

SENATE OF PAKISTAN

SENATE DEBATES

Thursday, February 20, 1992.

The Senate of Pakistan met in the Senate Hall (Parliament House), Islamabad, at ten of the clock in the morning, with Mr. Chairman (Mr. Wasim Sajjad), in the Chair.

(Recitation from the Holy Quran)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
مَا أُنزِلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ لِتَشْقَى ۝ إِلَّا نَذْكُرُهُ
لِمَنْ يَخْشَى ۝ تَزِيلًا لِمَنْ خَلَقَ الْأَرْضَ وَالسَّمَوَاتِ الْعُلَى ۝
الرَّحْمَنُ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ اسْتَوَى ۝ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي
الْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا وَمَا تَحْتَ الثَّرَى ۝ وَإِنْ يُجْهَرِ الْقَوْلُ
فَإِنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ السِّرَّ وَأَخْفَى ۝ اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ لَهُ الْأَسْمَاءُ
الْحُسْنَى ۝

پارہ ۱۶- آیات ۸ تا ۱۴

ترجمہ: اے محبوب ہم نے یہ قرآن تم پر اس لئے نہ اتارا کہ تم مشقت میں پڑو۔ ہاں اس کو نصیحت جو ڈر رکھتا ہو۔ اس کا اتارا ہوا جس نے زمین اور اونچے آسمان بنائے۔ وہ بڑی مہروالا اس نے عرش پر استوی فرمایا جیسا اس کی شان کے لائق ہے اس کا جو کچھ آسمانوں میں ہے اور جو کچھ زمین میں اور جو کچھ ان کے بیچ میں اور جو کچھ اس کی گیلی مٹی کے نیچے ہے اور اگر تو بات پکار کر کہے تو وہ تو بعید کو جانتا ہے اور اسے جو اس سے بھی زیادہ چھپا ہے۔ اللہ کہ اس کے سوا کسی کی بندگی نہیں اسی کے ہیں سب اچھے نام۔

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LEAVE OF ABSENCE

جناب چیئرمین : رخصت کی درخواستیں ہیں۔

محمد طارق چوہدری صاحب، ذاتی مصروفیات کی بناء پر آج مورخہ 20 فروری کو اجلاس میں شرکت نہیں کر سکیں گے، انہوں نے اس دن کے لئے ایوان سے رخصت کی درخواست کی ہے۔ کیا آپ رخصت منظور فرماتے ہیں۔

(رخصت منظور کی گئی)

جناب چیئرمین : اس کے علاوہ جناب اجمل خان اور جناب جاوید ہاشمی صاحب کی جانب سے اطلاع ہے کہ سرکاری مصروفیات کی بناء پر 20 فروری اور ”21 فروری کو اجلاس میں شرکت نہیں کر سکیں گے۔“

Next we come to Privilege Motion of Prof. Khurshid Ahmad of on the breach of Privilege arising out of the statement of Syed Tariq Mahmood.

پروفیسر صاحب، کی طرف سے اطلاع موصول ہوئی ہے کہ ان کی طبیعت صحیح نہیں ہے۔ اس لئے پھر اس کو ڈیفر کر دیا جائے۔ حافظ حسین احمد صاحب، وہ بھی تشریف نہیں رکھتے۔

جناب محمد اعظم خان : جناب والا! آپ مجھے اجازت دیں تو.....

جناب چیئرمین : جی فرمائیں۔

جناب محمد اعظم خان : کیونکہ معزز سینئر صاحب ابھی موجود نہیں ہیں.....

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh : Point of order Sir, this question does not arise that the mover of the privilege is not present.

Mr. Muhammad Azam Khan : No, I am saying something else.

Mr. Chairman : Let us hear him. کہہ کتے کیا ہیں۔

POINT OF ORDER RE: INSTALLATION OF TELEPHONES

جناب محمد اعظم خان: جناب والا! میں گزارش یہ کر رہا تھا کہ اس قسم کی پریویج موشن جوابھی آئی ہے اور آئندہ بھی آنے کا احتمال ہے Privilege Motion اور آپ نے اس دن مجھے حکم دیا تھا کہ اس قسم کی شکایات کے ازالے کے لئے کچھ کیا جائے۔ اس معزز ایوان کے ممبر صاحبان اپنے صوابدیدی کوٹہ سے جو ٹیلیفون کنکشن دیتے ہیں اور وہ پھر out of turn نہیں لگائے جاتے اور ان کو پھر شکایت ہوتی ہے۔ ایک تو آپ نے حکم فرمایا تھا کہ اس ضمن میں سیکرٹریٹ سے ایک list جائے گی کہ جن جن معزز اراکین کو شکایت ہوگی۔ تو جناب والا! اگر آپ مجھے اجازت دیں تو میں ان کے جواب میں تو نہیں، جو میرے پاس معلومات ہیں، لیکن ایک بار پھر آپ سے گزارش کروں گا کہ اس سے بہتر ہو گا کہ اس قسم کی جو Privilege Motions آتی ہیں تو مجھ سے پہلے بات کر لی جائے، اگر میں اس محترم رکن کو satisfy نہ کر سکوں تو اس کے بعد اگر وہ اس قسم کی Privilege Motion لائیں تو ٹھیک ہے۔ ٹیلیفون نہ لگنا، اس کی چونکہ ٹیکنیکل وجوہات ہو سکتی ہیں تو میں اپنی طرف سے معلومات حاصل کر کے ان کی تسلی کر سکتا ہوں اور اگر ان کو پھر بھی تسلی نہ ہو تو پھر وہ Privilege Motion لاسکتے ہیں۔ میں ہر وقت یہاں حاضر رہتا ہوں مجھے انفرادی طور پر یا اجتماعی طور پر بھی ہو تو آپ کے سیکرٹریٹ سے تمام اطلاعات اگر اس ضمن میں مل جائیں تو میں معلومات لے کر آپ کی یقین دہانی کر سکتا ہوں۔

جناب چیئرمین: شکریہ جی..... جی حسن اے شیخ صاحب آن پوائنٹ آف

آرڈر۔

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh: Sir, that statement made, by the honourable Minister was not very accurate. I had an experience, I am very sorry to say that it when I applied for somebody, for a telephone, no telephone was installed and said, due to technical difficulties, it can not be done. That gentleman appeared to be a very vigilant, he came to know that next day the telephone was installed about a week back. So he came and saw me. Then, when, I wrote to the department, department still insisted. Later on, they found that I would take it up in the House and therefore, they installed the telephone. So, they should have taken action against the General Manager because he is the local Manager.

جناب چیئرمین: اس کی details آپ نے منسٹر صاحب کو دی ہیں ؟
جناب حسن اے شیخ: میں نے اس وقت ان کو دیا تھا۔

nothing happened but because the telephone was installed I kept quite.

Mr. Chairman: No, this is the kind of complaint, one is getting, it is right if there is a genuine difficulty, then one can appreciate but this is the kind of complaint one keeps.

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh: Sir next day, the man got it. You were not the Minister then. I am sorry, I am not making any allegation against you.

Mr. Muhammad Azam Khan: Sir, I am ready to accept any responsibility in this connection.

میں یہی تو گزارش کر رہا ہوں کہ یا تو آپ کے سیکرٹیریٹ کے ذریعے جتنی شکایات ہیں وہ آ total capacity جائیں اور ہوتا یہ ہے حضور والا! کہ جہاں تک ہمیں رپورٹ ملتی ہے وہ percentage ہے۔ میں اور کی working connections کی اب ہمیں پتہ ہوتا ہے کہ کتنی ہے۔ پہلے بھی یہاں اس ایوان میں گزارش کر چکا ہوں کہ بہت سے exchanges جو ہیں وہ overloaded ہیں اور جب تک نئے exchanges کی extension نہیں ہوگی تو اس وقت تک یہ situation easeout نہیں ہوگی۔ اس دوران اس قسم کی یہ شکایات آئیں گی۔ ہاں البتہ کسی محترم رکن نے اگر اپنے صوابدیدی کوٹہ سے ٹیلیفون دیا ہے اور وہ نہیں لگا اور جیسے یہ محترم رکن کی شکایت ہے کہ اس کے علاوہ ٹیلیفون next day لگا۔ اب ایسے بھی ہوتا ہے جناب والا! کہ کچھ ٹیلیفون non-payment کی وجہ سے close ہو جاتے ہیں، اس کی تفصیل ہم تک نہیں پہنچتی۔

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh: No that was not of that kind.

Mr. Chairman: No, the point is

کہ اس قسم کی اگر شکایت آئے تو اس کا پھر تفصیل سے جائزہ لینا چاہیے کہ کیا وجہ ہے ؟
جناب محمد اعظم خان: جناب والا! وہی میں گزارش کر رہا تھا کہ یہ بات اگر فلور پر

آنے سے پہلے مجھ تک پہنچ جائے تو میں معلومات حاصل کر کے ان کو فراہم کروں گا، اگر ان کی معلومات صحیح ہوں۔

Mr. Chairman: I would like this precise complaint to be investigated

کہ کیا وجہ ہے ؟

جناب محمد اعظم خان ہوتی : سر میں حاضر ہوں اور اگر اس قسم کی کوئی بے قاعدگی ہوئی ہو تو آپ یقین کریں کہ متعلقہ اہلکار کے خلاف سخت کارروائی کی جائے گی۔

جناب اعجاز علی خان جتوئی : پوائنٹ آف آرڈر سر۔ میں بھی اسی سلسلے میں وزیر موصوف کی خدمت میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کراچی میں صورتحال یہ ہے کہ ہم جب یہاں سے cases recommend کر کے بھیجتے ہیں تو وہاں وہ پیسے لیتے ہیں یہ بھی شکایت میرے پاس ہوئی ہے۔ تو میں نے جی ایم قریشی جو اگلی مرتبہ تھے، کو فون پر کہا تھا کہ یہ شکایت آئی ہے۔ کہ ان کو پہلے لکھا گیا کہ وہاں feasible نہیں ہے کیونکہ وہاں پر کوئی D.P. وغیرہ نہیں ہے لیکن بعد میں اس سے پیسے لے کر انہوں نے connect کیا ہے۔ حیدر آباد میں بھی یہ سلسلہ جاری ہے، کہ وہاں پر جب قاسم آباد کی نئی exchange شروع ہوئی تھی تو وہاں ٹیلیفون available ہیں اور جب وہاں پر کوئی آدمی جاتا ہے، کہ مجھے ٹیلیفون چاہئے، تو وہاں پر اس سے پیسے مانگتے ہیں۔ وہاں ڈویژنل انجینئر کی حد تک involvement ہے۔ تو وزیر صاحب اس کی تحقیقات کریں اور غور فرمائیں۔

جناب چیئرمین : بنیادی چیز اگر کوئی کرپشن کا element ہے یا ایسی چیز ہے تو اس کو remove کرنا ہے ناں

About genuine difficulties, we understand that there is no problem.

جناب محمد اعظم خان ہوتی : جناب والا ! یہاں اسلام آباد میں بیٹھ کر ایک وزیر کا وہاں exchanges پر کرپشن دور کرنا اس کے بس کا کام نہیں ہے۔ اب ہلا کو خان تو میں ہوں نہیں۔

جناب چیئرمین : کوشش تو ہو سکتی ہے ناں۔

At least take the steps

that should be investigated to know specific allegation مطلب جو آتی ہے the reason.

جناب محمد اعظم خان هوتی : اگر ہو جناب والا ! تو میں کہہ رہا ہوں کہ ضرور تحقیق کی جائے

گی۔

جناب چیئرمین : جی جناب ڈاکٹر بشارت صاحب۔

Dr. Bisharat Elahi: Just one word Sir, that instead of the honourable Minister is asking, the members of the House to send the complaints to them, why don't they set up a monitoring system within their own department which should monitor all telephone connections which have not been given, say, a period of six months and the reasons thereof. I know a number of cases. I will probably come up with a few cases which have not been connected for the last two years and lot of cases which have been connected for one year and I have personally been writing to department and never got a satisfactory reply. Instead of putting the onus on the members, I think the Minister should take the responsibility of setting up some sort of monitoring system in the department concerned. So that they can, then say on six monthly basis send a report to the honourable Minister that these telephones could not be connected because of these reasons.

Mr. Muhammad Azam Khan Hoti: Sir, as far as, that is concerned I can assure you that we do have a system of that sort and we do monitor and not on six monthly basis but a monthly basis. We get a report that is why I am requesting the honourable members if they could just order me I can present the report or the monthly statement before them and they can see it for themselves and if they still find that there are some irregularities going on, then I am there to rectify them.

Dr. Bisharat Elahi: If they are placed in the Senate Library; every time you have the report ready then the members can go and have a look over there.

Mr. Muhammad Azam Khan Hoti: Sir, I will make sure that the monthly statement regarding the discretionary quota of the honourable members is placed in the Library for the perusal of the honourable members.

Dr. Muhammad Rehan: Sir, I have a submission.

Mr. Chairman: Yes, Dr. Sahib.

ڈاکٹر محمد ریحان: جناب چیئرمین! میں اپنے ساتھی ممبران صاحبان کی خدمت میں عرض کرتا ہوں کہ جناب یہ مسئلہ میرے سامنے بھی آیا۔ اب میں نے یہ کرنا شروع کر دیا ہے کہ جب میں کسی کو out of turn فارم دیتا ہوں تو اس کے ساتھ ایک D.O. بھی متعلقہ ڈویژنل انجینئر کو لکھتا ہوں اور ساتھ لکھتا ہوں please report compliance تو وہ ایک قسم کا bound ہو جاتا ہے تو اس طرح ادھر ادھر کرنے سے گریز کرتا ہے۔
جناب چیئرمین: شکریہ جی۔

MESSAGE FROM THE N.A. SECRETARIAT RE: THE
TRANSFER OF MANAGED ESTABLISHMENT
(SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL, 1991

We have received a message from the National Assembly, it states that with reference to 'Senate Secretariat' Message No. so and so dated the 16th of November 1991, I am to return herewith the Transfer of Managed Establishment (second amendment) Bill, 1991, since the National Assembly did not pass the said Bill within ninety days of its receipt as required by Article 70(2) of the Constitution.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Khan: Sir, can we have a joint session for this?

Mr. Chairman: I think the constitutional requirement is that a request has to go from the originating House and in this case, it is the Senate if a request is made by the Senate then a 'joint session' has to be convened.

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh: Sir, by the Senate or by the Chairman of the Senate.

