghanistan**

Instructor to prime minster on foreign affairs Srataj Azez briefs the house on Afghanistan. He discusses the issue of Afghanistan because it was transition stage for Afghanistan in military and political process. He talked about withdrawal of foreign forces and election in Afghanistan. Stability in Afghanistan is very important for peace in Pakistan. Hamid Karzai visit to Pakistan in 26 to 27 August was very important for peace in both countries. Afghan Pakistan relations was deprived form many years so Karzai visit to Pakistan is new step in improvement of relations. This visit improves both sides' relations and important decisions take placed. Speaker of Olsi Jirga house of people of the Islamic republic of Afghanistan and his delegation visited parliament of Pakistan.

A welcome speech was also stated for them. All parties' leaders give their remarks on this visit. It was a historical relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Both states faced many crises in the past but with the passage of time these crisis can resolve, especially after the negotiation of quadrilateral groups. It was a great clarity in our minds that peace of Afghanistan is the peace of Pakistan. Peace process that started would be Afghan led peace

process. Pakistan and Afghanistan should frankly discuss their issues. Peace of this region is invisible. And Pakistan adopted very accurate policy and afghan led peace talks should be also needed. And we should focus on security related issues of both of states. After the fall of Russia importance of Pakistan Iran and Afghanistan had enhanced. If peace erect in this region economy of region also can be improve. We should also support peace dialogues in Afghanistan. Pakistan China Corridor is very close to Afghanistan and Afghanistan can get benefits from it as like Pakistan (NA Deb, 2016).

#### **4.7: Pakistan's Relations with Turkey**

President of republic of Turkey had visited Pakistan and he attended the joint setting of parliament. He said we are two brotherly nations not just in words but in reality. The ties of friend ship and affection between our people go so deep and our sorrows and happiness are also collective. In 2014 in the aftermath of the mining accident that took, place the mining tragedy in soma in Turkey Pakistan was affirmed a day of grief. And after terrorist attack on APS Peshawar in which multiple students died we shared same mourning. Owing the 15<sup>th</sup> July terrorist coup attempt that we experienced Pakistan was on our side with its parliament and administration.

Pakistan also demonstrated that it is siding with us in second war of independence via its position naturally alongside 15<sup>th</sup> July coup attempt by FETO terrorist's organization. May Allah protect our solidarity and support to one-another. FETO organization is not threat for Turkey rather it is a threat for all the countries in which it operate. Terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda and it offshoot, Daish and others are spoiling Muslims and they are only proxies in the war against Islam. Who is behind them who is funded them? Of course the west is funded them. When we caught confiscate weapons from them we were able to see that those weapons were in fact manufactured in west. We find that they all are against the Muslim worlds. As per their location turkey and Pakistan both are important states. Turkey also offered scholarships to Pakistanis. We are deeply saddened by the ongoing nature of the Kashmir issue. We are aware of the issue and sufferings of our Kashmiri brothers. International community should put more efforts to resolve this issue. Turkey always remains ready to do whatever it can in the resolution of Kashmir issue (NA Deb, 2016).

#### **4.8: Foreign Policy Regarding the Issue of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar**

This motion was started from government 16 members of opposition and government gives their remarks on it. And resolution was passed unanimously. It was special proceeding on genocide of Muslims in Myanmar. A member from opposition condemns human rights violation and the Myanmar government. The main purpose of this resolution was to raise

voice against genocide in Myanmar. UN OIC rather any individual state raise voice for Rohingya Muslims. A lady who got Nobel peace prize is leader of Myanmar but she did not stop this genocide. According to UN charter chapter 7 UN Security Council can take action if there is any threat to peace. After genocide in Rwanda, UN has adopted another principal that was principle of humanitarian intervention. But UN did not take any action under this principle.

Our government should adopt four things because only through meaningless resolutions we could not get any result. We should move toward UN Security Council that they sent peace keeping mission in Myanmar under chapter 7. Secondly Islamic states should help out the refugees of Myanmar. Thirdly Pakistan though OIC and as a state officially go to UN and raise voice for the Rohingya Muslims. And we should pressurized those states are selling weapons to Myanmar and should stop weapon supply. And fourthly UN should place economic sanctions against Myanmar.

A resolution was also passed by opposition and in 2015 this issue was also raised in parliament but unfortunately we did not have any result of these resolutions. There are no efforts of foreign office and our government regarding this issue. If we sent any parliamentary delegation to UN so this resolution is fruit full. But if we don't send any delegation so this resolution is also meaningless. A fund should be created for refuges. And a delegation also should be sent leaders of all political parties should be including in this delegation. We need to adopt practical methods rather than meaningless resolutions. We need some political initiatives that our assembly passed a resolution jointly and government practiced on it. Turkey and Iran had taken initiative and they funded the Rohingya Muslims.

An adjournment motion was moved regarding Massacre of Muslims in Myanmar 19 members from both sides participated in discussion. It is an appealing pitiable phenomenon where a whole community of people has been living in a country for years. But this country disowned the entire community. Myanmar was totally isolated in international community because of its internal setup. Government of Pakistan should take notice of this. It was the situation which threats international peace and security. UN Security Council and foremost powers that have the veto power should be called upon to apply the decisions of the Security Council. Pakistan needs to mobilized the international community besides turkey we have not seen any other country which had raised its voice on this issue. The government of Pakistan needs to be lauded that it has taken notice of this issue (NA Deb, 2015).

State consular of Myanmar Aung San Suu Kyi who is also a noble laureate and the entire world admire her in her struggle of democracy. In 2012 when she received award a big part of her speech was on the issue of refugees. She requested to world community and donor

community for the help of refugees. And now when she spoke she did not say a word about the sufferings of displaced community of Rohingya. She spoke the language of military and state of Burma. We should condemn these state atrocities against the Rohingya Muslims. There is lack of clarity in our resolutions and also in our foreign office (NA Deb, 2017).

#### **4.9: CPEC and Role of National Assembly**

CPEC intended to quickly modernized Pakistan infrastructure and also strengthen its economy by construction of modern network. Chinese government declares in November 2014 for investment of \$46 Billion in Pakistan. China president Xi Jinping had visited Pakistan in 2015. It was his first visit toward Pakistan. On Thirteen November 2016 CPEC became prepared.

#### **4.10: Minister's Policy Statement Regarding CPEC**

Minister of Planning, Development and Reforms has given policy statement on CPEC. He said Pakistan is facing many controversies on CPEC so I want to clarify this issue. Chinese president come to Pakistan in 20 to 21 April and he also addressed to parliament. He said CPEC has been accepted as a game changer for Pakistan internationally. In early years international newspapers were writing that Pakistan is safe haven for terrorist and now these newspapers are writing that Pakistan is safe haven for Chinese multibillion dollar investment. It's not only effective for Chinese investment rather investors of other countries like US Japan and middle east are watching Pakistan from a different lens and they will also think about investment in Pakistan.

If we seize the opportunity of Chinese investment it will not only game changer rather it will be fate changer for Pakistan. CPEC is a win-win project that will contribute in international economy and Pakistan also get benefits from it. In fifth July 2013 sign conducted to enhance this project in Beijing than a mechanism was established. A joint coordination committee that approved its overall projects and a joint working group also exists that consist of Chinese and Pakistani experts and it also categorized in energy infrastructure and industrial cooperation. There are also some misunderstandings about route of CPEC. There is not the name of a road or avenue it is the name of concept which will includes energy project, port projects, road projects and energy collaboration projects.

A port needs multiple connectivity routes, so china and Pakistan are agreeing that any single rout would not be considering the rout of CPEC. Gawader can only be serve accurately if it has excess to different markets of the country and also throughout the others countries. It cannot be possible port serves between Gawader and Khunjrab. So Gawader had three

principal concavity routes that are declared by Chinese president in his speech western alignment central alignment and eastern alignment that will serve Gawader to Khunjab. And I just want to clear that there is no changing in route and priorities of CPEC.

There are some controversies about the route of Gawader some peoples are saying that they will not tolerate on any changing in the route of Gawader. With due respect somebody who are claimed on changing in the route let me show the original. There is no changing in any route. And another thing people are saying that priorities of CPEC has been changed work is started on eastern route rather than eastern route. This claim is also against the fact and figures. On western route work has been started one year ago. FWO is working on it and twelve persons died during connection of Gawader to Quetta. So this perception is wrong and not based on fact that we are not working on western route and ignoring Quetta and other related areas. There are some controversies CPEC is China Punjab economic Corridor and other provinces are neglecting. We should show a responsible attitude on national programs and avoid creating controversies because these issues are very sensitive. Through china Pakistan economic corridor we are getting a game changer opportunity so we should be united (NA Deb, 2015).

#### **4.11: Opposition Reservations on CPEC**

There were some reservations on the CPEC some political parties stated that china Pakistan economic corridor is pro Punjab. Opposition raised point that government had been promised in April 2015 western route will built on priority basis. But we had seen written answer in national assembly in which we find nothing about western route and KP (NA Deb, 2015).

#### **4.12: Security Situation Due to Yemen Crisis**

Defense minister give statement regarding the security situation in Yemen. The serious security situation in Yemen has elevated several implications for Pakistan as well as for the whole region. He focused on some important issues like evacuation of Pakistanis from Yemen, request of Saudi Arabia for support, and on Pakistan's response. He said 503 Pakistanis were evacuated by a PIA special from Yemen. In September 2014 the Houthis tribe of Yemen took control of Sana. After few months later on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2015, President Mansur Hadi resigned and later escaped to Aden and stated himself as the president.

Due to military advance of Houthis to Aden president Hadi appealed to GCC members states for military action under UN charter. Security Council has maintained the legitimacy of Mr. Hadi as the president of Yemen. Defense minister of Saudi Arabia called the prime minister to inform about launching of Saudi led military operations against Houthis in Yemen and ask for

Pakistani support. Prime minister chaired a number of high-level meetings with the cabinet ministers and chief of our Armed forces. For the discussion on evolving situation in Yemen and our response to Saudi request. During all these meetings prime minister emphasized on any violation of Saudi territory would be responded by Pakistan very seriously. Prime minister also visited turkey and exchanged views for the political solution of the Yemen crisis.

