

SENATE OF PAKISTAN
SENATE DEBATES

Sunday, May 21, 1989

The Senate of Pakistan met in the Senate Hall (Parliament House) Islamabad at Five-thirty of the clock in the evening, with Mr. Chairman (Mr. Wasim Sajjad) in the Chair.

(Recitation from the Holy Quran)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَتْلُونَ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَأَنفَقُوا
مِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ سِرًّا وَعَلَانِيَةً يَرْجُونَ تِجَارَةً لَّنْ تَبُورَ ۝
لِيُؤْتِيَهُمُ اللَّهُ أَجُورَهُمْ وَيَزِيدَهُم مِّن فَضْلِهِ إِنَّهُ غَفُورٌ
شَكُورٌ ۝ وَالَّذِينَ آدُبْنَا إِلَيْكَ مِنَ الْكُتُبِ هُوَ الْحَقُّ
مُصَدِّقًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بِعِبَادِهِ لَخَبِيرٌ بَصِيرٌ ۝
ثُمَّ أَوْرَثْنَا الْكُتُبَ الَّذِينَ اصْطَفَيْنَا مِنْ عِبَادِنَا فَمِنْهُمْ ظَالِمٌ
لِّنَفْسِهِ وَمِنْهُمْ مُّقْتَصِدٌ وَمِنْهُمْ سَابِقٌ بِالْخَيْرَاتِ
يَآدُرُ اللَّهُ ذَلِكَ هُوَ الْفَضْلُ الْكَبِيرُ ۝

سورة ناطرہ ۳۵

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سورة ناطرہ ۳۵

شروع کرتا ہوں ساتھ نام اللہ کے جو بڑا مہربان اور نہایت رحم کرنے والا ہے ترجمہ :- جو لوگ خدا کی کتاب پڑھتے اور نماز کی پابندی کرتے ہیں اور جو کچھ ہم نے ان کو دیا ہے اس میں سے پوشیدہ اور ظاہر خرچ کرتے ہیں وہ اس تجارت (کے فائدے) کے امیدوار ہیں جو کبھی تباہ نہیں ہوگی ۵۹ کیونکہ خدا ان کو پورا پورا بدلہ دے گا اور اپنے فضل سے کچھ زیادہ بھی دے گا۔ وہ تجھنے والا (اور) قدردان ہے ۶۰ اور یہ کتاب جو ہم نے تمہاری طرف بھیجی ہے برحق ہدایت (کتابوں) کی تصدیق کرتی ہے جو اس سے پہلے کی ہیں بیشک خدا اپنے بندوں سے خبردار (اور ان کو) دیکھنے والا ہے ۶۱ پھر ہم نے ان لوگوں کو کتاب کا وارث ٹھہرایا جن کو اپنے بندوں میں سے برگزیدہ کیا۔ تو کچھ تو ان میں سے اپنے آپ پر ظلم کرتے ہیں۔ اور کچھ میانہ روی ہیں اور کچھ خدا کے حکم سے نیکیوں میں آگے نکل جانے والے ہیں یہی بڑا فضل ہے ۶۲

F A T E H A

Mr. Muhammad Ali Khan: Sir, I rise to condole the sad demise of the wife of our most learned and elder Senator Hasan A. Shaikh Sahib. I pray to God Almighty that may Allah bless her soul and give strength to him and the entire bereaved family to bear this irreparable loss.

I request that Khwaja Hameed-ud-Din Sahib may lead the Fateha prayers. I thank you, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: Khwaja sahib please offer *fateha* prayers.

(Khwaja Hameed-ud-Din offered *fateha* prayers)

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh: I thank the honourable Member Mr. Muhammad Ali Khan Hoti, yourself Sir, and the House for joining me in this sad moment of mine. Thank you, Sir.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF RULING OF THE CHAIR RE: THE LETTERS WRITTEN BY KHAN ABDUL WALI KHAN

Mr. Chairman: I had reserved the ruling on the privilege motion regarding the letters written by Khan Abdul Wali Khan.

I would like to announce it now.

Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed has sought leave to move a privilege motion based on letters reported in the Press to have been sent by Mr. Abdul Wali Khan, leader of ANP to the UN Secretary General and some other heads of State alleging violation by Pakistan of the Geneva Accords. According to the honourable Senator, the letters reflect the personal bias of the said MNA and contain factual distortions and baseless insinuations about Pakistan and are an attempt to defame Pakistan, to weaken the Afghan policy and disrupt the constitutional process in the country. It is alleged that these circumstances constitute a breach of privilege of the Parliament of Pakistan and its people. The motion was opposed by Senator Basheer Ahmed and Dr. Sher Afgan, the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.

According to Senator Basheer Ahmed the letters by Mr. Abdul Wali Khan have been sent in the interest of Pakistan to save Afghanistan from further bloodshed which he states would not be in the interest of Pakistan.

Dr. Sher Afgan has argued that the letters referred to do not constitute a breach of privilege of Parliament. According to him, a breach of privilege takes place when the House is hindered or impeded in its functioning by any act or omission. In support of his contentions he has relied upon page 177 of the book 'Practice and Procedure of Parliament' (third edition) by M.N. Kaul and S.L. Shakhder where it has been observed that in interpreting the privileges of Parliament, regard must be had to the general principle that the privileges of Parliament are granted to Members in order that they may be able to perform their duties in Parliament without let or hindrance. He has also relied upon Article 66 of the Constitution of Pakistan and submitted that the privileges of the House are only such as are guaranteed by the Constitution or by law and until so determined by law shall be such as were enjoyed by the National Assembly of Pakistan before the Commencing Day. Dr. Sher Afgan has also referred to page 169 of the book 'Practice and Procedure of Indian Parliament' by S. S. More where the following observation has been made.

"What is a breach of privilege is a question which does not admit of a precise and categorical answer.

Breach of privilege cannot be defined though it can be described. It may be stated generally that any act or omission which obstructs or impedes either House of Parliament in the performance of its functions or which obstructs or impedes any Member or officer of such House in the discharge of his duties, or which has a tendency directly or indirectly to produce such result may be treated as contempt even though there is no precedent for the offence".

I have considered the arguments of Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed, Mr. Basheer Ahmed and the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs. Each House of Parliament represents the people and comes into existence for the fulfilment of certain objectives envisaged in the Constitution. The people expect the Parliament and its members to perform certain functions in the interest of the people whom they represent. Accordingly, the House must possess freedom, powers and independence to perform its functions unhindered by any act or statement which may act as an impediment in the performance of its functions. In my opinion S.S. More has correctly stated that breach of privilege does not admit of a precise and categorical answer. As May has said, 'it would be vain to attempt an enumeration of every act which might be construed as a breach of privilege. Each matter, which is brought before the House would have to be considered on its own facts and in the context in which it is moved to determine whether it constitutes a breach of privilege or not'. However, it is generally correct that any act or omission which impedes the House in the performance of its functions or which lowers its authority or which has the effect of diminishing its role as a House of Parliament under the Constitution would be treated as a breach of privilege even though there may be no precedent for this offence. The Constitution of Pakistan does not attempt to give an exhaustive list of the privileges of Parliament. The scope of privilege is to be determined by reference to the law, procedure, conventions and traditions of Parliament.

Considered in this background, the letters by Mr. Abdul Wali Khan, however, objectionable they may seem to be from the point of view of the Senator who has moved this motion, cannot be described as a breach of privilege of

the House. The letters to which objection has been taken have not in any way obstructed either the Members or the House from the performance of its functions nor have they in any way affected or lowered the authority of the Upper House of Parliament. A mere difference of opinion on a political issue cannot be used as a base for breach of privilege of the Senate. In these circumstances, I hold that the privilege motion is inadmissible and is ruled out of order.

Leave of Absence

جناب چیئرمین : جناب سید سیف اللہ خان اپنی ذاتی مصروفیات کی بنا پر ایوان میں ۱۴ مئی تا ۱۶ مئی اور ۱۸ مئی کو شرکت نہیں کر سکے اس لیے انہوں نے ایوان سے ان تاریخوں کے لیے رخصت کی درخواست کی ہے۔ کیا ایوان ان کی رخصت منظور کرتا ہے۔
(رخصت منظور کی گئی)

جناب چیئرمین : ملک گل شیر خان ذاتی مصروفیات کی بنا پر ایوان میں ۱۸ مئی کو شرکت نہیں کر سکے اس لیے انہوں نے اس تاریخ کی رخصت کی درخواست کی ہے۔ کیا ایوان ان کی رخصت منظور کرتا ہے۔
(رخصت منظور کی گئی)

جناب چیئرمین : سید شفقت حسین شاہ نے ناسازی طبع کی بنا پر ایوان سے ۲۰ مئی تا ۲۶ مئی تک رخصت کی درخواست کی ہے۔ کیا ایوان ان کی رخصت منظور کرتا ہے۔
(رخصت منظور کی گئی)

جناب چیئرمین : جناب حسن اے شیخ صاحب ذاتی مصروفیات کی بنا پر ایوان میں آج تک شرکت نہیں کر سکے اس لیے انہوں نے رخصت کی درخواست کی ہے۔ کیا ایوان ان کی رخصت منظور کرتا ہے۔
(رخصت منظور کی گئی)

Mr. Chairman: Now the Minister for Religious Affairs, is he present?

ڈاکٹر شیر افغن خان نیازی : حاضر نہیں ہوں باہر ہیں اگر مناسب سمجھیں تو ۔ ۔ ۔
 جناب چیئرمین : کب تک تشریف لائیں گے ؟
ڈاکٹر شیر افغن خان نیازی : کوئی پتہ نہیں ہے ۔
 جناب چیئرمین : کیا ۲۰ تاریخ کو آجائیں گے ؟

(Interruption)

Mr. Chairman: So, then what do we do, what do you suggest ?

(Interruption)

Mr. Chairman: but we went an authoritative statement because the initial information we got was that the Minister had said that the same privilege would also be extended to the Members of the Senate. The other day one of the Ministers said that no, no privilege is being given to any Members of Parliament. So, that is why I thought that we should have an authoritative statement from the Minister himself.

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: They have asked me and I request Mr. Chairman.

کہ ایسی بات ہے ہی نہیں کہ کوئی کوٹہ مقرر کیا گیا ہو۔ ایسا کوئی کوٹہ کسی ممبر کے لیے مقرر نہیں کیا گیا حاجیوں کو بھیجنے کے لیے ۔ ۔ ۔
جناب چیئرمین : نہیں، دیکھیے کہ یہ جو جی پالیسی آپ نے منظور کی تھی اس میں کوٹہ مقرر کیا تھا؟

as such is being carried out.

ڈاکٹر شیر افغن خان نیازی : اس میں provision ہی نہیں ہے اگر ہے تو سومرو صاحب

Mr. Chairman: Soomro Sahib would you like to examine it further ? If you can look at the Haj Policy.....

Mr. Ahmed Mian Soomro: I have every faith in the statement made by any of the honourable Minister. If they categorically say that no quota is being given to Members of the National Assembly also then I will not press it.

ڈاکٹر شیر افگن خان نیازی : ہاں کوئی کوٹہ وغیرہ کی provision ہی نہیں ہے نہ دیا گیا ہے نہ کسی کے پاس ایسا ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔
- مداخلت -

جناب چیئرمین : تو اس طرح کرتے ہیں

For the time being he is not pressing this motion

اگر آپ کے پاس کوئی ایسی انفارمیشن آجائے کہ کسی کو دیا گیا ہے

You can bring a fresh privilege motion.

ڈاکٹر شیر افگن خان نیازی : اس میں سر میں بھی ممبروں اگر دیا گیا ہوتا تو کوئی لیٹر مجھے بھی ملتا کہ آپ کا کوٹہ ہے ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

Mr. Ahmed Mian Soomro: If no quota is being given to the Members of the National Assembly also then I don't press it.

Mr. Chairman: So, the statement by the honourable Minister is that no quota is being to any Members of Parliament whether of the National Assembly or of the Senate, in these circumstances Mr. Ahmed Mian Soomro has withdrawn his privilege motion. And if anything fresh comes to your (Mr. Ahmed Mian Soomro) notice you can move a fresh privilege motion. Thank you.

ڈاکٹر نور جہاں پانیزئی : سر یہ گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے یہ کہہ رہے ہیں کہ ہمیں کوئی پتہ نہیں ہے منسٹر صاحب کب آ رہے ہیں۔ منسٹر صاحب جان کر اس وقت آئیں گے جب جج کی date گزر جائے گی۔

جناب چیئرمین : نہیں ایسی کوئی بات نہیں ہے۔

[Mr. Chairman]

Now Mr. Iftikhar Gilani was to move a motion for the suspension of the Rules 22 and 23, would you like to move it Dr. Sher Afgan Sahib ?

قاضی عبداللطیف : پوائنٹ آف آرڈر جناب والا! گزارش یہ ہے کہ ۸ تاریخ کو جو گیلانی صاحب کی وضاحت تھی وہ اخبار میں تو آئی ہے لیکن اسکے بالقابل جو میں نے وضاحت کی تھی وہ اخبار میں نہیں

آئی۔ اخبارات اگرچہ آزاد ہیں جہاں تک سرکاری ذرائع ابلاغ کا تعلق ہے انہوں نے بھی رپورٹ توڑ مروڑ کر پیش کی ہے لیکن ان کی تو کچھ اپنے سیاسی اغراض ہیں۔ سیاسی اغراض کی بنیاد پر اس کے اندر وہ توڑ مروڑ کر لیتے ہیں ہمیں کوئی کلمہ و شکوہ نہیں ہے ٹھیک ہے کریں۔

لیکن آزاد پریس کو کم از کم میں آپ کی وساطت سے توجہ دلاؤں گا۔ اگر گیلانی کا نقطہ نگاہ آتا ہے وضاحت کا، تو اس پر جو میں نے وضاحت کی تھی کہ ہمارے اور آپ کے درمیان میں نقطہ نزاع بھی یہی ہے وہ بھی آنا چاہیئے تھا۔ اس کا تذکرہ تک بھی نہیں کیا گیا۔ میں آپ کی وساطت سے پریس کو یہ توجہ دلاؤں گا۔

Mr. Chairman: I would request the press to have a balanced approach in these matters and I am sure

جو قاضی صاحب نے کہا ہے وہ انہوں نے نوٹ کر لیا ہوگا۔ جی مولانا سمیع الحق صاحب۔
مولانا سمیع الحق : جناب چیئرمین! شاید آج کے دن کی جو غیر سرکاری کارروائی ہے وہ شاید کسی قاعدہ کے تحت معطل کر دی گئی ہے اور صدر کے خطاب پر آپ بحث شروع کر رہے ہیں۔۔۔۔

جناب چیئرمین : ابھی نہیں کی ہے موشن move ہوئی ہے۔ آپ کا

call attention notice ہے اس پہ بات کرنا چاہتے ہیں ؟

مولانا سمیع الحق : جی ہاں مجھے موقع دیں اس سے پہلے تاکہ میں پڑھ لوں۔۔۔۔

جناب چیئرمین : جی ہاں وہ ایک اہم مسئلہ ہے پہلے کر لیتے ہیں جی۔ اس کو پہلے

لے لیتے ہیں چونکہ صرف پانچ منٹ کی بات ہے پھر آرام سے دوسری کارروائی کریں گے۔

Mr. Javed Jabbar, it has been listed at the end - Call attention notice, so there is no interruption I would like to take it up at this stage and then we will take up the other proceedings. This would only take about five minutes.