Mr. Chairman: By the Senate, which I assume would require a proper motion by the Minister concerned because it is the government Bill and the Senate can vote on it and then the President would be bound to call a joint session of Parliament.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Khan: Mr. Chairman, it is extremely unfortunate that the Bill has lapsed because the National Assembly was not able to pass it, I suggest that we should put a request for a joint session so that we may take up this Bill. Thank you Sir.

Mr. Chairman: I think the Minister should move it at the appropriate time because it is the government Bill. So I am sure, he would be looking into this matter.

Item No. 2 Muhammad Zafar-ul-Haq.

MOTION UNDER RULE 171(1) FOR CONDONATION OF DELAY

Raja Muhammad Zafar-ul-Haq: Sir, I beg to move that under sub-rule (1) of Rule 171 of the Rules of procedure and Conduct of Business in the Senate, 1988, the time for presentation of report of the Standing Committee on the Bill further to amend the Pakistan Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 [The Criminal Law (Third Amendment) Bill, 1991] be condoned till today.

Mr. Chairman: It has been moved :

“That under sub-rule (1) of Rule 171 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Senate, 1988, the time for presentation of report of the Standing Committee on the Bill further to amend the Pakistan Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 [The Criminal Law (Third Amendment) Bill, 1991], be condoned till today.”

(The motion was adopted)

Mr. Chairman: The delay stands condoned.

Item No. 3.

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE RE: THE CRIMINAL LAW (THIRD AMENDMENT) BILL, 1991—*LAID*

Raja Muhammad Zafar-ul-Haq: Sir, I beg to present “the report of the Standing Committee on the Bill further to amend the Pakistan

Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 [The Criminal Law (Third Amendment) Bill, 1991].”

Mr. Chairman: The report stands presented.

Item No. 4.

Raja Muhammad Zafar-ul-Haq: Sir, I beg to move :

“That under sub-rule (1) of Rule 171 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Senate, 1988, the time for presentation of report of the Standing Committee on the Bill further to amend the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 [The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 1991], be condoned till today.”

Mr. Chairman: It has been moved :

“That under sub-rule (1) of Rule 171 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Senate, 1988, the time for presentation of report of the Standing Committee on the Bill further to amend the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 [The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 1991], be condoned till today.”

(The motion was adopted)

Mr. Chairman: The delay stands condoned.

Item No. 5.

Raja Muhammad Zafar-ul-Haq: Sir, I beg to present the report of the Standing Committee on the Bill further to amend the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 [The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 1991].

Mr. Chairman: The report stands presented. Now we move to Item No. 6 which is the discussion on the President's Address. Dr. Bisharat Elahi Sahib.

FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Dr. Bisharat Elahi: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Sir.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين واصلوة والسلام على خاتم النبيين

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are extremely fortunate today to have such a large representation of the Cabinet to the House. I think, this is the largest ever representation of the Cabinet in the House today, but yet it is about 40% of the total strength of the Cabinet, and I think the House feels honoured by their presence here.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, now coming to the President's Address, I think it is an occasion which comes once a year and the President in his wisdom presents to the two Houses sitting together a review of the past performance of the Government during the previous year, he points out the weaknesses of the Government and also commends the good work done by the Government. The Address, as a whole, did cover largely what the Government did during the previous year but the President was rather generous in praising some of the actions of the Government and I think one needs to comment on those areas which I feel, were the areas of weakness rather than strength of the Government.

Sir, a debate on an Address like this calls for a dispassionate objective and a candid review of the Government during the past year and this can only be done by rising above party politics. It is my intention to call 'spade a spade' during this debate. The most outstanding and disconcerting feature of the last year has been the political polarization in the country. The absence of understanding between the Government and the Opposition and to be honest, I feel both of them *i.e.*, Government and the Opposition have not performed their functions for which we have elected them, for which the voters have elected them for which the voters, the masses, of the country have sent them to the assemblies. It is rather unfortunate that the voters generally forgotten once, we come into these Houses, we seem to confine ourselves in the Glass Houses and the struggle starts, the struggle for the Government is to remain in power and for the Opposition how to dislodge them and turn them out of power ?

Sir, the other most important and striking feature of the last year has been the unabating lawlessness in this country. It is very difficult for me to find words to elaborate on what has been happening by way

of lawlessness in Pakistan during the last year. It is a continuing process, I concede, it is not something which started with this Government. It has been going on for quite some time but Sir, the performance of our Government of which I am a Member and a well-wisher has been dismal in this regard and to stop it, all what is most disconcerting that when the Head of a Government makes a public statement and says—

”سندھ میں سب ٹھیک ہے“

Even the honourable President of Pakistan is reported and recorded to have said that “law and order in Sindh is satisfactory”. Sir, I do not live in Sindh. I belong to Punjab and if I were to tell you what has been happening and I am sure you are also aware of it because you (Mr. Chairman) belong to the Punjab. What the law and order situation is like in the Punjab, today? I think it has never been worst than this before. We have had cases of women being molasted in custody, in police custody. The sanctity of the House has been violated and believe (Mr. Chairman) me, Sir, that the people of the Punjab do not feel safe and secure within the four walls of their own houses and if I were to refer you to just one of the newspapers and that is Nawa-i-Waqt of February 18, and this is just at random sample because I thought I would get an opportunity to speak on the President's Address on Tuesday *i.e.*, day before yesterday, so, I picked up just one newspaper and that is Nawa-i-Waqt of Tuesday and if you were to see at the back page of that newspaper what do you read? About Lahore just one city of the Punjab.....

”لاہور پر چوروں کی یلغار‘ لاکھوں کا سامان لے اڑے“۔

And it is followed by—

”چوبیس گھنٹوں میں تقریباً دس لاکھ روپے کی مالیت۔ ایک سائیکل۔ آٹھ موٹر سائیکل۔ چار ڈکیتیاں“۔

and so on and so-forth. This is just one news item.

اس کے نیچے: ”ڈاکوؤں نے بینک وین سے 20 لاکھ روپے لوٹ لئے“۔

This is related to ‘Yazman’.

اور اس کے نیچے ”سکول کے گیٹ سے طالبہ کو اٹھالیا۔ سینکڑوں طالبات دیکھتی رہ گئیں۔“
 لاہور کے حوالے سے خبر ہے۔ ”اس کے نیچے: ”چار مسلح کار سواروں نے شادی سے
 واپس آنے والی عورت کے زیورات اتار لئے۔“ یہ بھی لاہور کے حوالے سے خبر ہے۔ اور
 اس سے آگے: ”عریاں رقص کرنے والی چار لڑکیاں، چار مرد - اڈے کی مالکہ
 گرفتار۔“

This is the performance of our Police. And if you were to go into the details of these thefts just on one day, the ones that are reported in one newspaper and there may be a number of these cases which have not been reported to the police and which have not been reported in the newspapers. And you are also aware Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am sure that Lahore was in the grip of strikes and demonstrations by all the trading organizations, the traders organizations, in the city just because a number of traders have been killed in broad day light all over the city of Lahore and the police invariably fails to haul up the culprits.

I would also like to draw your attention to another news item that appeared on Tuesday in the daily 'Jang', but perhaps I will come to this later when I speak on law and order in detail. The other outstanding feature of the last year has been, the unprecedented use of force against the press and I repeat unprecedented use of force against the press, the bashing and beating of the journalists and reporters has become a norm and has been accepted I believe by the poor journalists as a hazard of the profession and journalism today in Pakistan Mr. Chairman Sir, is a high risk profession. There are number of cases have been reported in the press I would like the government to respond and tell me how many of these cases have been taken to the court and what has come out of these cases that have been reported to the police. We are witnessing what we say the freedom of the press and one of the very important pillars of democracy being demolished and the freedom of the press is being replaced by freedom to terrorise the press while on the press I would record my grief and condolences on the sad demise of Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman, one of the staunchest stalwarts of free press, a person who has made a tremendous contribution in this field,— in the realm of journalism and was a strongest exponent of independent press. May, God, the Almighty rest the departed soul in peace. Sir, to give you an overview of what I have just said it would

appear to me the government seems to be in a state of intoxicated stupor. To them all is well and the government is being run according to the wishes and whims of a handful self proclaimed—experts, whizz-kids and trouble shooters and I must concede that they have succeeded in isolating the Prime Minister from not only the Members of the Parliament but perhaps from other important public personalities. Sir, it has been our national trade to shy away from the realities on the ground look at the other way and pretend that all is well. Unfortunately the interest of the people and the country coincides neither with that of the ruler nor that of the opposition. This must change if democracy is to proper in this country. We tend to soft padel all relevant issues and are reluctant to come to grips with them hoping against hope for the best. The opposition, Sir, on the other hand is manifesting itself as an orchestra of disharmoning having too many players and each one of them completely out of tune with the other. The vast majority of them have even no representative capacity, they seemed to be roaming around in political wilderness and are divided of any representative capacity and these very defeated political leaders are playing the role of masters of ceremonies today. What we are witnessing today, is the "All Parties Conference" and the 'Long March', what is the purpose, Sir, of this long march? It is devoid of any objective and if the objective is only to go to the streets to abuse the president, the Constitutional head of this country shame be on them. Our sleep walking opposition is in a continuous days and even do not know how to react honourably to the situation. They tend to act as street peddlers picking up all or any issue—relevant or irrelevant and take them to the public with a view to start demonstrations hoping that these things will upset the government in power, this is not a democratic way of reacting to these situations.

[At this stage Mr. Chairman vacated the Chair which was occupied by Madam Deputy Chairman (Dr. Noor Jehan Panezai).]

Dr. Bisharat Elahi: To them the Assemblies are bogus but they sit in the Assemblies under oath. The elections were rigged yet they are clamouring for elections once again. 'The Election Commission' is corrupt and an instrument for rigging the elections and even the Senate is undemocratic. The judiciary, to them, is suspected and they are continuously threatening to resign if any one of their Member is disqualified for corruption even by the highest court. They have scant respect for the President of Pakistan. Unfortunately our political

leadership which includes both the opposition and the government has a compulsion to patronise people who have an extravagance of vulgar vocabulary and their only utility is to use this elaborate vocabulary when ordered to use it against the person of a political opponent of the person patronising them and in return high honours are to use it against the person of a political opponent, of the person patronizing them and in return, high honours are bestowed on them. The demonstration that we see in the National Assembly now and again and which was at its peak during the debate on the co-op issue is a disgraceful play of such vulgar and unparliamentary vocabulary which our friends use in the forums like the National Assembly. Parliament, Madam Chairman, is not the forum to settle personal vendettas. We sit here to discuss and deliberate on national issues and policies. Grossly, unparliamentary and derogate behaviour in the Parliament has recently been witnessed by us all during the President's speech to both Houses sitting together. Enough has been said about this in this House. in the National Assembly, in the National Press, suffice is to say that this has been extremely disgraceful performance by the Opposition and as I have said earlier, somehow they do not know how to react honourably. Madam Chairman, how recklessly, are we cutting at the political structure? That is anchoring this nascent democratic order in Pakistan. I would urge and as I speak now despite the compliments which I have paid to the government Ministers they have all disappeared from the House except perhaps we have at the moment a six percent representation of the Cabinet in the House.

Through you Madam Chairman, I would urge both the government and the Opposition that a less combative and a more conciliatory relationship is essential not only in the interest of both these adversaries but also for the survival of the endangered democracy in this country.

Some of the other things which the government has tried to do but failed due to lack of planning and foresight and in this regard I would like to make a passing reference to the illicit arms drive, perhaps the government Minister who will wind up the debate let us know as to what has become of this drive. It was started now with a lot of fanfare and we heard a lot of statements, my information is that the drive has fizzled out but it is now being misused by the law enforcing authorities to terrorise people and extort money out of them. The other drive that the government started was the organization, perhaps is the anti-

adulteration drives, it started of and then it stopped, started again, stopped again. I don't know where it is today, whether it is still enforce or whether it has all been forgotten about and here again proper home work was not done and that is the main cause for the failure of these drives. It would be better for the government's credibility to have modest goals rather than making tall claims and failing to live up to its promises, rhetoric alone is not sufficient to sustain a government's popular image. Now and again the government might come up with some gimmicks to get popular support or enthusiastic clapping at public rallies but these things will not sustain the government for long. I must commend the government on their new recruitment policy and I sincerely hope that the government will abide by this policy of merit. The government should be the patron of those who have no patrons, those who do not have access to the MPAs, MNAs and other people who can recommend them for jobs, it is the government's duty to patronize such people rather than give jobs to those recommended by people in power. Unfortunately one of the biggest problem that we are facing in the country today is that even our bureaucracy has been thoroughly politicised and the main reason for this is the jobs are given on political considerations. If the government sticks to this policy of merit in the recruitment, it will help develop a neutral bureaucracy which will remain neutral irrespective of the government in power and that will go a long way in solving the problems of the people of the country.