Pakistan and turkey both had demonstrated their worried at depose of the legitimate government in Yemen by use of power by non-state actors. Some people consider it was a war among Iran and Saudi Arabia or it was a sectarian issue. It was not war of sects rather it was started from the decade of 1960. Yemen was Biggest headquarter of Al-Qaida in past. The war in Yemen was not our war. It was not a military crisis and not a crisis that evokes or warrants military action. It was a political crisis and it need to be addressed in political term. Most of political parties represented in parliament, there was near consensus, no direct participation of Pakistan in the war in the Yemen. It's not our war, we had not sought this war it is not our seeking, and it was not our making and Pakistan strategy should be to find a political settlement.

Saudi Arabia had invoked article-51 of the UN charter. But it was a civil war and there was no attack against Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and GCC states should be goes to UN. Pakistan should not supported the coalition of willing. Because if we bypass UN system, non-superpowers will always perceive threat, that could be used against them. And in future it can be used against us. And Pakistan should push for UN peace enforcement force. According to Opposition views Pakistan should not sent their troops to anywhere. And Pakistan should persuade to Saudi Arabia and GCC countries that they accept Fourth Russian Humanitarian Resolution.

The entire parliamentarian had showed very serious concern on the deteriorating security and humanitarian situation in Yemen and its allusions for peace and constancy of the region. And supported all humanitarian proposal aimed to bring release to people wedged in the clash. Calls affirmed upon the warring sections in Yemen to determine their conflicts peacefully through dialogue. Should supports regional and international efforts for restoration of peace and stability in Yemen. So as to be able to play a positive diplomatic role to end the crisis we desired that Pakistan should maintain neutrality in the Yemen crisis .We urge the Muslim states and the international community to strengthen their efforts for peace in Yemen. Pakistan should initiates steps to move the UN Security Council and the OIC to bring about an immediate ceasefire in Yemen (NA Deb, 2015).

**Table-4.1: Function of NA in Different Issues Regarding the F.P Formulation**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Issues Pass Before the NA in the session 2013-2018</b>	<b>Session</b>	<b>Status</b>
1.	Resolution Regarding showing support to the struggle of Kashmir's people for the right of self –determination	15 <sup>th</sup>	Adopted
2.	A Resolution on condemnation of accusations targeting Pakistan by U.S president Donald Trump in his statement on 21 <sup>st</sup> August 2017.	45 <sup>th</sup>	Adopted
3.	Resolution on solidarity with people of Kashmir	18 <sup>th</sup>	Adopted
4.	Resolution on condemnation of recent atrocities perpetrated on innocent Kashmir's by Indian security forces in occupied Kashmir.	34 <sup>th</sup>	Adopted
5.	Resolution on urging the international community and UN to provide the humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya Muslims in Maynmar.	46 <sup>th</sup>	Adopted
6.	Resolution regarding the Kashmir issue and cease fire violations along the LOC.	9 <sup>th</sup> Joint Sitting	Adopted
7.	Resolution on condemnation of Indian claim about Kashmir and threat to termination of Indus water treaty.	36 <sup>th</sup>	Adopted

Reference: Own Calculations from National Assembly Debates

#### **4.13: Minutes of the Meeting of Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs National Assembly of Pakistan**

Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs National Assembly of Pakistan performed its role accurately in Nawaz Sharif premiership. Meetings of Committee had further arranged by Chairman and reports of Committee also published.

##### **4.13.1: Comprehensive Briefing on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

Chairman of committee said that our geo-political position makes us a very important country in the region. The role of major powers and relations with other nations vis-a vis Pakistan will be discussed. Additional secretary ministry of foreign affairs briefed the committee about the key FP issues. Giving his contribution on regional and global environment he told the committee about United States, improved focus on Asia Pacific and US-India strategic partnership, China growing economic and political influence issues related to Afghanistan, India and terrorism. He said that the focus of new government is on having peaceful neighborhood and the government also means to have a proactive approach regarding trade with the western countries. And we have to a consent approach to eliminate the terrorist threat. He also briefed the committee on dealings with neighboring countries and how the government is following a three track policy, which included the campsite dialogue, confidence building measure and back channel diplomacy. The additional secretary on

foreign affairs also briefed on bilateral relations with other countries. He also told about the multilateral diplomacy, administrative protocols and public matters.

#### **4.13.2: Findings of Briefing**

The chairman standing committee on foreign affairs gave the floor to members to ask the questions. One member of opposition found the briefing bland and said that there are some important areas which have not been covered by the secretary in his briefing. She pointed out that secretary completely missed out on extra regional forces which are main cause of instability and the south Asia Region except India and ASEAN has been absolutely overlooked by him. She also said that the role of Saudi Arabia in the proxy war being carried out in our country has also not been elaborated. Other important issues like Afghanistan, India, China and US was also missed. One member also wished to know the foreign office stance on Dams and water reservoirs made by India on Pakistan Rivers (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2013).

#### **4.13.3: In-Camera Interaction of the Committee Members with a Panel of Specialist on Afghanistan**

Chairman standing committee on foreign affairs welcomed the committee members and panel specialist. They thanked the chairman for the invitation. Three experts attended the meeting and briefed about Afghanistan situation. One expert stated that there are number of factors that would be affected the developments in Afghanistan.

Elections in Afghanistan

Post withdrawal scenario of NATO forces from Afghanistan

Reconciliation process with various parties in Afghanistan

Indian factors in Afghanistan and other neighbor states sharing border with Afghanistan

He told the committee members he has no clear idea about links of Pakistan and Taliban. He stated that international community thinks Pakistan has influence on Taliban but as per his view, Pakistan has a very little influence over the Taliban. There are two different entities of Taliban TTP and Afghan Taliban both groups having different agenda. He also stated that there is no need to have negotiation with Taliban by Pakistan. India can't hurt Pakistan through Afghanistan as long as tribal belt with us. Though concluding his briefing he said Pakistan should genuinely try to help the reconciliation process in Afghanistan and afghan government would require more pressure on Taliban.

Another expert pointed the New Delhi as the key to our issues because negative perception of Pakistan is shaped in there. He said that the narrative about India taken from national security establishment of Pakistan is parroted by most of our politicians and media personnel which is not a healthy sign. Non state instruments of foreign policy are a pessimistic perception of Pakistan in the whole world. He said that this is the responsibility of our parliamentarian to extricate the non-state instruments from the foreign policy. He said that we should prevent proxies in Afghanistan because it effects foreign investment and external confidence in this country. He advised to stop looking at non state instruments of foreign policy through the eyes of security agencies and military. Although when he concluded his briefing he plainly defined need of refining the civil military relations.

Third expert of panel pointed that after removal of NATO forces Afghanistan would face economic and security challenges. Because of after removal of NATO services from Afghanistan US will only give the committed financial aid to Afghanistan. He said there is no difference between afghan Taliban and TTP both groups are one unit because they are working on same agenda. Foreign secretary said that standing committee on foreign affairs is an important platform for us to interact with the parliament and foreign ministry and both can get guidance from this committee (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

#### **4.13.4: Interactive Sitting on America with Panel of Experts**

Chairman standing committee on foreign affairs welcomed the panel and requested them to provide detailed briefing on Pakistan US relations. First expert of panel remind that Pakistan described itself the frontline ally of USA three times in the history of these relations i.e. during the Cold war period, soviet occupation of Afghanistan and after 9/11. She highlighted some key areas first one was Afghan end game, secondly Pak India US relations, thirdly US ambitions to engage and contain china. She proposed that Pakistan needs to develop its foreign policy space by not make only US centered policies and reduce our reliance on US. She said that Pakistan and US have shared goals like Afghan stabilization and Al-Qaeda but lack in shared approach. She said that both need to recognize each other legitimate concerns.

Another expert also agreed that Pak-US relations are sordid, transactional and accident-prone, which have experienced three stages of engagement i.e. containment of communism during cold war during soviet occupation of Afghanistan and after 9/11 fight against terrorism. During all periods Pakistan concerns remain same I.e. security. The causes of disconnect between Pakistan and US during 1950s was India during 1980s was nuclear program of Pakistan and post 9/11 period was fight against terrorism. On the issue of US military

presence in Afghanistan after 2014 he appreciated that Pakistan has taken a impartial position on this issue and this is good for Pakistan.

He said we can do without US assistance but we need it because it is very important. He said that Pakistan can't afford to adopt hostility against US. He also supported Afghan reconciliation procedure because Afghan crisis had hurt Pakistan more than any other country of the world. He stated that Pakistan needs to move with self-sufficiency in its foreign policy without the influence of conspiracy theories. He disagreed to the common rhetoric that everything good or bad which happened to Pakistan was due to US. He stated that most of Pakistan problems are our internal and we should solve them by our self. On the question of chairman committee about the seriousness of US withdraw from Afghanistan all the experts agreed that the US want to leave Afghanistan to end this long war (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

#### **4.13.5: An Interactive Meeting on China with the Panel of Experts**

Three experts attend the meeting and briefed the committee on china. One of them provided an overview of Pakistan relations with china. He stated that relations started from 1950 when Pakistan recognized People's Republic of China. He talks about reliable Chinese support during our hard time. As a result of increasing terrorism in china ETIM is becoming a major concern. China looks up to Pakistan for full cooperation as regard to contradict the rising terrorism.

He said that Pakistan can trust china as a significant and committed friend when it comes to standing by us internationally. In 1971 china casted its first veto on the request of Pakistan. We needs to clear that china would not get into our war. China is very significant for Pakistan because firstly it is the largest reservoir of surplus capital with great potential to invest in Pakistan and secondly it is the most reachable basis of technology. He also highlighted the weakness of relationships. He said that security is the biggest hurdle and we can have at least ten times more business if security position improves. Each year around 30-40 million Chinese go abroad for tourism but barely a few of this figure come to Pakistan due to adverse environment of our country.

Another expert underlined the problem area of our relationships. He encouraged the national harmony in Pakistan on relations with china. He appreciated the Pakistan china economic corridor project and termed it an organized plan for the revival of Pakistan economy. China has high expectations from Pakistan in terms of management in this project. He reminded the committee that a Pak china economic secretariat has been shaped in the planning commission of Pakistan but it needs more resources and authority to function properly.