ڈاکٹر شیر افغان خان نیازی : جناب چیئرمین ! میں آپ کی توجہ رول نمبر ۵ (۲) کی جانب مبذول کرانا ہوں جہاں call attention notice کا ذکر ہے یہ جب آپ منظور فرما لیتے ہیں تو اس کے بعد قاعدہ کے مطابق منسٹر کو statement دینی پڑتی ہے ۔ ۔ ۔

جناب چیئرمین : جی اس لیے کر رہے ہیں کہ اگر منسٹر statement دے سکیں تو دے دیں ورنہ کل دے دیں گے۔ موقع ان کو ضرور ملے گا۔ اگر آج دے سکیں تو دے دیں۔ ورنہ آج وقت نہیں ہے تو کل دے دیں۔

مولانا سمیع الحق : اسی طرح ہوتا آرہا ہے جی۔ گھبراہٹ نہیں کل تک شاید وہ لوگ زندہ بھی نہ ہیں۔ ڈاکٹر صاحب ایسے حالات ہیں۔ ڈاکٹر کی شاید پھر ضرورت بھی نہیں پڑے گی۔۔۔

جناب چیئرمین : مولانا صاحب ! ایک منٹ میں رولز کی وضاحت کر دوں یہ لکھا ہوا ہے کہ Call Attention Notice پر

Minister shall make a statement on the following day یعنی آج نہیں

کل

"unless the Chair decides that the statement shall be made by the Minister on the same day."

تو اگر میں یہ فیصلہ نہ کر دوں کہ آج statement دینی ہے تو کل دینی پڑے گی۔

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: "All call attention notices received up to two hours before the sitting would be placed for consideration of the Chairman who would select one of them and not more than two notices in a week for a statement by the Minister at the....."

یہاں یہ کوئی description نہیں ہے

The Member will make a statement about the call attention notice.

جناب چیئرمین : نہیں آپ کیا کتنا چاہ رہے ہیں

It should be placed before me for consideration ?

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: It has been placed already, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: No, it has been placed before me in the Chamber, I allowed it to be raised and it was placed two hours before the sitting and I am going to ask the Minister to make a statement tomorrow. I am not going to ask him to make it today although the Rule says that I can ask him to make it today.

Mr. Javed Jabbar: No. No. Mr. Chairman, I think he is doubting whether the Member who gives the notice of the call attention notice has the right to say a few words at that stage, this is what he is questioning.

Mr. Chairman: I think he has a right to say.

call attention کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ آپ کی توجہ دلائیں گے اس بات کی طرف پھر آپ اس پر بیان دیں گے۔

ڈاکٹر شیر افغان صاحب یہ رول ۵۹ (۵) ہے جو کہتا ہے:-

Rule 59. (5) - "There shall be no formal motion before the Senate and no discussion or voting shall take place on the notice. The member who has given notice shall make a brief statement and the Minister concerned shall make a statement on the subject. The statement by the member shall not exceed five minutes and the statement by the Minister shall not normally exceed ten minutes."

Maulana Samiul Haq Sahib.

CALL ATTENTION NOTICE Re: LOAD-SHEDDING

جناب مولانا سمیع الحق : جناب چیئرمین! ملک میں لوڈ شیڈنگ ایک نہایت سنگین صورت حال پیدا کر چکی ہے ملک میں ہنگامی اور بحران کی کیفیت پیدا ہو چکی ہے زندگی کا ہر شعبہ معطل ہوتا جا رہا ہے۔ دور افتادہ علاقے، تو آٹھ آٹھ اور بارہ بارہ گھنٹے شدید گرمی میں مجلس رہے ہیں اور آج کی بعض خبریں یہ ہیں کہ بجلی کی پیداوار صرف ۲۵ فیصد رہ گئی ہے کارخانے اور زرعت کے شعبے تباہ ہو رہے ہیں اور عام شہری اس شدید گرمی میں کراہ رہے ہیں۔ ایسے سینیٹ فوری طور پر اس صورت حال پر بحث کرے۔

جناب چیئرمین! اس مسئلے پر سینیٹ نے کچھ عرصہ پہلے بھی توجہ دلائی تھی جب حالات اتنے نازک صورت اختیار نہیں کر گئے تھے اور ہم نے ہر وقت حکومت سے مؤدبانہ درخواست کی اور ارکان سینیٹ نے آنے والے حالات کے متعلق دلائل سے حکومت کو متوجہ کرنا چاہا۔ اب یہ صورت حال جو سامنے آئی ہے وہ چالیس سال کی تاریخ میں پہلی بار پیش آئی ہے کہ آٹھ آٹھ گھنٹے خود میرے گاؤں میں چار بجے سے چھ بجے تک، دو بجے سے چار بجے بجلی جاتی ہے پھر گیارہ بجے سے رات ایک بجے تک جاتی ہے۔ پھر صبح چار بجے سے چھ بجے تک جاتی ہے پھر دس بجے سے بارہ بجے تک جاتی ہے۔ تو آٹھ آٹھ گھنٹے لوگ تکلیف اور شدید اذیت میں مبتلا ہیں لوگ مڑکڑا کر نکلتے ہیں اور آپ کو پتہ ہو گا کہ جی ٹی روڈ پانچ گھنٹے تک بلاک کیے رکھی اور ٹریفک ساری مسدود ہو گئی تھی پشاور، راولپنڈی کے درمیان، اسی طرح مردان، صوابی، ہری پور، بنوں تمام اطراف سے خبریں آرہی ہیں۔ آج اخبار میں آیا ہے کہ صرف ۲۵ فیصد بجلی رہ گئی ہے یہ تو بڑی تشویش کی بات ہے اور ہم پر کوئی بڑا حملہ ہونے والا ہے یہ ایسی بات ہے اگر سارا صنعتی کاروبار رک گیا اور فصلیں ساری تباہ ہو گئیں اس سے زیادہ نازک ترین بحران اس ملک کے سامنے کون سا آنے والا ہے۔ ہم نے جناب

اس وقت کے بجلی کے وزیر صاحب کی توجہ بھی اس طرف دلائی تھی کہ آپ ہمیں صرف اتنا بتائیں کہ مستقبل کے لیے آپ کے سامنے کیا پروگرام ہے، کیا منصوبے ہیں، آپ نے انرجی کے لیے اور بجلی کے لیے کیا کچھ پروگرام بنائے ہیں۔ انہوں نے کوئی ہمیں تسلی بخش جواب نہیں دیا۔ اب بھی یہ مسئلہ صرف ایک بیان سے حل ہونے کا نہیں ہے۔ پورا ملک شدید اذیت اور تکلیف میں مبتلا

[Maulana Sami-ul-Haq]

ہے۔ جبکہ دنیا آگے بڑھ چکی ہے اور ہم ایک مشینی دور میں داخل ہو چکے ہیں۔ بجلی ہر گھر کی ضرورت بن گئی ہے ایسے حالات میں لوگ کہاں جائیں۔ یہاں تک کہ دارالخلافہ تک لوڈ شیڈنگ سے محفوظ نہیں رہا رات بھی گیارہ بجے سے بارہ بجے تک بجلی بند رہی میں باہر سے آیا اور دیکھا کہ لوگ شدید لذت میں ہیں سارا اسلام آباد تارکیوں میں ڈوبا ہوا تھا۔ اب وہ زمانہ بھی نہیں ہے کہ لوگ صحنوں میں نکل جائیں سسٹم ہی سارا راتش کا بود و باش کا تبدیل ہو گیا ہے۔ ایسا تو کسی مہذب ملک میں نہیں ہوتا اور پھر یہ کہ دارالخلافہ بھی اس کی زد میں ہو، پھر بھی ہماری آنکھیں نہ کھلیں۔

جناب! جو حکومت ہے برسرِ اقتدار اس کو پوری سختی سے اس مسئلے کا نوٹس لینا چاہیے، ہمیں مطمئن کرنا چاہیے اور آپ ایوان کو بھی یہ موقع دیں کہ سارے معزز اراکین اس مسئلے پر جو بہت عوامی اور فوری نوعیت کا معاملہ ہے اس پر اظہار خیال کر سکیں۔

جناب چیئرمین : شکریہ جناب! اظہار خیال کا موقع نہیں دیا جاسکتا۔ میں یہ کہوں گا کہ بہت سی شکایات پہنچتی ہیں کہ رات کو بھی لوڈ شیڈنگ کی جاتی ہے اور لوگوں کو سونے میں تکلیف ہو رہی ہے۔ رات کو کبھی ایک بجے کبھی بارہ بجے مجھے یقین ہے کہ وزیر صاحب آج تشریف لا رہے ہیں اگر وہ آج بیان دینا چاہیں تو مجھے کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہو گا لیکن اگر وہ وقت مانگیں اور کل بیان دینا چاہیں یا پرسوں بیان دینا چاہیں۔ کیونکہ کل شاید فارن پالیسی پر ہماری بحث ہوگی تو پھر اس پر دیکھیں گے۔

Mr. Ahmed Mian Soomro: Sr, in the hospital there were some serious patients in the operation theatre but due to load-shedding.

پتہ نہیں وہ مر گئے یا کیا ہوا ان کو۔

Mr. Chairman: Thank you. This is now Item No. 2,

Mr. Iftikhar Gilani is not present, Dr. Sher Afgan.

مولانا سمیع الحق : جناب چیئرمین! اتنی لمبی گزارش ہے۔ یہ مسئلہ بڑی اہمیت کا آپ اتنی گنجائش نہ دیں کہ کل ہو یا پرسوں ہو۔ ان کی مرضی پر چھوڑیں تو وہ ایوان میں ہی نہیں آئیں گے آپ ان کو پابند کریں کہ غداں وقت پر بیان دیں۔

جناب چیئرمین : وزیر صاحب تشریف لے آئیں۔ پھر ان سے پوچھ کر بات کریں گے۔ جی
جناب ڈاکٹر شیر افغان - آٹم نمبر ۲

MOTION UNDER RULE 236:

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: Sir, I beg to move that :-

"under Rule 236 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Senate, 1988, the requirement of Rules 22 and 33 of the said Rules be suspended enabling the House to continue further discussion on the following motion moved by Mr. Javed Jabbar, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, on behalf of Khawaja Ahmed Tariq Raheem, Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, on the 22nd December, 1988:-

"This House expresses its deep gratitude to the President of Pakistan for his Address before the two Houses assembled together on the 14th December."

Mr. Chairman: It has been moved by Dr. Sher Afgan, Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs on behalf of Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gilani, Minister of Law and Justice that:

"This House expresses its deep gratitude to the President of Pakistan for his Address before the two houses assembled together on the 14th December."

اخونزادہ بہرہ در سعید : پوائنٹ آف آرڈر سر۔
جناب چیئرمین : میرے خیال میں ووٹنگ پر اس کو نہ کریں۔

Let us pass the motion.

(Interruption)

جناب چیئرمین : جی اس پر پوائنٹ آف آرڈر نہیں ہوتا۔ یہ موشن پیٹ کر لیں۔

We will deal with the point of order later on. The motion moved is:

"This House expresses its deep gratitude to the President for his Address before the two Houses assembled together on the 14th December."

[Mr. Chairman]

(The motion was adopted)

Mr. Chairman: The motion is adopted.

جی اب فرمائیے آپ کا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر کیا ہے جناب۔ جی بہرہ ور سعید صاحب
اخوندزادہ بہرہ ور سعید : جناب میری عرض یہ تھی کہ

What is the authority with the present Minister who does now moved this motion, to represent the Minister who is not present here.

The present Minister is not the Incharge of the Ministry in question.

Mr. Chairman: You see, that any Minister under the Rules of Procedure of this House has a right to stand up and speak on behalf of any other Minister. The Cabinet has a collective responsibility and they have joint several responsibilities in this respect. Therefore, this point of order is not valid.

جی جناب احمد میاں سومرو صاحب۔

Mr. Ahmed Mian Soomro: Sir, we have only once in a week Private Member's Day and you know we hardly have time to get through even half the agenda. The Rules have been suspended and they have every right to suspend it but I would urge Sir, that a time limit be fixed to finish and complete this debate.

جناب چیئرمین : آج ختم ہو جائے گی۔ جی۔

Mr. Ahmed Mian Soomro: This means the entire time of the Private Member's Day will be taken.

Mr. Chairman: No, if we can finish this business earlier we actually adjourn, we will take up the Private Members' Day with this.

Mr. Ahmed Mian Soomro: So, I think, that Private Member's right has gone Sir.

جناب چیئرمین : اگر ہم اس کو جلدی ختم کر لیں تو ہم پرائیویٹ ممبرز بس لے لیں گے۔
جی جناب پروفیسر خورشید صاحب۔

پروفیسر خورشید احمد : میں یہ بات کہنا چاہ رہا ہوں کہ یہ حسن اتفاق ہے کہ نہر ہم
آئٹم پر کانامک سچویشن پر ہم ڈسکشن کر سکتے ہیں آج تو اس کے لیے موقع نکالے تاکہ یہ جلد ختم ہو جائے
مغرب تک۔

جناب چیئرمین : میرے خیال میں صرف دو سپیکر رہ گئے ہیں۔ ایک آصف وردگ
صاحب نے بولنا ہے اور Anybody-else whose name is on the list.

(Pause)

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: Sir, for further discussion I will move and then you will have to put it to the House.