The next subject that I will like to briefly touch upon is the performance of the Parliament during the last year and in particular, the performance of the Senate during the last year. To me, Madam Chairman, it has been a linear for the Senate no opportunity has been afforded to us to discuss urgent and pressing national issues and policy matters and as you are aware Madam Chairman this particular session has been called because it is the constitutional requirement that we have got to meet for a certain number of days before the 20th of March and that is why we are in session now. There is complete lack of agenda as far as the government is concerned, therefore, enough time is being afforded to us to debate and discuss the President's Address and I would also like to put on record that although we are meeting this session is for 42 days, the actual number of working days are only 16 less than half the number of days for which we will be meeting. This does not speak well for the performance of the Senate or for that matter of the government. The worthy President has been rather liberal in

showering praises for the amount of legislative work done by the Parliament during the last year but perhaps the President forgot that a lot of that legislative work was done through Ordinances. The honourable Minister winding up the debate perhaps comes up with the legislation done through Ordinances and certain pieces of legislative work are forced on to us. We are told that since this has been approved by the National Assembly, therefore, please don't discuss, don't debate, don't amend, don't change any word or fullstop or comma, you have got to pass it as it is. Such has been our performance, as far as legislative work is concerned, I would concede that there is room for promulgating ordinances in the Constitution. But the purpose for which the promulgation of Ordinances, the provision, why this is there, is subject to circumstances existing and the only legitimate excuse they always put up is that the Houses were not in session. The Houses can be called in session whenever the Government wishes. Unfortunately, they do not do their home work well and when they find themselves caught up in a situation, they have got to resort to promulgation of Ordinances. A lot has been said against this type of legislation in this House, not only during the last year but also during the previous two, three and four years where the honourable Members of this House have expressed their displeasure on legislation by Ordinances but yet this seems to be our main stream legislation even today, and if this is continued perhaps in the eyes of the people these Houses will have lost their representative nature because legislation is the most important function to be performed by the Parliament—by the "National Assembly and the Senate." My request, to my honourable friends, in the government is that they should organize themselves and allow us to work in an organized manner. Madam Chairman, my question to this House, through you and to the members of the Cabinet is that have the members of the Cabinet taken the task for which they come to the Houses seriously and to me, to my mind, the purpose of sitting in these Houses is to discuss, deliberate, debate and legislate. Have we been doing these things during the past year? At best one can say that we have done this partly but we have not done justice, being the members of the Senate of Pakistan. Our role, Madam Chairman, has been a passive role. We have been forced into situations where we have had no choice. We belong to a party which is in power and sometimes we have been forced into a situation whereby we have been compelled to do something. So that the government is not embarrassed. In order to ensure that the government is not embarrassed, I have felt myself embarrassed a lot of times, because we have neither discussed nor

debated, nor deliberated on issues on which we have put our thumb marks, and the Senate has been used to affirm rather than debate issues. Unfortunately, the other House of the Parliament, the National Assembly has had even a more dismal records than ours. It has been plagued and beseeched by the quorum problem. Quorum problem despite the fact that the government, today, has a two-third majority and they claim the largest ever mandate in the history of Pakistan even during the current session, how many times the sittings of the National Assembly has had to be adjourned because of the lack of quorum? We, on our part, have had a very poor response from the Ministers in as much answers to the questions have been concerned. I do not have the figures with me but perhaps your Secretariat can come up with figures as to how many questions were asked, how many answers were received and how many times, the answers have been deferred? And to stop it, all whenever a supplementary invariably very relevant to the question is asked in the House, the Minister has no answer and the only words you hear from him is, 'fresh notice required', and most of the time, the Minister concerned with the questions, has been absent from the House. What functions are we supposed to perform? Are we supposed to just sit here, whileaway the time, go back to our Houses and then tell the people of Pakistan that we are the honourable Senators of the Upper House of the Parliament? I regret, Madam Chairman, that our performance, whatever be, according to my judgement has been dismal. My colleague, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, in his speech specifically pointed out to the absence of a 'Public Accounts Committee', in the National Assembly. They have been in power, in office, for about perhaps over 15 months and I am also informed that most of the other committees of the National Assembly are chaired by the Ministers, what is the purpose of these committees? What is the purpose of these committees chaired by the Ministers concerned? It is better not to have them, would be on my suggestion. We in the Senate, have a very good tradition, we have a member of the Senate, as a Chairman of the committee other than a Minister, the Minister concerned, and this is how it should be. We have seen instances of what the press has said unholy haste in bulldozing legislation. We say that we have a two-third majority, we have the largest ever mandate and yet we do not want to give our own people or the Opposition a chance to express their views. We have set a record, an important law the Constitutional Amendment having been passed by the National Assembly in less than an hour. Can anybody beat it, any other legislative assembly in the world beat this record? What was the need, why the haste? Such

laws are specially issued where the Constitution needs to be amended they must be treated as very very important issues and everybody should be given a chance to express his views.

Akhunzada Behrawar Saeed: Point of order, Madam.

Dr. Bisharat Elahi: May I request my honourable neighbour to please not disturb me while I am speaking.

Madam Deputy Chairman: Behrawar Saeed Sahib on a point of order.

Akhunzada Behrawar Saeed: May I remind my friend to refresh his memory.

میڈم ڈپٹی چیئرمین: بہرور سعید صاحب یہ بات ہوئی تھی کہ during the speech کوئی point of order نہیں ہو گا۔ تشریف رکھیں۔ جناب ڈاکٹر بشارت الہی صاحب۔

Dr. Bisharat Elahi: Thank you very much. The honourable President has drawn the attention to the requirement of a law against floor crossing and horse trading. Perhaps our friends will tell us in their final speech as to why this law has not yet been put up.

(Pause)

Dr. Bisharat Elahi: Yes, it has lapsed, a friend has shouted from the back but they can do it again. Does it suits them not to have this law at this stage when they were on the other side of the fence they were clamouring for this law. Why have not they raised this issue now? But Madam Chairman! to me, the most important lapse on the part of the government, has been their inability to bring a legislation for women's representation in the Assemblies. And I am sure, you are aware that a private members Bill was moved by the Senate and it was the government who requested that they would like to move a government Bill and, therefore, we should hold our bill. Fifteen months have passed and yet no move has been made by the government—to make any effort to get this legislation through in an Assembly where they claim—they have 2/3rd majority and more than fifty per cent of the voters of this country, are women and I am sure that in the mandate, that they have got, the women have had a very big contribution. May I

request the government, to kindly look into this and if they feel that they are unable to do it they should, let us know we, in the Senate, will move our Private Members Bill in this regard. I have already made some references to the undemocratic, unparliamentary and unethical behaviour of the opposition in the National Assembly during the Address of the President and while still on the subject of the Parliament, I would also like to mention that one of our Members was stopped from entering in the Parliament—very sad state of affairs and I have also read in the press a subject which was covered extensively that the Speaker of the National Assembly had stopped the access of the vehicles going to the Presidency from the road which goes through the Parliament House, this again is a mockery. We should not do things which do not create a good image in the eyes of the public. On a number of issues, I believe, there is some difference of opinion between our Chairman and the honourable Speaker. I would like to assure our Chairman that he has our full support and these issues should be resolved so that the dignity of the Senate should be restored. Madam Chairman! I have briefly spoken—on the law and order situation but I would like to come back to this once again. It has been reported that the law enforcing agencies instead of doing the work, which are supposed to do, are committing a blatant violation of Article 14(2) of the Constitution of Pakistan which states that :

“No person shall be subjected to torture for the purpose of extracting evidence.”

A number of cases have been reported in the press and a number of people who have actually been tortured have come and seen me and reported that this is being done by the law enforcing agencies. I hope that this is in the knowledge of the government and if it is I would like to know what action is being taken by the government against this blatant violation of the Constitution. Madam Chairman, everyday. You pick up the newspaper and you come across a number of cases of people who have been tortured in police custody, people who are tortured when they are in remand, people who are tortured when they are within the—limits of the police stations, people who are being tortured when they are within the bounds of the prisons. And—things have gone so bad that even the superior courts of Pakistan have been forced to take notice of such incidents.

This is a gross failing on the part of the government and this reminds me Madam Chairman; that sometimes ago perhaps about six

months or a little longer that the Prime Minister was pleased to appoint a committee to discuss Police Reforms and I happened to be a member of that committee. The committee met for three or four perhaps five times and for the last three or four months I have not heard anything about those Reforms, I do not know whether the report has been formed up, I am not aware of what action has been taken. This is our state of affairs, we do not wish to move forward, we believe in statusquo, and things are allowed to drift, which is an unfortunate state of affairs. I would request the government, to, please see whether the police can be brought under the purview of the courts because of the excess is being committed by the law enforcing agencies, I think it is time, that, some other agencies should be able to oversee the performance of the police and take action where excesses are being committed. Madam Chairman, some of our colleagues in this very House have said that some elected representatives are involved in criminal activities either directly or are providing protection to criminals. It was only two or three or may be four days ago when we were discussing the Sindh situation. One of our honourable Members said that this is the case and he went, as far as, saying that if the elected representatives were to refrain from these activities, 50% of the crimes would disappear. This is a matter which should be taken up by the Government seriously and anybody found involved in the criminal activities, irrespective of whether he belongs to the Government or the opposition where he belongs to the National Assembly or the Senate they must enforce the rule of law. It is time that they did this. I being a member of the Parliament, do not give any honourable member a licence to do whatever he likes and take the law into his own hands. I know we have this problem in the Punjab also and the government invariably has been reluctant to take action against these people because they belong to their party. This thing must stop. Madam Chairman, I may have been very harsh in my criticism of the police but in all fairness, one must recognize the difficulties of the police also and it may surprise you and the members of this august House that our police force is perhaps the lowest paid police force in the whole world today. The police force is under continuous pressure and interference by the elected representatives which prevents them from taking a proper action against the criminals and they are forced to spend most of their time and resources on political and protocol duties, I repeat; on political and protocol duties. This is not the main stream job of the police force. The police force is meant for the 'law and order' and 'security of the life and property' of the citizens of the country as a

whole. Their job is not to organize the political rallies, their job is not to just protect, one, two, three, four, five or ten people in Pakistan. If the number of the police force is low the government, must increase it and they must have a separate cadre for protect duties.

Another thing which has been the main cause of the deteriorations of our police force, has been that the appointments are made on political consideration. I say it on authority that this has been the case in the past and even in the Punjab, this has been the case, appointments have been made on political considerations, on the recommendations—the likes and dislikes of the elected representatives. There is a complete lack of training of the police personnel, we do not have any training Institution worthwhile and I would urge the government that they must pay urgent attention to the welfare of the police force, improve their service conditions and thereby and perhaps only then can they hope to improve their performance. It will not be fair on my part if I do not make a special reference to the law and order situation in Sindh. To put it in nutshell there is Madam Chairman, no writ of law in Sindh today despite of what the Prime Minister has to say about it, despite what the honourable President has got to say about it, despite what the honourable Chief Minister of Sindh has got to say about it. It is a fact that there is no writ of law in Sindh, it is free for all and if I were to say that who is ruling Sindh, my answer would be the dacoits are ruling Sindh today and especially, the interior of Sindh, it is a very very serious matter, we seem to believe in adhocism, the situation is very bad, things are already out of control, how long are we allowing things to drift over there. There is evidence, Madam Chairman, that even the police personnel in Sindh are involved in criminal activities. They have the protection of the dacoits and dacoits have their protection, this is something which is mutual. The dacoits have the protection of the police and the police have the protection of the dacoits. It is a strange situation over there.

What we are witnessing today in Sindh, is political terrorism combined by criminal terrorism in Sindh and as I have said earlier that even the Press has not been spared. It has been reported that criminal activities have an upper hand in the rural areas and more often the two have merged together in such a way that it is very difficult now to distinguish whether a particular incident is political terrorism or whether it is a criminal activity. The distinction has become very very unclear. Time and again we hear that there a foreign hand has been seen

in Sindh. Where is that foreign hand? How many hands have been arrested? What actions have been taken against them, please let us know. How they come to know that a foreign hand is there and the foreign hands are there and the foreign feet are there, yet they are unable to do anything about this and it also appears to me now Madam Chairman; that the government has adopted an attitude of indifference to crimes, they don't seem to be pushed, a few people dead, a few maimed, it does not make any difference to them. We have had two very sad incidents i.e., in Lahore, in Shaikhupura, the Prime Minister did not say that the culprits must be arrested in 72 hours, it would be more than 144 days they have not been arrested and we hear no more about it but when the incident took place the government rushed to the houses of the victims, the opposition rushed to the houses of the victims, both the parties were keen in lifting up the dead bodies and taking them out in a procession what is happened to both of them today where is the Opposition and where is the Government. We want to street paddle every crime for political gains and yet we are not bothered, we don't want to find out why this happened and who are the people responsible for it. Similarly in Shaikhupura and Madam Chairman allow me to draw your attention to the daily 'Jang' of the day before yesterday, there is a news item which says.....

سانحہ بہاولپور کی انکوائری کر رہے ہیں تحقیقات نہیں، ذرا دوبارہ سنیئے۔ سانحہ بہاولپور کی انکوائری کر رہے ہیں تحقیقات نہیں، اعجاز الحق، ہمایوں اختر یا سرد سالک نے کوئی شواہد نہیں دیئے، اور آگے کہتے ہیں ڈاکٹر بشارت الہی کی جانب سے شواہد کا انتظار ہے جس کی وجہ سے رپورٹ وزیر اعظم کو پیش نہیں کی گئی۔ یہ ہیں ہمارے وزیر داخلہ چوہدری شجاعت حسین صاحب کے حوالے سے خبریں، اب موصوف آئے تو تھے لیکن اس وقت ہیں نہیں، اور اگر آجائیں تو خود میری بات سن لیں تو زیادہ بہتر ہو گا۔ پہلی بات تو یہ میں پوچھنا چاہ رہا ہوں کہ انکوائری اور تحقیقات میں کیا فرق ہوتا ہے؟ انکوائری کیا ہوتی ہے؟ اور تحقیقات کیا ہوتی ہے؟ اور دوسری بات میں یہ پوچھنا چاہ رہا ہوں، کہ آیا، میں، اعجاز الحق، ہمایوں اختر اور سرد سالک، سانحہ میں ملوث ہیں؟ کیا ہم نے یہ کام کیا ہے؟ وہ ہماری طرف سے شواہد کے منتظر ہیں، ماسوائے ایک رپورٹ کے۔ آپ کو یاد ہو گا محترمہ چیئرمین صاحبہ! جو اتر فورس کی ٹیم نے رپورٹ پبلک کی تھی اس کے بعد ہماری حکومت کی طرف سے بھی کوئی سٹیٹمنٹ نہیں آئی اس سانحہ کی توہم بات کر رہے ہیں اور لاء اینڈ آرڈر انکوائری اور سیکورٹی کی۔ کون سی انکوائری اور کون سی سیکورٹی اور کون

سالء اینڈ آرڈر؟ اور یہ انکوائری رپورٹ جو چوہدری صاحب کہہ رہے ہیں کہ تحقیقات نہیں انکوائری کر رہے ہیں اس بات کو بھی کافی مہینے ہو گئے ہیں یہ کر کیا رہے ہیں مجھے نہیں پتہ؟ البتہ ان کا ایک خط مجھے آیا تھا۔ اگر آپ اجازت دیں تو اس کے حوالے سے میں تھوڑی سی بات کر لوں اور ان کا یہ خط بھی مجھے 26 جنوری کو آیا تھا اس میں وزیر موصوف لکھتے ہیں۔

Reference our conversation on 2nd January, 1992 during which you had expressed dis-satisfaction over the working of the High-powered Committee یہ ہے High-powered Committee کی طرف سے

For inquiry into the circumstances relating to C-130 crash at Bahawalpur in August, 1988 you would recall that on my request you had agreed to send me your views/suggestions in writing so that the same could be considered by the High-powered Committee.

I shall be grateful to have your views at the earliest, the terms of reference of the High-powered Committee have already been discussed with you on telephone.