He also talked about to the security aspects of Pakistan- China relations that if there is any hazard to Pakistan china relations it is terrorism in Xinjiang. China has Zero tolerance on the issue of terrorism. China main apprehension is the export of essential ideology from Pakistan to Chinese Muslims. Only china can help Pakistan to deal with the water crisis through constructions of dams. He recommended Pakistan should take the relationships very seriously (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

#### **4.13.6: In Camera Briefing and Discussion by Advisor to PM on Foreign Affairs to Syrian Situation**

The chairmen welcomed the advisor to prime minster on foreign affairs and official of concerned ministry. He invited the advisor to give his input views on the agenda item. Mr. Advisor said that the government is pursued the policy of non-interference in other countries affairs. On Syrian crisis he opined that it has become a vast humanitarian disaster and a stigma on the Muslim world as many people have been killed. Initially some western and Middle East countries wanted the regime of President Bashar Al-Asad changed by helping opposition parties and insurgents in Syria, but later on they recognized that it was a wrong decision as Al-Qaeda and other extremist organizations infiltrated the opposition parties.

The situation in Syria has become multifarious as the solutions given in Geneva -1 were practical and appropriate but that has not happened in the case of Geneva-2 conference. He said that role of Pakistan was neutral which is evident from Geneva-1 accord in 2012 and UN resolution in Security Council in September 2013. The advisor further elaborated on the government not to support any brotherly country such as Saudi Arabia at the cost of any other brotherly country. Pakistan is firmly committed to keep a neutral stance on the Syrian crisis. He also told the committee that he discussed the issue of Iran and Saudi Arab in detail with the secretary general of OIC and told him that tension between Saudi Arabia and Iran will not only affect the region but also the whole Muslim Ummah.

Pakistan would not only support to relieve the strain between Saudi Arabia and Iran but would also like to see a peaceful solution to Syrian crisis. Chairman standing committee thanked the advisor for sharing his views and the government's policy on Syrian crisis with the standing committee and asked members to raise the questions if any from the advisor. A member of committee opined that it is in the news that Pakistan will be selling arms to Saudi Arabia which then in time will be used by the militants in Syria. She also inquires that is there any contract according to which the Saudi will not be selling arms to other country or groups.

She was also of the observation that Iran has taken a stand against neo- imperialism of America and is not against any Sunni or Shia state. She said according to the news retired

army personnel are recruited for Bahrain and which put in danger the lives of Pakistanis in Bahrain. The advisor on foreign affairs responded to the contention by telling the committee that there is no uncertainty or conflict on Pakistan stance on Syria and the joint statement issued with the crown prince of Saudi Arabia in accordance with the Geneva-1 accord. He said that most of people have been going to Bahrain for employment purpose and there is not an accord between the two states.

He also added that Pakistan is only giving small arms to Saudi Arabia and not the complicated weapons or hand shoulder missiles which a member claimed to be given to Saudi Arabia. He said that an anti-money laundering bill was initiated in national assembly through which we would be able to check and trace any sort of money coming into Pakistan.

A member of standing committee opined that it has always been the American policy to destabilize any organized state which can stand up to the state of Israel. Which support the cause of Palestinians and Saudi Arabia has been a tool of America, supporting the American supremacy and Pakistan, somehow has been supportive of Saudi policy in this context? Two members of committee from opposition parties were of the opinion that Pakistan must keep stability between among relations with two brotherly countries KSA and Iran (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

#### **4.13.7: Address of Ambassador of China to the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs**

Ambassador of china said that it was great pleasure and honor for him that he was the first ambassador to address the parliament's committee on foreign affairs and thanked the chairman and standing committee to giving him the chance to address the committee. He gave a detailed presentation on Pak china relations and highlighted the recent expansions in Pak china relations. He said that Pak china friend ship is a cross nation friendship that never change with the change of governments and strong as like iron. He briefed the committee that china is supporting Pakistan in civil nuclear technology within the UN framework.

He also briefed the committee on the situation of various projects being undertaken in Pakistan like Gwadar-Kashger economic corridor, thermo power projects at port Qasim at Karachi and solar power plants at Bahawalpur and highways and motorways projects. He highlighted the visit of prime minster and president of Pakistan to china. He also briefed about the visit of chairman senate and youth delegation to Beijing. Visit of military leadership is also expected soon. He said that Chinese cooperation in defense sectors will continue. On a question related to Afghanistan he said that china wants a peaceful and stable

Afghanistan. He stated that china was also a victim of terrorism and it is cooperating with Pakistan to stop militancy (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014).

**FUNCTION OF SENATE IN FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION OF  
PAKISTAN 2013-18**

**5.1: Points of Order Need of Government View on Foreign Policy**

A member of opposition raise point of order regarding need of government views on important foreign policy related issues. He said there is no clarification of government related to foreign policy. Taliban opened their office in Doha and government talked about discussion with them. Afghan president visited Pakistan Johan Kari visited Pakistan and Indian violation on LOC are also continues. Government also revives national Security Council. These all are very sensitive and important issues we want to give our opinion as opposition as a political party on these issues but we want to know the government point of view on all these issues.

Government replied about Taliban office in Doha that questions raised by opposition. This office was closed on the order of Afghan government. He said it was only a setback. Afghan president Karzi visited Pakistan his visit was only for one day but he stayed for one day more for detail discussion on important issues (SP Deb, 2013).

Opposition stated that there was an Advisor on foreign affairs and there was a special assistance. But in addition to that we had also seen that others state functionaries had been formulated foreign policy the national foreign policy without reference to the foreign office. We had observed that chief Minister of Punjab during his visit to India had signed Joint Declaration. We also believe in promoting public contact. Although it had ever happened in the history of Pakistan before that a province had negotiated with another country without reference to the foreign office.

We did not objected on contents of declaration but this was not the duty of provincial chief Minister. This is the job of structured foreign policy led by the civilian government. We highlighted this issue if foreign office got directions from multi polarity than it is a threat the security establishment of Pakistan which had fond of formulated foreign policy on its own. It will get encouraged to tree down the path. When foreign minister of Pakistan selected first time he wrote in his book and newspapers that foreign policy of Pakistan especially on Kashmir, India, Afghanistan and nuclear policy are made on another place and there are no role of civilians in its formulation. If government did not focus on foreign policy formulation than those quarters will get encouragement and they will make such parallel foreign policies. The foreign policy must be formulated by civilian led government by the parliament by the

civilian structured foreign office by taking input from the defense establishment (SP Deb, 2014).

Engine of Foreign policy of Pakistan is foreign ministry. But absence of a permanent foreign minister was not a suitable thing. Foreign ministry of Pakistan was controlled by old leadership. Advisor of prime minister was an intellectual but absence of foreign minister was a big issue. Foreign policy of Nawaz government was weak. Advisor on foreign affairs stated that basic of our foreign policy are economic revival and to improve economic relations. Our focus was always on economic diplomacy and had focused on trade rather than aid. We adopted the policy of noninterference and our relations with Afghanistan were also improved.

The policy of noninterference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan was very compulsory for the peace of the region. Our geographical location remained liability in past. Our geographical locations are very important on one direction West Asia and on other sides Central Asia and South Asia are situated. South Asia and Central Asia both are disconnected regions because connectivity is available in other regions but not available there. So CPEC will provide many opportunities to connect all the regions. Our foreign policy is not weak.

A senior Opposition member had stated that the situation of region was not good. Pakistan relations with Afghanistan and India were also not effective. After elections in India and Afghanistan its fallout for Pakistan was also not effective. US Secretary of state had also visited Pakistan and he stated to do more and availability of safe heavens after two and half year. Government had started dialogues with Taliban some times its stops some time had started again these all were serious foreign policy issues.

But statement of Mr. Advisor was not much effective as indeed. Weekly statement of foreign office spokesperson were much effective than his statement we can achieve more information from spokespersons statement on TV. This is the Senate of Pakistan for God sake doesn't be made it ridicule. This country had faced many confronted with massive international issues and the house has a right to know about the policies of government (SP Deb, 2014).

## **5.2: Commenced Motion Regarding Foreign Policy**

Opposition moved a commenced motion regarding foreign policy. Opposition member said that almost six months of this government were being in the office and senate making repeated demands that the foreign policy or a policy statement be made on the floor of the house. Till today no major policy statement on foreign affairs has been made despite the fact that many important meetings and important events have taken place. 52 questions related to foreign policy were asked by a senior opposition member (SP Deb, 2013).

### **5.3: Role of Senate on Drone Attacks and NATO Supply Routes**

Three members discussed their position on the issue of drone attacks. A member talked about the drone attacks he said there is lack of clarity in our approach towards the issue of drone attacks. He stated that parliament of Pakistan is the best forum to speak about the clarity in these issues. There are some myths that drone attacks take place with the permission of security establishment and government. This situation is against the sovereignty of Pakistan and also in the favor of militants. First drone attack took place in 18 June 2004 in South Waziristan and a militant Naik Muhammad killed in this attack.

Naik Muhammad was a person with him corps commander of Peshawar conducted meeting before this attack. And an agreement was also took place that foreign militants will be exclude. No one knows about the causes of his death but when we read the newspapers of those days we find that security establishment announced that Naik Muhammad has been killed in a military activity by military of Pakistan.

When this incident took place a local journalist who was also working under a foreign newspaper agency he took footage and sent to editor when editor seen these pictures he said which missiles has been used for the assassination of Naik Muhammad are Hellfire missiles which is only available with the CIA. In Pakistan strategic inventory theses missiles not existed. When the news related to this journalist publish that Naik Muhammad has been killed through hellfire missiles. Which are not available in the arsenal of Pakistan and which are only available with the CIA a very serious question arose. Within in months the journalist kidnapped by unknown people and after six months his dead body was found later on his wife also killed in an attack and his family left the area.

So the first sign given by security establishment of the government of the Pakistan was in June 2004 that without naming that it was drone strikes we owned it. Security establishment and the government of Pakistan owned the strike which killed Naik Muhammad in June 2004. He said I'm elaborating some incidents so that we can connect these links together and draw a picture and through this picture we try to acquire clarity in drone attacks.

