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Abstract

As the world has become a global village today, individuals, institutions and states play an important role in making relations with other states. Being an elected institution of public, the role of parliament has become prominent. In the countries of third world, dictatorship and democracy are playing hide and seek. Whether there is military government or civil government, the rulers always influence different institutions in different ways and they themselves make decisions. The reason is that the law or constitution provides them limited power. The government and opposition have their own point of view in National Assembly. Being an institution of the public, national assembly fulfils its responsibilities keeping in view public opinion, national interest and economy. The military and civil rulers often influence this institution in special circumstances. The National Assembly sometimes accepts the pressure of these rulers but in some situations it does not come under pressure and plays its own role. If the national assembly is stable, it can play its role in making the country strong and ensures the rule of law. The cooperation between individuals and institutions can make the country strong and can make the country invincible.

**Impact of regime type on the role of National Assembly in foreign policy formulation of
Pakistan: Analysis of the twin eras (2002-07 & 2008-13)**

CHAPTER NO 1

INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy-making is a complex process now-a-days. Numerous state institutions and a variety of procedures are involved in this process both in developed and developing states. However, the role of certain institutions and the design of various processes are relatively well-defined in the developed world. Conversely, the process is much complex and indefinite where the state-building process has not smoothly happened. The institutionalization of power is critical in determining the legitimacy of foreign policy outcomes. It is democratic deficit of the regimes that matters in the developing world. And this is the central concern of our study to examine how the regime type affects the foreign policy outcomes and the role of certain institutions in this process. In this study, the role of National Assembly of Pakistan in foreign policy process is under scrutiny to examine whether or not it is associated with the regime type. The primary focus of this study is to determine how the execution of public authority differs in democratic regimes in comparison to the authoritarian regimes. National Assembly of Pakistan is an elected house comprising of the representatives of the people of Pakistan. The parliamentary nature of government suggests key role of this legislative body in public policy of Pakistan.

It has been argued that the nature of regime determines the role of institutions in foreign policy process. The evidence suggests that the role of parliament varies in democratic (de-jure) and authoritative (de-facto) regimes. In authoritarian regimes, parliament does not take her decisions independently and mostly, comes under the authority's pressure. A general perception is that during the authoritative regimes the parliament plays secondary role in foreign policy

formulation. Conversely, it has been observed that the parliament play more active role in the democratic regime. Being responsive, the elected government has to make policies in the light of public opinion. A representative government designs policy that is in line with the public perspective. The contemporary experiences reveal that legislature plays vital role in foreign policy formulation in democratic societies in both the polities based on the principle of separation of powers or otherwise.

Formulation of foreign policy is a complex process and a number of state institutions contribute to the foreign policy behaviour. The role of different institutions varies across the cases. Role of parliament varies according to the form of government such as presidential and parliamentary form. In parliamentary Government the majority party, opposition and other political parties play their role in the formulation of foreign policy in National Assembly by meaningful debate in the presence of chief executive and other stakeholders like foreign minister. On the other hand, in presidential Government like USA the meaningful open debates, are held in congress but the president and his cabinet is completely devoid of from presence there.

In US presidential system is based on the principle of separation of powers. Although the president is elected and enjoys legitimacy, his foreign policy decisions require ratification by the Senate. It is privilege of the house to approve or reject the policies. For example, the policy regarding Afghanistan and Iraq wars was approved but rejected at the in Vietnam War. President Bill Clinton signed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) on behalf of the United States but the Senate disagreed and refused to ratify it. In 1919 Woodrow Wilson was the main architect of the League of Nation idea but Senate rejected to ratify it. It shows that congress control the individual decisions and strengthen the institutions.

In Britain, the Crown play primary role in the foreign policy process. The Parliament has shared role only to the extent that the Crown deems desirable. In British government all the powers regarding diplomatic negotiations are carried out without bringing in the notice of parliament, even without its approval treaties are ratified by the government. It is generally considered that parliament would be prejudicial on the public interest. On the other hand judiciary support the government on such issues because its view is that parliament focus should be on the domestic matters whereas foreign matters should be left for the executive (Bishop, 1961).

The parliament role can persuade the foreign policy formulation by adopting non binding resolutions on foreign policy issues, by holding hearings on crucial issues in the standing committees on foreign affairs in the house and by asking questions to them. The advantage in parliamentary system is that government is not paralyzed in conducting foreign policy. It has also necessary flexibility and freedom to shadow the national interest. It can also maintain secrecy in foreign policy. It respects the public views and opinion of common man. In dictatorship and de facto democracy the law is the command of sovereign but in real democracy public participation is indispensable while taking decisions (Amin, 2008).

World has become a global village and the interdependence of the states has greatly increased. Resultantly, the foreign relations of the states have become more vital now. After 9/11 Pakistan has become a major ally of USA in war on terror. Unfortunately, in authoritative and democratic governments policy makers could not review it in National Assembly. Parliamentary committees on foreign affairs play important role in formulating a better policy but these committees in Pakistan are not active in recent decades. These committees not only view the states relations but also observed the changing dynamics of the world. After Afghan war every parliament focuses

non state actors because recently they have become a major factor to influence foreign policy of any state. Foreign policy is a complex process and frequent elements involved in it but National Assembly is becoming a mainstream factor of foreign policy formulation. National Assembly adopts the rational approach which can satisfy the general public.

Objective of the study

This study highlights the role of National Assembly in formulation of foreign policy in Pakistan. The Government and opposition stance on different issues of foreign policy discussed. The outcome and impact of the foreign policy on Pakistan provided in the thesis. The study of the twin era provides a clear picture that in which era parliament is dominant. Policy makers adopt a rational policy or just adopt the policy of political point scoring. The conclusion of this study will help in the working of concern institutions and as well as restoring the true democracy in the country. This study makes an analysis the Where and how the National assembly influences the process of foreign policy formulation. What role plays the national assembly during authoritarian and democratic regime in foreign policy formulation of Pakistan? When can parliament disagree with army on foreign policy issues, examining both eras? What should be the role of opposition and treasury benches in democratic and authoritarian regime? Why National Assembly has not adopted the policy of review because it can strengthen this institution. All these instruments and mechanisms give parliament important role on foreign issues.

Methodology

Primary and secondary sources have been used to corroborate the argument. For this purpose original document of parliamentary debates of National Assembly has been observed of twin eras and with the help of these documents the clear picture of both tenures on different issues.

The analysis of different regimes has been made and on that bases conclusion is provided. The relevant books, newspapers, media role and articles have also been studied to find the data of my work.

Hypothesis

The parliament plays more active role in democratic than the authoritative regime.

Defining the Key terms

(Authoritative regime and democratic regime)

Authoritative regime:

Anti democratic system of political rule characteristic of the most reactionary political systems of capitalist states, such as the fascist regimes in Germany, Italy, Spain, and elsewhere.

Authoritarianism is a such form of government or political regime under which measures of democratic decision-making are either absent altogether or else are fictitious, existing merely for show. The power is not comprised or controlled by the people, who have no guarantees in the face of an absolute, uncontrolled authoritarian regime. The real power is resolute in the hands of the ruling elite, which is selected by special procedures or an incident. Authoritarianism is characterized by excessive centralization, the monopolization of power by elite who are organized in a strict chain of command, outright reliance on the military-disciplinary apparatus, and the extensive use of terrorist reprisals against the opposition. Supreme power in an authoritarian state is usually concentrated in the hands of so-called leaders. The authoritarian regime constantly promotes fanaticism and encourages fear among the masses. (The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, 1979)

Individual or certain authorities who control or influence the policy makers and establish a strong grip on our institutions. As Austin said law is the command of sovereign. Often these authorities came into power by certain incidents. But to justify their legitimacy in the world they have to adopt a political structure. Musharraf era in Pakistan presented its example.

Democratic regime:

A form of political organization of society based on a recognition of the people as the source of power, their right to participate in the resolution of state affairs, and the provision of a rather broad range of rights and liberties for citizens. A democracy is distinguished from other forms of state or government (such as despotism, autocracy, and overt military dictatorship) by the following reasons official recognition of the principle of subordination of the minority to the majority, equal rights for citizens, the possession of broad political and social rights and liberties, the election of the main bodies of the state, the leading role of elected representative bodies of power in the system of state institutions, and the supremacy of the law. There is a clear distinction between institutions of direct democracy and those of representative democracy the former assume the making of basic decisions directly by voters for example, on the basis of a referendum, and the latter call for decisions to be made by plenipotentiary elected institutions, such as a parliament. (The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, 1979)

People elected representatives which formulated policies according to the desire of nation. Constitution, law and institutions have prevailed and everyone worked according to constitutional provisions. Public opinion and national interest is most important than the individualism. Zardari era was an example of democratic regime in Pakistan.

Structure of the thesis

The second chapter will discuss in detail Role of institutions in foreign policy formulation. Role of parliament (brief overview of developed and developing states), UK, USA, India, Pakistan, etc and Role of parliament in foreign policy formulation of Pakistan is also elaborated. Parliament being the supreme institution in parliamentary form of government and national assembly the public representative, role of this house in foreign policy is also discussed in this chapter. The three level of analysis will discuss in it.

The third chapter of the thesis will define the democratic regime and authoritative regimes. A brief history of foreign policy in both regimes will be described since the birth of Pakistan. The parliamentary history of the National Assembly is also described in this chapter.

The fourth chapter will discuss the role of national assembly in authoritative regime with the help of parliamentary debates. This national assembly played his role as the public representative or came under the authority of President General Musharraf will described in this chapter. Role of treasury and opposition benches toward certain issues relating parliament discuss in it.

The fifth chapter will view the parliamentary debates of Asif Ali Zardari tenure towards foreign policy. The national assembly approach to different issues relating foreign policy pro public or as the authoritative era will examine in this chapter.

The sixth chapter will conclude the findings of the thesis. This chapter will provide brief directions about the national assembly role in making foreign policy. Also the changes occur in both regimes described in it. Civilian and military role towards foreign policy in both regimes will discuss in detail.

Chapter1: Introduction

Chapter 2: literature Review

Chapter 3: Parliamentary history and foreign policy of Pakistan (1947-2002)

Chapter 4: Role of National Assembly in foreign policy formulation of Pakistan (2003-08)

Chapter 5: Role of National Assembly in foreign policy formulation of Pakistan (2008-13)

Chapter 6: Conclusion

LITERATURE REVIEW

Foreign policy is a complex process but the survival of any state depends upon it. It can be designed with the help of many institutions of the state. Now days to study the foreign policy process different methods are used but level of analysis consisting of individual, state and system level is very important in this regard. Individual level of analysis deals with the individual effect on the policy making whereas state level analysis focuses on the working of the government and its impact on the foreign policy. System level analysis reflects the external effect and domestic pressure upon the policy. Political structures, individual abilities, domestic and international state of affairs are also exaggerated on it.

Individual Level Analysis

In Individual level of analysis people as individual, group or as a species examine how all these effect on decision making process. In this level scrutinize fundamental human nature, people behaviour in organizations and the motivations of specific people are examined. Human characteristics, including the cognitive, psychological, emotional, and biological factors that influence decision making are viewed. The role of head of state individually plays very important role in making decisions toward foreign policy of every country. The biggest mistake in our political thinking is that we ignore the human beings behaviour.

The most leaders' foreign policy decisions are influenced by cognitive, emotional, psychological, and sometimes even biological factors, as well as by rational calculation. For example, President Bush and Prime Minister Blair took decision to attack Iraq in March 2003 without understanding how Saddam Hussein will react? Saddam might use chemical or biological weapons against both

the countries. On the other hand Saddam was not sure or confused in case of attack, how he will respond? This showed that all of three were not adopting the rational approach. The reason behind it might be their mind set, wishful thinking or heuristic devices. A fruit full question arose why in London and Washington think tanks accept the British intelligence that Iraq was keen interested to buy Uranium from Africa even CIA had some doubts. It was the wishful thinking of the leaders or humans that their decisions will certainly succeed (Denny, 1985).

Why Saddam Hussan was sure to fight instead of exile? In Saddam mind it was clear that he had a strong army which he used in 1991 Persian Gulf War. It was his wishful thinking that he could survive again this time. Mentally human beings adopt the policy of shortcuts and ignore the existing data which are called Stereotypes. Human nature especially leaders imagine that they adopt the policy of cool rational but in reality it is different case sometimes they are angry, depressed, sad and behave like emotional human being. As President Bush expresses his feelings after 9/11 that are disturbing us we should find them even we kick their asses. Why they hate us? At a congress form after the 9/11 incident.

Due to the human psychological traits they adopt the policy of less rational decisions. Besides that human societies and individuals often in frustration become aggressive and take less rational decisions which are called frustration aggression theory. Whereas biopolitics analysis the political and physical behaviour of mankind. More over it is based on ethology and gender also where ethology means human animal behaviour comparison. A second biopolitics is that some political leader's behaviour related to gender and Political culture also reflected the policy.

Generally foreign policy makers especially leaders role is key in domestic level. Its personal qualities ambitious greatly affected the policy of a country. A good, strong and positive approach of the leader helps in designing a useful and successful foreign policy of a developed country.

The making process varied in different countries due to a crises situation like sudden event, felt threat by military or non state actors and for this event reaction time also too short.

There are different types of groups like cultural groups, ethnic groups, racial groups and also issue oriented groups which have common interests are called interest groups. Lobbying groups have their roots across the countries to set field according to their friends need. These groups have their certain pressure and interest which regularly played there role in formulating the policy. These pressure and interest groups becomes a tool of the political parties during election. In the modern world elections has become the game of money, these groups choice the leader and invests money on them and get the benefit after their winning instead of passing the policy of their choice.

State-level analysis

States are the dominant factor in world politics. Foreign policy is affected by the political structure, policy makers and the interaction among the makers. The type of political system, situation, issue, and the internal factors are involved in process of state level system. Heads of government are the most powerful foreign policymaking actors. Bureaucratic organizations are normally the second most powerful actors. Political leaders, bureaucratic organizations, legislatures, political parties and opposition, interest groups, and the public all these influence foreign policy, but their influence varies according to the type of government, the situation, and the policy at issue.

Head of state performs his powers in six ways while making foreign policy. These powers are responses or approaches to foreign events, Suggestion for legislation, Conciliation of international agreements, Strategy statements, Policy execution and sovereign action (Grimmett, June 1, 1999).

Formal powers mean authority provided by the constitution and documented laws which provide power to different officers and institutions. For example, chief executive is also commander in chief of the military so he can take decisions regarding to war itself. Formal powers in which authority as political executive can take decisions individually those are better for the nation but not provided by the constitution. Executive as a leader has abilities in different skills like administrative, legislative, public persuasion and intellectual personality (Hudson, 2005).

Foreign ministry is important in the foreign affairs where as foreign minister being its head performs the duty of focal point. Foreign ministers in modern era are taking important measures relating to foreign policy. Generally foreign minister is considered having great knowledge over foreign affairs and international relations. Foreign minister controls the permanent bureaucracy of foreign office and foreign minister plays the role of bridge between the executive and foreign ministry. Foreign minister interacts mostly on all important issues of foreign relations with chief executive worldwide.

Informal factors moreover influence the foreign policy of any country to a great extent. Informal actors are playing important role in persuading the country's foreign policy like media, pressure groups, political parties, think tanks, academics, scholars, business communities, non state actors in twentieth century and NGOs etc. Informal approaches are reflecting the formal policy by the

awareness to general masses. Formal and informal both are compulsory elements in designing a successful foreign policy.

Media in Pakistan from the beginning years played just the role of government sector under the pressure of every regime. Media was pressed by the power of advertisements and other element that journalists picked by agencies but now the situation is improving. In Musharraf tenure media particularly electronic media got great freedom and print media is also stronger than previous age. Media is awaking the public about the rights. It passes judgment on the government policies about foreign policy. Public representatives and foreign policy makers cannot side line the media because it discusses everything in front of general public. Media is considered the fourth stake of the state or government. Media is creating public mindset swiftly in this age of technology. Now media developed a sense of responsibility in viewers and shaped their ideology in better and broader vision. A common man is arguing policy freely and presenting its point of view with logic and strong point of views.

Political parties and pressure groups are greatly distressing foreign policy process in Pakistan. Certain community or group with the power of their potency can affect the foreign policy. These political parties are lacking of think tanks wing in their parties. Academics and scholars are in minorities according to the population growth. But they established certain views on every single subject and provided a clear instruction to the foreign policy makers.

Globally, political parties are well organized and disciplined in policy describing. For this purpose there are certain political think tanks which are an integral part of decision making, opinion formation and policy formulation, especially in modern democracies. In the world

almost 6300 think tanks exist currently. Their basic approach is to focus on the changing events of the world and work upon them. Basically there are three types of think tanks:

1. Research-leaning, focusing on areas of academic and general interest, with no current policy suggestion necessarily.
2. Advocacy-oriented, pursuing an agenda to push a particular policy either supporting or opposing on different issues.
3. Party-affiliated, promoting a political party's view and line on various issues. (Syed, 2012)

Think tanks in political parties are engaged in “three main functions:”

1. *“First, they give policy advice to leadership of political parties they are allied with.*
2. *Second, they train and educate party members and candidates for public office.*
3. *Third, they provide a network of politically like-minded individuals and experts.*

The Politics in Pakistan is primarily influenced by the ideology and identity of political parties and at the same time by the party leaders. Some parties are main streams and some of regional parties are also there. All the parties are strengthened if they established policy on the bases of research and analysis.

In authoritative era foreign ministry was taken by military officers directly but in democratic era civilian hold it but some issues like US; India, Kashmir and Nuclear issues are not controlled by civilian. (Rehman, 2012)

During Kargil issue Sartaj Aziz as foreign minister went India before leaving and after coming back both times he met General Pervez Musharraf and told that we just try to defuse tension not withdraw. Even prime minister was informed after this venture. (Aziz, 2009)

Role of intelligence agencies is dominant especially in authoritative regime. Frequently these agencies provide assistance to the policy makers on the name of national interest and security. Role of these agencies depends upon the objectivity and on the will of state. During military government agencies hold up foreign policy decisions directly. The agencies adopt such policies which take measures for the legitimacy of dictator government. Agencies ignore a lot of factors which can be adopted for the betterment of common man. During civilians era these agencies are not affected in foreign policy making as in authoritative era but being the formal institution its role exists in democratic regime. In Pakistan agencies played a strong role in foreign policy making.