یہ خط چوہدری صاحب مجھے 26 جنوری کو لکھتے ہیں اس میں انہوں نے صرف یہ کہا ہے کہ آپ مجھے اپنے views دیں اور یہاں اخبار میں کہہ رہے ہیں کہ جی ان کی طرف سے شواہد کوئی نہیں آرہے کہاں شواہد ہیں ہمارے پاس، یہ حادثہ ہماری وجہ سے ہوا؟

Are we the people who were the saboteurs?

میں نے یہ خط ملتے ہی اس کے جواب میں چوہدری صاحب کو جواب دے دیا۔ میں نے کہا

Please refer to your letter so and so I would hasten to record that since I am not aware nor do I have any means of knowing the working of the Committee, the expression of dis-satisfaction by me mentioned in your letter does not arise. However, on my query from you as to whether the Committee was interrogating the persons responsible for the security of the late President and other VIPs for this visit, others concerned with this visit and those present at Bahawalpur on this day, the eye-witnesses to the crash and those involved in the subsequent rescue/clearance at the crash lights, you informed me that the terms of reference of this Committee headed by yourself does not empower, authorise the Committee to interrogate anyone.

چوہدری صاحب نے کہا کہ جی ہم کسی کو interrogate نہیں کر سکتے تو میں نے ان سے دریافت کیا کہ جی آپ کر کیا رہے ہیں انہوں نے کہا کہ جی جتنی inquiries ہوئی ہیں ہم وہ سارا مواد اکٹھا کر کے اس سے ایک اور رپورٹ بنا رہے ہیں۔

This is what this High-Powered Committee is doing.

اور پھر جب انہوں نے کہا suggestions دیں۔ خط میں لکھا ہوا تھا۔ میں نے پھر انہیں کہا۔
In view of the limitations and constraints expressed by you, I had suggested to you that a fullfledged judicial inquiry open to the public should be held so that the truth may come out and the culprits may be identified, exposed and dealt with according to the law.

These are extracts of my letter.

اب یہ دیکھیں کہ یہ حال ہے ہمارے ملک میں law and order کے and allied subjects. Nobody seems to know what he is doing and they do not know even how to go about it.

اگر ان کے اوپر کوئی pressures ہیں کہ بھی اس کے متعلق آپ بات نہ کریں تو صاف کہہ دیں Out of the political expediency and because of their survival they would not like to touch on this subject.

We do not want to ٹھیک ہے جب موقع آئے گا تو پھر یہ معاملہ اٹھایا جاسکتا ہے
embarrass them.

لیکن جب یہ از خود اس قسم کا بیان اخباروں میں دیتے ہیں۔ میں نے آج تک سانحہ بہاولپور کے متعلق پریس میں کوئی بیان نہیں دیا لیکن یہ چوہدری صاحب کا بیان ہے اس کے جواب میں میں

نے ضروری سمجھا۔ اب بھی میں پریس میں نہیں جاؤں گا۔
But on the floor of the House I must tell Chaudhry Sahib that this is not on, if the Government wants to do a job it should do it properly and not beat about the bush.

محترمہ چیئرمین صاحبہ! ہم بار بار سنتے رہتے ہیں کہ Raw کے ایجنٹ آگئے ہیں الذوالفقار کے ایجنٹ آگئے ہیں تو خدارا ہمیں بھی بتایا جائے یہ کہاں ہیں کون ہیں ان کے خلاف کیا ایکشن لیا جا رہا ہے۔ یہ بھی ایک political slogan سامن گیا ہے کہ جب حالات خراب ہوں آپ اخباروں میں دے دیں کہ جی Raw کی دوسو لڑکیاں آگئی ہیں وہاں پر میرا خیال ہے آپ نے بھی پڑھا ہو گا اس دفعہ لڑکیاں آئی ہیں لڑکے نہیں آئے، کہاں ہیں وہ؟

Where are they? And to sum up the law and order situation Madam Chairman by our conduct and actions we are trying to establish yet again that politicians are inapt at the art of governance.

نہ ہم law and order ٹھیک کر سکے ہیں نہ ہم improve کر سکے ہیں نہ ہم لوگوں کی توقعات پر پورا اتر سکے ہیں تو یہ کون سی democracy ہے

What is the purpose of this democracy? Democracy is not the means of getting to power. It is meant to serve the people of the country. This is precisely what the Government should concentrate on and their first and foremost duty

آپ چھوڑیں یہ صنعتی انقلاب جو لا رہے ہیں۔ باقی جو سارے دعوے آپ کر رہے ہیں

Your first and foremost duty is to protect the life and property of the citizens of this country in which I can categorically say that the Government has miserably failed. اب یہ حکومت والے شاید کہیں کہ جی آپ نے criticism تو اتنی کر دی کوئی تجویز پیش نہیں کی اب ان کو تجویز بھی پیش کر دیتا ہوں۔

The only way you can resolve the Sindh Situation today is by calling all the political forces in Sindh together.

ان سب کو آپ بلائیں، پیپلز پارٹی کے ہوں کسی اور پارٹی کے ہوں sit with them. discuss with them, find out what the problem is?

اخباروں میں ہم پڑھتے ہیں یہی بڑا issue بن گیا ہے کہ نواز شریف بینظیر سے مل رہے ہیں نہیں مل رہے، صبح ملیں گے شام ملیں گے

for God's sake we are in a democratic set up.

کیوں آپ کو Opposition سے ملنے سے شرم آتی ہے آپ سب
forces کو بلائیں ان کے پاس جائیں اگر وہ آپ کے پاس نہیں آتے
If you want to serve the people of this country, get all the forces
together, put your heads together, we are sitting on a time bomb and
the time is running out, enough is enough. یہ اسمبلی کی گنتیاں
آپ چھوڑیں کہ اتنے آدمی ہمارے ساتھ ہیں اتنے ہمارے خلاف ہیں قوم
کی خدمت کریں قوم کو کوئی تحفظ دیں۔ اپوزیشن کے ساتھ بیٹھیں۔ آپ کی ناک اور مونچھ
اس سے بگڑے گی نہیں۔ نہ ناک کٹے گی نہ مونچھ کٹے گی۔ مصیبت ہماری یہ ہے کہ ہر معاملہ
ناک اور مونچھ کا معاملہ بن جاتا ہے۔ پھر گھر پر بیٹھیں سیاست نہ کریں اگر ناک اور مونچھ کا
معاملہ بنتا ہے۔

I am aware of the fact that I have spoken for a long time but now I will
quickly go into one or two—other areas and the first one that I would
like to touch now is the economy of the country. Madam Chairman,
the government perceives unfortunately, there is no representative here
at least in the hall from the Ministry of Finance, I don't know whether
it is worth, while to say anything on it but it is my duty to comment on
the state of economy in the country.

میڈم چیئرمین! اس وقت گورنمنٹ کا سب سے مضبوط کارڈ ہماری اکنامک
پالیسی - سندھ کارڈ کا تو آپ نے سنا ہوا ہے۔

This is perceived to be their strongest card, and

اس کی interpretation وہ کہاں سے لے رہے ہیں کہ stock market بہت اونچی
چلی گئی ہے

this is perceived to be a perception of the continuance of the
government, I hope you are right, I wish you will,

میں بھی اسی کشتی میں آپ کے ساتھ ہی ہوں لیکن ذرا محتاط رہئے۔

and if you want to hear what one of the leading financial magazines of the world had to say about the stock market

ذرا سنئے

in less than a week, Madam Chairman that is in November 1991,

آج سے دو مہینے پہلے کی بات کر رہا ہوں میں۔

that is from November 17th to November 20th — four trading days

Walls Street, American Stock Market fell by four and a half per cent, London by three and a half per cent and Tokyo by four per cent and in less than a week, the value of shares traded on these three markets dropped by dollars two hundred and seventy billion. Two hundred and seventy billion in three days trading in these markets. And this should—serve this government as an indicator of how the economy can suddenly run out of control. The stock market,

شیرز کی برائیسز بہت اونچی گئی ہیں۔ میں مانتا ہوں اچھی بات ہے۔ لیکن

this is going a little too far, there is more of speculation and less of investment in these chairs and I hope the government knows the difference between the speculation and the investment. They have got to be careful otherwise, we may yet have — another scandal—like the co-op scandal which by no means is over,

میڈم چیئرمین! یہ نہ سمجھیں کہ آج کل اخباروں میں co-op scandal کی باتیں نہیں ہو رہی لوگوں کو بہت زخم آئے ہیں یہ جو masses کی ہم بات کرتے ہیں جلسے جلوسوں میں کہ عوام کا ہم یہ کر دیں گے عوام نے بہت سے پیسے کھوئے ہیں co-op scandal میں and they want their money back. Similarly, کھولیں۔

خدا را یہ stock exchange کو monitor کریں ہماری حکومت وہاں پر جو insider trading ہو رہی ہے جو speculation ہو رہی ہے جو بے ضابطگیاں ہو رہی ہیں ان کا نوٹس لے اس سلسلے میں کل بھی ہماری Standing Committee کی میٹنگ ہو رہی تھی۔ پروفیسر صاحب اس کے چیئرمین ہیں۔

and we were discussing this, all is not well with the stock market. All is not well, اندر بھی ہم یہی بات کرتے ہیں ہماری stock market دیکھئے۔ باہر جا کر بھی ہم یہی بات کرتے ہیں کہ ہماری stock market دیکھ لیجئے کہاں سے کہاں چلی گئی ہے۔ we must be aware of the pit falls and as I said. میں یہ ہیں۔

I am their well wisher.

میڈم چیئرمین! یہ cooperative scandal کہہ لیں co-op issue کہہ دیں co-op-scam کہہ دیں انہوں نے یہ tribunal بٹھادیا، بہت اچھا کیا، پہلے یہ کہا تھا ایک مینے کے اندر رپورٹ آجائے گی میرا خیال ہے اس tribunal کو بھی تین مہینے ہو گئے ہیں یہ کام ویسے بھی ایک مہینے میں نہیں ہونا تھا۔

I am not criticising that delay but it gives an idea of.

یہ ایک کام کی نوعیت جو ہے سوچ کر سمجھ کر اس کے لئے اس کا وقت متعین کرنا چاہیے۔

I have no direct access to the tribunal but from whatever I read in the newspapers

apparently the tribunal is doing a very good job, اور جو لوگوں سے سنتا ہوں،

لیکن good job کا مطلب یہ ہو گا جب لوگوں کو ان کے پیسے واپس ملیں گے۔ especially

the poor people of this country, جنہوں نے اپنی ساری عمر کی پونجی وہاں رکھوائی

ہے اور اسی سلسلے میں میں چند دن پہلے پڑھ رہا تھا۔

that the Capital Law Authority had brought this to the notice of the

State Bank in 1986ء میں سٹیٹ بینک کے نوٹس میں یہ بات لائی گئی۔

and apparently the State Bank brought it to the notice of the Ministry of Finance. میں یہ نہیں کہہ رہا کہ یہ scandal ان کے دور میں شروع ہوا اور ان کے دور

میں ختم ہوا لیکن اس میں ہمارا بھی حصہ ہے یہ بات مت بھولیں۔ let us not to try on keeping and passing the buck on to the others. The crisis situation arose when our government was in power and the government took nine, ten or eleven months to respond to the situation, because of the جب لوگ سڑکوں پر آگئے مجبوری کی حالت میں انہوں نے جو کچھ کیا political survival they could have taken notice of this much earlier. دوسری بات میڈم چیئرمین صاحبہ !

there is a definite credibility gap and loss of confidence in the financial institutions of this country as far as the people are concerned.

آپ اس کانوٹس لیں۔ پچھلے دنوں میں اخبار میں پڑھ رہا تھا کہ دس اور بنکوں کو اجازت دے دی گئی ہے، دس بنکوں میں پانچ بینک وہ ہیں جن کو اجازت ملنی نہیں چاہیے تھی۔

if they were to be assessed on merit,

merit کی ہم بات تو کرتے ہیں کون سا merit کس کا merit۔ ہم کہتے ہیں کہ سب چیز transparent ہونی چاہیے۔ سب کو نظر آنی چاہیے اب تو یہ transparency کا لفظ دوسرے معنوں میں استعمال ہونے لگا ہے۔ ان کے کئے ہوئے کام اتنے transparent ہیں ان میں ساری خامیاں فوراً نظر آ جاتی ہیں۔ they are so transparent.

میرا سوال یہ ہے کہ کیا ہماری financial buoyancy اتنی زیادہ ہے کہ ہم ہر ایک کو اجازت دیں کہ آپ بینک کھولیں۔ مضاربہ کھولیں۔ leasing companies کھولیں who is monitoring them, کل کو یہی دو چار چھ بینک بیٹھ گئے لوگوں کے پیسے پھر چلے جائیں گے اس کی ذمہ داری کون لے گا۔ has the government ensured these banks ?

کل کوئی غبن ہو گیا تو insurance سے لوگوں کو پیسے لے کر واپس کر دیں گے؟

I have already mentioned that it is generally reported the stocks markets are infested with malpractices and I hope that the government has taken notice of this and taken remedial measures.

Madam Chairman! In economic decision making the important thing is prudence must supercede your politics and I also concede that in economic policy there is always a time lag between the time that the policy is instituted and the results are achieved, I have no quarrel on that score also, the time lag is there.

The time-lag is there

لیکن میں یہ پوچھتا ہوں کہ :

Do we have to start running before we can stand up or before we have learned to crawl, we don't. Conceptually there is nothing wrong with the policies of the government, conceptually,

ان میں کوئی غلطی نہیں ہے لیکن the various things are being implemented,

we seem to make the mad rush towards privatization.

کہ advertise کر دو جی، فوراً۔۔۔ دے دو۔۔۔ دے دو۔۔۔

Are you getting what these industries are worth? Are you broadening the base of investment in Pakistan.

مجھے یاد ہے کہ اسی حال میں not very long ago, I was one of the speakers

and some of my friends from the Opposition also spoken on this

جس میں ہم نے کہا تھا خدارا، اگر آپ نے یہ بینک financial institution کو

privatize کرنے کا تہیہ کر لیا ہے تو پھر شاک مارکیٹ کے through آپ float

کریں۔۔۔ don't give it to your pet people, don't give it to the people

ab بھی آپ دیکھ لیں۔۔۔ whom you want to patronize,

and I can challenge it standing over here

کہ جو آپ اچھی اچھی انڈسٹری پرائیویٹائز کر رہے ہیں اگر آپ اوپر سے کر دیں گے تو نیچے سے وہی لوگ نکلیں گے جنہوں نے آپ سے اور بھی چیزیں لے لی ہیں and the government is aware of it. Things are not being done according to merit. and not because I had applied for something and I am not getting 'ہے' it. I did not apply for anything. I did not want any one of these nationalized industries.