Later on another drone attack took place in 8 August 2009 in which Bait ullah Mashood was killed. Mr. Chairman as you know American president did not talked about drone attacks as it's their policy but after assassination of Bait Ullah Mashood president Obama formally distinct that which was surprisingly a deviation from their practice. President Obama said that we took out Bait Ullah Mehsood in a missiles strike by a US drone so admitted.

We got the Pakistan army for the first time combating in a very destructive way and that is how we took out Bait Ullah Mehsood top Taliban leader and. In 26<sup>th</sup> March 2009 American senate committee on foreign affair chairperson formally stated that ‘drones have been taken from air bases in Pakistan with the authorization of military authorities of Pakistan’. He said when on 24<sup>th</sup> October Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was coming from US during his talks with BBC he said it is not the issue of drones we need to improve our home. He said that I am presenting this picture only for this purpose that there is lack of clarity about the drone attacks. Nobody own the truth about it but if you keep in mind all these episodes that we have narrated given the dates the picture become very clear.

In Peshawar people conducted agitation against drone strike and a former foreign minister was also part of this agitation. There is not a single voice of his in which he protested or he did any effort to stop this drone attacks. Unfortunately today he is in the front position of the blocking the economic and commercial roots of the people of KP. The question raised that through this agitation these attacks will stop. After Slalah incident these attacks has been stop on the request of security establishment for seven months.

According to UN resolutions we are bound that we cannot stop NATO supply routes we could not take any action that will be come under the help of militants. Drones are effective weapons to take the militants out but the drone technology must be given to Pakistan and it must be operated by Pakistani flag. For the clarity about the drone attacks it was very important that security establishment should know about how many innocent civilians has been died in these attacks.

Another member took the floor and said that if we wanted to stop the drone attacks we should try to stop terrorism and expel of those foreigners who were living without visa and passports in Pakistan. We need to use diplomatic channels for the solution of this issue. In newspapers and in talk shows many intellectuals’ exaggerate this issue and they suggested for talks with terrorist but question raised in our minds talks with which one.

No one is ready to talks with us. They are rebellion against the state of Pakistan. They have to use weapons against the state of Pakistan. First of all the writ of state has to be established and rebels have to crush. We need to revive our foreign policy and try to establish good relations with the neighboring states (SP Deb, 2013).

#### **5.4: Foreign Policy on Seeking Reciprocity from US and Afghanistan**

The governments of Pakistan and the foreign office have a stared position of Pakistan facilitating the reconciliation process in Afghanistan. All appropriate Pakistani stakeholders

have been working with US and Afghan government to facilitate talks with an access to Afghan Taliban which has been appropriately recognize by both American and afghan government. The government of Pakistan should have required reciprocity from the government of Afghanistan and the US in the facilitation of peace talks with TTP. Leader of the house respond to this issue. If United States and Afghanistan required our help for facilitation and then Pakistan had performed its role. But in internal matters of Pakistan we should not needs any type of help from other country.

The New York Times reported very extensively and it was carried by international and national press that a leading commander by the name Latif Mhsud of TTP had been seized by US NATO forces in Afghanistan. The Afghan national directorate for security had provided support not only the named commander but there was acknowledgment by Afghan president spokesman that NDS and the Afghan government had provided the cooperation to other commander as well.

When in our neighboring states, their government officials and NATO, ISAF forces admitted that senior commanders of TTP had got cooperation from them. It would be logical that was and internal matter. But it was also fact that these people had cooperated by neighboring states. It was very serious admission. If government of Pakistan could provide support for the reconciliation process with the afghan Taliban why Pakistan could not asked for reciprocity. Leader of the house replied when we started dialogues with Taliban than officially foreign office of United States stated that it's an internal problem of Pakistan. So we should not ask for any type of help from one government to another (SP Deb, 2014).

### **5.5: Water Issues with India and Senate Role**

Six members had discussed their points of views on the water issue. A commenced resolution was accessible to the NA regarding the water dispute of Pakistan with India. Unfortunately when Pakistan framed five rivers were drifted in India and Pakistan. To resolve this issue committees were framed from both sides India as well Pakistan. It was era of Ayuob Khan. Our representatives who only represented a single province they committed a queer agreement with India. Indus River that was totally the property of Pakistan also integrated in this controversy. Lastly, they decided that both states divide six rivers. Indus river was the property of Pakistan it should not be included in these disputed five rivers.

When we talked about water issue our representatives always came into pressures. In international court of justices no settlement was in favor of Pakistan on dams which India build on our water. Pakistan is the 31<sup>st</sup> most strained country in the terms of waters. Pakistan is most water stressed country than Afghanistan, than India, than all other south Asians

countries. One of the vital issue of that treaty which has led to these frequent violations is that India under that treaty was given right to build hydro power projects on the western rivers.

However Indians can only do so once they had shared the designs and plans of those dams with Pakistan. But India repeatedly violated this treaty Kishanganga hydroelectric power project was an example of such violation. Pakistan took the case to international court of arbitration because consequence of that dam being built 14% of the flow of water of Neelum Jehlum river will reduced. One of the reasons that we had to go to ICA was because the government was slow to answering to Indian design.

If Pakistan neglects to do so the situation for us will become extremely serious. One of the key issue that will emerged by the construction of these dams is that the timing of water being released into Pakistan will be exclusively controlled by our eastern neighbors. Pakistan foods and security will mostly depend on when that water arrive into Pakistan. If the timing of that water will be critical for Pakistan than food security and agriculture will affected badly.

Water being the most serious challenge and will became the biggest issue in the coming decades between India and Pakistan. If we do not start dialogue process with India on water issue it can lead through potential conflicts in future. Pakistan is an agriculture state in future war will be on the issue of water. India is building dams on our waters and violating the Indus water treaty. In previous government we lost our case in international court of arbitration because of our insufficiency.

Absolutely the solution of every problem is in dialogue process but we should focus on results. We must handle that issue very seriously because control of this issue is almost in the hands of India. In future India will control our water and when they have in excess water they consign us floods and when we need of water they will drought us. We should not focus on discussion rather we need to lobby this issue in international forum and attention of friendly states should be expended on this serious issue. India had been extensively violated the agreement our reaction on these violations was not as furious as we needed.

According to United Nations report India and china both are producing gas emission at massive range because of gas emission glaciers are melting quickly. India stops our aid by international community through lobbying against us on different forums and created misconceptions against us. They economically choke Pakistan through choking our water supply. We all supported normalization of relations with India and we are having this in cricket commerce culture but on terms that are mutually beneficial. The resolution was adopted unanimously (SP Deb, 2014).

## **5.6: Debates on China Pakistan Economic Corridor**

Chinese president visited Pakistan and he addressed to parliament. He said that in 1951 China and Pakistan had established diplomatic relations which conducted our friendly relations into a new era. We respect to each other with sincerity (SP Deb, 2013). A motion was presented in the upper house had to expressed the distress that Pakistan emerge to be getting short end of the stick in free- Trade agreement struck up with Beijing as part of CPEC. Senator stated in this regard that china was not utilizing diverse economic dispensation granted to it by Pakistan. He said that Pakistan value added exports have not benefited under the FTA agreements and there are concerns regarding the promotion of local industry.

A debate on the remuneration of the CPEC to Pakistan had taken place in the senate. Policymaker also raised their concerns that information about the project was being suspended. Members also asked what Balochistan stands to accomplishment from the project. China had arrived in Gawadar and nearly all the business carry out in Pakistan is being undertaken by china. Balochistan have not gained anything from the scheme. And possibly they will only be given jobs to fasten punctured tires. That CPEC will not be successful project. A member called for intelligibility in security provision for CPEC and also points out that piece of information about the project have been withheld. We had told that it was an extensive plain and it cannot be public so these projects have lack of transparency.

An adjournment motion moved regarding proposed industrial zones along the CPEC. CPEC is a need of time but there is much indefiniteness about the CPEC. Through economic zones Chinese companies got Subsidies and local industry of Pakistan had effected. Minister of planning and development had given a statement on the motion. He said that there was much negative propaganda from different lobbies on CPEC. Chief Ministers of all provinces attended six meeting of JCC which held in Beijing and their reservations had resolved. First thing is that we are entering in a global economic Zone through this project we are trying to relocate Chinese industry. And second thing is that no subsidies will be given to any industrial zone that will be against Pakistani investors and industry (SP Deb, 2017).

## **5.7: Policy Statements about Dr. Shakeel Afridi**

A calling attention notice was moved regarding Dr. Shakeel Afridi case. Special assistance on foreign affairs to the prime minster had given statement on Dr. Shakeel Afridi case that is under judiciary. Pakistan is ready to resolve Dr. Shakeel Afridi matter. So advisor of prime minster on foreign affairs should be given clarifications on the issue. Dr. Shakeel Afridi is

Pakistani physician who help out CIA to run a false hepatitis vaccine program. He helped CIA to confirm Osama Bin Laden presence in Abbottabad, Pakistan.

His act was against the security and sovereignty of Pakistan. He had committed crime so he called a traitor. Obama admiration had demanded again and again to release him. Government of Pakistan had denied to release him and stated that he is a traitor. But special assistance on foreign affairs to the prime minister said in his visit to United States in November 2016 that we are ready for talks with US on the case of Dr Shakeel Afridi.

Minister of law and Justice on the behalf of prime minister advisor on foreign affairs had given written statement. Shakeel Afridi was working with a foreign agency and it was violation of our local laws. Polio vaccination campaign has been also affected through it. Fifty polio workers have been killed on this doubt that they were foreign agents. Shakeel Afridi is a hero in USA February 2012 a bill was passed in US Congress in which they declared him an American hero. And in that's bill they demanded to release him.

In January 2014 legislation was also brought in US congress. Through this legislation they declared to stop 33 million dollars which they confer to Pakistan under CSF. US demanded to release Shakeel Afridi. So there is a clear difference of perception about Dr Shakeel Afridi. He is getting fair trial which he is availing. Special assistance on foreign affairs to the prime minister conveyed his perspective to US side during his various interactions in Washington DC (SP Deb, 2017).