Whatever the type of government, every state is definitely and heavily influenced by its Agencies (bureaucracy). Generally political leaders constitutionally handle the bureaucracy, but sometime it is difficult to control the vast structures of governments. For example President George W. Bush and Vladimir Putin in a joint press conference admitted that there is a gap between legal and real authority always. President Bush said that narrow mind bureaucratic played its own interpretation instead of government. On the other hand President Putin said Of course, there is always a bureaucratic threat formulating foreign policy. It is possible that sometimes agencies are not agreed with country foreign policy. It can damage their mission or may be harmful for military or organization. The military of every country definitely against its arms cuts back because these things less their influence and power.

In US view military is a hesitant soldier as, expressed by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, and is that the Politicians start wars but soldiers fight and die in them. Gathering information, filtering and providing it to the decision maker authority is the duty

of these agencies and this way clearly affect the policy. The same happened in Iraq War. The Britain agency reported that Iraq was taking significant quantities of uranium from Africa although CIA was not agreeing with it. Recommendations and implementations are also made by these agencies and they influence the policy greatly. Sometimes these agencies provided slim margin to policy maker according to their thinking which creates hurdle for them. In implementation their role is also important in 9/11 issue during investigation a fact came in front that antiterrorist policy was not implemented. FBI agent clear instruction was provided that an ordinate numbers of individuals were taking flight training which was ignored. The role of agencies highly increased in this regard (Hudson, 2005).

Pakistan Intelligence agencies played dynamic role in foreign policy process. In the beginning the role of our agencies was limited but after 1979 Afghan war all the assistant provided through the agencies which enhanced its role in foreign policy. In foreign office makers are scared by the agencies in policy defining. Dictators mostly depend upon agencies because they do not have political force (Qazi, 2004).

System level

This level of system deals with the realities of the international system and its influence. Different factors like structural characteristics, power relationships, economic realities, and norms of behaviour determine the nature of system. An important factor is the number of poles in a system and how the pattern of international relations changes according to the powers.

Now a day regional and international institutions are all affecting the foreign policy of any country. No country is capable of preparing its policy in isolation. Many factors are bringing under consideration before drive a foreign policy. Main objective of foreign policy is to

safeguard the national interest of the country. Trade, economy, geo strategic situation, domestic circumstances, neighboring countries and self interest should affect a country foreign policy like Pakistan. Non state actors are a key factor in policy making because they affect strongly foreign policy making process. State power controls the foreign policy of ordinary state by many a ways in modern world. Resources become the tool of a state hegemonic condition in today global world. Balance of power, bipolar, unipolar and multi polar all terminologies are the name of power according to the wish of country. Likes other informal institutions, the public plays a highly erratic role in designing foreign policy. Public opinion is a secondary phenomenon in authoritarian governments whereas in democracies; the role of the people is more complex.

In specific circumstance, public opinion plays an affective role. The US got out of Vietnam War because of the determined opposition of many Americans to continued involvement in that war. Although the public opinion usually plays only a limited role in determining foreign policy yet their role is important from many aspects. One reason for the public's limited role is that because few citizens focus much attention to international issues instead of domestic. During the 2004 U.S. national elections, terrorism and Iraq were prominent issues and these issues secured President Bush's re election in 2004. Generally, the public's political interest focuses on domestic issues. For example during the 2000 presidential election, only 5% of voters identified a foreign policy matter as the most core issue for them.

It is not right to say that all the public pays attention to foreign policy all the time. Some public regularly pays attention to world events. Crisis issues, such as the war with Iraq, trade, economy, terrorism got greater public attention too. At the final stage public responds to different policies according its nature that is right, wrong, unstable or stable.

In some countries the public rarely gets chance to decide a foreign policy issue directly through a national referendum. However, all democratic states are basically republican forms of government in which policies and laws are made by chosen officials and their appointees. Therefore, it is believed that common public opinion has an indirect democratic influence on policy because of voting process.

Mostly decision makers drafting a policy focus on public opinion because only those policies were executive better which were supported by the public. At the same time this thinking supported them in election vastly. Some time there is clear gap between the leader and citizen on certain issues. A number of elements observed in dimensioning public opinion for example sometimes a popular government takes measure to satisfy the public taking unwilling decisions. Trade unions or business communities greatly affect to foreign policy makers.

Pressure groups establish the boundaries of political system and it covers a wide sort of political activities. These are the groups or organizations of the people that have a common cause and they pressure the society and obviously they have more consequence than individuals. The role of pressure groups is to criticize the government on wrong policies, protest against government on national issues and try to establish their views. They can promote a specific issue and raise it for the political agenda at certain level. These groups moulded the government policy to grab benefit for themselves. They don't take part in election directly but they favour some political parties so that they can protect their interests in parliament through them. Traditionally, interest groups mostly focus on domestic issues than the foreign policy. But in case of their interest they raise their voice on foreign issues too. Recently on most favourite national issue traders played a key role and it was the voice of some power full business communities that Pakistan is also part

of free trade zone. Trade Unions remind the government that they are with the Government on this issue because it suits their business. But some religious and anti India groups hold government to do so. Government has to take all these matter under certain consideration during the foreign policy process.

After 9/11 non state actors became the central point of foreign policy making. Every country focuses on international scenarios to adopt his policy about certain relevant criteria. Fundamental rights and democracy are the central point of international community policy. Every nation is fighting for survival and wants to make it stronger from every aspect. Pakistan is currently facing a lot of issues on foreign policy. Non state actors are certainly affecting Pakistan but it should not one way traffic? Pakistan should adapt such policies which can stop these elements. Drone attacks, Islamic fundamentalism, nuclear non proliferations and Baluchistan are such factors which our country is facing badly. All these institutions affect upon the Pakistan foreign policy but Pakistan with the help of think tanks, Scholars, and positive frame of mind can manage these institutions better and better.

Role of legislature in foreign policy formulation

In beginning period foreign policy was designed by the soldiers and diplomats in complete secrecy without taking public into confidence. This process was done till the second world war particularly in European realm. But the democratic system greatly changed this routine and brought the egalitarian institutions such as parliament, media, pressure and interest groups, non state actors and the public opinion in this field (Ware, 1991).

In most countries the powers of policy making are immense in the executive branch because it preserves the national interest. Head of government mostly titled as president or prime minister

or premier or chancellor. Head of government is political executive and under his umbrella foreign minister and defence minister played a sheet anchor role in designing foreign policy. Role of head of state is determined by the type of government, type of situation and type of policy. Chief executive normally enjoyed the formal, informal powers and its leadership capabilities.

In parliamentary system executive head prime minister is elected by majority of the parliament so the formal approval is not necessary regarding foreign policy. In Britain parliament vote does not require for International Agreements negotiated by the prime minister but if affect their law then it is necessary. Typically cabinet plays important role instead of parliament in parliamentary form of government. Government has certain majority than legislature support over every issue. Turkey's role in Iraq war was decided by the parliament that turkey should not allow US to use its base against Iraq (Kesgin, 2010). In US although the theory" separation of power" existed but the United States Constitution divides the foreign policy powers between the President and Congress so that both share their role in making it. The executive and legislative branches each play important roles that are different but that often overlap too. Both branches have continuing opportunities to initiate and change foreign policy, and the interaction between these continues indefinitely throughout the life of a policy.

United State constitution divided the powers among its three branches to conduct the foreign policy which are consisted of executive, legislative and the judiciary. These three are the main components of a government (Denny, 1985).

The executive basic role is to formulate the foreign policy where as legislature overview it but some time important authority over it. The third judiciary interprets the constitution and in case of conflict between executive and legislature. The constitution of US framer kept a system of check and balance deliberately so that no one could act independently. (J.Bckley, 1990) President in U.S. head of executive and chief in making foreign policy enjoy his powers greatly. (Wayen, 1986)

President formulates foreign policy with the help of secretary of state, principle advisor, assistance of the National Security Council and the cabinet. The President is also the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and he can order the troops to go to combat. The President can also use a pocket veto against the acts of legislature which can only be overridden by a two third majority both in the House of Representatives and the Senate which called congress (Amin, 2008).

In India mostly follows the British Constitutional model and foreign policy making decisions are the function of the cabinet, which in turn, is responsive as well as responsible to the opinions expressed in the Lok Sabha Lower House of the Parliament in India (Grover, 1992).

Like Britain Indian cabinet can continue in office as long as it enjoys the confidence of the Lower House, the decisions it takes and their execution necessary to be acceptable to the majority of members of the Lok Sabha. In U.S. Constitution, the ratification of treaties and other international agreements by the Senate is compulsory, whereas in the Indian Constitution there is no such provision regarding treaties to the other nations. In India, the ratification of treaties is done by the President. However, before the government concludes a treaty or an international

agreement, it invariably to debate with the members of the Parliament but final authority is president (Amin, 2008).

Role of legislature in foreign policy formulation of Pakistan

This study is an attempt to examine the role of legislature in foreign policy formulation in the context of Pakistan. In Pakistan there are some constitutional provisions which provide powers to president, prime minister and cabinet. According to the Article 90 of the Constitution of Pakistan, 'the executive authority of the Federation shall vest in the President' but the Article 48 of the Constitution requires or said that the President shall act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet or the Prime Minister in the exercise of his functions with the exception of those matters in respect of which he is empowered by the Constitution to act in his discretion. Thus, all important foreign policy decisions ultimately must be taken by the Cabinet or the Prime Minister of the country and formally communicated to the President (Husain, 2004).

In Pakistan under the Rules of Business according to the article 5(1) most important foreign policy decision cannot be measured without the approval of the Government. But the Article 16 of the Rules of Business said that matters relating foreign policy including negotiations with foreign countries, e.g., exchange of diplomatic, treaties, agreements, visits of goodwill missions, representation at international conferences and meetings, etc. all would be brought in front of the Cabinet. Besides that Cabinet has authority to review and consider all matters relating to important policies. In other words according to constitution and the rule of business the Cabinet is the supreme foreign policy making body. At the same time according to the article 16 rule of business prime minister provides direction in any matter, a committee can be constituted by cabinet for this, generally cabinet approves committees recommendations (Husain, 2004).

Role of head of state varies in different countries according to the constitutions act and the form of government. In most countries usually legislatures play fewer roles in comparison with executive branch. But it does not show that all legislatures are powerless (Pevehouse, 2005).

A most popular view is that legislature plays rubberstamp in non democratic system whereas in democratic system its role is very significant. Chief executives have formal powers and although these are provided or amended by legislature institution means both are compulsory for each other. In wars and emergency the role of executive becomes Vitol than other institutions. In US executive focuses on important issues which are traditional domestic or those in which people show great interest. In this way policy provides a way to capture the voters through policy. In recent era foreign policy issues are becoming domestic issues.

Role of parliament in foreign policy manufacturing is very central particularly National Assembly because it is the discretionary house of the public by direct election. Being the representative of the mass a huge responsibility depends upon their shoulders. All Vitol decisions regarding foreign policy are measured by cabinet or prime minister, and head of state president is informed by head of executive prime minister formally. Parliament in Pakistan plays the role of legislature (law maker) which is consisted of two houses upper house name as Senate and Lower house is called National Assembly. Prime minister is also elected by the vote of simple majority in national assembly. He is also the head of cabinet (executive) in Pakistan. He can be removed through vote of no confidence, this means dissolve of cabinet in parliamentary system. Because of majority in assembly prime minister individually affects the foreign policy. The parliament can pass the bill in respect of any matter relating to the foreign relation of Pakistan. But such steps can only be taken by the will of executive in Pakistan. Senate the house of federation often

supports prime minister Decisions regarding policies. Government and opposition role should not be point scoring but in Pakistan it is game of political benefits. Historically parliament cannot perform its due role because of military interferences. In democratic era parliament role is also dependent of political party and leadership.

In Pakistan article 13 schedules 11 of rule of business says that the foreign ministry shall be consulted on all the matters relating the foreign policy of Pakistan or the conduct of its foreign relation. Inter division consultation is also the responsibility of foreign affair ministry specially concern department. All ministries divisions play important role in making foreign policy. Foreign ministry is headed by foreign secretary. Currently eight additional secretaries are looking after different areas of foreign relations, which are supported by directors of general, directors and sections officers. Proposals generally generated by section officers and are redefined by higher authorities. In important cases foreign secretary consults to foreign minister who can discuss it with prime minister or president. Prime minister can consult it to parliament or can be debated there. Foreign ministry usually considers informal factors also but the advice of competent cannot reject by foreign office. Foreign minister personality and approach also affect the foreign policy and its process greatly (Amin, 2008).

Political parties play a decisive role in assembling foreign policy. There is presidential system or parliamentary system political parties have certain manifesto it should act according to that policy although in third world countries it cannot be practiced regularly. Political parties support in legislature is compulsory for formulating any policy. Executive political party should be at same page to design a fruitful policy. Generally parties design policy checking the pulse of the public because a good policy becomes the reason of success. Committees in Pakistan are not

affective as in UK and USA. These committees in Pakistan in last five year meetings are 17 while in UK are 52. Most meetings were held just to meet diplomats. While in Musharraf era 33 meetings were held of these committees. Prime minister is executive and head of cabinet which is pressurized by opposition in parliament. Other political parties play an imperative role in making foreign policy of Pakistan. Around 25 Islamic parties participate in politics in some form. These parties greatly affect the foreign policy of Pakistan and these parties cannot be overlooked by anyone civilian or military ruler. In Musharraf era khurshed Mahmud kassori foreign minister met Israeli foreign minister. A great feedback came from Islamic parties and all Muslim countries (2011).

In case of Pakistan, the need for think tanks in political parties is very important because on the bases of good decisions good governess be achieved. This is very unfortunate that in Pakistan there is no culture of debate, analysis and conclusion on the bases of consensus. For example Nawaz Sharif government decision to freeze the foreign currency accounts after nuclear tests taken by four people created bad image internationally. Same practice was repeated by Prime Minister Zulfqar Ali Bhutto and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in selecting Chief of Army Staff, without consulting concerned field's think tank and this cost them too much. Political parties are affected by establishing think tanks in it. In modern democracies, "idea banks" these think tanks create dramatic change in the world politics. Think tanks provide better view about the policies relating to defence, economy, social sector and foreign relation. In India Rahul Gandhi established the group of thinks tank called "Look into Future challenge" in congress which advocate in election, policy planning, and national policy provide guide line to legislature (Syed, 2012)

PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY AND FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN

Regime of any country affects the foreign policy process by the type of its government whether it is authoritative or democratic government. In authoritative regime, a ruler has dominant authority over all the issues, whereas in democratic regime a country has elected government and leader takes decision according to public will. In authoritative era the others institutions are less involved in formulating policy whereas in democratic system often institutions are played active role in policy designing. Role of different institutions varies in both regimes in designing foreign policy. Pakistani history showed that it faced both the regime since its birth which is consisted of thirty two years military and thirty five year civilian government. Every leader whether it is military dictator or political elected prime minister or president during their tenure, as determines some policies regarding foreign affairs and dominant over the institutions.

A school of thought said that Military and bureaucracy played vital and dominant role in decision-making within the state structure. Whereas second school of thought has mentioned that the senior commanders of the military became the powerful actors in the decision making process and senior bureaucracy supported them in this cause. Third school of thought said that institution's role is landmark in foreign policy process. In Pakistani history civilian, bureaucratic, military and institutional role can be seen (Numan, 2013).

Foreign policy of Pakistan in formative phase (1947-58)

The Pakistan's first Constituent assembly was given shape with 69 members under the independence Act of 1947. The first session of that assembly was held on 10th August 1947 at Karachi. Quid-I-Azam was selected on 11th August 1947 the president of Pakistan's Constituent

assembly. Transfer of the power took place on 14th August 1947. Act of 1935 was enforced as interim constitution of Pakistan till first constitution of 1956.

Pakistan came into being after a long struggle and the newly born state had to face a number of difficulties in every sphere of life. In these circumstances foreign policy of Pakistan had to observe numerous determinants while making policy such as economy, defence, infrastructure and the self identity. Pakistan needs durable sustainable and rational policy for its survival. In this crucial time the founder father of Pakistan role is very tough and important. Jinnah established a strong foundation of so many institutions which are serving the nation in future. Jinnah provided the solid principles in economy, administration, constitution and for the foreign policy process.

First decade in Pakistan consisted on civilian government. The ruler of that era played the musical chair with each other. Constitution making was the big issue initially to the country. First constitutional assembly came in result of 1946 election before partition. Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah became the first Governor General and Liaqat Ali Khan was the first Prime Minister of Pakistan.

As Quaid e Azam said that the foreign policy of Pakistan is based upon the friendly relations towards all the nation, peace, harmony, non aggressive, honesty and according to the charter of United Nation. Pakistan should make relations with democratic nations, as earlier Muslim league under his leadership supported the allied forces instead of Fascist in world war second. Pakistan and India being sovereign states should decide their differences independently for the betterment of their nations (Jinah, 1978).

During Quaid e Azam's life Pakistan relations with Muslim states and other emerging powers to be decided by the policy of good will to the entire nations. Although there were great difficulties in newly born country but his firm will provided a smooth way in making relations with all the countries. Quaid wanted to establish relations with entire world on the bases of equality, justice and national integrity. Non Muslims should be respected in country as Muslim honour in the country and he quoted the example of Misaq-i-Madinah. Quaid e Azam has emphasised to establish better relations with neighboring countries including India (Sattar, 2010).

Governor General Jinnah appreciated the American democracy while accepting the credentials from first Ambassador to Pakistan Paul H. Alling in Karachi. American did not take interest greatly in Pakistan as it was seen that first ambassador was ill but replaced it in 1950. Liaqat Ali Khan Visit to the US described by the American newspaper frankly that due to regional problems Pakistan cannot play any role in international politics, Pakistan was also aware of his lack of capacity. Pakistan leaders wanted to establish strong bond with Washington as Liaqat Ali Khan and Fazlur Rehman a Bengali leader said that ideologically our approach with west not with communist. Pakistan has its defence problem which can be achieved or overcome through American support (Choudhry, 1975).