پلیز آصف وردگ صاحب آپ شروع کریں۔ آج ذرا مختصر تقریر کریں تاکہ یہ ختم کر لیں۔
(مداخلت)

جناب چیئرمین : جی ڈاکٹر شیر افغان صاحب

Mr. Chairman: Now, I will have to cut it short. So, what will we do is, Asif Verdaq Sahib to start.

جناب چیئرمین : جی move کر دیا ہے آپ نے۔

ڈاکٹر شیر افغان خان نیازی : further discussion کے لیے وہ تو رولز کی
suspension کے موطن تھی۔

Mr. Chairman: You don't to move for its further discussion.

further کا مطلب ہے کہ ہوگی اس کو آگے چلانا ہے۔ وہ میں خود چلاؤں گا۔

ڈاکٹر شیر افغان نیازی : یہ آپ کی مرضی ہے۔

جناب چیئرمین : جی آصف وردگ صاحب۔

مولانا سمیع الحق : پوائنٹ آف آرڈر سر۔

Mr. Chairman: No point of order.

مولانا سمیع الحق : میں گزارش کروں گا کہ ڈاکٹر صاحب کے لیے سماعت فراہم کریں۔
ڈاکٹر ہیں آخر حواس ظاہری سارے معطل ہوتے جا رہے ہیں۔

Mr. Chairman: No point of order. Mr. Asif Vardag.

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: On personal explanation Sir.

Mr. Chairman: You don't need to explain it.

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: I have to explain it, because they have to see the Order of the Day.

کے لیے move کرنے کی ضرورت پڑتی ہے۔ Further discussion

That was the suspension of the rules.

جناب چیئرمین : کوئی ضرورت نہیں۔

I have already ruled that you don't need to move.

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: Then it should not brought on the Agenda.

جناب چیئرمین : ڈاکٹر صاحب اس کی کوئی ضرورت نہیں ہے۔

میر حسین بخش بنگلوی : اس سے پاس کوئی دوسرا کام ہوتا ہی نہیں ہے۔ آپ
جناب ایوان کی کارروائی چلائیں۔

Mr. Chairman: Please no further discussion. Mr. Asif Vardag.

ڈاکٹر نور جہاں پانیزئی : پوائنٹ آف آرڈر جناب۔

Mr. Chairman: No point of order. Dr. Sahib, please sit down.

Dr. Noor Jehan Panezai: Sir, only one point.

Mr. Chairman: No point of order, sit down. Asif Vardag Sahib.

FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag: Mr. Chairman, this House records its deep appreciation for the words of wisdom that have been expressed by the President of Pakistan in the Joint Session of the House and we find that in every para the President of Pakistan has touched a very important issue and has given his views on the subject and these views are clear, forth-right and comprehensive. Some of the issues that the President of Pakistan has raised, I will not be able to touch all the issues in the short time at my disposal. One of those issues is the question of the Senate. Your Honour, the President of Pakistan has said that the Senate is very important for the Federation and is the custodian of the Federation. I think, nobody could agree more with this observation than all the Senators present in this House but your Honour, specially in the absence of the Federal Court in Pakistan, the Senate assumes an even greater role because all the matters in any other federal structure are referred to the Federal Court and they are decided in that forum. In this country, since there is no Federal Court, there is only a Supreme Court of Pakistan, all matters relating to the different units and to the units inter se as well as with the Federation have to be raised in this august forum and these have to be deliberated upon and the recommendations and decisions of this forum have to be accepted by any Government, that may be, if this Federation is to last as a viable Federation. Your honour, in this country since a long time even the Council of Common Interests has not been meeting and in the last six months the Council of Common Interests has not met at all. In fact the call by the Chief Minister of Baluchistan that the Council of Common Interests should meet forthwith has not so far been responded to by this Government. Therefore, in these circumstances, the Senate resumes even a more important role. Your honour, the Peoples Party in its manifesto had spoken in very tall terms about preservation of autonomy in the country and increasing the autonomy of the federating units but in fact what it is doing is that it is negating autonomy totally in every walk of life. In the matter of services it has negated autonomy and, now, it wants to build even village streets, village schools, village dispensaries and village roads so much so that even village pavements are going to be executed, their construction is going to be executed by the Federation itself. This, your honour, is a total violation

[Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag]

of the principles of autonomy in any Federation and it is a total negation of autonomy guaranteed in the 1973 Constitution to the Federal State of Pakistan. Your honour, in this situation, it is the Senate that has to raise its voice against this negation of autonomy in Pakistan and the Senate has been talking about it and I would like to stress this point specially since the President of Pakistan has adverted to it in his Address to the Joint Session.

Mr. Chairman, it is very important that not only must the Constitution contain provisions for autonomy but also these provisions be interpreted in such a manner that the autonomy is expanded rather than restricted by successive Governments. In this matter when the present Government realized on the provision of social welfare for expanding its role down to the village level then, your honour,.....

Mr. Chairman: Yes, please Dr. Sahib on point of order.

ڈاکٹر نور جہاں پانیزئی: جناب چیئر مین! ملک تمام صاحب honourable Member کو مبارکباد
دے رہی ہوں Prime Minister بننے پر کیونکہ انہوں نے وزیر اعظم کی Chair سنبھال لی ہے۔

Mr. Chairman: Yes, please Asif Sahib.

Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag: Then, Mr. Chairman, the question of autonomy becomes a crucial issue and it becomes very important that the interpretation of Constitution by all the forums that are available in this country is made in a way that the powers of the federating units are expanded rather than restricted specially when there is a very large Concurrent List and the residuary powers are always with the Provinces. So, if there is anything, any ambiguity at any point then in the matter of residuary powers the powers should vest in the Provinces. What the Peoples Party Government is doing is totally against the spirit of the Constitution and it is establishing a convention for all Prime Ministers to come whereby the Federal Government would be able to interfere in every sphere and at every level in the Provincial matters. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, on the question of the Constitution, its interpretation and the establishment of convention it is absolutely shortsightedness of the Pakistan

Peoples Party and it is resorting to expediency which the President of Pakistan has said that no Government must resort to in the matter relating to the Constitution. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, this practice must be replicated in very strong terms and the present Government should be prevented from engaging in any such exercise.

Mr. Chairman, now I would advert to the SAARC. The Prime Minister of Pakistan is the present Chair-person of SAARC and a member of the SAARC, Nepal has been aggressed against in economic terms through an economic blockade by a major power of the South Asian Region and the Chairperson of the SAARC has taken no note of it. In fact, the Chairperson should have immediately called a meeting of the SAARC and asked India to explain why it is indulging in these hegemonic practices and why it is trying to blockade Nepal?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Peoples Party in its past Government has a record of one assassination every three months.

(Interruption)

Mr. Javed Jabbar: Question?

Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag: This you may question and I will give the facts and figures if you want. If you want I can name the persons who have been assassinated by your party-men, one person every three months, one political leader every three months.

Now, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Tajuddin Bismal, Vice-President of JUL Sind has recently been assassinated by the Peoples Party hierarchy in that area and a report to this effect.....

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Javed Jabbar on a point of order.

Mr. Javed Jabbar: Mr. Chairman, I draw your attention to the relevant rules of procedure where a defamatory statemtn, cannot be made on the floor of this House. He (Mr. Asif) has just uttered a statement which charges

Mr. Chairman: You can deny charges, you will get the opportunity.

Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag: It is a factual position.

Mr. Javed Jabbar: No. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry but .. I respectfully.....

Mr. Chairman: Sorry, it is ruled out of order, Mr. Javed Jabbar.

Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag: Mr. Tajuddin Bismal, Vice-President of JUI Sind has recently been assassinated and the FIR has been lodged against the People Party hierarchy and no action has been taken to arrest the persons named therein.

Mr. Chairman: Shanaz Wazir Ali on a point of order.

Begum Shanaz Wazi Ali: When the FIR is lodged against the Peoples Party hierarchy that is not a person. What is the meaning of Peoples Party hierarchy?

(Interruption)

Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag: The local President of the Pakistan Peoples Party if you want the meaning.

Begum Shanaz Wazi Ali: I would suggest that if there is some statement to be made on the floor of this House it should be accurate and maintain the integrity of this House.

Mr. Chairman: I am sure that honourable Minister while winding up the debate will have to say something on it. He will be given full opportunity to contradict any statement which is made in the House.

Yes, please Asif Vardag.

Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag: The next point, Mr. Chairman, is the question of the Eighth Amendment which has been flouted time and again by the leadership of the Pakistan Peoples Party in the press, in the Assemblies and in the public meetings. They forgot that the President of Pakistan is elected by the Senators, the Members of the National Assembly and by the Members of the Provincial Assemblies while the Prime Minister is elected only by Members of the National Assembly, and therefore, to consider that the President is worthy only of being placed in a house and having a flag as Ch. Fazal Ilahi was more or less under house-arrest, (Then they are sadly mistaken that the President is an elected person and therefore, if there is a balance of powers achieved through the Eighth Amendment then these people in the pursuit of their narrow objectives and in the pursuit of their political expediency should be prevented from talking about the Eighth Amendment in this House.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in Sind a terrible law and order situation prevails and so much so that the Prime Minister (it is on record) as saying that a state of near insurgency prevails in Sind. If this is so what has this Prime Minister to ensure that this insurgency does not spread any further and that the seeds of insurgency are rooted out. It is the basic principle of guerilla warfare that the moment an insurgency takes roots it becomes impossible to uproot it, next to impossible and, therefore, what has to be done is to ensure that no insurgency ever takes roots and on the other hand the Prime Minister of Pakistan is creating through her Government conditions thereby the insurgency develops further and further. The past Pakistan Peoples Party Government started a language movement and through that language movement uprooted settlers from remote rural areas of Sind. The present Pakistan Peoples Party Government is engaged in the same exercise of removing settlers from the remote rural areas of Sind and these settlers are moving out migrating in large number from the remote rural areas of Sind. They are unable to sell their property because there is no buyer and they are leaving their hearths and homes and moving to other urban areas of Sind and also to other areas of Pakistan.

Syed Amir Haider Kazmi: Question.

Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag: You may agree or you may not, that is a different matter.

سید امیر حیدر کاظمی : جناب والا! معزز ممبر جس زمانے کا ذکر کر رہے ہیں اس وقت وہ ایک بیوروکریٹ تھے ان کا سیاست سے کوئی تعلق نہیں تھا یہ کیا جانیں اس وقت ملک کی سیاست کیا تھی۔

جناب آصف فیض الدین وردگ : میں اس وقت کی بات کر رہا ہوں جب یہ کلوٹ میں تھے۔

سید امیر حیدر کاظمی : اس وقت آپ بیوروکریٹ تھے آپ کو کیا معلوم ملک کی سیاست کا۔

Mr. Chairman: Kazimi Sahib this is not a point of order and please do not indulge in cross talk and address the Chair.

Yes Mr. Vardag.

اخونزادہ بہرہ ور سعید : یہ آپ کی دزیر اعظم صاحبہ نے فرمایا ہے کہ وہاں نیم
بناوت ہے گوریٹے ہیں۔

Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah: Point of order.

Mr. Chairman: Yes please.

Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah: I am prepared to take the Member anywhere he wants and I do not think he will be touched. I guarantee his safe conduct.

Mr. Chairman: Thank you very much. Yes Mr. Vardag.

(Interruption)

Mr. Asif Fasihuddin Vardag: No, only abducted for fifty lakhs - that is the usual price. Mr. Chairman, the President of Pakistan had stated that the Government must concentrate on positive work and on positive measures for the betterment of the people of this country. So far in the last six months the Pakistan Peoples Party's Government has nothing but a record of failure to its credit. Not a single positive act has been performed by this Government in the last six months. There is a failure in management of the economy, there is a failure in the management of prices, inflation - by their own peoples is stated to be 16% to 18%. There is a failure in the law and order situation - their own Prime Minister says that there is a state of near insurgency. There is a failure, when they dissolved the Baluchistan Assembly they had to see that it was restored. They tried to throw mud on the superior courts of Pakistan and they tried to bring the superior courts of Pakistan under their own control and in that also they miserably failed. There is a failure in their moves to dissolve the Senate and they are still busy in that exercise. There is a failure in by-elections on an over all basis. There is a failure - I am sure, there is bound to be a failure even in their Peoples Works Programme because when they are trying to enter into the Provincial autonomy field, I am sure, that every Province

which values its Provincial autonomy, every individual who values Provincial autonomy in that Province is bound to react to the Peoples Works Programme as the biggest measure that has come up since the 1973 Constitution of negating the Provincial autonomy. I am sure that it will also fail because the lands on which they want to build roads, the lands on which they want to build pavements, the lands on which they want to build schools and dispensaries - these lands are Provincial lands and whatever they build will have to be ultimately maintained by the Provincial Government, and if they continue in this exercise all they are going to have is graveyards of their projects spread all over Pakistan in remote areas and they are bound to fail even in this matter. So, this Government has nothing but a record of failure and the sooner it quits the better. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman: I will allow only five minutes speeches because one or two persons whose names were on the list were not present.