### **5.8: Foreign Policy Regarding the Issue of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar**

Twenty members from both sides participated in this debate. We strongly condemn the inhuman, barbaric treatment that was faced by the Muslim minorities in Burma. We should call United Nation to have a tribunal to look into this ethnic cleansing which had been against all international laws. On the issue of brutal killing of Muslims in Burma why international organizations OIC and United Nation were always remains silence. When we talked about this brutality OIC simply replied oh I see. China and Burma both are friendly states so china should ask for to Burma to stop this brutality and human rights violations. If OIC countries closed Burma embassies in their countries, than we could save them. State consular of Myanmar Aung San Suu Kyi who is also a noble laureate and the entire world admire her in her struggle of democracy. In 2012 when she received award a big part of her speech was on the issue of refugees.

She requested to world community and donor community for the help of refugees. And now when she spoke she did not say a word about the sufferings of displaced community of

Rohingya. She spoke the language of military and state of Burma. We should condemn these state atrocities against the Rohingya Muslims. There is lack of clarity in our resolutions and also in our foreign office

#### **5.8.1: Minister Statement**

Pakistan has condemned the unending violence and grave human rights violations alongside the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. We have emphasized that the dilemma of the Rohingya Muslims continues to be a challenge to the conscience of the global community. Government condemns the bloodshed of innocent Rohingya Muslims and cabinet has adopted a resolution on violence against Rohingya Muslims. The cabinet called upon the UN to take the lead which it must under its mandate in stopping immediately the violence against Rohingya Muslims. Pakistan has maintained call by the OIC, IPHRC for instant and effective accomplishment to bring an end to all human rights contravention against Muslims (SP Deb, 2017).

#### **5.9: Discussion on Agreement Signed by Iran, India and Afghanistan for Expansion of Chabahar Port**

A motion regarding the agreement signed by India Iran and Afghanistan for expansion of Chabahar port was moved. Thirteen members from both sides participated in this discussion. We don't have to fear Chabahar port if we focus on CPEC project. But we notice in interim reports of CPEC committee of senate the progress on western route is a bare eye wash. So as long as we treat the consensus on western route in this manner as an eye wash then we faced threats from all sides including Chabahar. We must have a sense of introspection and see as to what is wrong. India wanted to isolate Pakistan internationally we can see his speeches in US congress which was totally anti Pakistani. Investment in Chabahar needs to be looked at in the view of new global alignments in Asia. We are witnessing today a new power game in the continent of Asia.

#### **5.9.1: Advisor on Foreign Affairs Statement**

He said as many members pointed out this region with this increased connectivity needs more than one port. Gawader and both Chabahar were needed and they were complementary. Our relations with Iran are stable and positive. President of Iran visited Pakistan in March 2016 and again in March 2017. Our economic cooperation is on the increase and we have agreed to connect Chabahar and Gawader as sister ports.

There was a proposal for a rail link between the two ports and this will further add to the complementary and as some members have pointed out Gawader was a deep sea port which

Chabhar is not therefore its effectiveness is much greater. It's very important that we pay full attention to the development of Gawader. On the broader issues there is no doubt that in this overall realignment Pakistan had took important steps to build our connection not only with china but all countries of Central Asia.

On the whole our foreign policy is active and in the right lines. We should be grateful to God and ourselves that for last seventy years with 7 time larger hostile neighbors we have protected our national interests and sovereignty. We have succeeded in protecting our vital interests in the realignment of anti-Islamic policies. Mr. Chairman asked a question about United States has brought a fundamental policy shift in the region in favor of India. Advisor of prime minster stated that it's not new if we look in past we were part of cold war in Ayub Khan Tenure. Later on relationship became abnormal.

Under Zia Ul Haq the war in Afghanistan started and again relations warmed up and when war finished sanctions were imposed again. We faced same situation after 9/11. It is a coincidence that every time the west needed us we have military governments in Pakistan. US relations with us during dictatorship have been much stronger than democracy. Every country has its own national interests as long as it serves the purpose they remain warm but we have to protect our own vital interests. Our policy is trade not aid we have reduced our dependence on foreign support substantially (SP Deb, 2016).

#### **5.10: Relations with India**

A Resolution was passed unanimously to condemn the Indian aggression on LOC. It also censures the attacks on Pakistan High Commission and the demonstration exterior to the PIA office Delhi. The house therefore calls upon the government to clearly express to the government of India the need to respect and support the ceasefire conformity of 2003(SP Deb, 2013). Calling attention notice was moved regarding air blast attack by US military in territory of Afghanistan.

15 Indians have been killed in mass ordnance air blast attack by the US military in province of Afghanistan on 13 April 2017. Total 96 terrorists were killed in this attack. The killing of Indians with Taliban shows the connection of India in terrorist activities in the region. As many terrorist incidents in Pakistan are sponsored by the Taliban in Afghanistan and the existence of Indians with Taliban point out the whole story. After this disclosure the India has been exposed and it has become clear that India is supporting Taliban for their terrorist activities in Pakistan. Kulbhushan Jadhav was also arrested from Balochistan who was Indian naval officer. He admitted that he was involved in terrorist activities.

### **5.11: Advisor to Prime Minister Statement**

Some Indians being so close to the Pakistan border is a serious matter for us because India in violation of the UN charter has continued to endorse subversive activities in Pakistan. The arrest of Commander Kalbhushan Jadhav and the reported deaths of some Indians in the province of Afghanistan clearly show enduring Indian presence in Afghanistan. Where they are coordinating attacks into Pakistan. This state terrorism by India is in fact condemnable and needs to end forthwith. The government of Pakistan is fully cognizant of the evil designs of India and has actively taken concrete actions in this regard. In December 2016 we shared comprehensive records with confirmation of Indian interference in internal affairs of Pakistan with the international community. The entire dossier highlights the continued Indian interference in Pakistan internal affairs in addition to earlier dossiers shared with UN in October 2015. This also underscored the information obtained from Kalbhushan Jadhav. Information regarding collusion of Indian agency RAW with afghan intelligence agency in committing terrorism in Pakistan should be shared with International community.

Indian barbarities in Indian occupied Kashmir unabated and have intensified mainly after the extra judicial killing of Kashmiri leader Burhan Wani on 8 July 2016. The situation deteriorated after the Srinagar by elections held on 9 April 2017. People of occupied Kashmiri boycotted these absurd elections. As a result of firing many innocent Kashmir's were killed. We strongly condemned the Indian barbarities occupied Kashmir. Mr. Prime minister had raised this issue in UN General Assembly in September 2016. We repeatedly highlighted the Indian crimes and at the same time also highlighted nexus between Indian agency RAW and NDS in Afghanistan to various terrorist attacks in Pakistan (SP Deb, 2017).

India had always advocated against us as a terrorist state. We were always remained victims and we had lost sixty thousand lives and still we are descending our status that we are victims. They are bent upon to treat us as terrorist state. Advisor to Prime minister on foreign affairs had stated on this issue of violation of LOC by Indians very briefly. All this matters has been regularly taken up with India at bilateral level on every violation high commissions called a proper note of protest. Our protest in this matter had duly recorded. Diplomatic corps in Islamabad had also briefed and these reports had been sending to all our missions abroad. We have pointed out that in 2003 an understanding was reached between India and Pakistan. That's how to enforce ceasefire on the working boundary and LOC. For all these years it worked almost satisfactorily but since September 2014 the incidents of violations had increased enormously. Pakistan allows entrance to UN military observers group inside its boundary but India refuses to allow that access. So UN reports on the Indian side are based on Indian media reports. The important issue is that resolution of Kashmir dispute is very

necessary by peaceful means. India always tried to divert attention of international community by creating tensions on LOC (SP Deb, 2015).

A calling attention notice was moved regarding establishment of especial cell in pentagon for defense ties with India. On 17 September, 2015 news was published that a special cell has been established in Pentagon. It was this type of special cell that was established in Pentagon for India. India has emerged a largest country to receive the economic assistance from US. India is getting support from US and it is a big threat for Pakistan. Definitely many concerns develop through this assistance. India had continuously violating LOC and using aggressive designs against Pakistan. There are many diplomatic failures in Pakistan foreign policy towards India. India could not get anything in one day but we could not found a proactive attitude in our foreign office. Advisor of prime minster stated that it was not a new development it started in 2012. Our dependence on US defense equipments is much larger than that of India. So we should not be excessively worried about these mechanisms they are parallel and every country has a right to develop whatever mechanism. The basic issue of imbalance between Pakistan and India both in convention field and the strategic field is an issue that has engaged center stage in our relationship (SP Deb, 2015).

#### **5.12: Pakistan's Foreign Policy with US**

Advisor on foreign had given a briefed statement on Pak- US relations. He said that foreign relations committee of US congress regularly holds public hearings to global expansion and evaluation US policies. We are being a major beneficiary of U.S assistance in development so our relations with US followed by the foreign relations committee on habitual basis. Our engagement with US congress continues on normal basis fix on day to day contact to our embassy in Washington. Our leadership has also frequently met congressional committee leaders during their visit to Washington. Overall US congress has been robustly supported our democracy. U.S contributes appreciably to U.S Pakistan assistance through a number of US civilian and security assistance program. We understand that foreign support is an speculation in bilateral relationship and serves donors interest as well. But it is most helpful only when it strengthens relationship with foreign partners.

We are also changing our focus progressively from aid to trade in our relationships with these countries. In congressional hearing the state department publically documented that Pakistan has made consequential progress in eradication of terrorism and Pakistan itself paid a huge cost in fighting terrorism. Pakistan is vigilant and engaging closely with the US at diverse levels to ensure that our given national interests and main concerns are duly considered by the U.S decision makers (SP Deb, 2016). A calling attention notice was raised regarding

revelations made by CIA agent Raymond Davis in his book “The contractor”. Raymond Davis made some clarifications in his book which was very sensitive in nature. Through his book our institutions our executive and parliament had targeted directly. That’s questions he raised on our institutions that were a direct threat to our national security and sovereignty. Foreign minister stated that if anyone wanted to investigate the issue for the sake of posterity than I am with him. But we should not raise these issues only for point scoring(SP Deb, 2017).President John F. Kennedy once said that don’t inquire what America has done for you tell that what you can do for America.