Pakistan's relations with big powers have also controversial and debatable issues. Pakistan initially received formal invitation from Moscow and US invited Nehru from India before Pakistan. Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan decided to visit Moscow but Washington thought that Pakistan not responds in favour of Moscow reason behind it, An American diplomat H. Gordon Minnigaorde reported that Liaqat Ali Khan said that the spreading of communism is becoming a threat and this group is involved in assassination of leaders. Moscow media criticized Pakistan

over the pakhtunistan issues it had greatly hurt Pakistan. At the same time Washington announced foreign policy of subcontinent cannot complete without Pakistan participation. Pakistan should be provided military, security and economic help and strengthen them and looking them to visit Washington soon. Liaqat Ali Khan ultimately visits US instead of Moscow first (Venkatramani, 1984). First Foreign Minister of Pakistan Zafrullah Khan said that Pakistan adopted the policy of friendship ties with other countries and supports the side of fairness although it's weak (Zafrullah, 1948).

In early years of independence Pakistan's problems with India were on the one hand, and the efforts to launch the new state in front to the world community on other side. These problems impact on Pakistan foreign policy and built unfriendliness and disbelieve between Pakistan-India relations. Reasons behind these were 3rd June 1947 Plan and the Indian Independence Act 1947, disposal of evacuee property, water and Kashmir dispute. A large numbers of Indian congress leaders talked about the reunion of both countries (Rizvi, 2004).

In August 1947 to September 1948 tenure was authoritarianism. Muslim league played a vital role and main aim was to design constitution. Foreign policy of this tenure was based on secularism, non-alignment, disputes settle with dialogue and promotion of Islamic ideology. These policies were followed by Khawaja Nazimudin and Liaqat Ali Khan till October 1951. In Ghulam Mohammad era role of authoritarianism was rising and relations with US strengthen. In case of aggression from India right of defence in Kashmir was existed (Kapur, 1991).

Kashmir dispute was came in under discussion in cabinet meetings, before participating in Security Council's meeting the Foreign Minister and the Quaid e Azam discussed that we don't accept the Kashmir division but the solution is fair plebiscite. Indian army's troops immediately

withdraw from Kashmir. It indicated that foreign policy in early years designed by cabinet decision not single person. (Brief for the delegation to the Security Council Presented to the Cabinet, 1948)

There are many issues which are decided by the Cabinets with India like Canal Water issues, pre-partition financial matters, post-partition tensions including Trade Agreement between the two countries and the No War Pact. Liaqat Ali Khan and Malik Feroz Khan Noon wanted good relations with India but only after the Kashmir issue settle down according to the wish of the public. In initial era of civilian govt, Pakistan foreign policy was independent and it was not pro American. But after some serious problems like economic issues, wheat shortage, and price inflation and down exports, cabinet which consisted of Zafrullah Khan, Choudhury Muhammad Ali, Nishtar and Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi they decided to develop relation with US in a secret meeting while Prime Minister Nazimudin personally was in favour of Britain than Washington (Numan, 2013).

In Bogra govt. 1954 US and military direct develop relations with each other and ignor the cabinet decisions. At the same time cabinet was not aware of about this move (Venkatramani, 1984). Pakistan in this regime was looking for those allies who supported it in defence matters. Pakistan signed mutual defence assistance agreement 1954 with US which provides defence equipment for internal security and restricted the trade with those nations whom were trying to destabilize the World peace. Pakistan joint hands with US because Washington was also interested in countering the communism in the region. Pakistan proved a strong ally in this sense. In this regard another treaty took place in Manila in 1954 which called SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization). Pakistan foreign minister Zafrullah Khan participated there and his

demand was clear that aggression against any member considers against all and aggression is an evil. But US was not accepting it and viewing that aggression means communism attack only. Zafrullah khan wanted to sign this treaty but cabinet was not agreeing upon it. In this case foreign minister threatens that he would resign. Cabinet allowed him to sign the treaty but ratification is compulsory from cabinet and according to the constitution of Pakistan (Kux, 2001). SEATO did not accept the 1965 and 1971 Indian military intervention against Pakistan in the purview of the treaty, so that Pakistan withdraws from it in 1972.

Pakistan due to security issues also became the member of Baghdad pact in 1955. Turkey and Iraq initially draft this treaty Pakistan had some reservation to join it. Defence Minister and commander in chief Ayub Khan wanted that US also join this pact otherwise it is not vital for Pakistan. Later Turkey and Iraq assures Pakistan that US supported the regional members so Pakistan agreed after cabinet approval. In 1959 Iraq say good bye the treaty after bloody coup take over and the treaty rename as Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO). Badaber Base in Peshawar was made and Prime Minister Suhrawardy informed President Eisenhower to use the base. US used it against Russia for this purpose spy plans managed; China was also at target for a decade. Initially Pakistan's relations with Muslim countries based upon harmony and cooperation. Pakistan tried hard to establish a Muslim block based organization but some Muslim countries like Indonesia, Egypt and Afghanistan were not supporting Pakistan in its efforts. Pakistan's relation with Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Iran were very strong but with other countries were as just routine relationship.

Pakistan's foreign policy was more or less independent initially till 1954 and Cabinet Ministers' point of view was given weight at some extend. But it was during Muhammad Ali Bogra's

premiership the civil, military and bureaucracy's representatives that Malik Ghulam Mohammad, Ayub Khan, Iskandar Mirza and Choudhury Muhammad Ali made a Kitchen Cabinet and some important foreign policy decisions were taken by them. The performance of Coalition Cabinets showed mixed performance but all important foreign policy issues were almost discussed in the Cabinet meetings. The institution of Cabinet was active in formulation of foreign policy of this period (Numan, 2013). The first regime of Pakistan foreign policy was mixed. This regime in the beginning was dominant by the civilian and the philosophy of Quaid e Azam. Later on after the induction of military on the name of security impulses their role was enhanced. Initially a musical chair was there on the name of government by the civilian which came to an end by the military intervention in the name of Martial law.

Ayub Khan Era (1958-69)

Ayub Khan was the first military dictator of Pakistan. He held the country and imposed the martial law in 1958. In his regime Pakistan had to face serious problems with foreign countries and domestic issues were also not suitable in the homeland. Ayub Khan 1958 to 1962 governed the country as the Chief Martial Law Administrator and 1962 to 1965 as President after the withdrawal of Martial Law. In this first portfolio he worked as authoritative pattern of government with his martial law authorities. After election and as president of democratic regime, he had to prove the legitimacy of his government policy shift was clearly observed. President Iskandar Mirza dissolved the National as well as provincial assemblies and Martial Law declared on 07th Oct 1958. Muhammad Ayub Khan had been appointed Commander-in-chief of Army by president.

General Muhammad Ayub Khan took over oath as second president of Pakistan on 27th Oct 1958. First step taken by him was the appointment of a constitution commission on 17th Feb 1960. The purpose of that proposal was to nourish best democracy in country according to the country's political as well as Islamic principles of justice. Commission submitted its report to the Government. Under the new constitution general elections were held on 28th March 1962 and elections to the special seats reserved for woman were held on 29th May 1962. According to the constitution of 1962 National assembly at the centre and the provincial assemblies in the provinces were to participate in presidential form of government. The federal system had been allowed the provincial governors to be appointed directly by the president. Under the constitution of Pakistan all executive authority vested in the office of the president. President appointed his cabinet members who were directly responsible to him instead of any institution.

Both wings were declared Electoral College for the purpose of electing the assemblies and the president. Basic democrats were 80 thousand in number, total membership of the National assembly was 156 one half of whom were to be elected from East Pakistan and other half from West Pakistan. The term of this assembly was three years. The norm was establishment that if the president was from West Pakistan the speaker was to be from East Pakistan and vice versa. One of the major achievements of this assembly was the passage of political parties Act 1962.

Ayub Khan had keen eye upon the PAK US relations especially on defence issues. In these circumstances he offered India a Joint Defence Pact. This was possibly under the pressure of US but later march into Kashmir in 1962 when India was engaged on North East border (Durrani, 2009). In Indian China tension US supported India a lot ignoring the Pakistan anxiety, later this weapon used against Pakistan in 1965 war. When Pakistan asked US about this US said that

these weapons should not use against Pakistan. Pakistan should make a gesture of good will towards India which helps in the solution of Kashmir Issue (khan, 1972)

In beginning Ayub khan had established an independent foreign policy with US Russia and China. During Pakistan and India war in 1965I Russia played natural role and later on sign an agreement called Tashkent treaty. Pakistan had settled down boundary agreement with China in 1962 and got 750 square miles area from China. This agreement enhances brotherhood relation with both countries. In his tenure he had established trade relations with eastern European countries like Chekov Slovakia, Romania Hungary and Poland. Regional Corporation development (RCD) was established among Pakistan Iran and Turkey. Pakhtunistan Issue was resolved by managing good friendly ties with Afghanistan. USA and Brittan recognized the Durand line as a permanent boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

In 1960 Indus water treaty was signed between Pakistan and India. For Kashmir issue a number of friendly countries supported at diplomat level. Unfortunately in 1965 war between Pakistan and India was fought and good relations were not established. At that crucial time field Marshal Ayub Khan declared Emergency in the country and motivate the nation to fight with great determination. United Nation passed resolution on 4th and 6th Sep 1965 to stop the war. At that time foreign minister Zulfqar Ali Bhutto said that we can fight hundred years for the freedom of Kashmir and demanded both Armies should remove from Kashmir and plebiscite according to the United Nation resolution.

The second Martial Law was imposed on 25th March 1969 and general Agha Muhammad Yahya khan took over as the president of Pakistan and chief Martial Law administrator. A legal framework order he later issued under which the first ever general elections were held on 7th Dec

1970. This was the first assembly elected on the adult and population basis. It consists of 313 members from both wings 169 from east and 144 from West Pakistan including 13 reserved seats. Soon after the elections due to great political differences the province of East Pakistan seceded from West Pakistan and became Bangladesh.

Overall the Foreign policy of Yahya Khan was strictly failed because Pakistan had divided into two pieces. First general election held on 7th Dec 1970. There was delay calling the session of National Assembly. Political instability and outer conspiracy resulted in creation of Bangladesh. However in this tenure Pakistan supported China to become the member of United Nation. After taking oath Yahya Khan visited the China and got economic support from neighboring country. He tried to establish good relation between China and USA. In 1969 first Islamic conference held at Marraco and non Muslim member India was not allowed to attend the conference.

Zulfqar Ali Bhutto Period (1970-77)

Mr. Zulfqar Ali Bhutto took over the charge of not only the president of Pakistan but also first Law Minister on 20th December 1971. The first session of the national assembly was delayed due to the separation of East Pakistan. Session was holding on 14th April 1972 at the state Bank building Islamabad in which all 144 members from West Pakistan and two from former East Pakistan participated. National assembly adopted an interim constitution on 17th April 1972 which provided presidential form of government. Under this constitution the National assembly was not to be dissolved earlier than 14th August 1973.

National assembly also chalked out a constitution committee on 17th April 1972 to prepare the first draft to frame a constitution. On 31st December 1972 the report of the committee was presented with a draft constitution. In assembly session it was unanimously passed on 10th April

1973 and was attested by the president on 12th April 1973. This constitution is called as the constitution of Islamic republic of Pakistan and that was imposed on 14th august 1973. On the same day Zulfqar Ali Bhutto took oath as the prime Minister and Mr. Fazal Elahi took oath as the president of Pakistan.

Constitution of 1973 suggested a parliamentary form of government in the country and the president represented the unity of the republic. Under the Constitution of 1973 Pakistan adopted bicameral system at the centre called The Parliament. The general seats of the National Assembly were 200 with additional 10 seats reserved for woman bringing the total strength to 210. The newly created upper House is the senate which had 63 members. Through presidential order (P.O NO 14 OF 1985) seven seats were added to the general seats and ten to the reserved seats for minorities to be filled through separate electoral system. Thus the strength of lower house reached to 237 members. According to the constitution of 1973 the National assembly is elected for five years. The seats in national assembly unlike the senate are allocated to each province and other units of the federation on the basis of population. The constitutional provision of 20 special seats for women lapsed in 1990 thus decreased the assembly strength from 237 to 217. Ten seats reserved for minority under the constitution elections were held on separate electorate basis.

On 7th January 1977 Zulfqar Ali Bhutto announced the elections before time and assembly tenure was decided five years by his government. He advised the president to dissolve the assembly on 10th January 1977 so elections were held on 7th march 1977. Opposition boycotted the provincial assembly's elections due to rigging charge on elections of National assembly. Opposition did not

accept the results of elections and decided did not take the oath for National assembly seats. Due to rigging charges army took over the charge and imposed Martial Law.

After taking the charge Pakistan was in serious critical situation, Zulfqar Ali Bhutto and Mrs. Indra Ghandi signed a Shimla treaty on 3rd July 1972. This treaty shows that relation between India and Pakistan should be based on equality and peace. He tried to established friendly relations with the modern world and settled down the internal peace in the country. He took decision to separate from SEATO and CENTO agreements. Bhutto also recognized Korea, East Germany Vietnam and Cambodia. Zulfqar Ali Bhutto Government has soft corner towards communist block and this become the reason of Pak America shattered relationships.

In the beginning Bhutto visited the America twice and established good relation and American president Nixon in his introductory speech said that independence and integrity of Pakistan is cornerstone of American foreign policy. Dr Hennery Kiesinger visited Pakistan in 1974 and announced that America wanted strong stable prosperous and sovereign independent Pakistan.

On 18th may 1974 India first time exploded atomic bomb in Pokhran. Mr. Aziz Ahmed state Minister for foreign affairs said in Washington that Pakistan demanded security from USA and UNO that India should refrain from attacking on Pakistan. To establish balance of power in the region Pakistan also take initiative to purchase atomic reprocessing plant from France. USA pressurized France not to support Pakistan for atomic purpose. Later on Pakistan move ahead in its purpose, (Zain, 2012) Bhutto developed strong relation with Islamic countries in this regard 2nd OIC held at Lahore.

Zia Ul Haq Regime (1977-88)

General Muhammad Zia ul Haq imposed martial law in 1977. Under presidential order on 24th December 1981 a federal council was constituted by the president of Pakistan. Council holds first session on 11th January 1982. Due to that council the limited political activities were resumed as a result of that later elections of National and provincial Assemblies were hold on 25th February 1985. The resumption of constitutional order was issued on 2nd march 1985 with a large number of amendments in the constitution. National assembly's first session was held on 20th march 1985. Muhammad khan Jenejo was nominated as the prime minister of Pakistan by the president. He received vote of confidence on 24th march 1985. The 8th major constitutional amendment was Article 58(2b) was added by parliament, According to that president acquired discretionary powers to dissolve the National Assembly. President dissolved the National Assembly on 29th May 1988 by his constitutional power.

Initially he adopted the policy of impartiality in his foreign policy. He said good bye to the SEATO and joined Non Alignment Movement (NAM) in 1979. He visited China many times in response the Chinas head of state visited many times Pakistan. There were cultural, economic, trade, technology and atomic agreements were signed by both countries. Pakistan became the front line state against Russia when it intervined in Afghanistan in 1979. Russia entered 80 thousand soldiers in Afghanistan and status of Afghanistan as a buffer state came to an end. Special correspondent to security Mr. Brzezinski said that in case of Russian attack USA will provide military support to Pakistan. Zia ul Haq visited America in 1980 and told their reservations about Russian aims and America assure that they will protect their integrity. In 1981

foreign Minister Agha Shahi meet with American foreign minister and both ensure to develop mutual relation.

He started the policy of dialogue to settle down the dispute between India and Pakistan. In crucial situation with India he adopted the cricket policy to normalize the tension between the two states. Islamic world selected him as a leader who represents them in 35th session of General Assembly in United Nations. He settled the salal band issue with India and also organized SAARC in the region to establish strong relation among the south Asian countries. He also tried hard to play the natural role between Iran Iraq wars (Zahid, 2011).

New Democratic era (1988-99)

First tenure (1988-90)

8th National Assembly general elections were held on 16th November 1988. On 3rd December 1988 Mr. Miraj Khalid was elected as a speaker of National Assembly. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto was elected as prime minister of Pakistan and took oath on 2nd December 1988. After that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the Assembly under article 58 (2) b on 6th August 1990. In this tenure she made an agreement with India not to attack on the atomic installations of each other. USA provided F16 to Pakistan after a long time.

Period (1990-93)

Ninth National Assembly elections were held on 24th October 1990. On 3rd November 1990 the first session was held. Mr. Gohar Ayub Khan elected as a Speaker of National Assembly and he took oath on 4th November 1990. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif took oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan on 11th November, 1993. The Assembly was dissolved by President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, under Article 58(2) (b) on 18th April 1993. The dissolution of the National Assembly was

challenged in the Supreme Court of Pakistan and after hearing the case the Assembly was restored by the apex court on 26th May 1993. On the advice of the Prime Minister on 18th July 1993 Assembly was dissolved. In his tenure America stopped the aid by Pressler Amendment and Pakistan has started to focus on its own resources. On Babri Masque issue Pakistan passed a resolution in OIC against India. Pakistan managed good relations with all the countries including the neighbours (Anjam, 2008).

Period (1993-96)

10th National Assembly elections were held on 6th October 1993 and Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani took oath of the National Assembly speaker on 17th October 1993. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto took the oath as prime Minister of Pakistan on 19th October 1993. But unfortunately Assembly was dissolved by President Farooq Ahmad khan Leghari on 5th November 1996.

2nd December 1988 democracy restores in Pakistan and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said in parliament that Pakistan would not change its policy towards Afghan, Soviet Union and America. In 1989 Benazir met with President Bush in Tokyo and assured Benazir that they would support Pakistan in every sphere of life. She visited America in June 1989 and addressed to the joint session of congress and she said that we don't have atomic bomb and not interested in it. During her visit they signed eight different agreements to support each other. (Panhwar, 1994)

Phase (1997-99)

On 3rd February 1997 the elections for eleventh National Assembly were held. The first session was held on 15th February 1997. Mr. Elahi Bukhsh Soomro took oath of the office of the Speaker National Assembly on 16th February 1997. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif took oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan and Leader of the House on 17th February 1997. The new

Assembly came into power with an overwhelming majority. In April 1997 the Article 58(2) (b) was later on omitted from the Constitution vide 13th Amendment in the Constitution. In his second tenure he made country an atomic state on 28th May 1998. Pakistan becomes first Islamic and third Asian atomic nation in the world. There was great pressure on the Pakistan by big powers not to explore atom bomb and get benefit in response but he refused to do so. In 1999 Indian Prime Minister visited the Minar e Pakistan by bus and signed a Lahore declaration which was great victory for Pakistan. It was first time that Indian admitted the Pakistan as an independent state. Taliban government in Afghanistan was recognized firstly by Pakistan. On Kargil Issue he signed in Washington without taking parliament into confidence.