ایک کو بینک بھی مل رہا ہے اور تین سینٹ پلانٹ بھی مل رہے ہیں، نام بدل لیتے ہیں، نام کسی اور کا، 'but same party آپ بھی دیکھیں کتنے ایسے cases ہیں۔

Why? let the base be broadened,

جس کے پاس سو روپے ہیں اگر وہ invest کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو اسے بھی انوسٹ کرنے دیں، جس کے پاس سولا کھ ہے اسے بھی invest کرنے دیں لیکن یہ کسی کی اجارہ داری ہے۔

Are we going into a monopoly situation in this country and this reminds me what Dr. mahbubul Haq once said, he was here recently and I hope I have got the notes of what he said.

ڈاکٹر صاحب نے یہاں یہ فرمایا تھا، ڈاکٹر محبوب الحق نے That the richer are getting

richer and the poorer are getting poorer and the fruits of economic growth will not go to the poor but to the rich and he also said that 25% of your population is either unemployed or they are under employed. 25% of the population which is in the employment age. اور

جس بات پر انہوں نے سب سے زیادہ زور دیا، اور جس بات پر میں بھی سب سے زیادہ

زور دوں گا وہ یہ ہے کہ that you can not succeed in your privatization policy without a political consensus, take your Opposition into confidence.

Privatization کانگرہ انہوں نے بھی لگایا تھا۔

It was the part of their manifesto in the last elections. They are not allergic to your privatization policy conceptually.

لیکن جو mechanics ہیں اس کو implement کرنے کے، جو logistics involved ہیں، جو باقی طریقہ کار ہے، اس پر ان کو بھی confidence میں لیجئے۔ آپ کوئی بات کرتے ہیں۔ جب ہم اس ہال میں بات کرتے ہیں nobody bothers اب سنا ہے کہ جی فلاں چیز جو ہے شاک مارکیٹ کے through آہستہ آہستہ float کریں گے۔ مجھے یاد ہے جب ہم یہاں پر ہال میں بات کر رہے تھے، تو سامنے بیٹھے ہوئے دو چار منسٹرز، ہماری طرف بڑے sarcastically دیکھ رہے تھے کہ یہ حکومتی پارٹی کے ہوتے ہوئے بھی حکومت پر نکتہ چینی کر رہے ہیں۔ جناب حکومت میں ہونے کا یہ مطلب نہیں ہے کہ ہماری زبانیں بند ہیں۔

we sit here primarily because we have got to protect the national interest and the interest of the people of Pakistan, our primary duty is this. Our primary duty is not to defend the government on anything whether it is right or wrong. 'no' ہماری basic problems یہ ہیں کہ I mean there are not, hidden problems. It is not that I am going to say something new, the government knows it, we all know it.

ہمارا جو اس وقت main problem ہے، - - -

میڈم ڈپٹی چیئرمین: ڈاکٹر صاحب، آپ کی تقریر کافی لمبی ہو گئی ہے۔
ڈاکٹر بشارت الہی: میڈم چیئرمین، آپ نے کوئی ٹائم لمٹ تو مقرر نہیں کیا ہوا ہے۔

but I will try to finish now.

میڈم ڈپٹی چیئرمین: لیکن پھر بھی Speakers بہت زیادہ ہیں۔

Dr. Bisharat Elahi: I will be brief now, may be in another fifteen minutes I will try to wind up. Madam Chairman, I am still on economy. There are basic structural weaknesses in our economy which we have not been able to overcome.

اس کی طرف توجہ دیں۔ inflation کا کیا حال ہے، officially ابھی ہمیں کہتے ہیں کہ جی دس percent ہے، میں نے کسی اخبار میں statement پڑھی، جس میں ہمارے وزیر خزانہ نے بڑے فخر سے کہا ہے کہ !

We have brought the inflation to 6%, I am not prepared to accept it. We are plagued with a rising inflation in this country and by all conservative estimates the rate of inflation in Pakistan today is anything between fifteen to twenty percent. About unemployment I have already talked about.

The contribution of the manufacturing sector to national economic growth has not risen that mean that there is unutilized industrial capacity and what is required now is better utilization of the already installed capacity.

بجلی تو ہمارے پاس ہے نہیں، جو already industry لگی ہوئی ہے، وہ بھی لولٹی چل رہی ہے، ہمارے industrial areas میں اب بھی gas shutdowns سال میں تین مہینے ہوتے ہیں، فیکٹریاں تین مہینے کے لئے بند ہو جاتی ہیں اور کل میں CNN پر ایک اشتہار دیکھ رہا تھا، بہت اچھا ہے۔

they must advertise, they must try and attract investors from abroad but we must timely factual. اس میں یہ لکھا ہوا تھا Do you know the country which has got a very strong industrial base and which has the basic infrastructure for industry.

اور اس کے جواب میں لکھا تھا ”پاکستان“ میں ان سے یہ گزارش کروں گا کہ For God-Sake یہ base بنالیں یہ infrastructure بنالیں، پھر لوگوں کو کہیں کہ ہاں جی، ہمارے پاس ہے

We don't have — we have neither the industrial infrastructure nor we have skilled manpower. We have a lot of unskilled man power I concede. We don't have proper communications.

ٹھیک ہے وہ آہستہ آہستہ بنے گی لیکن بجلی اور گیس کے بغیر کوئی انڈسٹری نہیں چل سکتی ماسوائے wind ملز کے، اگر وہ لگانے کے لئے لوگوں کو بلانا ہے تو بڑے شوق سے بلوایئے۔

let them come here and put up wind mills.

Savings کی پوزیشن ہمارے ملک میں ہمیشہ سے بہت خراب رہی ہے۔

and it is very very unfortunate that we have not been able to inculcate this habit.

اور اب تو ویسے saving ہو بھی نہیں سکتی۔

with all the inflation and all the expenses going up since the budget

محترمہ آپ دیکھیں کہ انہوں نے جب سے بجٹ announce کیا ہے، کس چیز کی قیمت انہوں نے نہیں بڑھائی اور بجٹ کے وقت کہہ رہے تھے کہ جی اب اگلے بجٹ تک کسی چیز کی قیمت نہیں بڑھے گی۔ جناب آپ کسی چیز کا نام لے لیں۔

I will be wasting my time if I do start counting. I will lose all track of the items of which the prices have been raised by the government since the last budget.

اب تو ان کا حال یہ ہو گیا ہے کہ یہ officially announce کرنے کی بھی زحمت نہیں کرتے۔ آپ اخبارات میں پڑھ لیں کہ جی، 2.5 فیصد بجلی کے نرخ اس مہینے بڑھیں گے اور 2.5 فیصد اگلے مہینے میں بڑھیں گے and three point something اس سے اگلے مہینے میں بڑھیں گے۔

this is a way, we are running. I know they need money but they are not allowed to put their hands in the people's pockets, the way they are trying to do.

یہ تو دن دباڑے ڈاکے والی بات ہے، ایک طرف ڈاکو ہے اور دوسری طرف حکومت ہے۔

where does the common man go from here essential utilities

کی چیزیں، بجلی، گیس، آٹا، دال، تیل، پانی۔ باقی چیزوں کو آپ چھوڑ دیں۔ یہ کہاں سے کہاں چلی گئی ہیں۔ اب ہمیں نوید ملی ہے جی کہ رمضان کے مہینے میں دس فیصد prices کم ہو جائیں گی۔ That also remains to be seen باقی ہمیں کہا جا رہا ہے کہ اس وقت loans وغیرہ کی سہولیات بہت ہیں۔ انڈسٹری لگائیں یہ کریں محترمہ! یہ

بات درست نہیں ہے جس کو اوپر سے patronage ملتی ہے اسے loan ملتا ہے۔ حالت وہی ہے جو پہلی حکومت میں تھی۔

Things are controlled from Islamabad and if this House wants, I can present to them a very funny sort of letters

وہ جو letters of intent دیتے ہیں۔ اگر آپ انہیں زیادہ کہیں گے تو وہ آپ کو ایک لیٹر دے دیتا ہے کہ جی! ہم آپ کو صرف bridging loan دیں گے باقی آپ خود جا کر پتہ کریں۔ یہاں ایسے instances موجود ہیں جو اوپر والوں سے کھلوا کر کئے گئے ہیں اور اگر انہوں نے واقعی کہہ دیا ہے آج company form ہوئی ہے کل وہ رجسٹر ہو گئی ہے اگلے دن اس کا loan approve ہو گیا ہے feasibility بھی انہوں نے خود بنا دی ہے جنہوں نے loan دینا تھا اور اس سے اگلے دن اسکی L.C. کھل گئی ہے۔ اور ایسے بھی لوگ ہیں، جو اس ملک میں مہینوں مارے مارے پھر رہے ہیں لیکن ان کی کوئی شنوائی نہیں ہو رہی۔ اور آخر کار تنگ آکر financial institution والے پچارے چپکے سے کہہ دیتے ہیں کہ یار! اوپر سے کھلواؤ اور اس طرح بات نہیں بنے گی۔

This is a state of affairs. This is the extent, extreme to which political patronage has gone in this country. Because of short of time I will now go on to the last item on my Agenda and i.e., Foreign Policy of the Government.

ہماری foreign policy کا محور اس وقت پھر امریکہ ہو گیا ہے۔ بات ہی امریکہ سے شروع کرتے ہیں امریکہ کی طرف ہمارا قبلہ ہے جب وہ کہتے ہیں کہ جی آپ کھڑے ہو جائیں ہم کھڑے ہو جاتے ہیں۔ جب وہ کہتے ہیں کہ بیٹھ جائیں تو بیٹھ جاتے ہیں۔ جب بیٹھنے کی بھی اجازت ہو تو کہتے ہیں نہیں سر! ہم کھڑے ہیں۔ ہم آپ کے سامنے بیٹھ نہیں سکتے۔

This is our Foreign Policy today, and they are rumbling that we are wanting to roll back the nuclear programme. The Nuclear Programme 'Madam Chairman! is not a piece of carpet that you can roll on and roll back, The Nuclear Programme, is your existence depends on in the continuation of your nuclear programme. Without this, you will sooner or later disappear like, the USSR has disappeared from the map of this world. survival آپ کی whether America likes it or

not, we need to continue with our nuclear programme. We need energy.

کہاں سے ہم energy لیں گے کالا باغ ڈیم کو بھی ہم نے politicise کر دیا کہ نہیں بنے گا۔ Nuclear energy وہ آپ کو نہیں مل سکتی، ہندوؤں، اسرائیلیوں، کرہائیں، برازیل، ساؤتھ افریقہ کو مل سکتی ہے France Britain کے پاس ہے، ساری دنیا کے پاس ہے۔ لیکن ہمارا قصور کیا ہے؟ کہ ہم مسلمان ہیں۔ یہی صرف ہمارا قصور ہے کہ ہم مسلمان ہیں۔ اور اب USSR کے بعد as far as America is concerned باری ہماری ہے۔ USSR تو ٹوٹ گیا۔ صدام، عراق کو انہوں نے، ہم نے سب نے مل کر اسکو ٹھکانے لگا دیا اب ہم اپنے آپ کو امریکہ کے سامنے پیش کریں کہ آئیے تھپڑ ماریں۔ یہ ہے ہماری حالت۔ میڈم چیئرمین! میں ان سے پوچھتا ہوں کہ امریکہ آپ کو دے کیا سکتا ہے؟ Anybody who is alive to the world events knows امریکہ کا اس وقت بہت برا حال ہے ان کے پاس کچھ دینے کیلئے ہے ہی نہیں، کیا امیدیں لگائی ہوئی ہیں انہوں نے؟

They do not have anything to offer you except blackmailing.

ایک طرف تو کہتے ہیں کہ جی We are not having any political dialogue. وہ aid resumption کی کوئی بات نہیں ہو رہی وہ Arm supply کی بھی کوئی بات نہیں ہو رہی spare parts کی بھی کوئی بات نہیں ہو رہی There is statemate. اور دوسری طرف سے آپ روز دیکھیں، کبھی فلاں جنرل آرہا ہے، کبھی ہاتھلو صاحب آرہے ہیں، کبھی فلاں آرہے ہیں۔ امریکن سفیر جس کو انہوں نے وائٹس رائے بنایا ہوا ہے وہ کبھی کسی کو ملنے جا رہا ہے؟ What is happening? Why all this activity? ہمارے لوگ وہاں بھاگے جا رہے ہیں؟ why ایک طرف تو کہتے ہیں کہ جی ہمارا ان کے ساتھ کوئی لمبا چوڑا تعلق نہیں رہا کوئی واسطہ نہیں رہا، لیکن یہ آنا جانا Pressler and to top it all, why صاحب آجاتے ہیں وہ آپ کے منہ پر تھپڑ لگاتے ہیں آپ وہاں اپنی ambassador صاحبہ کو بھیجتے ہیں میرے خیال سے دو مہینے یا تین مہینے ہو گئے ہیں۔

The American President has not given any time to receive credentials from ours.

لیکن ہم ہیں کہ کھڑے ہیں ان کے منتظر ہیں۔ ان کی راہوں میں کھڑے ہیں کہ جی کب بلاوا آ جائے۔ آپ اپنے مقامی حالات دیکھئے۔

your future depends on this part of the world.

امریکہ سے آپ کو کچھ نہیں ملنا اور نہ ان میں دینے کی سکت ہے۔ وہ تو بیچارے خود جاپانیوں سے بھیک مانگ رہے ہیں۔ آپ کو کیا دیں گے۔ آپ ایران عراق جنگ دیکھ لیجئے۔

Was America able to sustain itself alone in that war? It had to beg for financial help.

ان کو تو فائدہ رہا خطے پر بھی قبضہ ہو گیا business point of view بھی ٹھیک رہا، جو ان کا پرانا مال تھا پرانا اور نیا جو بھی تھا وہ عربوں کو بیچ دیا۔ اور ان سے پیسے وصول کر لئے۔

America, if you unless stand up like a sovereign independent nation and look the other nations, we may be small but we have proved time and again

چھوٹے ضرور ہیں شاید نہتے بھی ہوں گے لیکن مسلمان ہیں۔ Supreme Power ہمارے لئے امریکہ نہیں ہے Supreme Power اوپر ہے۔ ہماری حکومت ہی آج کل Supreme Power امریکہ کی بن گئی۔

I beg to dis-associate myself completely on the foreign policy of this government.