**Table-5.1: Function of Senate of Pakistan in Diverse Issues Regarding F.P Formulation**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Different Issues Brought Before the Senate in the Session (2013-2018)</b>	<b>Sitting</b>	<b>Position</b>
1.	A commenced resolution was obtainable to the house about the Water dispute of Pakistan with India.	102th	Adopted
2.	Adjournment motion regarding proposed industrial Zones along the CPEC.	260 <sup>th</sup>	Answered
3.	Calling attention notice regarding issuance of special hunting permits to the Qatari princes.	258 <sup>th</sup>	Discussed
4.	Calling attention notice regarding Dr. Shakeel Afradi.	258 <sup>th</sup>	Discussed
5.	Adjournment motion regarding Chah Bahar Port.	249 <sup>th</sup>	Admitted
6.	A Resolution moved regarding the appointment of foreign minister on priority basis.	259 <sup>th</sup>	Adopted
7.	Resolution on damage of lives and properties of innocent citizens of Pakistanis as a result of drone attack since 2000.	271th	Passed
8.	Calling attention notice regarding revelations made by CIA agent Raymond Davis in his book the contractor.	266 <sup>th</sup>	Answered
9.	calling attention notice regarding air blast attack by the US military in territory of Afghanistan	263th	Answered
10.	A calling attention notice regarding establishment of a special cell in Pentagon for defense ties with India.	240 <sup>th</sup>	Replied

**Reference:** Own Calculations from Senate Debate

### **5.13: Minutes of the Meetings of Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs Parliament of Pakistan**

The meeting was presided by chairman SSC on foreign affairs four other members also attended the meeting. Following was the agenda before the committee.

### **5.13.1: Briefing of Foreign Secretary on Visit of Chinese Premier Li Keqiang to Pakistan**

Foreign secretary briefed the committee about Chinese Secretary Visit to Pakistan. He said that it was extremely important visit which was undertaken at the time when new government took charge in Pakistan. He briefed the committee about the objectives of visit which also included a message for Pakistani nation that any political change could not affect the Pakistan china relations. He said relations will go higher to higher because there was complete consensus across the party line. New Chinese leader ship will also want to establish relations with Pakistan so there was Pakistan included in first leg of visit after leader ship changed in china.

Pakistan and china want a peaceful settlement of all the issues among the countries of region. He gave some details on economic and energy division and said that more details will be made in public in due course. He said that if one effect of this visit to be highlighted it was new economic corridor though this corridor not only china and Pakistan will connected to each other rather it was an opportunity for whole region and world will be opened. He said that people to people contact also enhanced and young Pakistani generation were learning Chinese language. China will also provide teacher training facilities. He said that strong message of this visit no matter how fast china grows and got more and more progress and its relations with other neighbor states transform but Pakistan will stay best friend of china.

Many questions were asked by chairman and other members of committee including media reports about the visit of India before Pakistan. He said economic corporation between India and china are the facts. Rather than economic considerations Chinese were worried about its geographical disputes. So china wants to resolve its border issues with India. Foreign secretary urged to all sector of society including media groups have faith in time tested Pakistan China friend ship and not get involved in non-issues. Member of committee appreciated the detailed briefings of foreign secretary but asked for effective follow up as many MOUs has been signed with china in previous years which remain untouched. They said there was much more talks than actions and Pakistan should focused on its development instead of being spoiled into controversies with neighboring states. The Foreign secretary said that there were serious capability issues on Pakistan side which are hindering implementation on many agreements but he agreed with committee members that serious follow-up was required to convert MOUs into action.

### **5.13.2: Irregularities in Appointment of Trade Officers in the Pakistan Mission Abroad**

Chairman of committee asked the secretary commerce for briefings on the selection process of commercial analyst and for explanation of controversies in this regard. Secretary of commerce briefed the committee in detailed background regarding selection of trade officers. He discussed the main issue of quota for commerce and trade groups which was finally decided by 25-30% while 70 percent come from private sectors and from other services with relevant education. He said when posts were advertised everyone had to apply. Members of committee asked many questions about the selections of trade officers. They also pointed out controversies and media reports about the selection process. Secretary commerce said that those who could not be selected and were not appoint on their favorite station always level allegations. He also assured the committee that selection of officers were on merit based and on approved policy (Senate of Pakistan, 2013).

### **5.13.3: Pakistanis Apprehended in Indian Jails**

Additional secretary Ministry of foreign affairs gave details of the Pakistanis prisoners detained in Indian jails. He said that at present as conveyed by high commission 469 prisoners are in Indian jails. According to agreement on consular contact which was mark between Pakistan and India in 2008, this agreement had provided after 90 days of arrest of both sides prisoners. But this accord was not followed by the side of India. He said that more than 30 prisoners have concluded their verdict but India however not send back them.

Chairman of standing committee on foreign affairs expressed deep concerns regarding this issue. He said many prisoners who had completed their jail terms but still are in Indian prison. He wanted to bring on record the concern of committee regarding lack of efficient contact and take notes by Pakistani diplomats in reaching out to the Indian authorities and Pakistanis prisoners. He said member of committee also wanted to know what the Pakistani high commission was doing in the cases where India was not giving consular access to Pakistanis prisoners. Additional secretary assured the committees all the required details and records will be provide (Senate of Pakistan, 2013).

### **5.13.4: Response of Government of Pakistan on the News Item Stating that India Itself was Behind the Attack on Indian Parliament and Mumbai Terror Attacks**

Secretary of foreign affairs briefed the committee regarding the statement of Indian undersecretary in the home ministry that a member of CBI telling him that Indian parliament

attacks and Mumbai attacks in 2008 was planned by Indian government. Secretary of foreign affairs briefed that this statement encouraged plenty of discussion and attracted enough media attention. Pakistan Foreign Ministry connected the high commission for investigation and high commission send interim report after talking up with Indian external ministry. According to report Mr. Vrrma member of CBI told the Indian government that he has not gave any statement regarding this issue. It has also appeared in Indian media that some conflicts between both officers could be reason of leveling of charge to each other. Secretary of foreign affairs stated that investigation on this issue is still going one and its final report was yet to come later. Large number of people in India raised the question about these statements. It is a fact India always accused Pakistan in all attacks occurred in India.

Regarding Samjhota Express secretary foreign affairs briefed the committee burning of train was very horrible incident in which more than 60 innocent people were died. He said that in those days he was in India and visited some seriously injured hospitalized Pakistanis. It was very important question at that time it was not an accident rather a pre planed incident. Now it become an open secret when an senior officer of RSS felling pinch of scruples at the sight of torture of Muslim child in jail gave statement to police and investigation team Indian military intelligence agencies was involved in attacking Samjhota Express and RSS had the hand in Indian parliament attacks. Later on colonel Proheed and military intelligence persons was arrested for investigation but we found no progress.

Pakistan high commission took up the matter with the Indian government for investigation and also shares report regarding its army involvement in this incident. But Indian government has not shared any investigation report with Pakistani officials. Chairman of standing committee raised the point whenever right and wrong incident take place in India their government and media talk very violently against Pakistan at national and international level. But in the case of Samjhota Express incident in which concert evidence has available and Indian colonel was involved so why at the government level this incident was at low profile. Secretary of MOFA said that whenever such incidents take place we share our points of view in media and diplomatic core present in Pakistan.

A member of committee asked that whether Pakistan government has initiated any channel of communication with the Indian government in which both the countries could mutually agree to make efforts for eradication of terrorism in south Asia. Foreign secretary briefed the committee members that happening of terrorism incidents particularly after 1997 formed a separate agenda item for discussion in ongoing dialogue process with Indian government. He said that a joint anti-terrorism mechanism was designed in 1996 according to which we used to address each other concerns. After Mumbai attacks this mechanism ceased. He said now

we are trying to revive this mechanism again to address such serious issues related to terrorism. A member of committee suggested that if India wants to stop mushroom growth of terrorism than it should properly investigate these issues.

A member of committee stated that Pakistan is being severally criticized in world community about terrorist activities. She asked such acts have occurred in India to how we communicated our message to international community. Secretary foreign affairs stated that this issue has been highlighted at various levels and in India. Indian government has calmed that Mr. Varma has denied such statement and this issue is under investigation. Secretary foreign affairs expressed a sense of appreciation about the effectiveness of parliamentary committee to persuade interaction and gaining valuable input and start of public awareness process (Senate of Pakistan, 2013).

#### **5.13.5: Discussion on Talks with Taliban**

Chairman of the committee asked regarding the role of Pakistan and its advantages. And if these talks are successful than what are the effects of these talks on Pakistan. Secretary MOFA stated that Pakistan policy with Afghanistan is very clear but chairman committee disagreed on this statement and said from the beginning of Afghanistan crisis 25 years ago Pakistan policy with Afghanistan has been different in every era. Secretary mentioned various elements Pakistan policy towards Afghanistan. He said if there no stability in Afghanistan then lawlessness and difficulties in Pakistan will persist and peace could not be maintained. A consensus has developed in the last two three years particularly when Hamid Karzai said that Pakistan should become a part of settlement process. Prime minister of Pakistan issued a public statement regarding the Taliban reconciliation process. In order to become part of reconciliation process Pakistan facilitated all the representative of Taliban in Pakistan to become part of reconciliation process are that in Qatar , Afghanistan or any third country.

Pakistan has been part of trilateral process international communities have appreciated the Pakistan role. We also played our role in Doha process which is recognized by all the parties. Secretary MOFA describes to committee that PM Nawaz Sharif has given policy guidelines regarding improvement in relationship with neighboring states Afghanistan and India. Prime minister also extensive invitation to President Hamid Karzai to come to Pakistan and also sent Mr. Sartaj Azeez who had fruitful reconciliation related dialogue with President Hamid Karzi. He further said that Pakistan Afghanistan and international community have convergence on pursuance of the reconciliation process. Later on suggestion of a member of committee he said a separate session on Afghanistan will be dedicated in camera. Regarding the visit of Sartaj Azeez chairman committee cited the media reports from BBC and

Afghanistan which was not positive. But secretary stated the committee that advisor of foreign affairs visit was successful it minimized the previous negativity but also boosted interaction between two countries (Senate of Pakistan, 2013).

#### **5.13.6: Discussion on Afghanistan Issue**

Eleven members of committee attended the meeting. Mr. Sartaj Azeez advisor to prime minister on foreign affairs took the floor. He focused on two eras one in security transition ISAF forces withdrawal and other one was political transition as presidential elections are going to be held in April next year. At the same time Taliban have launched their spring offensive program as Khalid Bin Waleed and resultantly the activities inside Afghanistan to be accelerated. Various observers have opinion that there is no solution in military operations.