Twenty one amendments have been made in the Constitution so far, the ninth and the eleventh Constitutional Amendments were, however, passed by the Senate alone and fifteenth by the National Assembly alone, hence these amendments lapsed. The fourteenth Amendment in the Constitution empowered a check on the floor crossing of legislators (National Assembly, 2007).

Musharraf Era

On 12th October 1999 Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf, who was also Chairman Joint Staff Committee, took over the government from Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and declared himself as Chief Executive through a Proclamation of Emergency. On October 14th 1999 through Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) issued, he held the Constitution in abeyance, suspended the Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies. The President Mr. Muhammad Rafiq Tarar was, however allowed to continue in his office. The National Security Council was established for the purpose to tender advice to the Chief Executive (later on

President), on matters relating to Islamic ideology, national security, sovereignty, integrity of Pakistan so as to achieve the aims and objective as enshrined in the Objectives Resolution 1949.

Elahi Bukhsh Soomro, Speaker National Assembly Syed Zafar Ali Shah, MNA, challenged the suspension orders in the Supreme Court. The Court in its judgment on 12th May 2000 validated the military takeover by giving three years time frame to the government, starting from 12th October 1999. The Court in its judgment asked the government to complete its agenda and then hand over powers to the elected government. The court also allowed the military government to bring necessary Constitutional Amendments, provided that those should not change the basic feature of Federal Parliamentary democracy, independence of judiciary and Islamic provisions in the Constitution. On 20th June 2001, through a notification the Chief Executive assumed the office of the President of Pakistan. From the very outset of the twenty first century an incident occurred in USA which changed the position of South Asian Region. Musharraf decided to ally the US in war on terror. He also established relationships with neighbouring countries and the Islamic world. President visited the India and tries to settle down the disputing issues with dialogue through Agra declaration. According to Musharraf,

“Pakistan-U.S. relations are very broad in context. Not only is there military cooperation or terrorism and extremism, cooperation against that, but there is a great socioeconomic element in that. Our trade and investment interests are there. So everyone understands that Pakistan-United States relation have to be strong. It is the masses who are more emotional, I would say, and sentimental that because of these events, there’s an antipathy which needs to be corrected frankly. I personally believe it has to be corrected. It’ll take time and good leadership.

ROLE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION 2002 TO 2007

The election for twelfth National Assembly was held on 10th October 2002. First session of the National Assembly was held on November 16, 2002 and Ch Amir Hussain and Sardar Muhammad Yaqoob were elected Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively on November 19, 2002. Mir Zafar Ullah Jamali was elected Leader of the House on November 21, 2002. Speaker Choudhury Amir Hussain gave the ruling on June 14, 2003 that LFO is the part of the Constitution of Pakistan. On June 20, 2003 Opposition Parties submitted a resolution for vote of no confidence against Speaker National Assembly which was rejected on June 28, 2003.

On January 1, 2004 National Assembly of Pakistan expressed confidence in the leadership of President General Pervez Musharraf through the resolution. On January 17, 2004 President General Pervez Musharraf addressed the Joint Session of the Parliament. On June 26, 2004 Prime Minister Mir Zafrullah Khan Jamali resigned from his office. Choudhury Shujaat Hussain was elected the 21st Prime Minister of Pakistan on June 29, 2004 and obtained a vote of confidence from the National Assembly on June 30, 2004. Mr. Shaukat Aziz was elected the Leader of the House on August 27, 2004 and was administered oath of the Prime Minister of Pakistan on August 28, 2004. National Assembly of Pakistan completed its Constitutional tenure on November 15, 2007. After the resignation from the post of Chief of Army Staff, Mr. Pervez Musharraf administered the oath of President of Islamic Republic of Pakistan on November 29, 2007. The date of next General Election was fixed for January 28, 2008. On December 27, 2007 after the assassination of Muhatarma Benazir Bhutto, date of election was rescheduled. On 17th

March 2008 the first session of the National Assembly was held. Dr. Fehmida Mirza and Mr. Faisal Karim Kundi were elected Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly respectively on March 19, 2008. Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani was elected the Prime Minister of Pakistan by the House on March 24, 2008 and unanimously obtained the Vote of Confidence from the House on March 29, 2008. On August 18, 2008 Mr. Pervez Musharraf submitted his resignation from his office to the Speaker National Assembly. (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2014) It is the first time in the history of Pakistan that a graduate assembly came into being. In this authoritative regime National Assembly started its proceeding on 16th November 2002. This Assembly met forty three times in its tenure. The first major issue which this assembly had to deal regarding foreign policy was Iraq issue.

Foreign policy on Iraq Issue

This session was called by the opposition. Eleven members of government and fifteen members from opposition have participated on Iraq issue. The business advisory committee decisions are ignored by the parliamentarian and everyone interrupted each other during debate. Three questions were asked by opposition on CTBT.

Prime Minister statement

The Prime Minister came in the house to describe the policy statement on Iraq war. When the leader of the house started at that time opposition started discussing legal frame work order (LFO). Initially government took a balance stance as Zafar Ullah Khan Jamali said that Government had promised to take parliament and nation in confidence “for this purpose I am here. Government is clear we are not supporting war against any Muslim country. Iraqi

government should take their decisions according to their public will. No one should interfere in any countries internal matters” (4th Session, 2003). On that day no more discussion was done on the Iraq issue.

Opposition point of view on Iraq issue

Opposition leader had started discussion on foreign policy in reference to Iraq and clarified their position and criticised the US policy. Government provided constitution copies with LFO at that time when the foreign policy was being discussed in this house. It shows that government is not serious on the debate of foreign policy. Today USA has violated the international law, politically, diplomatic and the morality wise by threatening the Iraq. USA has imposed war on different countries on the name of terrorism whether it is Bin Laden or Iraqi on the name of chemical weapons. On the name of peace USA wanted to control the resources of the world. The reason is very obvious to establish its hegemony in the world.

Leader of the opposition strongly criticized the prime minister observation that Government had promised to take parliament into confidence because this house is sovereign and all important decisions should be taken by this forum. This house provided guide line to everyone. If all these decisions are not taken in this august house, by whom were taken these vital decisions? Government seriousness is being measured that foreign minister and prime minister are not in this house today while we are discussing foreign policy of the country. FBI is capturing the people in the country and saying thanks to the president. Kristina Roka visited the country and met the president instead of the prime minister. It showed all policies were designed by that authority not this house. In parliamentary system all decisions were taken by parliament, prime minister and cabinet not by president. But our prime minister house is not aware of the foreign

matters. In Security Council our government response was not up to mark. Government takes a relief that resolution regarding Iraq was not put again because it is difficult for us to vote against USA. We are Muslim Umma and like a body if a single part be tortured whole body felt that. Same case is in the Iraq war for us. Israel threatens our country that you are the next target. This war is not against Afghanistan, Iraq or Iran but it is against the whole Muslim world. We should not be depressed by USA and make a sovereign policy through this house. Decision of this house is the decision of Pakistan (5th Session, 2003).

Another parliamentarian from opposition benches provided his views on foreign policy and said that our government policy on Iraq as mirrors its general foreign policy and its own internal character more than anything else. Alas when an opportunity was provided but General Pervez Musharraf had nothing else to say would be we should not the member of Security Council. All the major countries foreign ministers being the member of Security Council were there in UN when this matter has to be debated. Our foreign minister should have been in the UN but he was in Pakistan. These are the fundamental weaknesses in our foreign policy. We should take the lead role there and play the arbiter among the different opinions. The foreign policy of any country is not strengthened by weapons or military rule. When Generals take over foreign policy Churchill said, a war and other said that it could equally apply to diplomacy which is foreign policy. Churchill said a war; war is too serious a matter to be left to the generals.

Distant allies are important but the strong foreign policy lies in support in your own region, in your own neighbourhood, in your own area and domestic stability. The general who refused to salute Indian prime minister at Wagah later on that person went Agra to solve that issue through negotiation. Those who are back benchers should pressurize the front benchers and make

sovereign this august house. We should strengthen state, government, parliament and foreign policy by consensus. Foreign policies strengthen by economic advancement and through flexibility not by rigidity. The only two great initiatives were taken in the history of the foreign policy of this country. First in 1960s when Pakistan became friend with neighbour China and second in 1973 when Arabs during war imposed an oil embargo and suddenly world divided. These decisions were taken by Zulfkar Ali Bhutto as foreign minister and then as president and prime minister. Also credit goes to the Late Field Marshal General Ayub Khan.

Today when Iraq and the people of Iraq stand in threat of war being imposed upon them, we need a man like him. We are against war imposed on Iraq not for one reason, but many like a Muslim state, holy places there and UN resolution 678, 687 and 1441 do not sanction force. OIC is not able to come and support on this issue. We opposed war mainly because it will inflict death, harmful for thousands of innocent civilians. We do not want war because millions will suffer with this act. Peace cannot be achieved through war. Diplomacy is the route for the Muslim world to support Iraqis. Foreign minister should go to capitals of Islamic countries and build a consensus to prevent war and support the sovereignty of the Iraq's people.

Government and opposition are on one page that both are saying war is not the solution of any matter. It enhanced the more terrorism. Although it is 21st century and technology is at top but man is superior to the technology and materialistic desires. This august house unanimously sent a message to the world that we all support peace. USA twenty four hour notice to Iraq shows being unipolar power. It does not consider UN Security Council or other institutions of the world. In this way, war is being imposed on Iraq because Bush is following his father policy and capturing the resources of energy. Bush family is the representative of the energy mafia. In future USA

will advance to other Islamic countries to achieve its desire to gain control over oil and other minerals. Pakistan should focus on its self interest because we are nuclear power and lead the Muslim world in the world. During war and peace no one can be neutral. A country has to be the part of a block. Pakistan should support Iraq at any cost.

Opposition's benches expressed their views that foreign policy should not be dictated by single person. Parliament should be sovereign and we should build consensus on national interest. This house should pass a resolution on Iraq issue in their support. We do not know what is government policy? And what is the thought of national assembly? Our policy is designed to support other's interests than our national interests. United nation has opposed its resolution on which rule and regulation US is imposing war on Iraq. President General Pervez Musharraf said that we are front state and strong ally in war on terror. I can contact with Bush, Collin Powel and Remise Field directly anytime. Then why is he not taking the registration issue of Pakistani with them. On a single phone call you presented your services to them. USA always adopted the dual policy, Pentagon and Washington DC has different point of view. A think tanks secretary said that after Iraq war Iran, Egypt, Syria and Pakistan are next on US target. Americans said that Muslims are fundamentalist, extremists and terrorists. In fact all its efforts are to capture the resources of Muslim world. Saddam was your blue eyed boy yesterday but now he has biological weapons it means Iraq is not safe. But India and Israel both have biological weapons but these countries are safe. Government does not have the guts to say that it will support Iraqi people; at least the National Assembly should say that we will support the Iraqi people. We have to take a stand. In British parliament 162 members of treasury benches refused to go along with Tony

Blair. His 3 ministers and 12 parliamentary secretaries have resigned. Same message should be sent from this house.

We cannot be strong if we just sit down, be scared and you make it into a debating house. Pakistan foreign policy is nothing but ambiguous. Our prime minister's seriousness is observed when a journalist asked legal authority of the Iraq war he replied ask Bush. State department issued a statement that in the coalition of the willing fifteen among the thirty countries said we are with you but secretly. Foreign minister clarify us are we in these fifteen? We are against this war certain reasons no legal authority, lack of backing public opinion, resolution was not supported, diplomacy has started working UN inspectors said Iraq is cooperating and that area is holy for Muslims. It is being articulated that this war can devise it if there is a regime change in Iraq. Saddam should quit along with his purse. War is not justified, for God sake, give peace a chance. Pre emptio doctrine should be implementing on US and disarm it for the safety of the whole world. We should make foreign policy according to our constitution. Hitler is reborn in America in shape of Bush. USA policy is like that kiss the Jhon bull, he will kick you and kick the Jhon bull, and he will kiss you. Nancy Powel should be declaring as persona non grata.

Treasury benches views on Iraq Issue

The parliamentarians from treasury benches discussed their point of views on Iraq situation. Government is against the war president, prime minister, foreign minister and this house is on this stance. We should bring out concrete policy in front of this house. No proposal or different point of view has been explored on this forum yet. Please tell me single country of the world which is designing its foreign policy without the will of its army. Pakistan's core issue is Kashmir except China and Saudi Arabia who is supporting us? While formulating policy we

should focus on it. (5th Session, 2003) The foreign policy towards Iraq crises reflects the will of the people of Pakistan as well as Pakistan's supreme national interest. We will be able to develop a consensus in this house regarding the crisis because the foreign policy that is based on national will and consensus is inherently strong and of course enjoys international respect and regard. Foreign minister has personally attended sessions of the UN Security Council where important discussions were held regarding the reports of the arms inspectors. Prime minister and foreign minister are in constant touch with the world leaders on the latest development of this issue. We should follow our national interests on the basis of, Pakistan first. We must not act emotionally but in accordance with the basic tenets and norms of our foreign policy. This house formally endorses and adopts the policy stated by prime minister that Pakistan will not support any military action against Iraq. It cannot be justified either on the basis of the report of the arms inspectors or on the basis of the rather tenuous evidence linking the Iraqi regime with Al Qaeda. Some foreign policy analysts have also put forward the view that keeping in view the Pakistan supreme national interest, we should support the US led attack on Iraq. National interest means pertaining to our national security, sovereignty and control over strategic assets as well as economic interest relating to the growing volume of assistance from the US. International community has to insist on Indian compliance with Security Council resolutions on Kashmir and also on Israel regarding Palestine. Resolution of the 114 nations Non Aligned movement passed in Kuala Lumpur and 57 members' organization of Islamic conference passed in Doha the peaceful resolution of the crises through the Security Council. On 16th march 1988 over three thousand people in north Iraq were gassed with mustard gas by Saddam Hussain. There is not a ripple in Pakistan. While making policy we should draw a distinction between criminal Saddam

and innocent people. Americans are acting in violation of international unity. Saddam can resolve this issue by quitting Iraq. We are against war to safeguard the innocent people of the Iraq. In foreign policy there should not be permanent friends or enemies only permanent are interests. In OIC meeting Iraq wanted India to be the member of that organization. Saddam always adopted the policy of pro India. So we should see our interest with USA at the same time. Government should be appreciated at its balanced stance. It established strong point of view at the same time running equally with all the great countries.

Iraq's current situation is affecting our region and international institutions right now. Foreign policy is designed according to the need of country. In Pakistan governments are changed but the policies and targets are remaining constant, only a slight shift to be observed. Our policies focus on security, economy and peace. We should sovereign the parliament and built consensus on national issues and our foreign policy objectives. Government should support the Foreign Service structure to strengthen the institutions we can achieve our objectives. Our nuclear program is for balance of power in region and for the purpose of deterrent. A country can be strong by defending its sovereignty and autonomy. USA wants world total domination therefore it hijacks the foreign policy of third world countries. Being the super power it ignores the UN inspectors report, Security Council resolution and the right of national sovereign state which is provided by treaty of the Austria 1648. Pakistan permanent representative in UN, President, prime minister and foreign minister being an ally to US made efforts to prevent war but US being a super power has its own agenda. Pakistan has showed great support towards Iraq's people than neighboring countries Turkey, Saudi Arab, Iran and the OIC. International public

opinion, institutions and organizations are supporting peace unanimously. Kofi Anan said that US has no legitimacy for this war.

On Iraq issue foreign minister winds up the debate and presents the government policy in this house. Foreign minister said that I met with Collin Powel, in UN Security Council, in regional and bilateral forum and in NAM we said that we are not supporting war. We have deep concern for the brotherly people of Iraq. Pakistan has adopted mature and constructive position on the issue and that other world leaders recognized it to be so. Iraq disarmament should be secured but in peaceful means and through a credible inspection. Diplomatic means are adopted to resolve the issue peacefully (5th Session, 2003).

Later Americans attacked the Iraq and there were killed thousands of innocent people. Pakistan has not played anything practically for Iraq. Even later president Musharraf addressing the UN general assembly said that we sent troops for Iraq but refused by the prime minister on the public opinion. The house proved a debating society in this issue. During this session three motions was passed in one day and different questions was asked about visa passport, foreign affairs expenditures budget and higher commissioner absent.

Issue of Dr. Qadeer Khan

In this debate three government and four opposition members participated.

Opposition view

Adjournment motions were presented in the house regarding illegal export of Centrifuges to Iran by Dr. Qadeer Khan. This national issue urgently demands the interference of this house. Minister for Information and Broadcasting said in a seminar that Dr. Qadeer Khan as in his

personal position provides illegal centrifuges to Iran from Black market. Pakistan is a nuclear state and behaves as a responsible state in the World. At that moment all the international pressure is upon our state. This time when Iran and European are doing negotiations, certain statement is a technique to pressurize the Iran. USA foreign minister has to visit Pakistan soon and such statement providing an opportunity to press our national interest. Why this statement is delivered publically. This forum is right place for such statement, at the same time minister leaked the state secret openly.

Govt. Point of View

Minster for broadcasting and information said that this statement is not new; it is already discussed in newspaper. We are not providing any access to any country or individual to inquire Dr. Qadeer khan. We are responsible state and well aware of our responsibilities, we don't need any guide line from any state (23rd Session, 2005).

Dr. Qadeer Khan was under house arrest and no one was given access to him. He has lost his health badly. Even opposition allegation was that why the policy statement not given in this house but why on a private forum.

Foreign minister meeting with Israeli foreign minister

In this session seven government and eight opposition members participated and questions were asked about staff in different Islamic countries.