ایک شیخ علی محمد صاحب، آپ بولنا چاہ رہے ہیں جی آپ بولیں۔ زیادہ نہیں مہربانی کر کے پانچ منٹ۔ کیونکہ آپ کا نام پہلے تھا اور آپ موجود نہیں تھے فرمائیں۔

شیخ علی محمد: بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم۔ جناب چیئر مین صاحب! صاحب صدر نے اپنے خطاب میں بڑی اچھی باتیں کہیں اگر ان پر عمل کیا جائے تو کافی مسائل حل ہو سکتے ہیں۔ صدر صاحب نے اپنے خطاب میں خاص طور پر جمہوریت اور آئین کا ذکر کیا ہے اور بتایا ہے کہ جمہوریت کی یہ بے آبروئی کیوں ہوئی۔ اس لیے کہ آئین سے انحراف کیا گیا۔ جناب عالی! ۱۹۵۳ء میں ایک آئین بنا تھا جو پاس ہی نہیں ہوا اور اس سے پہلے آئین ساز اسمبلی کو توڑا گیا خواہ ناظم الدین کی وزارت کو ختم کر دیا گیا حالانکہ تین دن پہلے اس وزارت کو ووٹ آف کانفیڈنس ملا تھا اس وقت کوئی غلطی نہیں تھی۔ اس کے بعد ۵۵ء میں ایوب خان کا مارشل لا آیا اس زمانے میں آیا جب ایکشن ہونے والے تھے حالانکہ مارشل لا کی کوئی ضرورت نہیں تھی بلاوجہ لگا تھا پھر ۱۳ سال فوجی حکومت چلی اور اس

وقت ختم ہوئی جب آدھا پاکستان چلا گیا۔ اس کے بعد جناب ۱۹۷۷ء میں مارشل لا لگانے کی بھی کوئی ضرورت نہیں تھی۔ پی این اے میں اور پیپلز پارٹی میں سمجھوتہ ہو چکا تھا اور فیصلہ ہوا تھا کہ کل

[Shaikh Ali Muhammad]

دستخط ہوں گے جب یہ مارشل لا لگنا تو یہ بات ریکارڈ پر ہے کہ مفتی محمود نے کہا تھا تو اچھا اسی لیے ہم رد کر رہے تھے کہ آجاہت کرو۔ جناب اس ملک کو مارشل لا کیوں بھاگیا ہے ابھی بڑی

مشکل کے بعد جس الیکشن کو ساری دنیا مانتی ہے کہ صحیح اور فیئر ہوئے تھے اور اس میں عوامی نمائندے چن کر آئے ہیں ابھی چار مہینے گزر رہے ہیں تو لوگوں نے کہا شروع کر دیا ہے کہ مڈ ٹرم الیکشن کر دے گا، کوئی کہہ رہا ہے کہ مارشل لا آرہا ہے بھی کیوں مارشل لا آرہا ہے کیوں آپ یہ کہتے ہیں کہ مڈ ٹرم الیکشن کرو۔ چار مہینے بعد الیکشن نہیں ہوتے ہیں! اور میں ان حضرات کو جو الیکشن کا مطالبہ کرتے ہیں سندھ میں خاص طور پر چیلنج کرتا ہوں کہ وہ یونین کونسلوں میں بھی نہیں جیت سکیں گے۔

جناب عالی اس ملک میں اگر جمہوریت چلائی ہے تو اس قسم کی باتیں ختم کرنی ہوں گی انہماق و تفہیم سے کام لینا پڑے گا۔ اچھا کام وزارت کرتی ہے تو اچھا کام کرنے دیں اچھا کام نہیں کرتی تو تنقید کریں لیکن یہ چار مہینے کے بعد کہنا کہ وزارت تو رد و پھر تو ہر چھ مہینے بعد مسئلہ بنے گا۔ ایک قبیلے کے سردار نے دربار بلایا تھا تو دیاں ایک مزارع بھی گھس آیا اس نے دیکھا کہ بڑے بٹھا بٹھا ہیں تو پوچھا کہ خداداد کرے سردار آپ کل مرجائیں تو پھر کون ہو گا اسنے کہا کہ میرا بیٹا ہو گا اگر وہ مر جائے تو اس نے کہا کہ میرا بیٹا ہو گا پھر کہا بیٹا ہو گا سنا آدمی بیٹھا ہوا تھا وہ سمجھ گیا اس نے کہا کہ میاں اگر اس کی بیس پستیں بھی مرجائیں تو تمہاری باری نہیں آئے گی۔ تو یہ جو ہمارے بھائی لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ ابھی الیکشن کرو، الیکشن کرو۔ ہمیں پتہ ہے کہ ان کا حد درجہ کیا ہے وہ کہاں سے جا کو جیتیں گے۔

جناب عالی! صدر صاحب نے اپنی تقریر میں دفاع کا ذکر کیا ہے دفاع کے لیے ایک تو آپ کو تیار کرنی ہے اور پھر ایسے حالات پیدا کرنے ہیں کہ آپ پُر امن ماحول میں رہ سکیں ہمارا سب سے بڑا دشمن انڈیا ہے اور کشمیر کے معاملے پر ہے کشمیر کا معاملہ بجا طور پر ہماری زندگی اور موت کا معاملہ ہے لیکن یہ کشمیر کشمیر کرتے ہیں ہم آدھا پاکستان دھنگوں میں گنوا چکے ہیں اب ایک حکمت عملی یہ تیار کرنی ہوگی ہم اس طرح کریں کہ باتوں سے کشمیر بھی مل جائے اور انڈیا سے دشمنی بھی ختم ہو جائے۔ اگر یہ ختم ہو جائے تو ہمارے اربوں روپے بچ سکتے ہیں تازہ سارک کانفرنس ہوئی تھی اس میں مخمڑہ منبظر بھٹو نے بڑے اچھے طریقے سے ڈیل کیا اور راجیو گاندھی سے باتیں ہوئیں اور معاملہ کچھ صاف ہوا اور فیئر سگالی

ہوئی ابھی ایک بھائی نے کہا تھا راجیو گاندھی نے کہا کہ سکھ دہشت گرد آپ کو ماریں گے اس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ کچھ خیر سگالی پیدا ہوئی ہے اس کو بڑھانا چاہیے اگر آپ لڑ سکتے ہیں میں نہیں سمجھتا کہ آپ لڑائی لڑ سکیں گے۔ جناب عالی! پیپلز پروگرام کے بارے میں بھی عجیب باتیں کہی جاتی ہیں کہا جاتا ہے کہ مارے ہوئے لوگ آئیں گے میرے بھائی ہمارے سابق وزیر اعظم صاحب الیکشن میں مارے گئے پھر پاکستان مسلم لیگ کے صدر میں کس حساب سے؟ اگر مارے ہوئے لوگ اتنے ہی خراب ہیں اتنے ہی گندے ہیں۔

(مداخلت)

شیخ علی محمد: سر یہ interruption ہو رہی ہے۔

جناب چیئرمین: Mr. Chairman: No interruption please.

شیخ علی محمد: اگر اتنے ہی خراب ہیں تو پھر محمد خان کیوں پریزیڈنٹ ہے ہمارے اختر علی قاضی صاحب کیوں پریزیڈنٹ ہیں اقبال صاحب کیوں ہیں یہ کوئی بات ہی نہیں ہے جناب۔ الیکشن میں ہارنا کوئی نئی بات نہیں ہے، ۷۷ کے الیکشن میں اندرا گاندھی ہار گئی تھی ۸۰ء میں جیت گئی یہ کوئی نئی بات نہیں ہے ہارنا کوئی معیوب بات نہیں ہے کہ صاحب ہارے ہوئے لوگ ہیں مارے ہوئے لوگ ہیں۔

Mr. Chairman: Shaikh Sahib please carry on.

مداخلت نہ کریں بولتے دیں۔

شیخ علی محمد: صاحب ہم نے تو کبھی کسی کو interrupt نہیں کیا اگر بات پسند نہیں آتی ہے تو ہم کیا کر سکتے ہیں۔ سچ کر رہتا ہوں۔

Mr. Chairman: You please carry on.

شیخ علی محمد: جناب جو پسماندہ علاقے ہیں ان کے لیے اگر وفاقی حکومت کوئی کام کرتی ہے تو ان لوگوں کو کیوں پیٹ میں مروڑا اٹھتا ہے بھی آپ اپنا کام کریں ان کو اپنا کام کرنے دیں ہم تو کہیں گے بابا صدر صاحب نے کہا ہے کہ جامعیت ہو آفاقیت ہو ہمہ گیریت ہو ایسا پروگرام چلایا جائے کہ سارے پسماندہ علاقوں میں ترقی ہو اور کام چلے مثلاً سندھ میں ہمارے حق اور کوہستان ہے دہال پر حالت بہت خراب ہے یہ پیپلز پروگرام سے کام بڑھاؤ اور

[Sheikh Ali Muhammad]

ان کو خاص موقع دو۔

جناب عالی! ابھی ذکر ہوا کہ سندھ کے حالات کیا ہیں۔ جناب والا، اب سندھ کے حالات کے متعلق عرض کرتا ہوں کہ ہمارے بھائیوں نے یہاں ایسی باتیں کی ہیں جیسے قیامت آگئی ہے، سندھ ٹوٹ پڑا ہے، آسمان گر پڑا ہے، بھائی! کوئی بات نہیں ہے، کچھ نہیں ہوا ہے، پتہ نہیں سندھ نے کیا جرم کیا ہے کہ سندھ کے ساتھ زیادتیاں ہوتی ہیں اور سندھ کو ہی برا بھلا کہتے ہیں۔ سندھ نے تو سب کو جگہ دی ہے، سندھ میں پنجابی رہتے ہیں، پھٹان رہتے ہیں، بلوچ رہتے ہیں، یہ سب بھائیوں کی طرح رہتے ہیں۔ اور وہ وہاں سے وزیر بن گئے ہیں۔ ہمارے سندھ کا کیا حق نہیں بنتا۔ اب ایک قبیلہ آیا ہے مہاجروں کا، جو اپنے آپ کو چالیس سال کے بعد بھی سندھی نہیں بنا سکے۔ اب بھی وہ مہاجر ہیں۔ بھائی! کیوں مہاجر ہیں؟ آپ اب سندھ میں رہتے ہیں، سندھ کا کھاتے ہیں، سندھ کی زمینیں آپ کے پاس ہیں سندھ میں پر اپڑی ہے۔ تو آپ سندھی بن جائیں، وہاں کے چیف منسٹر بن جائیں، آپ کو کوئی رد نہیں ہوگی۔ لیکن یہ بات کہ صاحب ایسے نہیں ہو سکتا۔ ٹھیک نہیں ہے۔

اب آپ کہتے ہیں کہ بیراج سے کچھ لوگ ہجرت کر گئے ہیں، سندھ سے ہجرت کر گئے ہیں۔ ہمیں یہ بتائیں کہ یہ کون سے آدمی ہیں، اس کا کوئی ثبوت ہے تو ہمیں دکھائیں۔ یہ کہاں گئے ہیں۔ جناب والا! ۳ جون ۱۹۴۷ء میں ہندوؤں کا ایک لیڈر سندھ میں آیا تھا۔ ۹ جون کو اچاریہ کرپا راوی، آل انڈیا کانگریس کا صدر جو کہ ہمارے حیدرآباد کا سندھی ہندو تھا، حیدرآباد میں آیا تھا اس نے ہندوؤں کو کہا تھا کہ یہاں سے بھاگو، یہاں سے نکل جاؤ، آپ یہاں سے چلے جائیں گے تو پاکستان بیٹھ جائے گا لیکن ایسا نہیں ہوا۔ اب ہمارے یہ بھائی پنجابیوں کو وہاں سے بھگا رہے ہیں کہ وہاں سے بھاگو، بھاگو۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ بھائی! یہ وہاں سے کیوں بھاگیں، ہم کہتے ہیں کہ وہ وہاں آرام سے بیٹھیں ہم تو صرف یہ کہتے ہیں کہ بھائی! آپ سندھی بنیں اور ہمارے بھائی بنیں۔ پہلے آپ اور بعد میں ہم۔

اب جناب والا! میں ایک گزارش اور کروں گا۔ صدر صاحب نے اپنی تقریر میں تعلیم کا خاص ذکر کیا ہے۔ پرائمری تعلیم کو بڑی اہمیت دی جاتی ہے، میں وزیر تعلیم سے گزارش کروں گا کہ پرائمری تعلیم پر خاص توجہ دی جائے۔ پانچ/چھ روپے میں کوئی آدمی کام نہیں کرے گا۔ آپ زیادہ پڑھ لکھے افراد کو رکھیں، ان کو زیادہ تنخواہ دیں، ان کو ریٹیننگ دیں۔ اور

یہ اس طریقے سے دیں کہ صحیح معنوں میں بچے تعلیم حاصل کر سکیں۔ اور اس طرح لوگ ترقی کر سکیں۔

اس کے بعد میں زراعت کے متعلق عرض کروں گا۔ زراعت کے متعلق ہمارے محمد علی خان صاحب نے کہا تھا کہ زرعی ٹیکس لگنا چاہیئے۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ بھائی، یہ زرعی ٹیکس کیوں لگنا چاہیئے؟ یہ نہیں لگنا چاہیئے۔ پہلے ہی زراعت میں اتنی آمدن کہاں ہوتی ہے، آپ نے اعداد و شمار دیکھے ہیں اعداد و شمار کے مطابق زرعی آمدن اتنی نہیں ہے کہ ٹیکس لگائے جائیں۔

ایکسپورٹ پالیسی کے متعلق عرض کرتا ہوں کہ پچھلے سال مرجوں کی فصل خراب ہو گئی۔ اس لیے باہر سے تین ہزار ٹن مرجیں منگوائی جا رہی ہیں۔ آپ کے ہاں ٹماٹر ہوتا ہے اور آپ اس کی ایکسپورٹ بند کر رہے ہیں۔ یہ کوئی طریقہ نہیں ہے۔ طریقہ یہ ہے کہ آپ پیداوار بڑھائیں۔ پیداوار بڑھا کر ایکسپورٹ بڑھائیں۔ آبادکاروں کو اسی مناسبت سے معاوضہ دیں۔ اس کے بغیر گزارہ نہیں ہوگا۔ آپ نے چونکہ مجھے پانچ منٹ زیادہ دیئے ہیں اس لیے میں اپنی تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں۔

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Muhammad Ali Khan Sahib on a point of order.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Khan: Sir, I never said that agriculture tax should be imposed. I opposed it and I still oppose it.

شیخ علی محمد: جناب والا۔۔۔

Mr. Chairman: No cross talk Sheikh Sahib, please sit down.

شیخ علی محمد: جناب والا! میں عرض کرتا ہوں۔

جناب حمید مین: آپ نے بات کہ لی ہے اب ان کو بات کرنے دیجئے۔

Mr. Salim Saifullah Khan, last speaker.

بریگیڈ میئر (ریٹائرڈ) عبدالقیوم خان: جناب والا! پانچ منٹ مجھے بھی چاہئیں۔

Mr. Chairman: We will have one more speaker - Brig. Qayyum also, five minutes.

جناب سلیم سیف اللہ خان : جناب چیئرمین! آج صدر پاکستان کی تقریر پر بحث

ہے، اس سلسلے میں جیسے صدر صاحب نے ارشاد فرمایا کہ تعمیری تنقید جمہوریت کا ایک حصہ ہے میں بھی یہی کوشش کروں گا کہ جو تنقید ہو وہ تعمیری ہو۔ سب سے پہلے میں جناب والا!