افغانستان کو دیکھ لیجئے۔ وہ کہتے ہیں جی کہ !

The bail is in the court of the United States and then they say that there is no change in the policy.

آپ نے گیند بھی اپنے ہاتھ سے چھوڑ دیا اور کہتے ہیں کہ policy ہمارے ہاتھ میں ہے تو کہاں کی policy ہمارے ہاتھ میں ہے؟ یہی مجاہدین جو لڑتے رہے ہیں۔

They have been fighting your wars.

Central Asian Republic کی بات کرتے ہیں۔

without Afghanistan, and without friendly government in Afghanistan, how are you get to the Central Asian Republics ?

اور اب بات سننے کی آرہی ہے جی کہ وہ United Nation، جب U.N. کی بات کرتے ہیں، میں انہیں یہ کہوں گا کہ ہمیشہ ذہن میں رکھئے

It is not United Nations, it is United States.

آج تو آپ C.N.N. سنیں ناں، وہاں پر بھی joke پڑا ہے وہ U.N. کہہ کر ساتھ ہی ہنس کر کہہ دیتے ہیں I mean U.S. وہی مجاہدین جو اپنی لڑائی لڑتے رہے ہیں۔ میرے چند ایک دوستوں نے یہاں پر ان کے لئے ذرا سخت سے الفاظ استعمال کئے ہیں۔ میں ان سے بھی یہ گزارش کروں گا کہ وہ ہمارے پڑوسی ہیں۔ ہمارے مسلمان بھائی ہیں۔ ان کی وجہ سے ہمارے کچھ لوگوں کو، ہمارے دوستوں کو مصیبتوں کا بھی سامنا کرنا پڑا۔ لیکن اب وقت آ گیا ہے کہ انشاء اللہ اگر ان کی مرضی کے مطابق جیسے وہ کہتے ہیں کہ وہاں اسلامی حکومت ہونی چاہئے، وہاں ہو گئی، تو وہ اپنے گھروں کو واپس چلے جائیں گے۔ تجھے احساس ہے کہ کلاشن کوف کلچر یہاں پر آیا ہے اور ہیروئن کلچر یہاں پر آیا ہے۔ یہ سارا کچھ دے کر

After all these sacrifices that we have made do, we want to lose the opportunity of having your friendly government, it was one of our main bodies, no. United Nations, yes, they came in and played peace keeping role but they cannot do anything which is against the very thinking of the Afghan Mujahideen.

ہم چاہتے کیا ہیں؟ ہم یہی چاہتے ہیں کہ افغان اپنے گھروں کو واپس چلے جائیں۔ ہم یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ ہمارا border محفوظ ہو جائے۔ ہم یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ

there should be peace and tranquillity in Afghanistan.

ہم یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ اس سے آگے بڑھ کر جو آزاد republics ہیں مسلمانوں کی، 'یادوسری' Central Asian Republics ہیں۔ وہاں ہمارا رابطہ ہو۔ یہ جو کوشش ہو رہی ہے کہ ظاہر شاہ یا نجیب اللہ کو وہاں مسلط کر دیا جائے۔ پھر آپ کے لئے وہ راستہ بند ہو جائے گا۔

and you will have another problem like you have a problem on your borders with India!

اسے سوچتے سمجھتے۔ امریکہ کی خوشنودی کے لئے کوئی ایسا کام نہ کیجئے کہ کل آپ پھر یہ سوچنے بیٹھیں کہ ‘America is not your friend, it has never been your friend. آپ کہیں گے کہ یہ تو آپ کہہ رہے ہیں۔ جنرل ضیاء کے ساتھ تو اس کے بڑے تعلقات تھے، بالکل تھے۔

Because it was a fight against Russian, Gen. Zia, he had to die because he maintained his stance on the Afghanistan issue, he never scumbled to it. Whatever he stand was, was in the national interest?

اب ہم استعمال ہو رہے ہیں۔ اس لالچ میں کہ دو چار پانچ سو Million dollar ہمیں وہاں سے aid میں مل جائیں گے۔ کمال ہے۔ وہ خود بھیک مانگ رہے ہیں۔ بیڑہ غرق ہو گیا ہے ان کا۔ جو حال Russia کا ہو رہا ہے ہو سکتا ہے کہ کچھ دیر بعد ان کا بھی وہی حال ہو جائے۔ اور ہم ہیں کہ ہر وقت I.M.F. والے آجاتے ہیں۔ دوسرے تیسرے آجاتے ہیں۔ we can't forget our own priorities.

اور آخر میں،

Madam Chairman, there is an important issue.

جس کی طرف ہم توجہ نہیں دے رہے۔

and that is our population explosion problem. It is a very very serious problem.

میں بار بار اس ایوان میں یہ نکتہ اٹھاتا رہا ہوں لیکن۔

I have had a very poor response from the government as well as from my other colleagues in this House but this is our real problem today. We have got to contain the population of this country. We are running out of time, we have already run out of time.

میں زیادہ اعداد و شمار تو نہیں دوں گا لیکن،

in view of your present demographic report of the population it is estimated that with this rate of population growth in the next twenty to twenty five years we are going to double ourselves.

اس وقت کے حالات دیکھ لیجئے اور اندازہ کیجئے کہ جب آبادی اس سے بھی دو گنی ہو جائے گی تو پھر کیا حال ہو گا ہمارا۔ ہمارے پاس تو لوگوں کو کھلانے کے لئے خوراک بھی نہیں ہوگی باقی چیزیں تو آپ چھوڑیے۔

I think you very much, Madam Chairman.

Madam Deputy Chairman: Thank you. Hasan A. Shaikh Sahib.

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh: Madam Chairman! before I deal with the President's Address I must compliment the Leader of the Opposition who started speaking on the President's Address for the sagacity, politeness and every attribute which a Muslim Leaguer could claim in his speech when he started speaking on the Presidential Address. He was exactly contrary to what we had witnessed in the Joint Session. I remember he was close to me, at one time we were together, we used to sit together now of course, he has gone away from us I can't say a stray, he has gone away from us but if that is the attitude I am quite certain, they will realise that the country needs a sober thinking and not thumping of the desk. After all President is, whether you like it or not, I like it or not, he is an emblem of the federation. We cannot disrespect him and say that we respect the federation. As long as he is the emblem we have to respect him and that is what he did in his speech, of course, he never mentioned in the speech but all along his speech was a contrary and contradiction to other people of his party. Madam, I am speaking just after Dr. Bisharat Elahi and I was amused to see him in laws and out laws talking about Pakistan. Pakistan was created by Quaid-i-Azam as a democratic Muslim State. Was it democratic when the Commander in Chief broke their pledges, ousted them and took over the reins of the government? Not one, four of them one after the other and out laws are now operating in Sindh. We are today victims of in laws and out laws and I suppose we must understand where we are going. We are being taken by our nose to an area which is not representative of democracy. I do not know really who is responsible for C-130 crash. I wish we had been told what it is, it is a merely keeping a mere jugglery of words, I was not associated with any commission of inquiry but if you want to know what is inquiry and what is interrogation, I mean the police officer does the interrogation and the judiciary does the inquiry, that is the different, as far as, a lawyer like me is concerned. We don't really know it C-130 crash had done

anything, who was responsible for C-130 crash, I don't know but those who perished in C-130 crash they had demolished democratic traditions in this country by dismissing a popular Prime Minister, for nothing at all. And God must have done in his own way to give proper punishment to those who had done some thing wrong. This country was not meant for those who were ruling it, of course people have their own ways and God has His own ways of taking people to task. I think, Sir, the real reason for Pakistan's present position is that we are still not really democratic in that sense of the term. The Finance Minister came here when Dr. Bisharat Elahi had almost finished all that he wanted to say on the economy of Pakistan and therefore, I tapped the desk but Prime Minister never came. Foreign Minister came for a while and went away. And as you know Presidential Address is an epitome of policy of the government through the mouth of the President. Is this way to handle it, is this the way to look after the interest of the nation? Whatever the parliamentarians say, they say for the benefit of the country, for the benefit of the people of this country. I don't really know sometimes the Leader of the House who sits in a row behind me, he comes running do, we have to support this and we do not have to accept that. Who are you? Call a meeting of the party they have to decide there, let your leader come and tell us that this is what I want you to do and we might accept it and we might say nothing else but that is not the way, the Leader of the House is to put in a very awkward position. He has to run from one place to the other, another day he, came to me, in one matter and said, you must say this thing. I tell you Madam, the mover of that motion came to me, I told him, I would not support it but that day I kept mum because that is not the way to treat the Parliamentarians. Call a Party meeting and the Prime Minister who was dismissed by the travellers in C-130. He is to call the meeting of the Party before the House and he himself used to come but there, because he had democratic ideas, democratic notions, democratic principles to be adhered to, do, we do that now? True it is, in the present day economy if you start economic experiments, you have to give them their way to go for sometime before you realize or before the people who have started them realize that it is not in the interest, we can not stop him. He spoke against privatization, I give reasons always against privalization because I believe it is not the solution of the problems of Pakistan but today I can not say that because we have almost gone to such an extent that to return from that will be colossal. It will be worse to give anything as casual redress I mean all the benefits you have not got but probably. We will be faced to all the difficulties otherwise in

this privatization. The problem of Pakistan is that democracy is not engrained in the blood of Pakistani Leadership. Of course, we were told that you did not do this, you did not do that 'yes' why are you telling us now? This you have told us a few years before when you could yourself persuade and do the home work in the home, not here in the House but that was because we are in stay position that if we do not do what the Leaders want us to do we will be faced with more difficulties. I don't know why inspite of my repeated requests I should say prayers, I am told, prayers are not to be addressed to human beings, inspite of such request of mine, the Prime Minister does not see it fit to grace the House any day, he comes once in a way, at least I have now forgotten when he came last, may be some years back, may be some months back, may be some sessions back if the Prime Minister treats this House in that fashion. All members of this House ready to treat him in that fashion, when he calls us, we will say, we don't go to him, what is he? He is our Leader because we have made him our leader and if he does not care for us why should we not pay him in the same coin, reciprocity is the way by which we have to pay back the same thing.

Madam, Mr. Bisharat Elahi also talked of foreign policy and talked of Mujahideen being allowed to continue the war. Mujahideen want democracy in Afghanistan, can they have democracy in Afghanistan by lacs and lacs people of Pathans sitting in Pakistan and not going to their own country. Let them go back. Let them create conditions for their going back, you can not do that by making them sit here in Pakistan. I don't know what the King Zahir Shah did, I don't know what Najeed did but I don't support those who talked of Pathans be buried in Pakistan, they went outside Pakistan to be buried that was their will. I don't consider them as fighters for Pakistan. I don't consider them as responsible for creation of Pakistan. If they had their way, they would have destroyed Pakistan they would not have allowed. They would have allowed Jawahar Lal Nehru to come over to Karachi, so I am very happy they have not succeeded.

I am really sorry that at the moment, they are in a position much more stronger mightier than I am but let us understand that very clearly. If Pakistan is going to stay, it is going to stay on the principles laid down by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in his first speech in Pakistan Constituent Assembly, if you deviate from it you will come accross many difficulties. If you think that these few republics that have come into being after the collapse of USSR, they will be of no use

to you, how do you get existed without making some sorts of compromise or settlement in respect of Afghan problem? You can not even reach them. Therefore, our foreign policy should be such, I though that a very Senior Minister was here, probably, he has been called.

Madam! the foreign policy has its own connotations, you can not make a statement on foreign policy without thinking a lot about it. The other day, it was Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar who said some foreign journalists came to Karachi and found all the Ministers sleeping and Quaid-e-Azam's light was burning and he was working in the government house, it is with that hard work that we used to do — the Muslim Leaguers had done and got Pakistan. Can you change the policy at random? All along you have been saying even now you have been saying that the United Nations' Resolution will have to be implemented. Is there any Resolution of United Nations for more than two options. There are only two options, under United Nations' Resolution you have created a third option without even understanding it, without knowing its repercussions and now you are suffering for it, this is not the way to run the government, when you are the leader of the House, leader of the nation; you have a responsibility. You are not as irresponsible as Hasan Shaikh is, he can say anything, he likes, but you have to say it and you have got a compliment from those who don't want the option to be exercised in favour of Pakistan that is what has happened, I don't know how you are going to meet that difficulty but I can not go farther than that. I am not in a position to see the files, probably you may have your own difficulties but I must tell you frankly if you are going to decide the Kashmir issue, only two options are available to you or to the people of Kashmir in respect of Kashmir issue. There are the resolutions of the United Nations, you can not go beyond them even if you consult your own people. You should have called a meeting of the Party and consult your own people, and said, "this is the third option I want to suggest". Under what authority, you want to sell Pakistan?

میرا کوئی اس سے اتفاق نہیں ہے۔ اتفاق والے اپنا اتفاق کریں یہاں اتفاق نہ لائیں یہ اتفاق انڈسٹری نہیں ہے۔ یہاں اتفاق نہ لائیں۔ یہاں صرف وہ چیزیں لائیں، جو ملک کے لئے صحیح ہو سکتی ہیں اور ملک کے لئے صحیح نہیں ہیں۔ بغیر سوچے سمجھے نئی باتیں سامنے لیکر نہ آئیں کیونکہ ملک اس سے مصیبت میں آ سکتا ہے۔

I have also a feeling that the President in his Address has given a sermon I do know that he has got a lot of experience in this country. He was probably the highest officer and therefore, he has his own views. But for him to come and tell us, give us advice what we should do and what we should not do, the Presidential address is not something which gives him latitude to do that. That Address should be as to what is the government policy? And any deviation from that is not a government policy. I have seen his Address, I must say that the language is very good. He says, Sir, at page 7 of the English Translation of his speech—

“Yet another aspect of inviting people’s concern is the often noticed lack of interest in the business of the House on the part of elected representatives, including Ministers, lack of quorum, insufficient participation in debates and unnecessary haste, at times, in legislative work of an important nature create an impression which does not add to the parliament’s prestige. The nation certainly expects of its representatives a more serious and responsible behaviour.”

This is what, he has said, I know he was not authorised to say that. Because this could not be what the Cabinet had written for him. Cabinet could not be expected to have a solace tape spoken against itself, against its Ministers, but this is correct.