Opposition stance

Point of order raised on the issue of foreign minister's meeting with Israeli foreign minister in Istanbul Turkey. Government took a u turn in foreign policy and met Israeli foreign minister.

Why this house has not been taken into confidence. President Pervez Musharraf said that Mehmood Abbas was asked. Therefore we met with Israeli foreign minister. Palestine deputy prime minister demanded that as for Palestine could not get state rights no one recognised it. Arab league and Hamas has strongly criticized this meeting. Parliament, cabinet and all national parties are by passed only a single person is formulating foreign policy of the country. Later an adjournment motion on this issue moved in the house. Last 58 year our policy was clear about Israel but why is this shift in the policy? Foreign minister or government clearly describes why this step has been taken? Direction for foreign policy should be decided by this house not by single person? What is our principle stand upon the Palestine at international level now? Whether it is foreign policy committee, foreign affairs committee or cabinet has not been taken into confidence at all? Musharraf has taken u turn on Afghanistan policy and the country faced serious problems many vital lives wasted there. This house is not a toy, this shift in policy harmful for the Palestine movement. This is not an ordinary meeting in future Pakistan will mobilize the Islamic world for the changing of their policies regarding Israel said by the Israel prime minister. Musharraf considers that he is an autocratic leader. Pakistan has shifted its policy by the guide line of Mehmood Abbas. In socialist international congress Benazir Bhutto and Simons ex Israeli prime minister picture was published and this house shouted and today double standards are shown in this regard. This house should not be a rubber stamp. We have to protect it we are the custodian of this house.

Treasurer benches point of view

From treasurer benches told to the house that we are not recognized Israel as Palestine has not become a free and sovereign state. This movement is done on the request of Palestine that Israel

free its area which it has captured. Israel's Muslim neighbour countries have recognized them but we have not taken these decisions until the freedom of Palestine. We try to solve issue through negotiation with Israel. Foreign minister yesterday after meeting with Israeli foreign minister categorically said that this does not amount to change in our foreign policy. Muslim world has entrusted to president Musharraf and Pakistan to play and positively engage Israel for the realization of Palestinians aspirations which we have been seeking at every forum. President Mehmood Abbas requested Musharraf and Pakistan to play a role and I am witness of that meeting. I wonder how we can play politics on such an important issue. Eight thousand people have been removed from Israeli green line by the Turkey Pakistan policy. All these international disputes can be settled by compromise not by force. A positive step by step diplomatic role can solve this issue. Opposition's this move shows that they have reservation on the procedure which adopted on this policy. Pakistan is a frontline state in war on terror but terrorism can be finished by cutting the root cause of terrorism. Root cause of terrorism can be eliminated by solving the dispute issues of Kashmir and Palestine. Pakistan president addressing to UN general assembly said that terrorism can be rooted out by solving the core issues of Kashmir and Palestine. The neighboring countries Jordan, Egypt, Turkey has recognized it and these countries Syria, Lebanon, Morocco, Oman and Qatar are negotiating and trading with him. This engagement does not mean any change in our foreign policy regarding Palestine. Prime minister of Pakistan presented statement on meeting of foreign minister with Israeli foreign minister in Turkey. Every country's foreign policy is its national interest we also keep this factor in front of us. I met Indian foreign secretary I discussed the core issue of Kashmir which is the bone of contention between the two countries. We never compromise on our principles. Pakistan president Musharraf has

certain status in the world no one can deny this reality. The Palestine representative and Turkey government requested Pakistan to play role for peaceful solution of the Palestine. We always supported Palestine point of view which is continue in future too. We have not adopted the back door policy, foreign minister met with Israeli foreign minister openly in front of the entire world. To talk with someone does not mean that we are agreeing with it or recognizing it. We always supported Palestine cause and there is no shift in policy. If such decision is made the entire house will have take to be in confidence. Nobody has an exclusive wisdom. We have to learn with each other, we have to learn to share ideas with each other (27th Session, 2005).

This was a great shift in Pakistan foreign policy since the birth of Pakistan. Only in authoritative regime this could be happened because without taking all the institutions into confidence, one man takes the decision and starts to implement without any hesitation. Pakistan and Muslims world have great concern over Pakistan this step towards Israel. Later on the public pressure and Muslim community threat no more steps were taken in this regard.

Foreign policy on Samjhota Express

Adjournment motion was presented regarding incident of samjhota express in which 66 Pakistani killed and several injured. On 19th February 2007 an incident of bomb blasts and fire occurred when samjhota express was coming from Delhi to Lahore. Eighteen government and twenty one opposition members debated on this issue.

Government official statement

Federal minister for railway provided its official statement on the incident. First of all government of Pakistan strongly condemn this incident. Officially I contact to the Indians this

morning they told that this time we are not in position to provide the name of injured and killed persons. Passengers were taken in lock up and this becomes the reason most people cannot save their lives. We protested at high level against their negligence. They provided me three officials line but they are not in position of confirming. But high commissioner Shahid Malik confirms 67 people were dead in this incident. World's head of states, UN and the parliaments have strongly condemned this worst incident. How many Hindus and Muslims died inform this house after confirmation from foreign office? On this floor I demanded that high level investigation should do by India and our agencies people should add in the investigation. Indian railway minister admitted their security lapse. C-130 and train is ready to bring the dead bodies from Atari we are just waiting for Indian reply. This type of act is done by those people who wanted to sabotage the peace process. We should support the peace process this will send a clear message to those forces which did this act. Confidence building measures (CBM) should be taken from both sides so that terrorist cannot derail the peace process. Terrorism and extremism are global phenomenon.

Opposition stance on the issue

Opposition leaders described their point of view on this incident and condemn it strongly. India is not co-operating with us and they lock the train even passengers cannot open it. Government is claiming that we have good relations with India and we are going to solve Kashmir issue. If this incident occurs in Pakistan, India blames our agencies immediately. Our foreign minister cancelled his tour to the India but he went there. We want friendly ties with them but they are responding us by Gujrat incident and baghlair dam issue. This is national tragedy and matter of divided families. We should build our institutions strong to take decisions on merit. Indians are

not serious on solving disputes their basic focus is on trade building. People of the country are watching this sovereign house and accepting a lot from us. India has responded poor on this crucial time when all of us looking for their positive response. Consensus and peace process are necessary but they should not compromise on the base of national interest and national identity. Some extremist forces are against peace process and relationships. There should be a joint investigation commission to reach the truth. Both countries are not serious in peace process because both are trying to gather maximum weapons. Both ministers are not on the same page on their point of view. Compensation will be given to the families which is not enough for them. Pakistan should send a team there to investigate this incident. Indian mentality of enemies is still prevailing there.

Minister of state for foreign affairs told the house that prime minister of Pakistan talked the Indian prime minister. He assured the full co-operation and the results of investigation will share with Pakistan. Indian government requested us to provide permission of temporary visa issuance office at Wagah. We gave the permission immediately. This is a bloody, ghastly effort to derail the peace process. We talked about the security mechanism in joint commission meeting. It is a human tragedy; all arrangements are under way to bring back those dead bodies. Both the ministries are in coordination and we continue peace process in the region (39th Session, 2007).

A probe commission was made by the Indian Government which clearly identified that some Indian Military people were involved in this incident. Later this passenger service was dismissed because of security concerns. Those elements which are not in favour of peace have conceived the script of this incident. Government and opposition have serious reservation on the incident but India has not supported much on the issue.

Foreign policy about Muslims reservations

A discussion on foreign policy of the country is reference to the statement of USA presidential candidates etc. election are commencing soon in America and presidential candidates started talking against the Holy place of the Muslims to please a certain minority group. There are 57 Muslim countries where billions Muslims lived there is a great anger against the USA. Americans signed a treaty with India Pakistan is also willing for the same treaty. To maintain the balance of power in the region it is necessary. Pakistan supported US as logistic and agencies partner but in reply we are threatened to do action in Pakistan. Military aggression in the territory of Pakistan is to be considering intervention on internal sovereignty of Pakistan. In this regard congress made a law against Pakistan. Some are the conditions which is intervention in our internal sovereignty. President should revise and these conditions eliminated from the bill. Pakistan supported against the terrorism and extremism in Afghanistan unconditionally.

When this policy was formulated this house was not consulted and made on the single telephone by single authority. This policy has started giving fruit now we feel that we should safe guard our interests not USA. Question arises here are over foreign office that it is not capable to formulating foreign policy? Why we work on imported foreign policy? It was Americans or Russians focus on their national interests and used us. We are running a spoiled foreign policy. Afghanistan and India both are propaganda against Pakistan. All the Muslim leaders should condemn this statement and raise their voice against USA hegemony. We should call UN and OIC especial session and present this issue in front of them (42nd Session, 2007). Tom Concerto statement is irresponsible, irrational and sheer madness. Pakistan is a NATO ally high level apology must come. The alternatives see a country that is ruled by democratically elected

government with legitimacy and popular support of the people. These moderate roots can make the foreign policy. Finally we should revise our foreign policy because with US we have love and hate relationship. USA “Do more policy” should be converted into no more. War on terror is biggest threat to our country which question marks our neutrality. No disputes settled according to the UN resolution while we are front state ally. USA think tanks wrote after cold war we have to face war against Islam which already started. It is true saying that your words are the action of tomorrow. The statement is a matter of grave concern for Pakistan. A good foreign policy is the outcome of the public opinion. Foreign policy has not been given due importance and not been given support of the majority of the 16 million people living in the country. United Nation is basically considered more often an American body rather than union of more than 200 states. We should get out of American alliance. Beggars can never be choosers. World is unipolar we have to design our foreign policy carefully. We should focus upon our national interest first of all and make a policy according to the will of public (42nd Session, 2007). We should take a serious intension to forming foreign policy, our strategy not on the basis of any perception of fear. Secondly, the expectation of any monetary rewards or so called economic assistance should also be no consideration for our decision making, because it does not behave an honourable, a civilized and a graceful society to have these petty considerations. We should redefine war on terror. If you want peace prepare for war. When this house has two months we are talking about foreign policy which is, not formulated in parliament and GHQ. It is made in Washington and we have to follow it (42nd Session, 2007).

Ever since our independence formulation of foreign policy has been the most difficult proposition. We become American so called ally not by our choice but by their choice.

Unfortunately foreign policy is not debated in public in Pakistan. Head of state is always using foreign policy as his personal tool. Foreign minister is winding up discussion by the government point of view. There are two points of views on America pro or anti America but we should take normal moderate line. Pakistan cannot survive in isolation we have to adopt balanced approach in foreign policy. We should not deliver emotional speeches here and adopt the rational approach. Barak Obama said many times that it is an irresponsible statement. Highest GDP growth was observed due to our policies Pakistan GDP was 8.6 and china's was 9.1, which reflects our good policies. There should be consensus harmony to develop a better foreign policy which is not possible in third world countries. Friendship between China is higher than the mountains and deeper than the oceans. Pakistan participated in G8, Shanghai Cooperation organization and ASEM (Asia Europe meeting). We should criticize bad policies but also appreciate the good policy (42nd Session, 2007).

Policy on the publication of blasphemous caricatures of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)

On these issue twenty members from each side participated. Discussion on the violent situation that is arising out of publication of blasphemous caricatures of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) by the news papers of European countries. We strongly condemned this blasphemous act. In this regard a resolution has already been passed in this house. We should send Denmark ambassador by declaring as persona non Grata if we cannot do this, we should call back our ambassador immediately. Denmark prime minister said that he will not apologize at all on this act. We should activate OIC and bring out it from ICU. We all peacefully walked to the diplomatic enclaves yesterday and there was a great dignity in that march. We should continue our peaceful protest. France and Germany have reproduced these cartoons we strongly condemn this act. We should

develop national spirit and raise our voice strongly. We should not have relations with such states which hurt our sentiments. These countries are trying to clash of civilizations in the world. This is not freedom of expression; it is clearly violation of UNHRC. We should respect every one religious thought and show harmony with each other (32 session, 2006).

This situation is worst for us being Muslim. In Lahore and Peshawar protest, public and government buildings are damaged and some people lost their lives also. We should perform peacefully our protest otherwise it would create problems for our internal peace. We should raise our voice in OIC and in UN and send our unanimous passed resolutions to their speakers. West considers itself civilized but behaving like animals. Pakistan is an ideological state which came into being at the name of Islam. Government and opposition both made a call to protest on this issue. We should strengthen brotherly relations and show unity to the world. Therefore these nations felt their guilt, which they have made. Saudi Arab calls its ambassador back and sent their ambassador to Denmark and they boycotted their products. This act is a global conspiracy against Islam (32 Session, 2006).

On this issue opposition and government was agreed that this act is hateful for the Muslim world. Their ambassadors were not sent back but protest was reregistered against this blasphemy act. On the name of freedom of expression which is hurting the Muslims faith still continuous. OIC is not performing to stop this notorious act against Muslims. Recently France again published these Cartoons but Muslim world and government failed to stop this act.

Miscellaneous Questions and Issues of foreign policy discussed in the house

In the 4th session of the national assembly motion for discussing foreign policy of the government was presented by minister for parliamentary affairs (4th Session, 2003). In this session a privilege motion moved regarding against the discriminatory attitude of the US government towards Pakistani nationals living in USA. It was two line resolutions which was adopted and sent to the Senate which is a parallel body in the US government. (4th Session, 2003)A question was asked by the parliamentarian details of CTBT and NPT, whether government intends to place the aforesaid treaties before the house or not? Whether government signed the agreement of Chemical Weapons Control, (CWC)? If signed, date when signed and whether approval was sought from the parliament? Mian Khursheed Mehmood Kasuri Minister for foreign affairs told the house that both treaties details are available on UN website. Pakistan is a nuclear weapon state we are not signing CTBT and NPT treaties. Therefore these treaties are not presenting before this house. But Pakistan is an original signatory of the convention on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical and on their destruction, which is called chemical weapons convention (CWC). On 13th January 2013 Javed Hashmi the then minister for special education and social welfare signed the treaty on the behalf of Pakistan. This treaty was ratified by the president Farooq Khan Leghari on 23rd October 1997and deposited to the UN secretary general on 28th October 1997 (4th Session, 2003). A resolution was presented in house to discuss WTO agreement in the house. Minister of commerce was not present in the house in his absence parliamentary secretary for commerce told that senate also wanted to discuss it. Prime minister has established a task force which consisted of 22 members and headed by trade minister. Its members were taken from the both houses of

the parliament. Minister of overseas Pakistanis told that due to the better policy of government 85 percent increase in the export of man power (10th Session, 2003). World trade organization specifies the principles, limitations and conditions applicable to trade in services. These services have been classified into twelve sectors and 160 sub sectors (10th session, 2003).

A resolution appreciating the president of Pakistan's historic address in the 58th session of UN General Assembly in New York on 24th September 2003, which was delivered at a time of crucial importance to Pakistan and Muslim Ummah. The bold and forthright manner in which the president had projected Pakistan's national interest, the Jammu Kashmir dispute and the collective interest of the Ummah in this address, is commendable. So this house fully endorses president strategy of enlightened moderation involving socio-economic and human development in the Islamic world and simultaneously, action by the international community the UN to promote solution to the conflict and disputes affecting the Muslim world on the basis of justice, international legality to prevent discrimination against Muslims and against their religion Islam and to support the development efforts of the Islamic countries. This resolution was not opposed and adopted unanimously. President highlighted the Kashmir cause internationally so the Kashmir committee and the leaders of Pakistan appreciated his stance. At the same time it gives the soft image of Islam in the world. Pakistan can play a role of bridge between the west and the Islamic countries (10th Session, 2003).

A calling attention notice is regarding the absence of Pakistan high commissioner from a meeting. This notice is based on a news item. Recently general elections were held in India new prime minister and external minister take the office. The high commissioner M/s SAARC envoys' meeting held in New Delhi but our high commissioner was not there. Indian foreign

minister denied Pakistan in sending an important feedback of new Indian foreign policy. Foreign minister answered this that first of all we were represented there by the acting high commission. Pakistan's high commission in Delhi is one of the largest Embassies in the Indian capital. We have a very large staff and some of the finest foreign officers there. The concern higher commissioner was on leave after departmental permission. Deputy high commissioner was present at the meeting as acting HC. There was no denied from Indian side reports were sending on daily basis. I would say the crux of their complaint lies in the fact. Complainant side again asked that is diplomacy not a very delicate subject? He shows more significance to his diplomatic duty rather than his son's graduation ceremony in Canada. It is not the question of one officer absence; it is a question of number one was missing? Is this a serious foreign policy lapse? I know we have the importance of the relation with India. Indian foreign minister calls me twice when the HC was sitting in his office. So there was no issue regarding laps. Point is that everybody has problems of personal nature. Our foreign institution is very strong every one performs his duty as number one (14th Session, 2004).

Another calling attention notice is brought in the house regarding that non cooperation of foreign minister in obtaining visas for Member of Parliament and dishonour of their letters in the Embassies. I would like to invite attention of the minister for foreign affairs to this matter of urgent public importance. Of course it is causing grave concern amongst the public. Secretary of finance on the behalf of foreign affair ministry answer it. Ministry has always been supporting and cooperating with the members of parliament for obtaining visas. In December 2003 sir, 32 notes verbal and 342 introductory letters have been issued to Senators, MNAs and MPAs. Notes verbal issued for only official visits while introductory letters issued for private visits.

Sometimes introductory notes were issued but embassies not issue visas? Foreign office highly regarded in Embassies but sometime some procedures are followed this could be the reason of delay. Diplomatic channel respects the introductory notes because they are operating on your country soil (14th Session, 2004).

In this session three motions were presented in the house one by one. First a joint motion was moved to release a Pakistan Amjad Hafeez in Iraq. Second motion was moved to form parliamentary friendship group with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Third motion was moved to seek membership of the common wealth parliamentary association (CPA). All three motions are adopted unanimously in the house (16th Session, 2004). It has been moved that this house expresses grave concern at the situation prevailing in Najaf-ul-Ashraf. It further expresses horror at the fighting around the mausoleum of Hazrat Ali (R.A). It calls upon all the parties to respect the sanctity of the holy shrine and play their role in restoring peace and tranquillity in the holy city. The motion was unanimously adopted (18th Session, 2004).