سمجھتا ہوں کہ جس ایوان کا میں ممبر ہوں، جس ایوان میں ہم بیٹھے ہیں یعنی سینیٹ، ہم سب کو معلوم ہے کہ یہ فیڈریشن کی ایک علامت ہے۔ ادویہ تجربہ بھی ہمیں ہوا کہ مشکل حالات میں سینیٹ نے جب مرحوم صدر جنرل ضیاء الحق صاحب کا ایکسیڈنٹ ہوا تو ایک سحران پیدا ہو گیا تھا۔ اس سے نکلنے کے

لیے سینیٹ نے ایک بہت اہم کردار ادا کیا۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ موجودہ حکومت

جس کے معترض وجود میں آنے میں، سینیٹ کا بھی ہاتھ ہے، اس سلسلے میں مجھے افسوس سے کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ سب سے پہلے حکومت نے اسی سینیٹ کے خلاف آواز اٹھائی،

میں پہلے بھی کہ چکا ہوں اور اب دوبارہ یہ کہنے کی جسارت کرتا ہوں کہ موجودہ حکومت کی ایما پر مختلف عدالتوں میں سینیٹ کے خلاف کیس دائر کئے گئے ہیں۔ یہ ایک افسوس ناک واقعہ ہے اور

میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ سینیٹ آف پاکستان کو نقصان پہنچانا، ملک کو نقصان پہنچانے کے مترادف ہے۔

بار بار یہ کہنا کہ جی، پہلے آمریت تھی اور پچھلے گیارہ سالوں کا ذکر کرنا، میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ بھی افسوسناک ہے۔ کیونکہ اس کا مطلب یہی ہوا کہ پچھلے تین سالوں سے، ۱۹۸۵ء سے ہم یہاں بیٹھے

ہوئے ہیں، اور اس کا اشارہ ہماری طرف ہے۔ ٹھیک ہے آپ آٹھ سال کا ذکر کریں۔ لیکن ۱۹۸۵ء

سے ۱۹۸۸ء تک یہ ایوان کام کر رہا تھا۔ یہ سینیٹ قائم ہو چکا تھا۔ اور اس کے خلاف یہ کہنا کہ یہ

ایک آمرانہ دور میں قائم ہوا تھا، میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ جناب چیئرمین، یہ بھی یقیناً افسوسناک ہے۔

جناب والا! جمہوریت کی بھی بڑی باتیں ہوئی ہیں۔ اور ہو رہی ہیں، پنجاب اور صوبہ سرحد میں

جو کچھ ہوا، میں اس کی تفصیل میں نہیں جانا چاہتا لیکن جیسے صدر صاحب نے صحیح فرمایا ہے کہ ہمیں عوام

کا مینڈیٹ جو ملا ہے، اسے تسلیم کرنا چاہیے۔ ہم سنٹر میں پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی کی حکومت کو تسلیم کرتے

ہیں ہم سندھ میں پی پی پی اور ایم کیو ایم کی حکومت کو تسلیم کرتے ہیں، ہم صوبہ سرحد میں آپ کی

coalition government کو تسلیم کرتے ہیں افسوس ناک بات یہ ہے کہ صوبہ پنجاب

میں جہاں پر ہماری اکثریت ہے، جہاں پر آئی جے آئی کی حکومت ہے، اسے آپ تسلیم نہیں

کرتے۔ میں یہ بھی سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس انداز کو جمہوریت نہیں کہتے۔ جو نقصان اس سے ملک کو پہنچ

رہا ہے، اور پہنچتا ہے، اس کے بارے میں تاریخ ہی بتا سکے گی۔

جناب والا! میں اس وقت سندھ کے متعلق عرض کرتا ہوں کہ اس کے بارے میں ایک دو باتیں ہوتی ہیں۔ میرے بھائی وردگ صاحب نے کچھ فرمایا اور شیخ صاحب نے بھی فرمایا ہے حال ہی میں، مجھے بھی سندھ کا دورہ کرنے کا موقع ملا۔ میں سکھر بھی گیا، لاڑکانہ بھی گیا اور موجودہ لاڑکانہ سے پھر واپس آیا۔ وہاں پر یہ کہہ دینا کہ حالات غیر معمولی نہیں ہیں تو یہ بیان حقیقت پسندانہ نہیں ہوگا جہاں پر بھی ہم دورے پر گئے، وہاں پر پاکستانی فوج نظر آئی۔ خواہ وہ سکھر شہر تھا، یا لاڑکانہ شہر، یا المرتضیٰ تھا، ان کے سامنے وہاں فوجی چوکیاں بنی ہوئی تھیں اور وہاں فوجی اسلحہ لے کر بیٹھے ہوئے تھے۔ تو یہ بھی ایک افسوسناک واقعہ ہے جب آپ کو وہاں پر اکثریت حاصل ہے، سندھ اور وفاق میں آپ کی حکومت ہے۔ اور آپ سندھ کے حالات کو کنٹرول نہیں کر سکتے تو کیا یہ ہمارا قصور ہے۔ اس بات کو بھی آپ کو تسلیم کرنا چاہیے کہ باوجود اس بات کے کہ سنٹر میں آپ کی حکومت ہے، صوبہ سندھ میں آپ کو مکمل اختیار ہے لیکن پھر بھی وہاں کے حالات ٹھیک نہیں ہیں۔ تو یہ اس ایوان کے ساتھ اور اس ملک کے ساتھ مذاق کے مترادف ہوگا۔

جناب والا! میں سندھ کے متعلق ہی عرض کرتا ہوں کہ سندھ میں LAMEC نئی روشنی کے اساتذہ سے بھی ملاقات ہوئی۔ ایک طرف آپ بے روزگاری کو ختم کرنے کی بات کر رہے ہیں اور دوسری طرف اٹھارہ ہزار اساتذہ کو بیروزگار کر رہے ہیں۔ ایک طرف اپنے manifesto میں کہتے ہیں کہ ہم تعلیم کے شعبے کو اہمیت دے رہے ہیں، دوسری طرف آپ اٹھارہ ہزار اساتذہ کو سڑکوں پر دھکیل رہے ہیں۔ یہ بھی میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ایک افسوس ناک

واقعہ ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ intention malafide ہے۔ اس میں حکومت وقت یہی چاہتی ہے کہ وہ اپنے لوگوں کو بھرتی کرے۔ اگر ہر حکومت برسرِ اقتدار آکر پچھلے دور کے جو بھی لوگ بھرتی ہوئے ہیں ان کو فارغ کر دے تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس سے بہت ہی افراتفری پھیل جائے گی۔ اس کے علاوہ میں عرض کرتا ہوں کہ مجھے حال ہی میں عمرہ ادا کرنے کی بھی سعادت نصیب ہوئی۔ وہاں جا کر اخباروں میں پڑھا کہ واشنگٹن میں ہمارا جو Lobbyist ہے۔ جناب Mark Segal ایک Zionist جو یہودیوں کا خاص آدمی ہے، اور جو وائٹ ہاؤس کا ممبر تھا، اور جب آرمز سعودی عرب کو دیئے گئے تو اس وقت اس نے احتجاجاً استعفیٰ دیا تھا۔

[Mr. Salim Saifullah Khan]

آج حکومت پاکستان کے خرچے پہ وہاں پر ایک یہودی کو استعمال کیا جا رہا ہے میں یہ بھی حکومت وقت سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا آپ عربوں کے ساتھ یا مسلمانوں کے ساتھ کیوں زیادتی کرنے پتے ہوئے ہیں۔ جناب والا! دراب پیٹل کے کیس میں، میں کیا عرض کروں ایک طرف افغانستان کا مسئلہ ہے ایک طرف وہاں کے حالات ایسے ہیں جو بے انتہا پیچیدہ ہیں دوسری طرف جو ہمارے حکمران ہیں وزراء نے کرام ہیں وہ کوئی سری لنکا اور کوئی تئی دہلی جا رہا ہے اٹارنی جنرل صاحب سامے ماسک کئے تھے یا صحن کئے تھے، وہاں پر دراب پیٹل کے لیے دوٹ مانگنے کے لیے، کیا ضرورت تھی اس وقت، جبکہ معلوم تھا کہ یہ سیٹ ہم نہیں جیت سکتے۔ اس لیے کہ انہوں نے کسی وقت پیپلز پارٹی کا ساتھ دیا تھا۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ جناب چیئرمین! یہ بھی افسوسناک واقعہ ہے کہ ہر جگہ آپ انہی لوگوں کو آگے کر رہے ہیں جنہوں نے کسی وقت پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی کا ساتھ دیا ہے۔

میں employment کے سلسلے میں کچھ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں یہ ایک اہم مسئلہ ہے اس وقت پلیسمنٹ بیورو بنی ہوئی ہے۔ پرائم منسٹر سیکرٹریٹ میں، یعنی وزیر اعظم کے اور اتنے بے انتہا کام ہیں ان پر توجہ نہیں دی جا رہی، یہ پوچھا جا رہا ہے کہ آپ نے کتنے کوڑے کھائے ہیں آپ کتنی دیر جیل میں رہے آئیے ہم آپ کو گریڈ ۱۸، ۲۰، ۲۱ دینا چاہتے ہیں۔ اس کے علاوہ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ویسٹرن پریس میں اس کا بہت ذکر آیا ہے وہ یہ ہے جناب چیئرمین! سب سے پہلے جو وزیر اعظم صاحبہ ہیں inexperienced ہے کبھی وزیر تک نہیں رہیں۔ کبھی ایک ایوان کی ممبر نہیں رہیں آج وہ اس ملک کی وزیر اعظم ہیں۔ کم از کم ان کو یہ چاہیے تھا کہ وہ اپنی کابینہ میں تجربہ کار لوگوں کو بیٹھیں۔ سب سے پہلے انہوں نے اپنی والدہ محترمہ کو وزیر کیا۔ ان کو بھی کوئی تجربہ نہیں ہے جہاں تک منسٹری کا تعلق ہے اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس قسم کے نا تجربہ کار لوگوں کو لینے سے ملک کو نقصان پہنچے گا اور پہنچ رہا ہے۔

جناب والا! آپ معیشت کے حالات دیکھیں کہ کیا حالات ہیں، قیمتیں کہاں چلی گئی ہیں روپے کی قیمت ۲۳/۲۴ روپے تک آچکی ہے اس کے علاوہ لوڈ شیڈنگ جیسے مولانا صاحب نے صحیح فرمایا، پوری رات میں نے بھی نیند نہیں کی اگر کچھ جذبات میں آگیا ہوں تو اس کی یہ بھی وجہ ہے کہ رات ۱۲ سے تین بجے تک میں نیند نہیں کر سکا بجلی چلی گئی تھی۔ تو میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ صرف بجلی کا جانا نہیں کہ گرمی ہے۔ بعض دوستوں نے کہا کہ گرمی۔ ہمارا علاقہ جو گرم ریگستانی علاقہ ہے وہاں سارے ٹیوب ویل پانی پہ چلتے ہیں جب بجلی بند ہو جاتی ہے تو پانی بھی ساتھ بند ہو جاتا ہے

اس گرمی میں بچے پانی کو ترس رہے ہیں۔ اور یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ قصور آپ کا ہے، پچھلی حکومت کا ہے۔ میری گزارش ہے کہ تقریباً آپ کے چھ ماہ مکمل ہونے والے ہیں آپ چھ ماہ اور لے لیں۔ میں شیخ صاحب سے اتفاق کرتا ہوں کہ حکومت چھ ماہ بعد نہیں بدلتی چاہیے۔ چھ ماہ آپ اور لے لیں لیکن خدارا جو صحیح باتیں ہیں اس کی طرف آپ توجہ دیں۔ اس ملک کو ہم بھی چلانا چاہتے ہیں ہم یہ نہیں چاہتے کہ یہ نہ چلے اور اس کو نقصان پہنچے، لیکن خدارا آپ ان چیزوں کو وقت دیں۔ میں پی آئی اے کی سٹرائیک کے متعلق کچھ نہیں کہنا چاہتا، وہ سب کو معلوم ہے کہ اس ہڑتال سے پی آئی اے کو کتنا نقصان پہنچا۔ آپ کوئی دلچسپی ہی نہیں لیتے ہیں جب بھی وزراء صاحبان کا پتہ کرتے ہیں تو کوئی یورپ اور کوئی امریکہ بیٹھا ہے پچھلے دنوں بیان تھا کہ وزیر اعظم صاحب نے اب ان کے باہر جانے پر پابندی لگا دی ہے میں اس کا خیر مقدم کرتا ہوں کوئی پابندی ہونی چاہیے بھائی آپ یہاں بیٹھ کر مسائل حل کریں۔ پی آئی اے میں ایک مہینے سے ہڑتال تھی۔ آپ کو فکر ہی نہیں ہے۔ کروڑوں روپوں کا نقصان ہو گیا۔ اور جو ساکھ کو نقصان پہنچا ہے وہ اس کے علاوہ ہے۔

جناب چیئرمین! میں تنقید کافی کر چکا ہوں کچھ points اور بھی لکھے ہوئے ہیں اور پیپلز پروگرام کے متعلق میرے دوست کافی کچھ کہ چکے ہیں لیکن میں صرف یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ خدارا سینیٹ کے خلاف زیادہ جدوجہد نہ کیجئے۔ آپ کے جوتین اچھے منسٹرز میں جا دید جیار صاحب، گیلانی صاحب، اور صاحبزادہ صاحب، ان کا تعلق اس ایوان سے ہے۔ ذرا آپ سینیٹ کا خیال رکھیں۔ میں جا دید جیار صاحب کی پالیسی کا ذرا خیر مقدم کرتا ہوں کہ سھوڑا بہت وقت ہمیں وہ ٹی دی پی دے رہے ہیں یہ اچھی چیز ہے اس کو continue کرنا چاہیے۔ سنا ہے کہ اب وزیر اعظم صاحبہ اسلام آباد شفٹ ہو رہی ہیں پیڈی میں نہیں رہتا چاہتیں کیونکہ وہاں پنجاب کی حکومت ہے۔ یہ بھی ایک اچھی بات ہے اس کا میں خیر مقدم کرتا ہوں۔ یہ اچھی بات ہے کہ وہ ہمارے قریب ہوں ہمارے دلوں کے قریب ہوں۔ ہمارے ایوان کے قریب ہو اور ہمارے سیکرٹریٹ کے قریب ہو جائیں۔ ہاں یہ بھی امید ہے کہ اس طرح وہ ایوان میں زیادہ آئیں گی۔ میں شاعری تو کم کرتا ہوں لیکن ایک شعر اپنی بات ختم کر دوں گا۔

ہے ستاروں سے آگے جہاں اور بھی ہیں

(مخترمہ) ابھی عشق کے امتحان اور بھی ہیں

جناب چیئرمین: شکریہ۔ جناب بریگیڈیئر عبدالقیوم صاحب۔

Mr. Chairman: I know you will be very concise and brief.