I must say frankly even when I say he was the head of bureaucracy when he became the President of Pakistan. That is correct and this is also correct. But he should be within the limits available to him as the President of Pakistan had not go beyond that. Sir, the law and order situation in Sindh is a very complicated problem at present. The Chief Minister of Sindh is on a sick bed. May God give him time to serve his province and this country! All, I can say is this, that this is not the time to hurt his feelings or to speak anything against the policy which has been supported so far by the Federal Government. Therefore, whatever his policy right or wrong, the Federal Government cannot escape the blame for its mistakes, if any. Sir, all human-beings make mistakes and the Chief Minister of Sindh also makes many mistakes. I don’t know whether he was right or wrong but I must say that he tried to whatever best he could. Of course, the Opposition here will say, he victimized the Peoples Party. He did not send references against the members of his party but I think they have also to accept the position that they would have done the same thing if they were in that position. You question my wisdom but I tell you, I have almost double of your experience in

politics and if you accept that someday there may be a turn ends with your own view.

I don't think that he was always right but it must be said that probably the manner in which the Peoples Party works in Sindh, the manner in which the Peoples Party is still working in processions, in APC parades, they must realize that, that is not the forum, Mr. Shah Sahib was not elected to that forum he was elected to this forum. He has got his utility to say whatever he likes, criticises Hasan A. Sheikh, criticises everybody, but not go in that procession as his leader seems to be doing. Now this is something which will create problems for Pakistan, whether we like it or not. If the industrialization means inviting that outsiders to come and invest in Pakistan, you cannot do so unless you give them an idea that their money is safe after investing in Pakistan and the only way you can do that. It is to create conditions of not street politics but of house politics which need to be done. Street politics will take them away, house politics might bring them in.

My next door neighbour yesterday, spoke to me that the present government was going after Americans, if my memory goes alright, before Paksitan came into being his leader who is now buried in Mansehra was against Pakistan. He is to sit at the feet of Gandhiji and when Pakistan came into being, he suddenly came here, this is not the way by which they should serve Pakistan. They should serve Pakistan by following those who had created Pakistan. This *kalashnikov* culture was brought by them into Pakistan. True they were doing it at that time with the dictator of the day on their side. But this is something which they have to find through the Pakistan Government. They must support Pakistan, if they don't, I oppose some of the policies of the present Federal Government but I still think that there is no *malafide* in the policy they are pursuing, it is *bonafide* that is their view.

Madam! I have also been able to notice the Foreign Minister in the House and he is very amiable, very keen to learn and I am told, he has made a lot of progress, I have seen him almost in every function, delegation and anywhere, all I tell him is that please try to control those who have control over you. If you do not, the third option will be at your cost. We have never allowed the third option in the United Nations. It will be at the cost of the present Foreign Minsiter, I know he is a new man, he has to learn, he has to find his feet there. If the people like the Finance Minister cannot assert themselves, how can a new

Foreign Minister assert him, probably not but I wish both of them well, I wish them something which they could do for Pakistan but you believe me this Pakistan is a making of Muslim League and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

The Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah has given you his manifesto of Pakistan in the first speech, he made in the Constituent Assembly. He did not ask you to go for this, I don't want to go further, you read his speech and you will come across that. Islamic principles do not mean every bit said by the *Ulemas* in the pulpits of Friday. They have their own rules, they have their own problems Madam, my neighbour, the other day said why did not this government go for appeal. No the government did not go for appeal, I know it because I am a lawyer, this government avoided to go for appeal but appeals had to be filed and why should you stop people getting redress from the judiciary. I know opposition could do that because they tried and tried and tried and not succeeded in saving their leader but you should allow everybody to go for the highest forum and get justice.

I think Sir, Pakistan will be in difficult position we have got crores and crores of rupees to pay as foreign debts and they will not give up interest. I don't think interest is equal *riba*. As far as, I think it is not *riba*. *Riba* has a different concept altogether. This interest that is now being charged by the banks is thirteen per cent or twelve per cent they are almost spending 12-1/2 or 11-1/2 per cent on saving your money on the safe deposits on ensuring that your money is not taken away by the decoits, if you can come across this position then the dacoit leader goes and holds a press conference and challenges the government then you have to do a lot to save that money.

So, therefore, I have different view on this subject and I think to the best of my knowledge and belief Quaid-e-Azam supported the establishment of Muslim Bank and he supported Habib Bank, he asked Habib Bank also to come to Pakistan. The Foreign Ministry which also took part in fifty years Habib Bank's existence did not have one word to say about the man who established that Habib Bank that was Muhammad Ali Habib, he was appointed by the Government of India in a Committee to control the prices and the first thing he did was to enhance the prices and issue the notification, he resigned immediately, he said to control the prices at lower level. I am not here to go higher and then control the prices. Habib family has done lot for

Pakistan, not that I think — they have done everything for Pakistan but when you say that they have done a lot in fifty years experience of Habib Bank I think you should have taken the name of the man who for the first time was prepared to do anything for Pakistan, he was prepared to give anything for Pakistan. If my friend, the Finance Minister knows about it the five people who had given cheques without putting any sum on it, had also a sixth man that was Habib Bank's Muhammad Ali Habib but we have forgotten.

Also we seem to be forgetting that whatever we do here we will have repercussion on Indian Musalmans.

You may claim that Pakistan was brought into being by the efforts the Musalmans of Pakistan I will have to accept it because I have no choice but I tell you when Pakistan, was established it was because of the sacrifices of lacs and lacs of people of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and the Musalmans were all left behind, you have to think of them, you can't do anything more than this at least not do anything which will harm them, which will do something, you would not like to do to the man who is your benefactor. This is Pakistan because the Quaid-e-Azam, Indian *Musalmans* and the *Musalmans* of Pakistan supported the cause of Pakistan. Do you know what was happening in Punjab in those days when you came here — Unionist were in power in Punjab and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was the Chief Minister of Sindh and most people know when anybody went to him, he said, "You know my telephone number, my telephone number is 50/50 (fifty fifty), that was his telephone number. But here you have forrgotten eveybody.

At least, don't forget Quaid-e-Azam, he is the man who got for you Pakistn and you could not have got Pakistan. If you lookafter his principles, Pakistan will make a big progress, if you create problems you will be in difficulties and don't go for those who wanted Pakistan not to be established, who were perhaps clandestinely working to see that it breaks at where you are now, avoid them. They are the people who had opposed Pakistan, they are the people who called Quaid-e-Azam, *Kafir-e-Azam*. If you want Pakistan, to exist love with Pakistan and don't go to those who were interested at that time in creating their own image.

And Madam, last thing I want to say is we have been hearing a lot about some people saying that Afghan Policy must be in accordance

with the wishes of the man whom, they say, was responsible for establishment of Pakistan I say, no, he was not responsible for the establishment of Pakistan, if he had his way he would have got himself buried in India that he did not do. So, he got himself buried outside Pakistan in a land which he thought was owned and we must ensure that we follow Quaid-e-Azam, we respect his wishes and the absolutism which is being brought about by people now quietly pushing you into that position must be discarded, must be discouraged and to the best of my ability I must emphasize that the leadership here must take the House into confidence, must hold meetings before the House comes into session, must explain their policies otherwise we will be forced to give out our full mind, I have not given my full mind, I do not want to do that now but some day I may have to. I thank you.

میڈم ڈپٹی چیئرمین: شکریہ جی! جناب عبدالرحیم مندوخیل صاحب۔

جناب عبدالرحیم خان مندوخیل: جناب چیئرمین! میں آپ کا مشکور ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے صدر کے اس خطاب پر اظہار خیال کا موقع دیا، جو انہوں نے 19 دسمبر کو پارلیمنٹ کے مشترکہ اجلاس میں پیش کیا۔ اور وہ ایڈریس جیسا کہ تمام مقررین نے کہا، اصل میں گورنمنٹ پالیسی ہے گورنمنٹ کی ایک سال کی کارکردگی اور مستقبل کے لئے ایک نشاندہی، اس سے متعلق ہوتا ہے۔

جناب والا! اس وقت ٹائم کم ہے اور میری تقریر مختلف موضوعات کے حوالے سے ہے۔ بہر صورت جناب صدر نے اپنے خطاب میں تقریباً دس موضوعات پر تقریر کی، اہم بات کی، اور اس کے تحت ضمنی مختلف تفصیلات ہیں۔ سب سے پہلی بات جناب صدر کی 19 دسمبر کی تقریر کے دوران جو کچھ پارلیمنٹ میں پیش آیا، اس کے بارے میں صرف مختصر عرض کرنا چاہوں گا کہ وہ یہ کہ مجموعی طور پر ہماری پارلیمنٹ، ہمارے ادارے، ہماری روایات پارلیمانی یورپ اور پھر بالخصوص انگلینڈ سے لئے گئے ہیں اور یہ پارلیمنٹ دو Houses پر مشتمل ہے اس پارلیمنٹ میں کچھ تبدیلی انگلینڈ کی پارلیمنٹ سے یہ ہے کہ وہاں House of Lords ہے یہاں Senate ہے۔ لیکن سینٹ یہاں وفاق کی وحدتوں کی نمائندگی کر رہی ہے Lords کی نمائندگی نہیں، تو ہمیں یاد ہے تاریخ میں، کہ انگلینڈ کی پارلیمنٹ، House of Commons نے وہاں کے بادشاہ Charles کو اس کا سر اڑا کے پارلیمنٹ کے

دروازے پہ لٹکایا اس لئے کہ انہوں نے (Commons) کو یہ بتانا تھا کہ یہاں حکومت عوام کی ہو گی۔ اور یہاں جو ادارے ہوں گے ہر شخص جو یہاں آئے گا اسے جمہوری روایات، جمہوریت اور اس کے مفادات کا خیال رکھنا ہو گا۔ اور آج بھی ہم جانتے ہیں کہ House of Lords میں یہ ہی speech جس کو King Speech کہتے ہیں جب ہاؤس آف لارڈز میں Queen یا King وہ ایڈریس کرتی ہے یا وہ کرتے ہیں تو اس وقت House of Commons کے House of Lords کی building میں وہاں لائسنوں میں کھڑے ہوتے ہیں۔ جس میں آج بھی یہ اظہار ہے کہ کوئی بھی King یعنی گورنمنٹ اس کو یہ اجازت نہیں دی جائے گی کہ وہ پارلیمنٹ کے خلاف یا اس کے مفادات اور اس کی sovereignty کے خلاف کوئی اقدام کرے۔ وہ کام جو 16th century میں ہوا تھا آج بھی اس روایت کے مطابق پارلیمنٹ میں وہاں عمل ہو رہا ہے اور کوئی بھی اس پر نادم نہیں ہے۔ کوئی شخص وہاں پہ نادم نہیں ہے کہ ہم نے وہاں پہ بادشاہ کا سر کاٹا، اور پھر آج بھی اس کو House of Commons میں نہیں چھوڑا۔

یہاں میں Personal بات نہیں کر رہا جناب صدر غلام اسحاق خان کے حوالے سے بات نہیں، میں پارلیمنٹ اور صدر کی حیثیت سے، صدر کے ادارے کی حیثیت سے ہم کبھی بھی، ہم نے جو protest کیا وہ اس بات پر تھا کہ کوئی صدر یا کوئی حکمران ہمیشہ جو بھی وہ کام کرے اس کا اسے خیال رکھنا ہو گا کہ پارلیمنٹ کی sovereignty کے خلاف، آئین میں دیئے گئے جمہوری اختیارات کے خلاف وہ کوئی عمل نہ کر سکے۔ اور ہمیں معلوم ہے یہاں میں پھر پرنسپل بات نہیں کر رہا کہ جناب صدر نے خود اپنے ایڈریس میں کہا ہے کہ یہاں پارلیمنٹ میں bulldozing ہوئی ہے۔ یہاں 12 ویں ترمیم کو تیس منٹ میں پیش کیا گیا اور منظور کیا گیا ان معنوں میں House of Commons میں، قومی اسمبلی میں جناب صدر کی یہ ذمہ داری تھی کہ جب یہ بل 12 واں ترمیمی بل ان کے پاس سے منظور ہو کر آیا تو آئین میں یہ لکھا ہوا ہے کہ وہ اسے واپس بھیج سکتے ہیں۔

جناب صدر اگر یہاں بلڈ وزنگ سے اتنے ناراض ہیں تو انہیں یہ واپس بھیجنا چاہیے تھا لیکن پتہ نہیں انہوں نے اس کی کتنے منٹ میں منظوری دے دی۔ اسی طرح شریعت بل جو ہم جانتے ہیں کہ شریعت بل کے معنی ہیں پارلیمنٹ کے اختیارات کا خاتمہ، اسمبلیوں کے