During starred questions and answers a question was asked by foreign minister that Consulate and foreign offices what kind of benefit was being provided to our community. Is every department people are there in consulate? Our expenditure in Jeddah is more than the New York? What criteria have you to check the credibility of Ambassadors and Embassies? Foreign minister answers that every department has sent their representative and work according to the department. I individually met the community there so that counsellor facilitate them in all the matter because if someone is not doing well can replace it. Although New York is big station than Jeddah but there community is more and staff is also more therefore expenditures are more. We have their ACR and attitude reports which are judged by their immediate bosses.

The benefits to be achieved by the country as Non NATO Ally and also describe responsibilities are performed by Pakistan? Has Pakistan been formally declared Non NATO ally by the USA? Muslims have to face problem regarding registration in USA whether this issue has been taken up with the authority? The Ambassadors of Pakistan who are not conversant with the language of country where they are posted? Foreign minister told that as a major ally Pakistan is entitled to priority delivery of excess defence articles, loans of materials, supplies and equipment for cooperative R&D projects, use of US provided foreign ministry financing for commercial leasing of certain defence articles and defence export loan guarantee programme. Pakistani firms can also bid on certain US government contracts. On 18th March 2004 US decided to designate Pakistan as a Major Non NATO Ally (MNNA). Congress and president officially ratify and notify it 16 June 2004. Recently when I met president, Secretary of state Collin Powel, secretary of defence Remise Field, Homeland Security advisor and Attorney general I has talk about registration issue. These days English language becomes necessary for diplomacy. Our foreign officers 67% speak with one foreign language with English. Pakistan currently has 78 Ambassadorial missions abroad (18th session, 2004).

Joint resolution regarding attack on Roza-e-Hazrat Ali in Najaf-I- Ashraf Iraq was presented in the house by opposition and treasure benches with adopted unanimously. Whole house has grave over this issue which hurt the Muslims Ummah. (18th Session, 2004) Another resolution was presented regarding condemnation of attempt to put on fire Masjid-e-Aqsa by Jein Settlers. We strongly condemned this incident which has hurt Muslims sentiments. The resolution was unanimously adopted by the august house (21st Session, 2004). Adjournment motions were presented regarding construction of Baglihar dam on river Chenab by India. The Indian

government's plans to construct the Baglihar dam on the waters of the river Chenab, under the current specifications is expected to cause a serious shortfall in the water supply of the Indus Water System. According to the Indus water treaty of 1960 water sharing arrangement details between the two countries, but the government did not raise issue with the World Bank which is mandated to appoint a neutral expert especially since work on the said dam had begun in 1992. This is not Government Issue it is the issue of whole country (23rd Session, 2005). This house resolves to establish and form friendship group with Norway, Poland, and Ukraine and also authorize to establish such groups with other countries as and when required. This resolution is passed unanimously in the house (23rd Session, 2005).

Minister of state for foreign affair presented policy statement in the house that on Saturday night an official was kidnapped of Pakistan embassy in Baghdad. Government takes the notice and sends an envoy headed by Ihsan khan along with Youns Khan Ambassador designate to the Baghdad Immediately. I inform this house it is assumption that he was kidnap for ransom and some groups claim the responsibility. It is not the failure of foreign policy it is just an individual activity for money. We have supported Iraqi people and government on every time. A resolution is moved in the house to appreciate the government policy on Kashmir. Government shows its true spirit in positive sense to highlight at international level. Not only political solution but should solve according to the UN Security Council resolution (24th Session, 2005). A joint resolution was presented in the house over the expression of grief on death of hundreds of Iraqis in an incident of stampede during a religious gathering. The joint resolution was unanimously adopted. (27th Session, 2005) Another resolution was presented to the house on thinking the international community for help and assistance in Pakistan at hour of need (28th Session, 2005).

An adjournment motion was presented in the house regarding the killing of a Pakistani (Mr. Amir Cheema) in Germany. This motion was not opposed by the parliamentary secretary and accepted for discussion. Government official policy should come before the house. A private electronic Channel said that it was a suicide we strongly condemn this statement (35th Session, 2006).

Adjournment motion was placed in house regarding the change of map of Pakistan printed in US armed force journal. This is a serious conspiracy against the solidarity of the country. We should protest to the concerned country on this foolish act (37th Session, 2006). A calling notice is presented to the house regarding Non release of prisoners from jail Guanta Mobay. This notice was regarding a trader Saif Ullah Peracha with other prisoners that were not release from Guanta Mobay jail. Minister of interior told that 12 prisoners are in Guanta Mobay and 20 are in Bill gram air base. The said person is under the blame that he facilitated the terrorists in Afghanistan. He was captured from Bangkok not from Karachi. Pakistan has not handed over a single person from Pakistan (37th Session, 2006). A motion was presented in the house regarding Jhon Popes statement. Pope Bandit in his statement hurt the Muslims sentiment and it is also against the UN charter. We demanded that he should take his words back immediately. Later this motion unanimously adopted (37th Session, 2006).

A resolution was presented in house regarding condemnation of Israeli actions to damage the sanctity of Masjid e Aqsa. Muslim Ummah has great reservations over this blasphemy of Israel. We should condemn this act through the OIC. This resolution was adopted unanimously (39th Session, 2007).

A calling attention notice was presented regarding ban on PIA flights which were imposed by European Union. Parliamentary secretary for defence told that it was on the recommendation of the European Union Aviation Authority France, Germany, Italy and Holland ban PIA flights. Three major objections were raised for the purpose. First aero plane cabin position in time of emergency evacuation was creating hindrance. Second engine checking standard is not up to the European Union Aviation Authority. Third is cargo depleted condition and fire came out from cargo section. Another important element is that European and Americans wanted to sell their airbuses and Boeing. Air industry is dying in Europe because orders were taken seven year before the delivery. So it is the technique for the survival and economic interest (40th session, 2007).

Joint resolution was presented in the house which condemned attack on Askari Masjid and Rauza of Imam Ali Naqi (A.S) in Iraq. The house strongly condemns the ghastly attack. We as Muslims and Pakistani condemn all actions which will bring Muslim world in general and Iraq in particular into sectarian discord and unrest. This house strongly suggests the Iraqi government to apprehend the culprits for this attack and punish them (41st Session, 2007). Joint resolution was presented which condemned conferring of award knight hood on salmon Rushdie by British government. We strongly condemn Tony Blair. West and Americans talked about civilize religious harmony, equality and tolerance but in fact they are creating sectarianism in the societies and protecting these evil also. They provided them nationality and honour. On the name of freedom of expression played with the sentiments of billions people of Muslim Ummah. This resolution was adopted unanimously (41st Session, 2007).

National assembly of Pakistan has its role in different issues regarding the foreign policy formulation that may be observed in the given **Table: 1**

Sr.No	Issues brought before the National Assembly in the session (2002-2007)	Session	Status
1.	Motion for discussing foreign policy of the government was presented	4 th	Unanimously passed
2.	A resolution was presented in house to discuss WTO agreement in the house.	10 th	Debated
3.	A calling attention notice is regarding the absence of Pakistan high commissioner from a meeting.	14 th	Debated
4.	A calling attention notice is brought in the house regarding that non cooperation of foreign minister in obtaining visas for Member of Parliament and dishonour of their letters in the Embassies.	14 th	Debated
5.	A joint motion was moved to release a Pakistan Amjad Hafeez in Iraq.	16 th	Adopted
6.	Motion was moved to form parliamentary friendship group with Bosnia and Herzegovina.	16 th	Passed
7.	Motion was moved to seek membership of the common wealth parliamentary association (CPA).	16 th	Adopted
8.	Motion expresses grave concern at the situation prevailing in Najaf-ul-Ashraf.	18 th	Adopted
9.	Joint resolution was regarding attack on Roza-e-Hazrat Ali in Najaf-I- Ashraf Iraq was presented in the house.	18 th	Adopted
10.	Adjournment motions were presented in the house regarding illegal export of Centrifuges to Iran by Dr. Qadeer Khan.	23 rd	Answered
11.	Adjournment motions were presented regarding construction of Baglihar dam on river Chenab by India.	23 rd	Debated
12.	Resolution to establish and form friendship group with Norway, Poland, and Ukraine and also authorize to establish such groups with other countries as and when required.	23 rd	Adopted
13.	The policy statement in the house that an official was kidnapping of Pakistan embassy in Baghdad.	24 th	Adopted
14.	A joint resolution was presented in the house over the expression of grief on death of hundreds of Iraqis in an incident of stamped during a religious gathering.	27 th	Adopted unanimously
15.	A resolution was presented to the house on thinking the international community for help and assistance in Pakistan at hour of need.	28 th	Adopted
16.	Motion on the violent situation that is arising out of publication of blasphemous caricatures of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) by the news papers of European countries.	32 nd	Adopted unanimously
17.	An adjournment motion was presented in the house regarding	35 th	Deferred

	the killing of a Pakistani (Mr. Amir Cheema) in Germany.		
18.	Adjournment motion was placed in house regarding the change of map of Pakistan printed in US armed force journal.	37 th	Opposed
19.	A calling notice is presented to the house regarding Non release of prisoners from jail Guanta Mobay.	37 th	Answered
20.	A motion was presented in the house regarding Jhon Popes statement.	37 th	Adopted
21.	A resolution was presented in house regarding condemnation of Israeli actions to damage the sanctity of Masjid e Aqsa.	39 th	Adopted
22.	Adjournment motion was presented regarding incident of samjhota express in which 66 Pakistani killed and several injured.	39 th	Adopted
23.	A calling attention notice was presented regarding ban on PIA flights which were imposed by European Union.	40 th	Answered
24.	Joint resolution was presented in the house which condemned attack on Askari Masjid and Rauza of Imam Ali Naqi (A.S) in Iraq.	41 st	Adopted unanimously
25.	Joint resolution which condemned conferring of award knight hood on Salmon Rushdie by British government.	41 st	Adopted unanimously

ROLE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION 2008-2013

On September 6, 2008 Mr. Asif Ali Zardari was elected 13th President of Pakistan for next five years. He addressed the Joint Session of the Parliament on September 20, 2008. President Asif Ali Zardari during his address to the Joint Session of the Parliament on March 28, 2009 asked the Speaker National Assembly to form a Committee of both Houses for the purpose of proposing amendments in the Constitution in the light of Charter of Democracy (COD). On April 29, 2009 after consultation with the leadership of all political parties in the Parliament, Speaker National Assembly announced the Constitutional Reforms Committee (CRC).

On March 31, 2010 under the Chairmanship of Senator Raza Rabbani presented report of the Committee on 18th Amendment in the Constitution to the Speaker National Assembly. On April 15, 2010 respectively the historic 18th Constitutional Amendment was presented and passed by the National Assembly on April 8, 2010 and Senate. After the assent of the President on April 19, 2010, 18th Amendments became part of Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. 19th Amendment was passed by the National Assembly on December 22, 2010 and Senate on December 30, 2010 respectively. 19th Amendment became part of the Constitution after the assent of the President Asif Ali Zardari on January 1, 2011. By National Assembly and Senate 20th Amendment was passed unanimously on February 20, 2012. On June 19, 2012 Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani was disqualified from April 26, 2012 by the Order of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Raja Pervez Ashraf was elected the Prime Minister of Pakistan on June 22, 2012 by the

National Assembly and administered oath of the Office of the Prime Minister of Pakistan on same day.

On 16th March 2013 in pursuance of Article 52 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan the 13th National Assembly stands dissolved on the completion of its constitutional term of five years. On 10th June 2013 under clause 3 of Article 56 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, the President Islamic Republic of Pakistan addresses both Houses Assembled together (Majlis-i-Shora). On 30th July 2013 the election for the President of Islamic Republic of Pakistan was held and Mr. Mamnoon Hussain was elected to the office of the President. Mr. Asif Ali Zardari completed his tenure of five years on 9th September 2013 as President Islamic Republic of Pakistan. On 9th September 2013 Mr. Mamnoon Hussain took oath of the office of the President Islamic Republic of Pakistan. (National Assembly, 2007)

Asif Ali Zardari tenure signed agreement with Iran on gas pipeline. He also handed over the Gawadar port to the China. He addressed the UN general assembly and talked about the Pakistan effort against the terrorism. In Zardari era two joint sessions of parliament held on October 08, 2008 and May 13-14, 2011 in these sessions' military briefing over the issues to the civilian government. These sessions strengthen the parliamentary supremacy. On 6th September, 2008 Mr. Asif Ali Zardari was elected 13th President of Pakistan for next five years after the resignation of Musharraf from his designation. Elections were held in 18th February 2008 and the assembly with no condition of graduation came into being. This National Assembly has held fifty sessions in five years.

Foreign Policy on Drone Attacks

Twelve members of government and fifteen members from opposition participated on this issue. An adjournment motion was presented regarding missile fire by without pilot air craft over Dama Dola Bajour agency and killing of innocent people. On 21st May 2008 at 9pm missiles were fired on Bajour Agency and sixteen innocent people of tribal's were killed in this Drone attack. At the same time a Mosque and Mudrasa was damaged by this attack. It was against the sovereignty and integrity of the country (5th Session, 2008).

Statement of foreign minister was presented in the house regarding the strong protest on attack by coalition forces on Pakistan border. We strongly opposed and condemned the shameful attack by the coalition and ISAF forces in the territory of Pakistan. Foreign office called of the US ambassador and strong condemnation of protest lodge and reservation against this incident. Our ambassador in Washington provided direction that he should demarche to US authorities against the incident of killing of the innocent people. It was the violation of sovereignty and territory of Pakistan. We are the strong ally in war on terrorism. Our efforts in this regard are globally acknowledged. It was clearly violation of established rule of engagement. NATO spokesman has also said that it was not in our knowledge. Established mechanisms, exchange of information, intelligence information and coordination norms were not used during this activity. It was the violation of humanitarian norms and even no high value target was killed in this attack. The concept of Border Coordination Centres (BCCs) which is consisted of coalition forces, Afghan national army and Pakistan army for information sharing has not been consulted. Pakistan is committed to fight against this menace of extremism and terrorism. Our track record shows that no one could doubt on our commitment in this regard. We tribute our paramilitary forces who

threw their vital lives for this war. Intelligence gathering institutions role was acknowledged worldwide. Over a hundred thousand Pakistani troops are deployed on the western borders. Pakistan is ready to fence the Pak Afghan border partly. We formulated the proposal that biometric system and identification of vehicles should be introduced at border area. Afghan government has not answered this proposal positively. This type of incident will fuel hatred; they will fuel hatred in the people of Pakistan and the people of tribal area. Pakistan will not compromise on any violation of our sovereignty and we will defend and we have resolved and we have a resolve. We have a national consensus in Pakistan to defend our territorial integrity.

Who are these forces, we should investigate it. For the first time ground forces are used but where were our law enforcing agencies at that time. This matter may be taken up strongly with member countries of the ISAF. This house calls upon the government of Pakistan to take all necessary measures to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and repel such attack in the future with full force. Joint resolution was presented in the house on this attack issue which was adopted unanimously (7th Session, 2008).

Foreign policy on Kerry Lugar bill

Twelve members from each side participated on this issue. A motion was presented on the discussion of Kerry Lugar Bill. Minister of parliamentary affairs said this is a foreign legislation and it has not been ascended to by the president of the respective country, still I do not oppose it for the discussion (16th Session, 2009). This house may discuss the situation arising out of the passing of Kerry Lugar Bill. I must take the house into confidence that the prime minister has directed the foreign minister to forthwith come back and brief this house. Government wanted to

establish consensus by taking all the discussion into consideration. This house reflects the wishes of the people of Pakistan.

Opposition's reservations

Opposition leaders told the house that we need to re-negotiate our sovereign red line, we need to do business with the world, and we need to look at Kerry Lugar bill. Aid will be accepted when our sovereignty and self respect is top priority. Government and military has reservations about the bill because it is against our national interest. This bill is passed in US congress, every page is telling the story of our humiliation. But a minister of democratic government and sovereign assembly is defending it. US congress is watching their own interests not Pakistan's interests. We can increase our foreign remittances to two billions and avoid this notorious bill. Minister said that conditions are for military aid while civilian is economic aid which is free of conditions or it's reciprocal. Military is also Pakistani why we are differentiating this. A certification regarding our services is issued by secretary of state which before issued by president of USA. Later five committees observed the situation. This democratic government damaged the honour of the country on the name of Peanuts. This house, people and members are not deaf we have to focus on our interests. We waste many vital lives in the war of America but in reply we are being treated in humiliating way. This war made our country a security state. A dictator decision was ratified by this democratic government unfortunately.

The government of Pakistan is continuing to cooperate with the United States in efforts to dismantle supplier net works relating to the acquisition of nuclear weapons related materials, such as providing relevant information from our direct access to Pakistani nationals associated with such networks. But US signed a treaty with India and accepted it as in the nuclear club

directly. Our limited nuclear programme is for national deterrence. The government of Pakistan during the preceding fiscal year has demonstrated a sustained commitment to and making significant efforts towards combating terrorist groups. In other condition said that some elements in military and intelligence agencies are supporting the extremism which is propaganda against our forces. Indian lobbies are activated there that's why Muridka added in the UN and US resolution but what are our lobbyist doing there. It means that India and US are on the same page against Pakistan. In another condition said that the security forces of Pakistan are not materially and substantially subverting the political or judicial process of Pakistan. Fact of the matter is that US always supported the dictators in Pakistan. In Musharraf tenure almost 15 billion dollars have come but no condition was imposed at that time. The conditions of the bill are undermining the sovereignty and freedom of the country.

Civilian executive leaders and parliament exercise oversight and approval of military budget, which is right. The process of traditional promotion for senior military is needed for leader's approval. Civilian involvement in strategic guidance and planning, and military involvement is in civil administration. This means that Chain of Command rests in the hand of chairman joint chief of staff of the United States of America not prime minister or president of Pakistan. We need certificate from foreign parliament it means we are controlled by foreigner. We abdicated out authority over military, development programme, conceive budget, monitor budget. We have given our interests in the hand of another country. This is the defining moment but over president visit neglecting it and went USA regularly. A powerful resolution sent from this house and they review the bill certainly. This bill is against our sovereignty and the internal matters of Pakistan.