On 18 June 2013 Afghan national security took over the charge of responsibility across entire Afghanistan since then NATO and ISAF forces will be in advice mode only. After withdrawal of ISAF forces economic condition of Afghanistan will be hit directly (Senate of Pakistan, 2013).

#### **5.13.7: Discussion on Prime Minister Visit to US and UK**

Advisor of prime minister on foreign affairs briefed the committee about PM visit to USA. He briefed the committee that it was first official visit to USA by any head of government of Pakistan during last ten years. Basic objective behind this visit was to bring Pakistan US strategic dialogue to the center of bilateral discussion, active US support for democracy and economic development in Pakistan. During visit World Bank president noted that foreign investors were looking for investment in Pakistan. Chairman committee asked question about the benefits that Pakistan has acquired after prime minister visit to US. Advisor to PM briefed about the basic objectives behind this visit was to define pillars of new relationship and composition of strategic partnership. He said Pakistan now wanted to focus on trade rather than aid. Issue of terrorism was also discussed during visit. US has agreed for border management between Pakistan and Afghanistan. But after withdraw of foreign forces Pakistan will face a flood of refugees.

Prime minister disused the issue of drone attacks he said drone attacks are against the sovereignty of Pakistan. He said PM visit was quite successful but drone attacks of 1<sup>st</sup> November 2013 changed the situation. Chairmen asked about failure of peace talks with Taliban after US target to Fazaullah. Mr. Advisor to PM replied it was very unlikely because Taliban already refused the dialogue.

Advisor to prime minister on foreign affairs also briefed the committee about the prime minister visit to UK where he attended Islamic economic summit. In these meeting investment towards Islamic countries attracted (Senate of Pakistan, 2013).

#### **5.13.8: Briefing on US Defense Secretary Visit to Pakistan**

Chairman of committee had given the floor to secretary foreign affairs for briefings. Secretary foreign affairs explained that prime minister in depth talk with US defense secretary during his visit to Pakistan. Two major issues were included in these talks. Firstly to established broad based defense corporation between US and Pakistan and the issue of drone attacks was also discussed. Secondly prime minister stressed on protecting Pakistan and other regional countries from any negative effects arising out of the instability in Afghanistan after reconciliation process. One member of committee desired that the committee should be briefed about chuck Hagel discussions in Afghanistan regarding border security agreement in the light of the demands of president Karzai. Foreign secretary said that Pakistan main standpoint in this regard was to safeguard Pakistan or any neighboring country from any such term in the Afghan American strategic agreement (Senate of Pakistan, 2013).

#### **5.13.9: Prime Minister Visit to Iran and India**

Honorable advisor briefed the participants that the main purpose of PM visit to Iran was to open fresh page in two-sided relations based on economic partnership. The visit provided useful opportunity to the both leaderships to review the whole range of bilateral relations regional and international issues of mutual concern. On Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline project Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif reiterated Pakistan commitment to the project while on the Iran nuclear program Mr. PM re-emphasized Pakistan support to all efforts to find a peaceful settlement of the issues. During visit to Iran nine agreements were signed between two states.

PM Nawaz Sharif attended the oath taking ceremony of Mr. Narendra Modi on 26<sup>th</sup> May, 2014. Honorable advisor to PM had been briefed the participants about the visit. He stated that PM had a constructive bilateral meeting with PM Modi and also called on the president of India. Throughout meeting of both the PM issues of mutual concern were discussed. Mr. Modi recognized the need for dialogue process to address the issues that stand in the way of good relations.

On the issue of terrorism both leaders agreed that two foreign secretaries would meet soon to discuss the way forward. Mr Nawaz Sharif informed to Indian PM Terrorism was a mutual concern and Pakistan suffered badly from this menace. Pakistani public and government both wanted to stop terrorism (Senate of Pakistan, 2014).

### **5.13.10: Pakistan and Indian Relations Situation on LOC**

DG south Asia & SAARC, Foreign Affairs Ministry explained to the commission that in pursuance of the dialogue process which started with the earlier Indian government, Pakistan is striving to normalize bilateral ties with India. Response from Indian side has been not very positive. Unfortunately on the cause of difference along the line of control India has suspended the composite dialogue which still remains on hold. On the question whether PM of Pakistan discussed the Kashmir issue during his visit to India, committee was informed that no such discussion took place. The hostile approach of Mr. Modi the new PM of India towards Pakistan was also discussed in the meeting. Provocative statements given by new Indian army chief were also highlighted in the context of LOC. Advisor to PM on foreign affairs explained to the committee that civil and military establishment were on the same page in the context of Indian relation. He said there have been 93 violations by the India along the line of control resulting in seven casualties during the current calendar year.

On the question of problem of floods due to release of excess water in rivers by India advisor to PM on foreign affairs briefed the committee that the flood issue of Pakistan cannot be resolved without the construction of big sized dams in the country. India cannot construct a dam to obstruct the supply of water towards Pakistan to following the Indus Basin Water treaty (Senate of Pakistan, 2014).

The advisor of PM on foreign affairs gave the committee an overview of the situation on LOC. He apprised the committee that India had accused Pakistan of aiding militants to cross the border. He noted, however that India's defense along the working boundary was very severe so all claims of India were baseless. He also noted that Pakistani military were fully capable of retaliation against Indian shelling. He also identified the UN military observer group working in Kashmir as impartial verification body to fix responsibility as to which country initiated shelling (Senate of Pakistan, 2014).

### **5.13.11: Visit of Prime Minister to China, German and UK**

The Secretary ministry of foreign affairs briefed the committee about PM Sharif visit to china. Prime minister visited china on the invitation of the visit of president of China. He participated in the dialogue on strengthen connectivity partnership and held bilateral meeting with president and Primer of china. The dialogue was a program by China ahead of 22<sup>nd</sup> Asia Pacific Economic cooperation summit being hosted in china. In his meeting with president Xi Jinping the prime minister reiterated that in view of the rising geopolitical situation in the region both countries should further deepen their multifaceted cooperation. The prime minister stated that CPEC was a key aspect of reinvigorating the economy through regional

connectivity. President Xi stated that Pakistan was China's strong friend and both countries share essential interests to maintain this relationship.

Prime Minister also assured the Premier Li that Pakistan will provide full security to Chinese nationals during CPEC related projects. Pakistani efforts to improve relations with Afghanistan were appreciated by the Chinese side. Chairman Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs asked a question about realignment of Gawader–Kashgir Economic Corridor. Secretary replied that alignment planning was done by the Planning Commission and not by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On the suggestion of members of the committee Mr. Advisor to PM said the Planning Commission will be invited in the next meeting to brief the committee.

The Prime Minister conducted three visits to UK which were elaborated in the meeting. The first visit was from 29<sup>th</sup> April to 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2014. Prime Minister held a meeting with his counterpart Mr. David Cameron and other important personalities. He discussed the different issues under the framework of enhanced strategic dialogue also he highlighted the priorities of his government in different fields. He focused on economy, energy, extremism and education. He thanked the British government for its support in the funding of GSP plus status by the EU. During his visit he focused on the roadmap of security and already existing roadmaps like culture, education and trade were revised. Prime Minister's next visit to UK that was conducted from 12 to 13 November 2014. It was Pakistan UK energy dialogue investment conference. The event was attended by an important figure of the energy sector.

Prime Minister's third visit to UK was from 2 to 6<sup>th</sup> 2014. An essential event during this visit was a trilateral summit among Afghanistan, Pakistan and UK on the post 2014 security and economic situation in Afghanistan. The issue of blasphemous cartoons published by a French magazine was also discussed. Chairman of the committee proposed a resolution to condemn the French media. The committee unanimously adopted the resolution with the direction to the foreign office to circulate this resolution to concerned embassies.

The Prime Minister visited Germany on the invitation of German Chancellor Angela Merkel from 10 to 12 November, 2014. He had an extensive discussion with the German Chancellor on bilateral, regional and global issues. He addressed an investment conference of more than three hundred German and Pakistani investors including several CEOs of major German companies. During the visit two agreements were also signed between both nations. It was widely covered by the media. One member inquired about the development in the investment scenario and economic investment policy proposed by Pakistani PM during his visit to Germany. Foreign Secretary said that these investment projects would be made public around the time of presentation of the federal budget (Senate of Pakistan, 2015).

### **5.13.12: Afghan President Visit to Pakistan**

Afghan President Ashraf Ghani visited Pakistan on 14-15 November 2014 at the invitation of Pakistan prime minister. It was first visit of Afghan president to Pakistan since peaceful transfer of power in Afghanistan. PM Nawaz Sharif reaffirmed during his meeting with the Afghan president that Pakistan wanted a peaceful, united and stable Afghanistan. Reaffirming Pakistan resolve to fight terrorism and extremism the prime minister elaborated the positive results of operation Zarb Azab. He also welcomed the new Afghan government. Both sides reaffirmed their assurance not to allow the use of their respective territory against each other. They also agreed to hold next meeting of APTTCA in Islamabad by December 2014. Both leaders decided to forward looking relationship based on trust and understanding (Senate of Pakistan, 2015).

### **5.13.13: Briefing on Gawader Kashgir Pakistan-China Economic Corridor**

Secretary of planning development and reform attended the meeting and briefed the participants about PCEC. Chairman of committee asked the secretary emphasized in his presentation on the alignment of said Pakistan- China Economic Corridor (PCEC). He directed that evolution of road maps should be explained in detail. Secretary of planning development and reform gave detailed briefings on silent features of the project and later on requested to chairman NHA for detailed presentation on existing and planned routes from Gawader to Xinjiang. Chairman standing committee expressed concern over the scattered details of the expenditure of various portions of the route. He directed that costs of all parts should be listed appropriately and not be skipped. One member of committee stated that the chairman NHA had candidly specified that the alignment of CPEC from Khunjrab to Gawader via Mianwali, D.I, khan, DG Khan, Khuzdar and Turbat was the original route.