اختیارات کا خاتمہ، جو کچھ بھی ہمارے اس آئین میں ہے اس کے خلاف بھی شریعت بل میں کیا دیا گیا ہے؟ شریعت بل میں واضح یہ ہے کہ تمام اختیارات پارلیمنٹ سے قانون سازی کے چھین لئے گئے ہیں۔ اور وہ وہی بل جناب صدر منظور کرتے ہیں۔ کوئی یہ dejection نہیں کہ کم از کم اس کو دوبارہ پارلیمنٹ کے پاس بھیجا جائے۔ اسی طرح ملک میں جو مختلف حالات، ہر شخص یہاں جانتا ہے اور یہاں سب نے کہا، ملک میں بد امنی ہے میں detail میں جانا نہیں چاہوں گا صرف ایک بات پر انہوں نے ایک منتخب حکومت کو ایک منتخب اسمبلی کو توڑ دیا اور اس بات پہ کہ وہ منتخب اسمبلی جو ہے وہ آئین کے مطابق کام نہیں کر رہی، بہت صحیح بات، ٹھیک ہے یہ آپ کے اختیارات ہیں۔ لیکن کیا یہ موجودہ گورنمنٹ، موجودہ اسمبلی، میں وہ حالات ٹھیک ہوئے ہیں۔ امن و امان کے حوالے سے، معیشت کے حوالے سے، کسی بھی اور حوالے سے بلکہ اس حد تک سندھ میں، ہر شخص جانتا ہے کہ یہاں personal مسئلہ اٹھ گیا ہے۔ لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ آپ کا داماد وہاں بیٹھا ہوا ہے۔ ہونا یہ چاہئے تھا کہ جناب صدر محترم، یہ داماد ان کا، سندھ میں جنت بنا سکتا بھی، لیکن جب تمام دنیا نے آواز اٹھائی کہ آپ کے داماد جو ہیں وہ آمریت، غلط پالیسیوں کو lead کر رہے ہیں۔ تو جناب صدر کو انہیں کہنا چاہیئے تھا کہ خدا کرے کہ آپ جنت بنائیں سندھ کو، لیکن مہربانی کریں آپ چلے جائیں۔ یہ ہونا چاہیئے تھا اور ہونا چاہیئے لیکن میں یہاں آگے تفصیل میں نہیں جاؤں گا۔ یہاں گورنمنٹ کی پارٹی اور دوسرے لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ ہمارے سرندامت سے جھک گئے ہیں نہیں، میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ فخر سے ہمارا سراونچا ہے اب کوئی شخص جب اس پارلیمنٹ میں داخل ہو گا اسے بار بار سوچنا ہو گا کہ آیا اس نے جمہوری عمل بھی کیا ہے عوام کے لئے کام بھی کیا ہے اور اگر نہیں کیا ہے تو اس پارلیمنٹ میں اسے ہر وقت چیک کیا جائے گا۔ ٹھیک ہے ہمارے احتجاج کا طریقہ۔ وہ جو کہتے ہیں ڈیسک بجائے ہوں گے۔ یاد دوسری بات ہے آج بھی آئندہ کے لئے یہ روایت ہونی چاہیئے کہ جب بھی صدر یہاں کھڑا ہو تو ایک بار کم از کم اپوزیشن اس کے سامنے کھڑی ہو جائے۔ بطور روایت کے تاکہ ہم اسے یاد دلائیں کسی بھی صدر کو۔ دوسرے معنوں میں کسی بھی وزیر اعظم کو بھی ہم یاد دلائیں کہ آپ جو ہے احتیاط رکھیں یہ پارلیمنٹ ہے یہ عوام کی نمائندہ body ہے۔

جناب چیئرمین! ایڈریس کے اہم نکات میں جمہوریت، جمہوریت میں اکثریت، وفاق، خارجہ پالیسی، اقتصادی پالیسی پر بڑی تفصیلات ہیں۔ اس میں، میں سب سے پہلے وفاق سے بات شروع کروں گا۔ یہ ملک، جناب والا! اس کے دواصول اسی ایڈریس میں واضح ہیں۔ یہ ملک، جمہوری ہے اور یہ ملک وفاقی ہے۔ وفاقی اور جمہوریت اس ملک کے وہ بنیادی اصول ہیں۔ حکومتی پارٹی میں ہمارے دوستوں نے یہ بھی کہا کہ تقسیم سے پہلے بھی ہمارے یہ اصول تھے۔ جمہوری اصول ہمارے تھے۔ تو ہم یہ کہتے ہیں کہ ڈیموکریٹک اصول اور وفاق۔ یہ ہمارے آئین کا جو بھی ہمارا آئین ہے اور اس میں وفاقی اور جمہوریت کے اصول ہیں ان پر عمل کتنا ہو رہا ہے۔ وفاقی کے حوالے میں جناب والا! میں آپ سے عرض کروں گا کہ وفاق کا بنیادی اصول یہاں کیا قرار دیا گیا تھا۔ چالیس پینتالیس سال کی جدوجہد کے بعد، اس ملک میں بالکل آمریت کے بعد، بنگال کے خلاف یہاں جارحیت کے بعد، جو بھی، آئین میں اصول ہوئے اس میں وفاق۔ وفاق کا بنیادی اصول یہ تھا کہ یہاں جو قومیتیں رہتی ہیں۔ ہر قومیت کا اپنا ایک وفاقی یونٹ ہوتا ہے، اس کا بنیادی اصول۔ وفاق کا اصول یہاں کوئی administrative unit نہیں۔ بلکہ ہر administrative unit اپنے طور پر قوموں کی بنیاد پر یہ یونٹ بنے۔ لیکن اس وفاق میں ایک بار، جو اس کے بنیادی وفاقی یونٹس کے Provincial autonomy کا مسئلہ ہے۔

Provincial autonomy کا مسئلہ آج تک - 1973ء میں جو آئین بنا اور جس میں فیڈرل لسٹ concurrent لسٹ اور اس کے بعد دس سال کا پروگرام تھا کہ اس کے بعد صوبوں کو وفاقی یونٹوں کو اختیارات دیئے جائیں گے۔ لیکن ہوا کیا۔ دس سال یا کچھ سال بعد مارشل لاء دیا گیا۔ اور یہ جو آئین ہے۔ اس آئین کو بھی تختہ میں رکھ دیا گیا۔ تو یہ اور اس کے بعد آج بھی کیا autonomy کیا Sovereignty کیا share of powers ہوئے ہیں۔ ہم یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ درحقیقت پاکستان میں وفاق کو اختیارات۔ وفاقی یونٹس کو نہیں ملے۔ یہ ملک کا بنیادی مسئلہ ہے۔ ہمارے دوستوں نے کہا کہ پاکستان کا مسئلہ، ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ پاکستان کا مسئلہ! اس کے معنی ہیں وفاق کا مسئلہ۔ جیسا کہ جناب صدر محترم! نے بھی یہاں کہا ہے کہ وفاق۔ پاکستان ایک وفاق ہے اور وفاقی نظام کو اس صورت میں کامیابی کے ساتھ چلایا جاسکتا ہے جب تمام وفاقی اکائیوں کے آئینی حقوق کا تحفظ ہو اور کسی کو احساس محرومی نہ

رہے۔ مرکز اور صوبوں کے تعلقات جس سے خوشگوار ہوں گے وفاقی رشتے اتنے ہی مضبوط ہوں گے اور وفاقی رشتوں کی مضبوطی ملکی استحکام اور قوم کے اتحاد کی ضامن ہوتی ہے۔ اس سے ہم متفق ہیں۔ لیکن یہ abstracts میں تو صحیح ہے۔ ایک مجرد خیال کی حیثیت سے صحیح ہے۔ کیا ہمارے حقائق میں، پریکٹس میں یہاں ایسا ہے۔ ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ جب تک صرف چار شعبے federation مرکز کے حوالے کر کے باقی تمام شعبے صوبوں کو نہ دیئے جائیں۔

جناب والا! یہاں میں کہوں گا کہ پاکستان کا یہ اہم مسئلہ ہو گا۔ پاکستان میں ہر وقت problems ہوں گے۔ اور بد اعتمادی ہوگی۔ تفصیلات میں میں نہیں جانا چاہتا۔ بالخصوص وفاق کے اصول کا ہم پر اطلاق بحیثیت رشتوں کے ہم پر اطلاق۔ یہ پاکستان۔ جو ہم وفاق کے ممبر ہیں۔ ہم یہاں پشتون، بلوچ، سندھی، پنجابی، وفاق Units ہیں۔ یہ ایک تسلیم شدہ حقیقت ہے۔ اس سے آج اگر کوئی انکار کرے تو پھر یہاں ہمیشہ بحران رہیں گے۔ لیکن بالخصوص پشتون کے ساتھ کیا سلوک ہوا ہے۔ جب One-Unit کو disintegrate کیا گیا۔ 1970ء میں وفاق میں ہمارے پشتون کو تقسیم رکھا گیا۔ باقیوں کے لئے اصول۔ پنجاب کا اپنا Province۔ سندھ کا اپنا Province۔ اور پشتون۔ پشتون ایک طرف NWFP اور دوسری طرف پشتون۔ جسے ہم جنوبی پشتون خواہ کہتے ہیں۔ کوئٹہ کے پشتون۔ جو پہلے سے۔ انگریز کے زمانے سے 1880ء سے تقریباً۔ جو پشتون۔ اپنے طور پر Chief Commissioner کا ایک پرائنس تھا اور یہی اپنے طور پر ایک Unit اور بلوچوں کا اپنا ایک یونٹ جسے قلات سٹیٹ اور بعد میں اسے کوئی اور سٹیٹ یونین کا نام دیا گیا، Partition سے پہلے۔ Partition کے بعد اور یونٹ بننے تک، یونٹ بننے کے وقت، پشتون ایریا کو کوئٹہ ڈویژن اور بلوچ یا بروئی ایریا کو قلات ڈویژن۔ ہم بھڑی میں ایک ساتھ نہیں رہے ہیں۔ ہماری آئینی position انگریزوں کے وقت بھی یہ تھی۔ یہ علیحدہ بات ہے کہ انگریزوں نے ہمارے تشخص کو ختم کرنے کے لئے ہمیں دوسرے نام سے منسوب کیا۔ ہمیں British بلوچستان کا نام دیا گیا جو کہ تمام انگریز تسلیم کرتے ہیں کہ It was a misnomer یہ colonial پالیسی تھی، انگریزوں کے استعماری مقاصد تھے۔ ہمارے تشخص کو ختم کرنے، ہمیں exploit کرنے کے لئے۔ جب ہمیں آزادی ملی۔ اس کے بعد ہم پھر بھی ایک

دوسرے سے علیحدہ۔ لیکن جب dissolution یا disintegration of One Unit اس کے بعد ہم پر مسلط کیا گیا۔

تمام ملک میں ہمارا مطالبہ تھا کہ Federation کے اصول کے مطابق ہمیں اپنا پشتون یونٹ بنا کر دے دیں۔ جس طرح دوسروں کو آپ دے رہے ہیں۔ یا کم از کم ہمارا جو Unit چیف کمشنر کا Province مسلسل رہا ہے۔ اسے Provincial autonomy دے کر ایک یونٹ قرار دیا جائے۔ لیکن ہم پر مسلط کیا گیا۔ بلوچستان کا نام دوسروں کی پوٹیکل پاور اور اس کے نتائج آج آپ کے سامنے ہیں۔ آج وہاں پشتونوں کو اقلیت میں تبدیل کر رہے ہیں۔ زندگی کے ہر شعبے میں ہمیں ختم کر رہے ہیں۔ جہاں ہم ہزاروں سال رہے تھے آج ہم وہاں اقلیت میں تبدیل ہو رہے ہیں۔ اور تبدیل کئے جا رہے ہیں۔ لیکن ہمارے ملک کی فیڈریشن کے، سینٹر کے اور دوسرے صوبے، ان کی پوٹیکل پارٹیاں، وہ اس بات کو درخور اعتنا نہیں سمجھتے بلکہ ہمیں اس حالت میں پہنچایا گیا ہے۔ آج کوئٹہ میں بحران ہے۔ اور وہ بہت شدید ہو رہا ہے۔ اس میں آپ کے سامنے نشاندہی کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ اور شدید ہو گا۔ جس سے وفاق پر اثرات مرتب ہوں گے۔ ہم وفاق کے مخالف نہیں ہیں۔ لیکن جب بحران ہو گا۔ امن و امان کا مسئلہ پیدا ہو گا۔ پوٹیکل مسائل پیدا ہوں گے۔ جب تک آپ اسے حل نہیں کریں گے۔ نتیجہ کیا ہو گا۔ نتیجہ یہ ہو گا جناب والا! کہ وفاق اور جیسے یہاں جناب صدر محترم نے فرمایا ہے کہ ملک کا استحکام اور اتحاد پر اس کے اثرات ہوں گے۔ ہمارے مسائل حل نہیں ہو رہے۔ باقی تفصیلات میں میں نہیں جانا چاہتا ہوں۔ معاشی مسائل کے نتیجے میں معاشی ابتری، سماجی پہلو۔ ان کی تفصیلات میں میں نہیں جاؤں گا۔

جناب والا! کیا وفاق کے اصول کے مطابق ہماری زبان کے ساتھ کوئی ایسا سلوک کیا جا رہا ہے جو وفاق کے component part کی حیثیت سے نہیں ہونا چاہیے۔ یہاں ایسا تصور دیا جا رہا ہے۔ ہر مقرر اور میں افسوس کے ساتھ کہنا چاہوں گا کہ لاہور اور کراچی میں بیٹھ کر ہمارے بزرگوں کی outlook تبدیل ہوتی ہے۔ وہ لاہور اور کراچی کی عینک سے مسئلے کو دیکھتے ہیں۔ جو actually پاکستان کی outlook نہیں ہے۔ پاکستان کی outlook وہ نہیں ہے جو یہاں اسمبلیوں میں پیش کیا جاتا ہے یا پارلیسیوں میں پیش کیا جاتا ہے۔ پاکستان کا outlook صرف وہ ہو سکتا ہے جس میں پنجابی سندھی پشتون بلوچ سب کے مفادات کا

خیال رکھا جائے۔ پشتو زبان، یا اردو زبان، ہم ہر زبان کا احترام کرتے ہیں۔ ہم نسل پرست نہیں ہیں۔ اس ملک میں ہم جمہوری طریقے سے تمام مسائل حل کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ لیکن آپ دیکھیں۔ اردو زبان۔ احترام کے ساتھ، دو فیصد انسانوں کی زبان ہے۔ اور اس وقت اردو زبان ریڈیو، ٹیلی ویژن، سرکار کے دفاتر میں، اخبارات میں، زندگی کے ہر شعبے میں اردو کو۔ اب تو وہ الفاظ بھی استعمال ہوئے ہیں۔ پتہ نہیں اس کی انگریزی میں کیا لکھا ہوا ہے لفظ۔ میں نے تو اردو میں پڑھا ہے مقتدرہ اردو زبان۔ اور اگر مقتدرہ کا لفظ میں صحیح مانوں تو اس کے معنی ہیں sovereign Urdu یہ ideology ہے اگرچہ اس کے کوئی original الفاظ ہوں گے، میں وہ نہیں جانتا ہوں لیکن جو ترجمہ ہے میں یہ عرض کر رہا ہوں اس سے وہ بو آرہی ہے تو پشتو زبان کی کیا پوزیشن ہے جناب والا! ریڈیو میں کیا پوزیشن ہے ٹیلی ویژن میں ایک ہفتے میں ایک گھنٹہ پشتو پروگرام آتا ہے۔ اگر حساب یہاں کیا جائے سینکڑوں گھنٹے ٹیلی ویژن پر.....

(اس مرحلے پر ظہر کی اذان شروع ہو گئی)

(مداخلت)

میڈم ڈپٹی چیئرمین: مندوخیل صاحب! آپ پھر اتوار کو اپنی تقریر جاری رکھیں۔

The House is now adjourned to meet again on Sunday, the 23rd of February at 4.00 p.m.

[The House adjourned to meet again at four of the clock in the evening on Sunday, February 23, 1992].