We are given control to the foreigner on our national institutions and policies (16th Session, 2009).

In some positions we are opposing government at the same time we are supporting the government. Being an opposition we should take a clear line. We take oath for the interests of our country and Kerry Lugar oath for US interests. So this bill will safeguard the American interests. One clause of the bill said that we enhance the ability of the members of parliaments to respond to their constitutions and supporting to parliamentary leadership. It means the members of this house are not eligible. ISPR press release said that the corps commander's conference has expressed serious concern regarding clauses impacting national security. As such a formal input is being provided to the government. That's why prime minister said we want to establish a consensus. A day before PM said that this aid bill is big success of democratic government and its foreign policy. USA wanted to access our nuclear programme and relating people and wanted to divide our institutions. The clauses 302 and 203 are against our national interests and accepting Indian point of views. This bill is an organized campaign against ISI, military and civil government. We request government to take a stand entire house is with you. ISPR with its concern also said However, in the view of the forum i.e. the crops commander conference; it was the parliament that represents the will of the people of Pakistan which could deliberate on the issue enabling the government to develop a national response together. Now it is the responsibility of the house to take a strong position for our sovereignty. Our ambassador in USA sells out the interests of our country. In his book Pakistan between most and military wrote that Washington should no longer condone the Pakistani military support for Islamic militants. It uses its intelligence operators for controlling domestic politics. The United State must use, must use,

its aid lever to improve Pakistan domestic politics. Even Washington must not ignore Pakistan state sponsorship of Islamic militants and pursuit of nuclear weapons and missile. So our representative in that country all these doing and who is defending us there. Initially this bill was introduced by the name of Biden Lugar bill on 15 July, 2008 at that time Obama was not in government. This bill was again drafted by this new administration. Our Ambassador in that country should take foreign office of Pakistan in confidence which is question mark. This parliament supports the government for the betterment and strong policy formulation. PM said that we are not bound for the condition but I said that you are practically bound; you are obliged to take the dictates of all these conditionalities. Richard Hall Brook and Kerry have come to Pakistan many times to convince on the bill. In USA army worked as institutions and promotion on lower level are done by Pentagon not by congress or president. Our army sacrifices have nothing importance in their eyes. This is the defining moment we should ignore political differences and make a comprehensive policy at this stage (16th Session, 2009).

Government should call an all party conference to make a consensus and view the short term effects or long term effects on our policy. A mature reaction is a necessary at this crucial time. Kerry Lugar is a biggest drone on our sovereignty. First World War was fought for search of the market of slavery. Second World War was fought to sell technology and third is started to get control on the world natural resources. Leadership should play a true role for the country ignoring the individual benefits. China and Iran are empowering their economies by taking a stance in front of USA. We should adopt an independent policy to enhance our economy. It is not a poor country, it is poorly administrated country. Third world countries should settle their disputes and should stop purchasing weapons from Western world. We should say thanks to

America that we do not need your help, support and guidance. We are mature enough to solve our problems. Ruling party head said in 1976 to secretary of state Kissinger Pakistan can live without the US president. When Kissinger said I have not come to advise you but to warn you, USA has numerous reservations about Pakistan atomic programme. We should talk to our diplomats and adopt an independent better policy. Any clauses which fuel the civil military divide should not be acceptable to any democratic government. Anyone who accepts the Kerry Luger bill in its current conditionalities is selling out on the sovereignty, the defence and the nuclear programme and should be held liable for high treason. Kerry Luger bill is a Haqqani bill in fact (16th Session, 2009).

The prime minister statement

The prime minister said the debate in this house shows that we have given importance to this house always. I take president, chief of army into confidence and now to this august house. We want to do all the decisions with consensus. Army supported the democracy and they are highly professional. I want to share two points with this sovereign house. It is first time that we are discussing this bill otherwise Brown or Pressler amendments or IMF agreements are not discussed in this house. Secondly this bill is not binding upon us; it is up to the parliament to take a decision about its condition. We have never ever allowed access to our nuclear technology. It is success of our parliament that Obama is listening objectives of our parliament, that's why he is not signing the bill yet. (16th Session, 2009)

Government point of views

Government point of view is that recently American government said that south Asia could be peaceful if the Kashmir dispute is settled through UN resolutions and Pakistan is vital for the

Americas policy in the future. Our opposition members are talking so much but emotionally. The world is not run by such emotions; this world is a global village. While talking in such forum the words of Shakespeare should be kept in mind that brevity is a soul of wit. In other point of view US administration is supporting the democratically elected government. Treaty on nuclear technology with India was not easy for Indians because its prime minister has to face vote of no confidence in the Assembly. There are also great sentiments against Americans but ruling party made a strong point and today they are grabbing great opportunities in different departments worldwide.

USA is controlling all the major brettonwood institutions and Pakistan cannot annoy it. Pakistan economy claps without the IMF aid and World Bank trenches. When these institutions are not supporting, drive your country as an economic stone age. Civilian control on the arm forces exists in our constitution. We should handle it sensibly, rationally and logically not emotionally and hysterically. We should bring the paradigm shift in our policy because those who live in the past do not have a future so let's create a future for Pakistan. The only super power wanted to establish great relations with us; we should differentiate between the pride and the conceit. We should demand for amendment through back door diplomacy not by emotional behaviour. (16th Session, 2009)

Foreign policy about Dr. Afia Siddiqui

Seven members of government and nine members of opposition participated on this issue. Adjournment motion was presented regarding conviction of Dr. Afia Siddiqui by a US court. She is after all a Pakistani citizen and if there are any issues then they need to be tackled by Pakistani government. Dr. Afia and her children and the illegal manner of her arrest, detention and

subsequent transfer to the US require detailed investigation by the concerned authorities. Apart from providing all possible legal, diplomatic and financial assistance to her, Pakistani government should bring the case before the US and seek its intervention in this matter which clearly constitutes a serious violation of human rights (19th Session, 2010).

Opposition stance

In 2003 she was kidnapped from Pakistan and she was behind the bar in Guanta Mobay for last five years. Inhuman behaviour was adopted there with prisoner no. 650. She is highly qualified and is being treated as enemy really shameful for all of us. In 2003 president, Prime minister and interior minister are the part of her kidnapping. This house passed a resolution in her favour and Prime minister said on the floor that the daughter of Pakistan soon will be in Pakistan. Musharraf in his book “In the Line of Fire” admitted that five thousand Pakistanis were handed over to USA for five thousand dollars per head. In two years we have taken no positive steps toward Afia case. If the assembly is sovereign we can adopt an independent step toward this issue. We provided five thousand people and in reply a single woman can be returned to us, who is innocent. They have convicted without proper hearing. People of the Pakistan are protesting in front of this house and Supreme Court but we are supporting USA bravely. If there are some allegations we can investigate in our country why USA is doing all that. All the fifty seven Muslims countries raised their voices for the daughter of east and bring back to Pakistan. In 2008 a journalist heard the voice and told that a prisoner 650 is in a miserable condition in Guanta Moby. According to the international law extradition treaty prisoners can be exchanged but in Pakistan we have no such treaty but we are giving our people only. The one way traffic is observed in this matter. There was clear contradiction on the both witness in this case but US

jury convicted here. It is the total failure of national assembly, government and administration of Pakistan. Past policies were designed by the individual thoughts and not in the interest of Pakistan. We should revisit or review our policy but this thing was totally ignored by the government. After a resolution to change in policy why we denied this fact. Supremacy of parliament is the principal of policy making but we ignore it (19th Session, 2010). Hillary Clinton said many times that we wanted to build a better image in Pakistan. This is a golden opportunity for US to hand over Afia to Pakistan and get better image. This government is providing legal aid which is the money of tax payers. There are many other Pakistanis in foreign countries why are they being neglected? Same facility is not provided to the other foreigners. We should bring this issue in front of United Nations Human Rights Council meeting which will proceeded soon. Parliamentary working groups highlighted the issue before the Hillary Clinton and NATO secretary general. We should make a heavy weights committee which represents our view in US congress about this issue.

Government stance

Dr. Afia made a NGO to preach Islam in USA and UK. When Shaikh Khalid was captured in Karachi he told that Dr. Afia is amongst the top seven leaders of Al Qaida. She was continuously raped and physically tortured in the jail even the toilet facility is not there. Amel kannsi was handed over to US and later he was hanged but not discussed in this house. Previous government handed over the Afia and this government pay two millions dollar for legal assistance. We have all ready shifted our policy. This government inherited these things from previous. Our common cause is that maltreatment is doing with a Pakistani woman. She was arrested from Afghanistan not from Pakistan. We raised this issue on the level with USA concern. Embassy engaged to

team of three reputed attorneys Linda Moreno, Charles Swift and Elaine sharp on the written request of Miss Afia Siddiqui family to defend her case in the USA court. Defence Attorneys worked hard to put up a strong defence. They visited Ghazni Afghanistan to collect evidence and recorded video depositions of two afghan police officer who were present. We need to bring back to Dr. Afia it is possible through drive a united strategy and government is doing all his efforts for this purpose (19th Session, 2010). Interior minister said that Pakistan has taken up this issue for the first time with the US authorities, detailing with all the issues like she was taken illegally from Pakistan. In this regard 19 precedents have been quoted. At the same time there was some demand from the other side also. Government is trying hard to bring back for this purpose extradition treaty May b required (25th Session, 2010).

Black Water issue

A calling attention notice was presented in the house regarding presence of Black water in the NWFP.

Statement by interior minister

Interior minister responded at this notice and said that what is the source and what's the tool with the ministry of interior or any law enforcement agency, of the investigations? We have done investigations not only by the ministry of interior means FIA, ISI, MI, IB and all the provinces. If there are any traces of blackwater, they should be reported. The report is nil. Last many years we have not issued even a single visa to a company namely blackwater. There has been miscommunication, misunderstanding, disinformation based on the fact to create an issue out of no issue. Blackwater a US company which was never allowed or even tries in Pakistan. Now how this controversy started? There are some foreigners who arrested in various part of the

country; people started talking they were blackwater. They were duly registered diplomats but media was calling them blackwater that's why clarification was necessary. Another incident happened in Islamabad, Turnol foreigners with diplomatic identity were intercepted. A misconception was created anybody with white skin considered blackwater. Under Vienna Convention we have allowed a diplomatic immunity. American diplomats have 179 houses in Islamabad. In Gawadar most the people were intercepted. General Musharraf signed an agreement with DynCorp and was given permission to train our Frontier Constabulary Officers. America has given 46 million dollars for the training of our police service and it's not only America, Australia, Japan and France. Everybody is interested to do the capacity building of our law enforcing agencies. Vecton is not blackwater it is owned by a Pakistani Journalist. Please trust your government there is no such blackwater company in Pakistan.

Opposition point of view

Opposition leader said that your allied party in frontier on the floor of house told that blackwater is working in this province. Even news papers are writing there are some people working in Prime Minister Squad. Please tell us facts that are interfering in our country to destabilize the peace. There is difference in two minister's statement and demanding that we trust government (19th Session, 2010). USA defence minister is saying that blackwater is in Pakistan but we are refusing (19th Session, 2010).

Foreign policy about Raymond Davis

A statement was presented before the house regarding killing of two persons by American Raymond Davis in Lahore.

Interior Minister Statement

Interior minister told the house that Raymond was driving a conciliate car. Two people were driving motorcycle first on left and then on right side of car. According to the Raymond one of them pulled out the pistol and he thought that he was going to fire at him and he said in his self defence he fired on both of them. One was killed at spot and one died later. This incident was a provincial matter I have not given any order to any person. I request this house to constitute a committee of the house to investigate this matter. David is under the custody of the Punjab police but some people are saying that interior minister called it wrong. I have already ordered a federal level inquiry and what was the status of David in this country. Has he a diplomat, visit visa or has come under business visa. His weapon was license or not also investigated. I assure this house, this is Pakistan and law will prevail according to the desire of law. Nobody has right to violate the law of Pakistan (28th session, 2011).

President has removed the foreign Minister of that time because USA has serious reservation about Davis. Later this issue solved by legal way.

Foreign policy on Water issue with India

Twenty two members on both sides discuss their point of view on the issue. Joint adjournment was presented to the house regarding blockage of Pakistan's water by India and construction of new dam on river Chenab. Inadequacy of government is to negotiate with India or to internationally project the Indian violations of Indus water treaty, which is leading to water security crisis of Pakistan. This dam is thirteen times bigger than the Baghlair dam. It is situated at eighty mile away from Pakistan on Swalakot. Recently India is capturing water through Baghlair and Wohler Barrage. These are the efforts to create economic problems for Pakistan.

(19th Session, 2010) Farmers of Pakistan should install water turbine instead of tube well which is not easy for these farmers because it requires a big amount for such purpose. They are taking small loans from agricultural banks and faced a serious hurdle in recovery. Even near Sindh river Indian has designed 28 kilometre long tunnel at Kargil. We failed to establish a strong policy on Kashmir issue that's why India is creating issue of water. Currently there is no minister of water and power who may deal this matter. This shows that our government is not serious on the issue of water. This is tragedy of human rights this house unanimously discussed and raised the issue in UN. People of Pakistan are looking at this house in this crucial time prime minister and minister is not here. In current circumstances Pakistan national assembly is not willing to accept the water war that India has launched on Pakistan and unfortunately it is one sided war in which Pakistan has not done much. If you stop a country's water then you are obviously starving that country and there cannot be a clearer cut announcement of war. We have a lot of appeasement going on with India for the last two years which we condemn. Foreign minister said neither we will bow before India nor we will come into her trap. His words are fair but certainly we do not see his words and actions actually being on the same wave length. There was great confusion which issue is first Kashmir or water. There is a certain format called the composite dialogue with India, and if that composite dialogue is not followed at the behest of some officials, at the behest of Americans, at the behest of whoever and there is a unanimous decision on the format of dialogue with India which impacted in better result. India ruled out water war we should go publically, internationally, UN, World Bank and launch a diplomatic offensive there. Pakistani agriculture is losing 12 billion dollars per annum. India is allowing its corporate farmers to directly pump on a massive scale from Chenab, in the Indian held Kashmir etc.

Baghlair dam is being built on the Murree Jhelum seismic fault line, will have massive repercussions if this continues. Pakistan did not raise the issue of baghlair dam and dead storage level in Pakistani dams now India is also designing dalhaffi, Dogal, Gandhalla, Rioli, Dogli and long list of hydro projects on Pakistani rivers. Acceptance of the designed features which is given by India would cost us our water security, which certainly cannot be accepted. On the Kishan Ganga design India has violated the Indus water treaty in respect of poundage, spillway and intake. Less water is coming which certainly impact on our provincial harmony. We are fighting as front state against war on terror and India is making dam on our share of water. Israeli engineers supported them in designing the dams. Our agricultural economy is the backbone of Pakistan which collapsed badly. This democratic government as previous government has not taken up the water issue seriously but also withdraw from Kalla Bagh dam. In the name of aid Pakistani government forget the country national interest. We should strongly negotiate with India to prevent our country from becoming desert. This is the issue of our life and death and we cannot believe on the World Bank. We should change foreign policy and tell the world that India is capturing our resources (19th Session, 2010).

After independence Pakistan raised the water issue and interim arrangements were made, during this interim arrangement Terbela and Mangla dams were constructed. In 1954 Pakistan approached the World Bank in this regard and later settled an Indus water treaty. According to the 17th condition of treaty in case of any dispute they have to first of all appoint some neutral observers. Second is that in case if it does not play a positive part, they were supposed to go to the arbitration table to resolve the dispute. Baghlair dam was initiated in 1992 and it is near completion but the concern of that time was not raised this basic issue. Foreign policy with India

is not effective whereas India always take up the small issue strongly. Pakistan should take up this issue to the entire concern forum for the rights of the people. Entire world has established dams but unfortunately Pakistan is doing nothing in this regard. India did this activity with Bangladesh, but they put this matter in international court of justice and why we don't take recourse the international court of justice. Unfortunately we don't have recycle system at any level but the world is practicing it (19th session, 2010). India is using water as a weapon and damaging our interests. Neutral experts have agreed majority of our concerns but India is trying to control the water by dams yet.

India is doing 40 big and small projects on the river Chenab and approximately will generate 2100 MW electricity through these projects. India can make projects as long as they are just one run of the rivers according to the treaty. The diversion can reduce the flow of water into Pakistan in 11 % and in summer then 21% this is the big issue really. India demanded the bilateralism rather than the third party arbitration. When dams were constructed site experts were not given permissions and when we take up issue to the World Bank, said that we are too late now. Our diplomatic relations are poor currently we cannot demand our rights. Minister said that our Indus water commissioner has won three points but we lost one point. If it's true where is water in our rivers now? In past sixty years only two dams were made but their physical life is completed and silt is increasing there (19th Session , 2010). If we cannot stop India this country will become like Ethiopian state. We have two major reservations with India which are the issue of Kashmir and water. India adopted the policy to war against Pakistan by blocking water. When our recent delegation went there India said that who wanted to talk about water and Kashmir they can go.

Why with Pakistani representatives behave like this? This house should pass a solid statement and raise the issue at international forum (19th Session, 2010).

Pakistan was a land of five rivers but a dictator shifted it to three rivers land unfortunately. There was clear cut negligence we should take a serious action, was it an act of patriotism? This house should forget the party differences and let us take a position which is a national position.

