

PREFACE

The present study attempts to analyse the process of foreign policy making in three countries of South Asia: Pakistan, Ceylon* and Nepal. Although this field has been well trodden by researchers, most of them have confined their exertions to abstract model-building or to in-depth exclusive case studies: the comparative framework has been missing. It is the purpose of this dissertation to rectify this shortcoming in a modest way.

Of the countries selected, one is a Monarchy (Nepal), another a Parliamentary Democracy (Ceylon), while the third (Pakistan) has been under long spells of Martial Law. This allows us an opportunity to examine how foreign policy formulation varies in different types of polity.

While the focus of the study is on the decade 1960-70, the historical background and the evolution of institutions and processes beyond the 70's have not been ignored.

The primary focus is on institutions and the underlying processes which are utilised by the decision-makers. The comparative framework thus spans not merely different political systems but covers also the temporal aspect by including the study of changing processes and evolving institutions.

Throughout this study, the idea has been to study the mode of systemic response rather than any particular issue of foreign

* 'Ceylon'/'Sri Lanka' have been used appropriate to the context.

policy formulation. Wherever issues have been touched upon, an attempt has been made to highlight the institutional role, rather than the issue per se.

Although it is conventional wisdom that foreign policy is made deliberately, consciously and systematically -- this is not always the case. Except in some critical melodramatic cases, the routine formulation of foreign policy is a far more amorphous process. Many persons are involved and a policy 'evolves' most of the time from ad-hoc responses -- reflex actions. Thus 'decision-makers' are not merely certain identified individuals but consist rather of all sections of the power wielding elite. The forces of continuity, maintenance of status-quo, and consensus, constantly interact with the personality factor, and this too affects the process significantly.

In short this thesis attempts to present a comprehensive picture of foreign policy formulation.

The present study has been divided into six chapters. An introductory chapter sets the stage by identifying the basic parameters in foreign policy formulation and provides an overview of the historical context.

The next chapter concentrates on the role of elites, while the third takes up for scrutiny a particular, specialised segment of this elite -- the Bureaucracy. This chapter naturally deals primarily with the foreign offices.

Then follows a survey of Legislatures -- whose advice and consent may not be obligatory for the Executives, but which cannot be overlooked either.

The fifth chapter seeks to correlate public opinion with policy-making by analysing the working of the 'Press' in this context. The concluding chapter sums up the study.

The study of the process of foreign policy formulation in these three countries has not been an easy task, as some of the documents were not available to the author, especially those relating to Nepal and Pakistan. However, an attempt has been made to the best of the writer's ability to study the subject.