Brig. (Retd.) Abdul Qayum Khan: Mr. Chairman, I hope you will hold back the *Azan*. Thank you Mr. Chairman, for allowing me the time inspite of the shortage of time. Sir, most of the honourable Members who spoke before me have expressed their gratitude to the President for his Address to the Joint Sitting. Sir, I want to add my congratulations to him for having brought about the restoration of democratically elected Government. Sir, he has made it a reality, he has created a place of honour for himself in the history of this country. I pray to God Almighty that the people and the leaders, thus elected also succeed in furthering the cause of democracy and create a place of honour for themselves in the history of this country.

Sir, the President had referred to many matters in his Address and most of the Members have already spoken on them. I will only speak where I feel I could make some extra contribution. Sir, the results of the general elections clearly indicate that the people have voted for the Federation. They have voted for the parliamentary system of government. They have voted for the political parties. In fact they have voted for the two party parliamentary system of government. Opposition both in the Centre and in the Provinces is strong enough to make itself felt and heard. Sir, the people have thus shown their preference. With all humility I suggest that we should not try to alter the verdict of the people by any means other than a fresh reference to them at an opportune time.

Sir, in the beginning I thought that the lack of ideal relationship between the Federal Government and the two Provincial Governments (Punjab and Baluchistan) should not cause any undue alarm. I thought it was part of the functional anarchy that sets in with the change of every government or the change in the system of the governments. Since we have been more often than not under the authoritarian rule the functional anarchy is more pronounced. Sir, it was there when the democratically elected government was installed in March, 1985. But it is more pronounced today because the party in power in the Centre is sitting in Opposition in two of the Provinces and it does not have majority

in the Senate. Sir, but this is inherent in the federal parliamentary system of government that we are trying to work. It has been happening for the past many years in the neighbouring country. They have settled down to it. It can happen to us again and again. Sir, I am sure that the authors of the 1973 Constitution did not rule out such a possibility. In fact, I find the germs in that Constitution. Next time, there may be some other party in power in the Centre and other parties in power in a Province or two, and the party is still not having majority in the Senate. So, therefore, we must settle down to it and make it worth in the interest of the democracy, which we profess is so dear to us.

Mr. Chairman: The House is adjourned to meet again after the *Maghrab* prayers at 7.30 P.M.

(The House then adjourned for *Maghrab* prayers)

[The House re-assembled after interval with Mr. Chairman (Mr. Wasim Sajjad) in the Chair.]

Mr. Chairman: Brig. Abdul Qayum Khan, I think, was holding the floor. In the meantime I just would like to inform the honourable Senators that the annual dinner of the Senate is being held tomorrow at 8.30 P.M. at the Holiday Inn, all Senators - we are trying to send cards, some might have received them, I don't know, are invited. So, there should be no doubt about that and they are cordially invited and they should come and attend the annual dinner tomorrow at 8.30 P.M. at Holiday Inn, Islamabad. The Ministers are also invited, there should be no doubt about that but I just thought that some Senators are out of station sometimes and there may be some difficulty in sending them cards, so everybody is invited. Janab Brig. Sahib.

Brig. Abdul Qayum Khan: Sir I was saying that since it is in the Constitution, therefore, we must try to work it in the spirit of the Constitution without trying to undo the things. Sir, we are capable of doing it. I say so, because in the case of Baluchistan Assembly we have shown that capability. There was a storm blowing on the dissolution of Baluchistan Assembly for sometime. But the matter was so beautifully resolved by accepting the decision of the Baluchistan High Court. Except for an old tree that

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might have been uprooted here and there, there are no traces of the damage caused by that storm. Sir, there is another storm blowing presently on the difference of opinion on the mechanics of Peoples Programme. Sir, no one is against the programme as such. There is no difference on principles, it is only on mechanics. Sir, given the goodwill from both sides, I am confident that our leaders are capable of resolving these differences in a very amicable manner. Both sides should subordinate their personal any party interest to the larger interest of the Nation and further the cause of democracy. Sir, these differences can be resolved in a spirit of give and taken. Whosoever gives in more will ultimately emerge taller than the others.

Sir, I have said earlier that the prevailing functional anarchy should not cause undue alarm. But Sir, it should not be allowed to prevail indefinitely. It should not be allowed to cross the permissible limits and we seem to have reached the borders of those limits. Sir, if allowed to continue indefinitely, it will cause frustration and despondency and that is fatal for the growth of democracy. Sir, the frustration in democracy creates ideal and objective conditions for other types of government to set in and in the bargain we loose this wonderful system of government by the elected representatives of the people. Sir, I beg of our leaders to show patience tolerance and accommodation as these are the basic requirements and ingredients of democracy.

Sir, the President has in his Address referred to the worsening economic situation in the country. The Prime Minister has warned of a harsh budget next month. The people will be prepared to tighten their belts and suffer the hardships provided they are assured of at least four things that occur to my mind. Firstly that the Government is also tightening its belt over its ever increasing bulging belly. Sir, the living standards of our functionaries are too loud and are not certainly commensurate with the economic conditions of our country. Government will have to show austerity and visibly share the hardships of our people and at least at present they should share the load-shedding without starting the generators when the load-shedding comes. Sir, please forgive me for telling you what a late friend of mine once said about our attitudes. He said, "we speak like philosophers, we spend like kings and we borrow like beggars." Sir, we need to change this attitude.

Secondly the people must be assured that at least 80% of the taxes and duties already levied are actually recovered. We have reports from various commissions on enormous tax evasion. In some cases, it exceeds 60%. With that state of recovery, it will not be morally correct to levy new taxes or enhance the rate of the present taxes. Sir, that much is for the financial situation.

Thirdly, the people would like to know as to what steps are being taken to reduce the enormous deficits incurred every year by our various semi-autonomous, autonomous bodies and corporations. Presently, the railways, the steel mills, national shipping corporation, PIDC, Cotton Export Corporation and alike incur deficits in billions every year. Lastly, I know of even the Cotton Export Corporation had incurred a deficit of over one billion rupees in only one year. This state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. I suggest that the Standing Committees of two Houses of the Parliament should examine the efficacy and financial viability of these organizations in their respective Ministries and submit a report to the Parliament as well as to the Government. Lastly, people would like to see some concrete measures to be taken to control the corruption at least at the policy planning level. This policy planning level is beyond the reach of any anti-corruption organization. At the present moment there are various types of corruption and various levels of corruption, but Sir, the fish starts rotting in the head. Similarly, the corruption starts from the top and that is why I have said to start only with the policy planning level which is the top. Sir, I suggest that a Parliamentary Commission for Eradication of Corruption should be constituted and it should comprise of the Members of the both Houses of Parliament and should be headed by the Prime Minister. It should have a number of sub-committees with powers of public hearing in the cases of corruption that may be referred to the Commission by the either House of the Parliament. It should be answerable to the Parliament and that is a must, Sir. If it is answerable to the Government or to the Prime Minister alone, it will meet the same fate as the previous committees and commissions. Any other type of commission will not do. The system of public hearing will serve, I hope, as a deterrent at the policy planning level as well as at the supervisory level. Sir, it is my conviction that a nation suffering from an enveloping corruption, as we are, is neither capable of any

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economic development nor can it survive any crisis, internal or external. Some time back I wrote a fairly comprehensive paper on the subject suggesting some remedial measures. I could give it to the Interior Minister whatever its worth is if he is interested.

Sir, my friend, honourable Senator Mr. Sartaj Aziz has suggested a body comprising of elder Members from both the Houses of the Parliament for the resolution of various differences. I fully support his view. We seem to have reached the stage where something like that is desperately needed. However, instead of elder Members from both the Houses, I suggest a council of elders for national reconciliation who are not currently affiliated with any political party. These should include the retired politicians, known intellectuals and may be retired civil servants and retired army officers with no known political sympathies. The Members of such a council should not be aspirants for any office and should have no executive powers. They could be provided with some facilities of travel and accommodation and their job should be to continuously try to resolve the differences between the Provinces and the Federal Government, between the political parties, if possible, between the ethnic groups, if possible, between the religious rivalries, if possible and, I hope, at present. That appears to be the only solution because the politicians themselves do not seem to be prepared to talk to each other.

Sir, I thank you very much for bearing with me and giving me the time.

Mr. Chairman: Thank you very much. Mr. Javed Jabbar.

Mr. Javed Jabbar: Thank you. Mr. Chairman.

I would like to begin by thanking all the Members of the Senate who participated in the debate on the motion to discuss the President's Address and to express thanks to him.

I think, when we take a long view of the debate it was a very useful exposition of a wide variety of views not only on the text of the Address but also of many developments after the Address. I have a great deal of respect for the wisdom, the experience and the commitment of the Members of the Senate to the ideals of national democracy and stability. At the same time, one is constrained to record a reservation of respect where certain opinions which are based patently on incorrect facts have been repeated

despite the fact that for the past five months we have witnessed on a number of occasions that claims and counter-claims made were very satisfactorily shown to be not so.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to begin by simply reiterating the fact that this is a Federal Government composed of a political party which has come to an office as a result of possibly the single most fairest and freest general election which is commonly accepted by all concerned. Even though our party had reservations on the use of the Identity Cards, for instance, as part of the electoral eligibility of voters, nevertheless, we are prepared to concede that in historical terms the election of November, 1988 represents abundant opportunity to all segments of political opinion in Pakistan to participate in an election. Therefore, this Government has a credibility and a natural authority which excels that possibly of any previous government and when one sees this one even recalls the first PPP Government because the first PPP Government came into office after a great national tragedy and it can be debated whether there should have been a second election or otherwise. One will not go into the this controversy but one will submit that this Government is not representing simply the civilian face of Martial Law. It represents the most well-thought out more sustained political process in the history of this country. It is then necessary, Mr. Chairman, to be very clear on the concept of the President's Address. Let us be clear that it is a policy statement of the Federal Government. It is not the statement of an individual, it is not a statement of the President in his personal or even in his public capacity as President. By all Constitutional norms, the President's Address is a policy statement by the present Federal Government. One wishes to state this because regretfully attempts have been made through out the debate to draw a distinction between the personality of the present distinguished President of Pakistan and the Federal Government. On the other, whereas the Constitution makes it very amply clear that the executive authority of the Federation is the President and much as we may admire the present President much as we are personally familiar with his extraordinary distinctions in this debate, it is not appropriate, it is not fair to simply give the President credit for certain observations and then separate the rest of the Government and say that the Government is guilty of this or not guilty of that. There is a joint-shared identity. The Constitution specifies that the President indeed is a part of Parliament. There is not a separation on that level. So, therefore, I suggest that

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when we look upon the text of the President's Address and the conduct of this Government all concerned with the Government including the President, the Prime Minister, the Federal Cabinet and all officials are part of the process of responsibility and it is necessary to note that while one acknowledges the historic role of the present incumbent of the office of President in the remarkable transition to constitutional rule, it is also necessary to record the remarkable contribution made by the political parties of this country whose contribution may not be judged merely between the 17th of August and 16th of November but should be looked upon as a historical process most particularly from the 5th of July, 1977 to the 16th November, 1988. And indeed thereafter it is the role of the political parties which despite severe discouragement managed to keep alive the concept of a democratic struggle and, therefore, the achievement of a multi-party parliamentary system is again a shared credit where faceless people who have suffered for democracy as well as not so faceless people - all must be given due credit.

Mr. Chairman, there were extraordinary circumstances in which this particular President's Address was presented. When you look at the sum total of events that took place in 1988, it is possibly the single most tumultuous and eventful year in the entire history of Pakistan. In recent times, in fact in the last four years, in terms of sheer numbers one could say that this is the 5th President's Address under the present system of Parliament. The first was in 1985, the second in 1986, the third in 1987 and there were two President's Addresses in 1988, the first was in April and more particularly the month of December itself in which this Address was made was packed with events which were taking place literally every 12 hours - events which were purely ceremonial as well as substantive. Ceremonial events such as the swearing in of the Members of the National Assembly but substantive events also, namely, election of the Speaker, the swearing in of the Provincial Cabinets the Federal Cabinet, the election subsequently, of course, of the Chairman of the Senate, the appointment of Chief Ministers. And when you look at this compressed schedule - the second of December, the Prime Minister is nominated, she takes oath of office and then within 10 days a President's Address is presented. Now, no Government can seek the excuse of lack of time and such is the nature of Government and politics that the moment you are given a responsibility you become responsible for every thing literally in

one sense for what has happened before you and, therefore, in that tradition this Government also prepared the President's Address and presented it. We did not wish to seek a delay. In fact, if you recall in 1985 there was a delay but here, pressed as we were from every possible angle, we proceeded promptly.

The President's Address is not to be seen as an explicit, definitive plan for every single step that the Government will take in the coming year. It is an outline, a concept of principles, an enunciation of direction allowing scope for gradual amplification of each principle that has been enunciated and it is not appropriate to look upon the President's Address or look through the President's Address for every single comma or fullstop which the Government have to fulfil as the year proceeds and as the five year mandate of the Government proceeds.

In outlining the policy and in pursuing the implementation of the text of the President's Address Mr. Chairman, the Government was guided by two principal considerations:

- (1) to genuinely strengthen the concept of the permanence of democratic constitutional role; and
- (2) secondly to maximize the benefits of development to the people of Pakistan.