Foreign policy on Salala Check post incident

Ten government and fourteen opposition members discussed it. Adjournment motion was presented in the house regarding an attack on the sovereignty of Pakistan by ISAF forces (25th Session, 2010). Prime minister has given statement regarding NATO attacks on Pakistan Army border post in Mohmand Agency. The situation arising from the attacks has direct implications for Pakistan's security, sovereignty and territorial integrity and therefore, requires careful consideration by the parliament. In fact just passed the midnight to Pakistan army posts in the Mohmand Agency were subjected to air attacks by the US, NATO and ISAF. These positions were well inside Pakistani territory and hostile actions against these border posts continued for over an hour. The coordinates of these border posts were known to US, NATO and ISAF. An emergency meeting of the defence committee of the cabinet was held in the same evening and took important decisions. Foreign Ministry has lodged strong protest with US, NATO head quarter at Brussels and with the Afghan Government. Pakistan Government strongly condemned these attacks, which were the violation of the principles of UN Charter and international law. We have also told the US and NATO that these attacks were totally unacceptable and against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan. The DCC reiterated the resolve of the Pakistan's peoples and the armed forces to safe guard Pakistan's sovereignty, independence and territorial

integrity at any cost. The DCC decided to close with immediate effect the NATO, ISAF logistic supply lines. We have also decided to ask the US to vacate Shamsi air base within 15 days and it has been vacated. Government will revisit and undertake a complete review of all programs, activities and cooperative arrangements with the US, NATO, ISAF including diplomatic, political, and military and intelligence. I am taking this house into confidence on the whole range of measures regarding matters relating to Pakistan's future cooperation with US, NATO and ISAF. The Cabinet unanimously endorsed the statement and the decisions of the DCC emergency meeting. This type of activities affects the regional peace and that all sides exercise utmost restraint. The cabinet decided that we should not participate in Bonn conference due to the prevailing circumstances. The national security committee of the parliament is already seized of this issue and will formulate appropriate recommendations. I assure you on the floor of this house that there can be no compromise on Pakistan's sovereignty on legitimate interests, Pakistan's territorial frontiers and will be defended at all costs. Elimination of terrorism and militancy are remaining a high priority for the people and government of Pakistan. Pakistan has established cooperative relations with all the countries but now the terms of our corporation have certain well defined red lines. It includes the sovereignty equality and mutual respect. No unilateral actions inside Pakistan or against Pakistan and no transgression of our territorial frontiers. Our legitimate interests are not only recognised but this fundamental point should be understood by international partners. Future course of actions will be decided by this august house (30th Session, 2011).

Motion regarding human rights violation in the occupied Kashmir was presented in the house. Another resolution was presented regarding brutality in Kashmir by Indian Armed forces. India

has imposed Corfu in occupied Kashmir and has been violating the fundamental human rights for many years. Kashmiri leaders and thousands of people arrested in their jail should immediately be freed from the prison. Religious places are open for the people and international human rights organizations should access to the occupied Kashmir. United Nation should press the Indian government to solve out the Kashmir issue according to its resolutions. Muslim community in everywhere is under miserable condition it is because of the big power policy of intervention. We are not raising voice against these powers which are creating hurdles for Muslim countries. Freedom is a sacred right for any nation. Universal declaration of human rights emphasizes on freedom of individuals and freedom of right of self determination but in case of Kashmir it is totally being ignored by UN and international community. Today national assembly of Pakistan is also showing solidarity with the Kashmiri brothers because the way Kashmiri people have been slaughtered the way they have been martyred and more than six hundred thousand martyrdom have taken place since the year 1947 onward. There is no insurgency in Kashmir from Pakistan side, but there is a local and indigenous movement in Kashmir. We cannot expect peace in South Asia without the solution of Kashmir. The puppet government has failed to control the law and order situation in Kashmir. Why UN is not performing its role in Kashmir where the fundamental rights are snatching in worst attitude. A democratic government is setting better relation with India and Kashmir issue is going to be resolved and an individual attacked the Kargil and sabotaged the negotiation process. According to Simla agreement which is proved by this house it said that all matters should be resolved through peaceful negotiations. But we are debating sentimentally to this issue which is against this sovereign house. (25th Session, 2010)

Memo case issue

Point of order was raised by opposition about Memo case issue which is being discussed everywhere except this house. Media raised this issue then opposition also talked about it but no reply came from government. Even a press conference was made by the opposition but government's answer was nil. Later military took the notice of this issue and talked about with President and Prime Minister. Initial response of government was that this issue is totally fake. But Pakistani Ambassador in US has resigned and new ambassador has been appointed. This shows certain seriousness exists regarding the issue. In civilized democracies governments always take the house into confidence at ongoing issues. Unfortunately in this house delaying techniques were used about the issue. After the negligence of this house being opposition we take this issue before the Supreme Court. The resigning Ambassador should be investigated because he is the key person of this case. Defence Minister said that if ambassador is involved than its routes will definitely be connected with Prime Minister. Prime Minister is accountable before this house and the national security institutions. Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Defence Minister are not here this shows the seriousness of the government. This memo issue has become a shameful act for Pakistan on international level. It is not possible that Ambassador sent any memo in his personal status because he is representing a country. This issue has been done six or seven months ago but no steps have been taken in this regard. This shows government is not interested to investigate this matter at all. Government wants to push everything under the carpet.

Government took the resignation from Ambassador for impartial inquiry. Government never meets in the nights with anyone but opposition is doing this regularly. In parliamentary system

there is collective responsibility of cabinet so anyone can answer it. We always honoured this house and answered all the matters. Government is accountable to this house not any other institution. Military has briefed the house twice in joint sessions. Prime minister said that on the floor of the house I called upon the Ambassador. He will appear before the leadership for the explanation. When the matter would be subjudic before both the committees, before the court and at the same time I constitute a committee for fair trial to satisfy the nation, to satisfy the house and satisfied the opposition. Defence minister has already clarified he meant that the final decision will be taken by the prime minister. Ambassadors can send any letter directly to any person in that state because he has such contacts as ambassador. Civilian government and military both are on the same page. I assure the house, we will look towards the people of Pakistan and not towards the army and we will seek the support of the opposition. On Memo issue opposition went to the Supreme Court it means they don't have trust on this house. After that government and opposition both criticized each other and discussed the past history of their leaders (37th session, 2011).

Foreign policy on Abbottabad issue

Fifteen members of both sides participated on this issue. Statement is given by Prime minister on Abbottabad operation against Osama Bin Laden by US forces. While taking this house into confidence I am telling the house about the certain situation arising on this incident in the country. I had extensive consultation with President, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, the chief of the Army Staff, Director General ISI and other important stake holders on issues relating to Pakistan's National Security. Government's position on Abbottabad operation and death of Osama Bin Laden as enunciated the official statement was based on extensive inter agency and

inter departmental consultation process. Today is age of information and explosion, it is important to sift facts from fiction. Very often, it is the virtual for the media reality that obscures the actual. Yet truth cannot for long be submerged in falsehood. It is well known that those who forget history are condemned to relive it. Some of the recent public discourse narratives and counter narratives, in talk shows and public comments has missed some essential points should be reaffirmation is necessary. Our real strength is our people, our institutions and there is no disharmony between the institutions of the country. Our democratic and pluralistic polity as epitomized by this house, state institution, free press open an intense public discourse are indeed our great strength. For over thirty years Pakistan was infected by the conflict and strife in Afghanistan. We led the conflict in Afghanistan and also supported the great Jihad, I talk of bygone era. It is perhaps necessary to remind everyone about that era which has been so well documented including in the CNN series on the cold war showing video footage of high ranking US officials exhorting the Afghan and Mujahideen to wage Jihad. This is real for us and we are continuing to suffer from its effects. We should remind the international community of the decade of 90s which saw the Arab volunteers who had joined the Jihad muted into Al Qaeda? Who was responsible for the birth of Al Qaeda? Who was responsible for making the myth of Osama Bin Laden? To find the answers of these questions revisit the not so distant past. Collectively we must acknowledge facts and see our faces in the mirror of history. Pakistan alone cannot be held to account for flawed policies and blunders of others.

Osama Bin Laden was the most wanted terrorist and enemy number one of the civilized world. He launched waves after waves of terrorist attacks against innocent Pakistani, is indeed justice done. However we are not so naïve to declare victory. The myth and legacy of Osama Bin laden

is remained to be demolished. Pakistan believes in democracy and pluralism, a society that strives for equality and dignity, an open and transparent society is undoubtedly essential for addressing the range and rising from political or economic injustices. In war on terrorism almost thirty thousand lives are lost from our side and also billions of dollars lost as economic costs. The war against terrorism is our own national priority. Pakistan will not relent in their national cause and is determined not to allow its soil to be used by anyone for terrorism. This national consensus was built by our democracy. This parliament and entire political leadership of this country, our patriotic citizens and state institutions are all united in this resolve to prosecute this campaign against terror to its logical end. In first decade of new millennium international forces marched into Afghanistan to dismantle Taliban regime after 9/11. The Tore Bora bombings resulted in the dispersal of Al Qaeda. Their leaders and foot soldiers sought hideouts everywhere, in the mountains and deep inside cities including Pakistan. Our armed forces captured 248 Al Qaeda members in the operations. In fact, some of the key Al Qaeda operatives and master planners of nine eleven were caught by the ISI. Pakistan's armed forces also carried out successful operations in Swat, Malakand, South Waziristan, Mohmand and Bajur Agencies against terrorists and militants. No other country or agencies have done so much to interdict Al Qaeda than the ISI and our armed forces. This was done with the full support of the nation in accordance with the political will articulated by the parliament of Pakistan. It is disingenuous for anyone to blame Pakistan or state institutions of Pakistan including the ISI and armed forces for being in cahoots with Al Qaeda. It was Al Qaeda and its affiliates that carried out hundreds of suicide bombing in every town and institutions of Pakistan. The obvious question that vexed everyone is how Osama Bin Laden could hide in plain sight in the scenic surroundings of

Abbottabad. Allegations of complicity or incompetence are absurd. We emphatically reject such accusations and speculative narratives in the public domain are meant to create despondency. The issue of hideouts needs a rational answer. Recrimination and misplaced rhetoric is self-defeating. There has been an intelligence failure is not only ours but of all the intelligence agencies of the world. Hiding in plain sight is another technique that could be attributed to Osama Bin Laden in the realm of asymmetrical intelligence.

Nonetheless, we are determined to get to the bottom of how, when and why about Osama's presence in Abbottabad. An investigation has been ordered. Our people are rightly annoyed on the issue of violation of sovereignty as demonstrated by the stealthy US air and ground assault on the Osama hideouts in Abbottabad. This has raised questions about our defence capability and the security of our strategic assets. As the Abbottabad episode illustrates our military responded to the US forces' covert incursions. The air force was ordered to scramble. Ground units were arrived at the scene quickly. Our response demonstrated that our armed forces reacted as was expected of them. There is no denying the US technological ability to evade our radars. We regret that this unilateral action was undertaken without our concurrence. Unilateralism runs the inherent risk of serious consequences. Suppose the operation had gone wrong a US helicopter was abandoned and destroyed on the site. This is small though important reminder of the risk in such operations.

Any attack against Pakistan's strategic assets whether overt will find a matching response. Pakistan reserves the right to retaliate with full force. No one should underestimate the resolve and capability of our nation and armed forces to defend our sacred homeland. There are of course legal and moral issues that related to the question of sovereignty. Pakistan being the front

state against war on terror played key role but such drone and operations attacks create differences with US. The media spin masters have tended to portray a false divide the state institutions of Pakistan. On all key issues all stakeholders are consulted through inter agency processes. The statements on the Osama death issued by foreign ministry and military were authorized by the government. Intelligence cooperation is critical for the attainment of the goals of anti terrorism. We have an ongoing multi tracked process of engagements with all major powers including US. Pakistan relations with all states especially immediate neighbours and major powers are in good shape. The parliament is the right forum to discuss all important national issues. The will of people shall prevail and a joint session of parliament held 15 may on the current situation. The second time army chief will give the briefing this house which is the strength of the house (30th session, 2011).

Miscellaneous issues debated in the house

A calling attention notice was presented in the house regarding return of delegation of MNAs due to condition of scanning at US airport. Foreign affair minister told that basic fact this visit was not part of official delegation. This delegation was set under the international visitor's leadership programme which was negotiating between the honourable members and US embassy. Such visits should coordinate with National Assembly Secretariat. Our embassy in US was not informed about this tour until this incident happened. Government condemned this act on every forum. We raised this issue with US dignitary and demanded to finish this humiliating method of scanning immediately. We are added in the list which is discrimination with an ally. It is administrative matter not congress issue. Foreign minister is going for strategic dialogue; this issue is our top priority in discussion.

We boycotted this attitude not in personal status but for the sake of nation and country. This impression at least shows that this parliament is supreme or severing. USA is not a true friend it always adopted double policy towards Pakistan. Russia called us but we went to America. In 1965, 1971 and Kargil wars we have received no help from USA. In 1998 our atomic bomb was called an Islamic bomb and sanctions imposed upon us but no issue was raised for India. We should adopt the policy of US screening so they can understand this humiliation. Foreign policy is designed at equal level we should search their containers which passed from our territory (20th session, 2010).

A calling attention notice was taken regarding the refusal of visa to 300 Sikh pilgrims by our commissioner in Delhi. This matter belongs to interior ministry told by the minister of foreign affair (27th session, 2010).

A calling attention notice was presented regarding confiscation of 800 containers of rice in Kenya. Minister told that it was delay not confiscation because Kenyan government received a complaint that the rice being imported from Pakistan was substandard. Under declaration of duty in rice consignment some consignments that were declared to be grade three turned out to be of superior quality. Our export quality authority checked and sent it after proper channel (25th Session, 2010). China prime minister delivered speech to the joint sitting and said both countries have friendly and brotherly relations. We supported each other and established good relations in the entire sphere of life. We wanted to develop this region economically a strong power (8th Joint sitting, 2010).

National assembly of Pakistan has its role in different issues regarding the foreign policy formulation that may be observed in the given **Table: 2**

Sr.No	Issues brought before the National Assembly in the session (2008-2013)	Session	Status
1	An adjournment motion was presented regarding missile fire by without pilot air craft over Dama Dola Bajour agency and killing of innocent people.	5 th	Admitted
2	A motion was presented on the discussion of Kerry Lugar Bill.	16 th	Discussed
3	Adjournment motion was presented regarding conviction of Dr. Afia Siddiqui by a US court.	19 th	Admitted
4	A calling attention notice was presented in the house regarding presence of Black water in the NWFP.	19 th	Answered
5	Statement on killing of two persons by American Raymond Davis in Lahore.	28 th	Discussed
6	A calling attention notice was taken regarding the refusal of visa to 300 Sikh pilgrims by our commissioner in Delhi.	27 th	Answered
7	Joint adjournment was presented to the house regarding blockage of Pakistan's water by India and construction of new dam on river Chenab.	19 th	Admitted
8	A calling attention notice was presented in the house regarding return of delegation of MNAs due to condition of scanning at US airport.	20 th	Answered
9	A calling attention notice was presented regarding confiscation of 800 containers of rice in Kenya.	25 th	Answered
10	Adjournment motion was presented in the house regarding an attack on the sovereignty of Pakistan by ISAF forces.	25 th	Adopted
11	Motion regarding human rights violation in the occupied Kashmir was presented in the house.	25 th	Adopted
12	Statement is given by Prime minister on Abbottabad operation against Osama Bin Laden by US forces.	30 th	Discussed
13	Point of order was raised by opposition about Memo case	36 th	discussed
14	Address of China prime Minister	8 th joint sitting	Speech

CONCLUSION:

Foreign policy formulation is a complex process and in the country like Pakistan it becomes more complex because the institutions are not performing in a way of they are supposed to perform. Most of times, individuals are dominant whether as did civilian or democratic regime.

In Authoritative regime most of the decisions are taken by the president Musharraf in Iraq case. National Assembly and public view was against the USA and in favour of Iraq but President addressing the UN general Assembly said to send troops in Iraq. After this the elected prime minister first time in the history of Pakistan that opposed it and said that we should not send troops in Iraq. Another U turn was seen when without consulting the prime minister or National Assembly Pakistan foreign minister met with Israeli foreign minister. Above all president adopted the policy to support the US in war on terror which National Assembly criticized strongly but no shift in policy was seen in this regard. In authoritative regime there is parliamentary system but the entire world's leader visited Pakistan met with president not with prime minister. Authoritative regime is dominant by authority's personal decisions, although different issues were presented in the house but could not get the approval by government. Government benches supported most of the time the existing policy by logic and reason whereas opposition represented the popular public views and sentiments. Opposition adopted the popular view to grab vote in election while government supported the head of state to prove their loyalty to him. President in his tenure once addressed the joint session of the parliament which shows that he has given not due honour to the house. In internal and external matters of the country individual influenced the Assembly and established his sovereignty over the institutions greatly.

President changed the prime ministers by his own will neither through the ruling party nor through the no confidence vote.

In democratic regime the elected president was the Co Chairman of the party also. He empowered the National Assembly by eighteenth amendment. In Parliamentary system all the power rested in the hand of prime minister. On drone attacks government has not adopted the popular view and was under the hegemony of USA even on war on terrorism policy was remained the same. On the issue of Salal Check post under the public pressure National Assembly decided to stop aid through Vehicles and vacant the Shamsi Airbase but this decision had already been taken before debate in National Assembly. On the issue of Kerry Luger Bill there was great contradiction between the institutions but ultimately the aid was accepted as the government will and assembly was against with the same conditions. If the house demanded decisions are not implemented it means that decisions are taken somewhere else. President sacked the foreign minister on the issue of Raymond Davis issue which adopted the popular public view. Memo cases showed that government felt certain pressure by an institution and considered the USA its supporter that's why most of the decision was adopted in favour of it. Abbottabad issue president wrote in a newspaper that it was the victory of the Pakistan while entire country raised question about our sovereignty in fact. President controls a number of elements regarding the foreign policy as our US ambassador stayed in presidency after returning from USA. President addressed joint session of both the houses of on every New Year of parliamentary session.

Both the regime show that individual influences the foreign policy but it is more powerful in authoritative regime than democratic regime. Democratic regime doesn't take the great decisions

which raised public against it while the authoritative regime made the policies according to the desire of world powers to grab legitimacy in the world. The role of democratic regime is somehow is dominant due to more number of sessions, quick response to certain situation and giving due weightage to the public opinion.

Role of National Assembly should be dominant and true policy maker but unfortunately government and opposition cannot build consensus on the issues. When the benches changed their logic and reasons also changed. Treasury benches are influenced by the president while opposition benches adopt the public sentiment policy to achieve success in election. Often a rational and balanced approached is missing in National assembly while designing foreign policy. The committees are not given due weightage and think tanks should be established to formulate the foreign policy. Mostly a few members talked about the foreign policy on all the issues. Foreign policy is designed by the sidelining the parliament in Pakistan. Graduate or non graduate Assembly could be effective by given sovereignty to it. Leader's mindset in Pakistan is prevailed than the logic and reason.

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