As that route would take many years to build and establish a short term solution being work upon, which according to NHA will catalyze the utilization and operational running of the Gawader port. Chairman NHA said that use of option of existing infrastructure for the short term will eventually save a lot of time and money while the original route is being prepared. A member of committee inquired about the time difference between operational zing the short- term and long-term route. Chairman NHA explained that very reason to opt for short term route was minimized the loss of time (Senate of Pakistan, 2015).

#### **5.13.14: Points of Order on Display of Anti-Pakistan Free Baluchistan Banners in London**

The problem of display of anti-Pakistan free Baluchistan banners on public transport in London and Switzerland was discussed in detail. Foreign office apprised the committee that banned organizations has been using foreign soil in London and other countries to malign Pakistan through media propaganda. This is an expensive campaign and it is being sponsored by RAW and other anti-Pakistan agencies. The fact is that India funded this campaign it is another case of Indian involvement in terrorist funding. Soon after display of such posters Pakistani permanent representative of Geneva and Switzerland made strong demarche with ambassadors and permanent representatives of both countries.

He also wrote letter to Swiss permanent representative to inform him that BLA was a terrorist organization in the laws of Pakistan and in the laws of other countries also UK included. The use of Swiss soils by terrorist against Pakistan was totally unacceptable. Swiss government was requested to be aware about the presence of BLA terrorists in Geneva. Pakistani ministry of foreign affairs immediately called in the Swiss ambassador designate to express our serious concern over the use of Swiss territory by elements linked with terrorist organization was responsible for violent activities in Pakistan. Opinion of honorable senators was a pattern of Indian propaganda is emerging that is very dangerous and aggressive. They said Pakistani missions abroad must take concentrate measures with a proactive approach to counter this propaganda.

Ministry of foreign affairs apprised the committee this type of Indian propaganda was aimed to contradict our successful highlighting of Kashmir issue. After display of anti-Pakistan posters in London the high commission of Pakistan got in touch with London transport officials who promised proper actions according to their laws. Committee also suggested to foreign office to keep a close watch on such matters (Senate of Pakistan, 2017).

#### **5.13.15: Report on Unlawful Hunting of Birds in Balochistan by Arab Prince and Local MPA's**

Chairman standing committee on foreign affairs clubbed together the issue of illegal hunting of endangered birds in Balochistan and Sindh province. One member pointed out that when Arab princes come for hunting to Pakistan they bring large entourage along with them. The areas where they were they hunt were closed to security reasons and they hunted unrestricted also included the killing of endangered species like Chinkara deer which are not included in permit granted to them. The honorable senator demanded that this hunting should be dejected and regulated. Secretary of forests and wildlife elaborated that the birds are used for hunting

the Houbara bustard. Foreign guests bring in ordinary birds and costly falcons illegally smuggled out of Pakistan on return which is also a major issue. He suggested combined working strategy between the ministries of foreign affairs interior and provincial governments to tackle this issue. Additional chief secretary government of Balochistan pointed out that local Sardar invites foreign hunters who further bring a number of guests with them which is creating the actual issue. Chairman and senate standing committee on foreign affairs approved the report (Senate of Pakistan, 2018).

**CONCLUSION**

Foreign Policy formulation process is very complicated and it became extra complicated in the country like Pakistan because the performance of Institutions is deprived. In the past most of times individual had always remained dominate on FP formulation process. FP of Pakistan during Nawaz Sharif tenure was being marred by domestic challenges. Some major problems were domestic due to condition of security, civil military tensions political crisis and absence of permanent foreign minister. There was no clear hierarchy in the leadership of foreign affairs.

Mr. Sharif throughout his 3<sup>rd</sup> premiership had performed as the Prime Minister as well as Foreign minister. He was supported in managing FP by Mr. Azeem Zafar mentor to PM in foreign affairs and Mr. Fatemi (assistance to PM on FA). There are two suppositions most likely providing some insight into why Mr. Sharif had taken the responsibility of PM as well as foreign affairs minister. According to an assumption he wanted to direct from the front in the international forum fighting the case for Pakistan solidity and progress.

He also wanted to keep the ministry of foreign affairs to resolve all inner conflicts or keep an eye on institutional inequality in the wake of civil military tension. Pakistan had faced stressed relations with its neighboring states in Sharif Tenure. Relations with US had also remained in narrative of allegations and mistrust especially after the Trump Administration. Relations with China had remained central in South Asian Politics.

PM Nawaz as foreign minister had washed-out 688 million rupees on foreign visits in his Premiership. He was found every fifth day of his term on visit abroad. But Nawaz Sharif foreign visits have not been able to meet the difficult situations of Pakistan. He had appointment two foreign affairs advisors those had left many questions regarding who exactly is leading the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

Both advisor were technocrats and both were aged what can they perhaps deliver. For FP someone more appropriate a previous career diplomat probably would be desirable. Every state institute has its own accusation to execute. In Pakistan the basic function of systematizing FP remained in the hand of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There are many faults in this ministry and deficiency of professionalism in employment process. Politicization of FP and diplomatic procedure from government and securitization of FP and diplomatic missions from military all are important factors in failures of foreign policy. Entire problems with the ministry of foreign affairs in Pakistan begin from the staffing process. Contestant always

appears in the field without any appropriate academic background in foreign policy and diplomacy.

On the issue of Kashmir Many Resolutions regarding the solidarity with the people of Kashmir were adopted in parliament unanimously. On Martyrdom in Kashmir our foreign office give immaterial statement we offer a diplomatic moral, political support to the Kashmir struggle. Chairman of Kashmir committee said that committee had no authority. But if committee give some proposals to foreign office than we have some strong justification to proof that we demanded but foreign office neglect our proposals.

Pakistan china economic corridor project is an organized plan for the revival of Pakistan economy Security is the biggest hurdle and we can have at least ten times more business if security position improves. Each year around 30-40 million Chinese go abroad for tourism but barely a few of this figure come to Pakistan due to adverse environment of our country. China had high expectations from Pakistan in terms of management in this project. Pak china economic secretariat has been shaped in the planning commission of Pakistan but it needs more resources and authority to function properly. Only china can help Pakistan to deal with the water crisis through constructions of dams.

Relations with India had remained disastrous during Nawaz Sharif Premiership. Both sides bickered over the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir which is administrated by India and claimed by Pakistan. India has emerged a largest country to receive the economic assistance from US. India is getting support from US and it is a big threat for Pakistan. Definitely many concerns develop through this assistance. India had continuously violated LOC and used aggressive designs against Pakistan. There are many diplomatic failures in Pakistan foreign policy towards India. India could not get anything in one day but we could not found a proactive attitude in our foreign office.

US relations with Pakistan during dictatorship have been much stronger than democracy. If we look in past we were part of cold war in Ayub Khan Tenure. Later on relationship became abnormal. Under Zia Ul Haq the war in Afghanistan started and again relations warmed up and when war finished sanctions were imposed again. We faced same situation after 9/11. It is a co-incidence that every time the west needed us we have military governments in Pakistan. Every country has its own national interests as long as it serves the purpose they remain warm but we have to protect our own vital interests. Our policy is trade not aid we should reduce our dependence on foreign support substantially. Donald Trump had took office in January 2017 he and his administration officials signaled their willingness to take a harder line with Pakistan to coerce it to act more strongly against terrorists on Pakistani soil that target US troops in Afghanistan. In August Trump announced his South Asia strategy.

Resolutions were passed unanimously in both houses of Pakistan regarding the Trump South Asia strategy and parliamentarians strongly condemned his Statement.

Pakistan foreign policy is fully cognizant of these emerging trends. Pakistan had faced a decade of sanctions but met the pressure without compromising its basic interests. On the time of need Pakistan responded to the Indian nuclear test in spite of global pressure and despite these differences. Pakistan maintained positive relations with USA. Our concerns and differences with USA especially with regard to strategic stability in our region but international relations are not Zero sum game.

Parliament can use many important mechanisms in the FP formulation of Pakistan. PM and his cabinet both are answerable to the parliament. If FP is unacceptable for parliament it can alter the PM and can promote a Person who could carry out the wishes of Parliamentarians jointly. Members of Parliament must build up professional ability to deal with FP. Mostly they made stupid statements the objective of such statements is only to get space in media and to condemnation of ruling party.

They should make mature statements related to FP because foreign policy of any states is a very sensitive issue. Every party represented in the parliament should manage briefings by professionals for their member for the dealing of complex FP related issues. Committees of Parliament dealing with FP issues should need to be strengthened. Committees should have research staff to provide them short overview on the FP related issues. The parliamentary committees should also ask for expert for their remarks and Analysis of FP.

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## **APPENDIX-01**

### **Abbreviations Used in the Thesis**

<b>Sr #</b>	<b>Item</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
1	South East Asian Treaty Organization	SEATO
2	Central Treaty Organization	CENTO
3	Regional Cooperation for Development	RCD
4	Legal Frame Work Order	LFO
5	United Nations	UN
6	Pakistan	PAK
7	Organization of Islamic Cooperation	OIC
8	Provisional Constitutional Order	PCO
9	Line of Control	LOC
10	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	NATO
11	United Nation Commission for India and Pakistan	UNCIP
12	Fethullahist Terror Organization	FETO
13	China Pakistan Economic Corridor	CPEC
14	Frontier Works Organization	FWO
15	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	KP
16	Gulf Cooperation Council	GCC
17	Association of Southeast Asian Nations	ASEAN
18	Tahreek Taliban Pakistan	TTP
19	East Turkestan Islamic Movement	ETIM
20	Central Intelligence Agency	CIA
21	National Directorate of Security	NDS
22	International Security Assistance Force	ISAF
23	Pakistan- China Economic Corridor	PCEC
24	National High Way Authority	NHA
25	Immigrants & Checkpoints Authority	ICA
26	Free Trade Agreement	FTA
27	Joint Cooperation Committee	JCC
28	Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission	IPHRC
29	Memorandum of Understanding	MOU
30	United States	US
31	Prime Minster	PM
32	Afghanistan Pakistan Transit Trade Coordination Authority	APTTCA
33	Bloch Liberation Army	BLA
34	Weapon of Mass Destruction	WMD
35	United Kingdom	UK
36	Foreign Policy	FP
37	National Assembly	NA
38	Senate of Pakistan	SP

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