The President's Address, it is necessary to note because of a number of comments that have been made, is from a Federal Cabinet which is proud, which truly proud to be headed by the youngest Prime Minister in the world. One says this because attempts were made during this debate to throw doubt upon the competence of this Government on the basis of its age or its alleged lack of experience. I say in reply Mr. Chairman, God save us from the so-called experienced people of this country. Look at what they have done to this country over the past forty years. This country, above all, needs freshness, it needs a break from the vices and the burden and the baggage of the past. We, as a Government, in fact, derive strength and confidence from the fact that we are a young Government. In fact, some of us are not so young; so it is good to be considered young but we certainly respect genuine wisdom, we respect experience and there is a fair share of wisdom and experience and maturity in this Cabinet. But I ask you, Mr. Chairman, in a country where Martial Law prevents the development of political talent deliberately, it subverts the growth of political talent, where are you going to find experienced

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political people. So, many personalities of this country have had to be by force, by compulsion grow under the shadow of Martial Law. So, where do you acquire ministerial experience and indeed why does experience has to be an essential consideration in the conduct of certain affairs of State. A young Government also truly reflects the composition of the population of this country. About 50% of Pakistan's population is under the age of 21, then all the other age groups together going up to the 70s and 80s make up the remaining 50%. In any case many historic, many crucial decisions in the world history, many changes have been brought about by a young and vital leadership. So, we are proud to be young and we have no cause to offer any apology or defence for being so.

Mr. Chairman, the general tone of the debate was review-oriented and it seemed that some Members, distinguished as they are, made an attempt to be objective but, of course, I think, we should discard this attempt to be objective. Because truly you cannot be objective. After all there has to be subjectivity but while subjectivity is perfectly understandable and while the role of the Opposition is perfectly understandable one must submit that surely the Senate, above all, must set an example of debate where unsubstantiated allegations, where unverified facts, where incorrect data is not made the basis for the repetition of accusations that have already proven to be false. Above all the Senate must look for a new and higher level of debate.

At the same time Mr. Chairman, I will submit that I am sure this Government has its own blemishes and its own weaknesses. No Government can be free of this. All governments are made up of human beings and perhaps our blemishes to some may appear bigger than they should be but we submit ourselves to accountability. We will never attempt to by-pass the parliamentary process whether it is a single rupee that is spent of the national exchequer or any other action. All members of this Government - all of us are subject to accountability. So let us, therefore, make sure that when we fling accusations at Government or Opposition, we respect the sanctity of facts but Mr. Chairman, perhaps a combination of factors has created a peculiar atmosphere, which I note in the last few weeks or months in this country - an atmosphere in which an almost systematic attempt is being made to disrupt the tenure of this Government. I was amused, to say the least, in today's paper a call for mid-term elections yet again repeated, also grave forebodings to a return of Martial Law by members of

Parliament. No I beseech you, Mr. Chairman, if members of Parliament begin to lose faith in democracy which is not even six months old then who do we turn to ?

A very high level of expectations was perhaps placed in this Government. It can be understandable. After 11 years you get the first multi-party system. Obviously every one expects a very high level of return or fulfilment but may I submit that we must be fair to this Government. Without in any way wanting to submit this as an excuse, is six months the period in which all governments are judged and is this on its own an isolated factor. Look at also, Mr. Chairman, the splintered nature of the mandate. It is not just a split mandate. It is an incredibly splintered mandate. No previous government has had to live with the kind of political equations and balances that have been created. It requires an extraordinary act of political management simply to operate in the Parliament alone which previous government has had a spectacle where the Upper House is composed of an overwhelming majority which is not part of the government. A Lower House which is with the Government and in the four Provinces a completely different arrangement. The best of politicians and the greatest of statesmen would find this a daunting challenge, leave alone a Peoples Party Government which has just been given a belated opportunity to represent the mandate of the people. And perhaps a third element which has caused this atmosphere, lapses at a political level perhaps both by other parties as well as by ourselves but this is inevitable in any political process.

Lastly Mr. Chairman, this atmosphere of an attack on the credibility of this Government which has been launched but which I can categorically say that the people of Pakistan do not share is a systematic disinformation campaign. A systematic disinformation campaign which we know, we know who is doing it and where it is being done from but we do not wish to react. We wish to let the democratic process take its own course and we have faith in the people, they will be able to tell what is fact and what is fiction and they will ultimately be the true arbiter.

Mr. Chairman, a reference was made to our Prime Minister. Indeed sometimes it appears that our Prime Minister inspires an unduly high level of response from certain distinguished Members and it was said that in five months she has failed to become a stateswoman or a statesman. Indeed coming from a distinguished Member who faithfully worked with the Martial Law system for eleven years where that

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Martial Law Administrator took all the time in this world to become a statesman who did not give a heck for what the world thought or what the people thought who is that person representing ideals of statesmanship. Are you supposed to become a statesperson within six months of becoming a Prime Minister. Sometimes history delivers a judgement fifty years after a person passes away. Indeed in the time frame that this young Prime Minister has had, I think, she had demonstrated extraordinary qualities of leadership. Look at what she has inherited. Give her time already in the time that she has had. She has proven to be a better of many others who had preceded her. So, let us not use this incredible timeframe of five months. Suddenly the timeframe to judge statesmanship has been reduced from twenty years to five months.

It was also said that we spent too much time attacking past governments. I agree this is an unhealthy convention in Pakistan but with respect one submits who is against sayings. It is unfortunately said by people who have belonged to the previous government, who spent most of their time attacking the first Peoples Party Government who kept trying to justify the unconstitutional intervention of 1977. We are willing to set a new precedent but we only wish to acknowledge the contribution made by people with life, with sweat and with tears to the struggle for democracy. It was also said that an independent commission should be set up to assess the misdeeds of the previous government or prove whether they were as bad as they are painted to be. This again is amusing because it comes from Members of a party who upheld the sworded events of 1979 where leave alone an independent commission, the combined appeals of all world heads of States and governments were callously, cold bloodedly ignored in order to conduct a political assassination. So, if there are examples of independent commissions in this country's history we are willing but what can be more independent than Parliament itself. Parliament is the supreme arbiter, Parliament has given us the mandate to government and we expect, therefore, a reciprocal response.

It was said also Mr. Chairman, that yet again some nefarious zionist has ben appointed as a lobbyist. This is again a patently incorrect statement. It was contradicted the next day by a government spokesman who gave the facts, who gave the name of the firm, who said that a person who may happened to be a Jew is one of the people working in that firm. Now, we cannot guarantee that in the United States or in France or in Japan if someone happens to be a

Jew we cannot discontinue the business of the Government of Pakistan simply on the basis of religion. Afterall why wasn't this voice raised when in the previous governments' tenure the then Chief Martial Law Administrator and President used to openly meet various distinguished Jews who are known to have been zionists. No word was raised then and I can cite the name of those people who visited Pakistan and then to repeat such a charge which has already been refuted is simply I think to cause more confusion.

As to the candidature of the distinguished Judge Dorab Patel for the ICJ, I think Pakistan on one level emerged with great honour, look at the vote count that we secured with a relatively late candidacy. In the ICJ Mr. Chairman, as you are well aware candidacies are announced may be a year ahead, two years ahead and it was a great distinction for Pakistan that such a large number of Members of the United Nations General Assembly Security Council voted for a candidate put up by Pakistan, and one can lose, one can win, in an international election. I think it has taught us some useful lesson. We are confident of succeeding the next time. There is also the charge that people who have suffered or given undue political patronage this yet again Mr. Chairman, must be seen in two ways. It is a legitimate time honoured practice in all democratic and parliamentary systems and even in non-parliamentary systems even the American presidential-cum-democratic system, you have a system by which each time the new President comes, wholesale appointments are made across the board. New people are appointed in places even which are conventionally considered bureaucratic appointments. We have not done so. We have minimized the induction of people at a senior level. And where people have been deprived of the opportunity to gain employment because of their political persecution who there with due consideration to their qualifications sticking as far as possible to the prescribed qualifications unlike a certain provincial government which tried to by-pass the Public Service Commission, we are trying as far as possible to observe the law and we will observe the law for the first three or four months of this government, we suspended all appointments because we did not wish to simply blindly start appointing people. We first studied the vacancies then we studied the applicants and only then proceeded.

On loadshedding certainly as a government we are extremely conscious of the discomfort, the inconvenience, the hardship that people have to suffer and we would not for one moment want to prolong discomfort but there

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are some factors which are purely beyond our control. Whether it is the level of the waters in the rivers or it is the illegal theft of electricity that deprived the national grid system of being able to meet their legitimate requirements of people who pay their bills. There are a whole host of factors but it is on good authority that the Chairman WAPDA has only today declared in an interview telecast on television that he is confident that in the next three weeks the present acute state of inconvenience will be minimized.

There was also a reference made to the restrictions on Ministers' travel overseas. May I submit the facts of the case. The facts of the case are that our Ministers have only travelled where official business takes them and as far the restriction on the month of the June this restriction applies because of the presentation of the budget and obviously it is the duty of the Cabinet to remain in Parliament when the budget is being discussed. It was also stated that during the PIA crisis the government made no efforts to solve the matter. This is as usual the opposite of the truth. From the moment that the trouble occurred the Minister as well as the management of the PIA was constantly engaged in a dialogue with the representatives of PIA Pilots and fortunately that issue too has been resolved.

It is also necessary Mr. Chairman, before I begin to point out the contradictions between what has been claimed that this government has done nothing in five months, in fact, exactly the opposite is true again. Before I submit the various specific measures that we have taken in a short period of time, please recall that the previous government inducted into office in March 1985, took a whole nine months to present what turned out to be the Five Point Programme which was largely inspired by the original Peoples Works Programme of the early 70s. Now that took them nine months just to present a document. Here we have presented a comprehensive President's Address. We have already proceeded on all levels possible to take action and a totally unfounded accusation is being circulated that in five months we have done nothing. As I said before the opposite is true. Enlisting the measures that the Government has already taken in certain important sectors Mr. Chairman, it is necessary to remember that in our kind of system you can bring about fundamental political change at the top by holding an election. You elect a popular party such as our own, you have changed the top. But also in our country and in our kind of system in many countries, the main administrative system remains exactly what it was. The pace of change in the administrative

system is disproportionately slower to the pace of change at the political level and this is the reality which every government lives with and we are living with that reality. We want to reform the administrative system make it more efficient, more effective but it is a choice of whether you want to be cruel, throw people out of jobs because of their inefficiency or reform gradually. So, when we talk of time scales, this, I think, represents an obstacle as well as a challenge.

Mr. Chairman, I would begin by pointing out that the Federal Government views the concept of Provincial autonomy with the greatest deal of respect and while there have been difficulty certainly in dealing with the Government of Punjab that does not in any way change our concept of Provincial autonomy. In a peculiar political situation such as we find ourselves, some of the problems that we have faced between Lahore and Islamabad are inevitable. We simply have to learn to live with this kind of a new political arrangement. Some of the problems, if not many of them, have been caused by certain regrettable actions of the Punjab Government but that has not changed the view of the Federal Government as regards Provincial autonomy. And in all the other cases, as you see in the case of NWFP, in the case of Sind, we have acted with complete unanimity and harmony. In the case of Baluchistan, it is incorrectly again stated that the present Government had anything to do with that crisis. From the word 'go' our stand was let the courts resolve this issue because the Governor himself was not appointed by the Pakistan Peoples Party Government and in good time our stand was vindicated.

As regards the most difficult Province in terms of its present state of law and order - Sind, first of all one must reiterate the patriotism of the people of Sind. Regrettably there was an attempt made to say that in certain places in Sind the Pakistan flag does not fly, therefore, there is doubt as to what the people of Sind or a part of the people of Sind are thinking about Pakistan. Let me say that as a person who lives in Sind and is proud to be a Pakistani all the people of Pakistan and all the people of Sind are committed to the ideals of a federation and the best expression of this is the pattern of the vote which they gave in November 1988. The assumption, Mr. Chairman, that you know because the Peoples Party came to power and MQM was in office who has had a major share of the urban votes all problems would be solved and therefore, the Federal Government and the Provincial Government have

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failed is an incorrect assumption. Wherever the ethnic poison in world politics has been unleashed. I would like to know which Government has solved an ethnic issue within six months. Either you take the Irish question or you take the Indian situation. The present Prime Minister of India came to office on the basis of an overwhelming landslide in 1984, 3/4th majority in the Lok Sabha, and yet soon after that overwhelming mandate, ethnic issues hold a new record. Therefore, to hold the Pakistan Peoples Party's Federal Government responsible for not solving it in six months defies all rationality.

To begin with Mr. Chairman, this Government's party never made a promise in its entire election campaign that we will come to office and solve the problem in six months. In fact we did the opposite. We kept warning the then government, we kept warning the nation that if we allow Martial Law to continue, if we allow these factors to continue, the problem is going to get worse. Show me a single statement by any responsible official of the Peoples Party who said that we will solve this problem in six months. We recognize the gravity, the complexity of the problem and we are sparing no effort at all to tackle it and in tackling it we have to remember Sind is possibly the most difficult area to govern not just in Pakistan but in Asia which other similar territory in Asia has had 15% of its population, migrating into that area over a period of 30 years. You show me a similar Province and you show me a successful government and I will take responsibility for then solving the problem within three months. It is not possible to do so. We will simply have to learn to live with a gradual but Inshallah effective resolution of all the complex shortages, the basic needs of the people which have to be met and the political solution that has to be achieved.

In addition to the number of administrative measures that the Federal Government and the Sind Government together have taken in Sind. Mr. Chairman, on a psychological level alone, I think this Government made a tremendous break-through which may not have been fully appreciated. Earlier this year when our Prime Minister visited the University of Sind at Jamshoro for a convocation, I think it represented the first time in my memory in the 70's I don't recall except possibly and the Peoples Party's is first government that a head of government or a head of state had even stepped inside that campus. The alienation, the break down between the young people of Pakistan and the national political leadership was so great that no major political

functionary of Government was even permitted to come into the campus and I think by her going there a tremendous act of feeling of reconciling alienation has taken place and it will take time of course for all that to show results but the first step has been taken. In a multi-party system, Mr. Chairman, to tackle any issue effectively is more difficult than to tackle it supposedly in a one party or a two party system. It becomes more difficult because at every step you have to take into account different points of view at the Federal level, at the Provincial level. In Sind there are so many different points of view and in the Federal level also there are so many different points of view. A dictatorial government can afford to ride rough shod over all opinions and say this is what we are going to do because later generations will pay the price. We don't want to do that. We want to approach matters through reconciliation and consensus.

Now, to list the measures Mr. Chairman, which this Government has done virtually the first act of this Government on the 3rd of December when the Prime Minister addressed her first Press conference. She took the first step to liberate from unjust imprisonment, the hundreds of people who have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment going upto fourteen years and more and I would like to categorically refute as unfounded and false the charge that this Government has let loose murders and kidnappers and rapists, absolutely not so. The records will show that only those people who were not even given a chance to be heard in a military court, who were sentenced in absentia, who were sentenced for democratic efforts, those people are the ones who were liberated under that historic decision.

So, human rights the most basic sector of national activity is the first sector chosen by our Government for effective action that every step in the past five months, the Federal Government has tried to demonstrate its intense respect for the judiciary. We do not ever wish to bypass the judiciary as in the past and we have already initiated steps to separate the executive from the judiciary. In the field of labour and the welfare of workers a large number of measures have already been announced either in the Prime Minister's own address on 3rd December or on May Day by the honourable Minister of Labour by which industrial workers or the widows of workers, their children, their childrens' education is being given extra-ordinary incentives and supporting facilities and they are all listed here. I do not wish to enumerate them because I think these measures

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have already been announced and have already begun to be implemented. In some cases we have to prepare necessary legislation and submit it to Parliament that work has already been undertaken but whether it is the provision of 20 million per annum for the financing of schemes for drinking water, for workers in the mining areas of Pakistan or similar financial outlays in others. The Government has responded immediately to the needs of workers and the poor income groups and more substantively in this field immediately we restored trade union activity. The Prime Minister announced that in fulfilment of the manifesto in major state corporations which are so sensitive, trade union activity would be allowed and not only allowed, Mr. Chairman, I would like to be enlightened whether any previous government has ordered that a mechanism be set in a place where over two thousand people in PIA alone who were unjustly dismissed can offer their problems and if it is proven that no compensation was given to them or that they have been truly unjustly dealt with and that they wish to be re-employed, that re-employment will also be offered to them. Where before in the history of Pakistan, do you find any example where such a large scale of re-induction of people already dismissed has been offered ?

In the case of the electrification of villages, even though there were severe resource constraints in the short five month period we have already delivered electrification to 844 villages. Our target is more than double of that and I am conscious that in the past years once or twice the figure of two thousand has been exceeded. But in our conditions of 5 months operative conditions have been extremely difficult and despite those difficulties, 844 villages in this very short period of time have been electrified and we hope to increase more than double that number by the end of the financial year.

In the field of narcotics control, Mr. Chairman, where before in the previous government I do not recall a single major drug trafficker prosecuted by a military court and actually sentenced. I do not recall the name of any major drug trafficker even in the immediately preceding government. This Government has set narcotics control as one of its highest priorities and we have already prosecuted three, we are holding them. We are now very closely monitoring the whereabouts of the others and action is either presently being undertaken at this very moment or will be undertaken in the next few weeks. No government in Pakistan's

history has been as conscious of this responsibility by, for example, giving a full ministerial division status to the very subject itself.

In the field of education - one of the most dilemma-ridden sectors of our activities, we have conducted a comprehensive review of what was done, what was attempted to be done and what must now be done and in order to take everyone into confidence we called the National Education Conference. After that, some mis-representation has again sought to be made about the scheme called 'Nai Roshni' and mistakenly it is being lumped with our attitude to LAMEC which is the Literacy Mass Education Commission, the two are distinct separately. The action of this Federal Government with regard to 'Nai Roshni Schools' is motivated primarily by the objective of reducing wastage. This Government discovered that a large amount of money was being spent on the offices of LAMEC instead of schools of LAMEC, the Nai Roshni Schools. We also discovered that a very large amount was being paid as salaries to retired forces officials or retired civil officials and that the whole onus of the programme was not out there in the field and, therefore, from the point of view of saving basic very badly needed financial resources for the education sector, that have we done. We have simply got rid of a top heavy structure. We are retaining the services of 15,500 field teachers who will be offered to the Provincial Governments for absorption there to help the primary schools which are grossly understaffed. We know that there are primary schools where there are hundreds of students and not enough teachers. So, those people are simply being placed at the disposal of the Provincial Governments and three of these Provincial Governments have already warmly welcomed this change. It is only the Punjab Provincial Government which is having some problems in looking at the merits of this factor but I hope, we all hope that the Punjab Government too will look upon the merits of this case. It is being sought that we are throwing thousands of people out of employment. This is again a completely baseless charge. At the very most a few hundreds, three to four hundred people who are not concerned with field teaching may have to be disengaged or are being disengaged but that is inevitable. When you know that their services are not being productively employed, it would not be responsible on the part of the Government to simply continue employing people wastefully. And in the education sector, Mr. Chairman, in response to the democratization of society we have inducted the concept of democracy in the campuses

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by restoring the concept of students unions.

Mr. Chairman, I now come to the economy because the economy is as basis for development as education, if not more so and I simply wish to indulge your patience for a minute by sharing with you some data as to the situation that we inherited. The share of tax revenue for example as a percentage of gross domestic product in the tenure of the two previous governments actually declined. If in 1977-78, the tax revenue contributed 12.2%, by 1987-88, it had declined instead of increasing. It had declined to 11.4%. One would have expected that we are told that the previous government had very qualified people to run the economy that this government does not even have a fullfledged Finance Minister and this is the first opening statistic. The second one is the level of financing of budget from internal debt and look at this record here. In the 1977-78 financial year, the budget was financed from internal debt only to the extent of Rs. 7 billion. But just 10 years later it had jumped to Rs. 41 billion, instead of bringing down the level at which the internal debt was financing the budget it had been grossly increased the non-productive expenditure. Everyone has been talking about the non-productive expenditure of this Government what about the record of the past 11 years ?

In 1977-78, the non-productive expenditure contributed or constituted 62.5% of the outlay. In 1987-88 it had gone up to 73% instead of coming down, and when you keep in mind the growth in terms of the size of the budget it is truly an enormous jump. In debt servicing when democracy departed for the tragic 11 years period, the debt servicing payments amounted to Rs. 5 billion. Ten years later they had jumped to Rs. 40 billion and the internal debt alone which was about Rs. 50 billion at that time had gone up to 272 billion when this Government took offices. Barely 6% of the trumpeted industrial projects sanctioned by the previous Government, only 6% of them had actually been initiated as projects and according to the overseas investors, chamber, no foreign investment has taken place in Pakistan for the past 4 years. In contrast, Mr. Chairman, we, on coming into the office, adopted drastic financial discipline as our first consideration and the true impact of what we have done in terms of financial discipline I do not wish to reveal the actual data at this stage. It is really the property of the Minister of State for Finance, the Prime Minister. In about 10 days time, the budget will be presented and

the facts will be placed before the nation how we have brought down drastically the rate of monetary expansion which was reaching record levels in all the previous years of this country and we have actually managed to bring down the rate of monetary expansion which is an essential necessity for improving the economy. We have negotiated with the IMF, with the World Bank, the best we can, we have initiated dialogue with the foreign governments. In the field of exports, it is mistakenly said that we have not succeeded in vitalizing export drive. May I state before you, Mr. Chairman, that we have actually improved in terms of dollars value, the value of exports in this past 5 months' period. If we take the corresponding period for 1987-88 in January, for instance, the exports were 750 million dollars and, in our period, they have gone up. They have actually gone up by 7 million to 7.57 million. If we take the period of March-April and you compare it in both we have actually managed to increase the level of the exports as much as by 20 to 24%.

In industrial investment Mr. Chairman, we have taken six specific subjects. The Prime Minister herself has decided to chair the Board of Industrial Investment to help clear the foreign investment proposals and to ensure that any projects which are in the national interest are not unduly held up. Only this morning she personally inaugurated a symposium on this very subject. All projects where capital cost is less than Rs. 1000 million will require no government sanction. All investment proposals will be sanctioned or rejected within a period of 60 days from the date of submission of the complete proposals. The list of specific industries requiring government approval has been reduced from 12 to 7. Essential services for the approved industrial estates will be assured by the Government for a new project within sixty days of the issue of approval, and BOI (Board of Industrial Investment) which is chaired by the Prime Minister herself will also see the implementation of the sanctioned projects. The BOI will also consider and approve project proposals where foreign equity is 50% or more.

In agriculture Mr. Chairman, we faced a wheat shortage. It is incorrectly stated that all arrangements had been made. Arrangements may have been intended to have been made but when this Federal Cabinet took office there were no financial resources to arrange for the expensive importation of wheat. It is this Government, it is this Prime Minister who initiated urgent action, which has not even been publicly acknowledged to secure desperately urgently needed financial assistance and finalize all arrangements by which that wheat

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actually arrived and since then close monitoring was conducted to ensure that no shortages occurred. Similarly in all other fields of agricultural activity - a vital sector of national development a very close attention is being paid. In the field of health we are about to adopt after the views of the four Provincial Governments are known a new health policy which is possibly going to revitalize a sector that has been traditionally difficult to administer, by pioneering some entirely new concepts.

The Federal Government has also paid special attention to the role of the Armed Forces. The Prime Minister herself on many occasions had taken particular interest in the allocation of adequate resources in the development of this basic institution. In law and order Mr. Chairman, which is possibly the single most difficult subject to deal with a number of reforms have been introduced to improve the police structure and to increase the allocations.

We tend to underestimate or ignore one major aspect of this Government's achievement and that credit should go really to the personality of the Prime Minister. Mr. Chairman, except possibly for the time when the Quaid-e-Azam helped establish this country and earned an unprecedented degree of international acknowledgement for his remarkable role in world history in carving out a nation from nothing, no head of Government had secured so wide a level of international goodwill for Pakistan. Never before has the word Pakistan and the name Pakistan been known so positively or favourably in every nook and corner of this planet earth and I think that is a tremendous contribution to enhance the prestige and the image of Pakistan. Hence following on from that into the field of foreign policy, it has again been incorrectly stated that at the SAARC Summit we did not raise the issue of Kashmir. I am amazed at the lack of knowledge about what SAARC is. It is well known that SAARC is a forum where specifically bilateral issues cannot be raised but in all our relevant bilateral dialogues we have continued to reiterate our stand on Kashmir, whether it is in bilateral talks or whether it is at international forums. There can be no compromise on the basic principles and on our attitude and our policy on Kashmir. In respect of Afghanistan situation we have faithfully tried to implement the Geneva Accords and we have tried to ensure that this extremely volatile factor is taken care of in the most careful possible manner. In all other segments of our relationship, I do not want to dwell on that because the foreign policy debate will do proper justice to it.

Some suggestions made Mr. Chairman, during this debate were certainly good and I assure the honourable Members that the Government will take all steps to give them attention and the consideration that they deserve.

In conclusion, I thank you Mr. Chairman, for the time that you have given me and would like to invite through your courtesy all Members of the Senate, the Provincial Governments of Pakistan and the people of Pakistan to cooperate in this most challenging task of re-vitalizing the resource potential of this country and in moving towards the fulfilment of our ideals.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman: Thank you very much.

Now, about tomorrow what should be the timing that we should meet tomorrow. Any suggestions on that because we will have the Foreign Minister's speech and after that I would like to have a few speeches from the Members and then we have this annual dinner also tomorrow. So, what would be the suggestion. At what time we should meet tomorrow. Professor Sahib any idea on this?

Prof. Khurshid Ahmed: Four O'clock.

Mr. Chairman: Or 4.30? The other thing is that we had fixed this issue about the Attorney-General's appointment tomorrow. So, I think we will defer that and take it up either on the 24th or 25th depending on the availability of the Attorney-General. Mr. Javed Jabbar, could you kindly inform the Law Minister that we will not take up the issue about the Attorney-General's appointment tomorrow. We will take it up on the 24th or 25th depending on the availability of the Attorney-General because we are having the foreign policy debate and we will not have time for that matter to be taken up tomorrow. Further, tomorrow we should normally have the Question Hour, Adjournment Motions, etc. Would the honourable Members like to take that up tomorrow or in view of the shortage of time that should also be not taken up tomorrow.

Prof. Khurshid Ahmed: We have already missed so many adjournment motions because of the discussion on the President's Address.

Mr. Chairman: Prof. Sahib the difficulty is that we have

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only two days for the debate on the Foreign Policy. I think the Foreign Minister's speech should take up about forty minutes. Thereafter, we will try and get through a few speeches. Then we have only the following day to complete the debate. If we have the adjournment motions etc., then it may not be possible for the speakers to speak on the Foreign Policy. So, although it is not desirable but I think it would be appropriate, if the honourable Members agree, that tomorrow we should not have the adjournment motions or the Question Hour. We can have the questions and answers ready, lay them on the Table of the House by means of a formal motion but not, as it was, have them answered in the House.

Prof. Khurshid Ahmed: I think as a compromise let us have the questions laid on the Table but adjournment motions must be moved and we can have half an hour for that.

جناب قاضی عبداللطیف: جناب والا! اگر آپ اجازت دیں اگرچہ میں دوسری سیٹ پر بیٹھا ہوں کہ میں کچھ کہہ سکوں۔ صرف اتنی گزارش ہے آپ کو علم ہے کہ اس سارے اجلاس کے اندر سوالات نہیں آئے۔ اور تحریکات بھی نہیں آئیں۔ جبکہ ان میں سے بہت سی تحریکات انتہائی اہم ہیں سوالات بھی انتہائی اہم ہیں ان سب کو نظر انداز کر دینا، سارا اجلاس ویسے گزر جائے تو میرا خیال ہے یہ بڑی ستم ظریفی ہے بہر حال اس وقت تک یہی ہوا ہے کہ نہ سوالات آئے ہیں اور نہ تحریکات کم از کم کچھ وقت انہیں دینا چاہیے۔

جناب چیئرمین: تو اس طرح کرتے ہیں کہ کل پر یو ایچ موشنز نہیں رکھتے ایڈجرنمنٹ موشنز کو take up کر لیتے ہیں اس کا آدھا گھنٹہ ہوتا ہے سوالات کا اگر معزز ارکان اتفاق کریں تو سوالات جوابات کو table پر lay کر دیا جائے، اور اس پہ ایک گھنٹہ بچا لیا جائے۔ اور کوشش کی جائے کہ کل جتنی بھی تقاریر ہو سکیں جو بقیہ وقت ہمارے پاس ہو گا کیونکہ میرے خیال میں آٹھ بجے کے بعد شاید اجلاس جاری رکھنا ممکن نہ ہو کیونکہ ۱۸ بجے دہاں پہ ہم لوگوں نے پہنچا ہے اور اس کے لیے آپ لوگوں نے تیاری وغیرہ بھی کرنا ہوگی۔ تو اس کے لیے کل کوئی صاحب یا محمد علی خان صاحب موشن move کر دیں تاکہ قواعد کے مطابق ہم کارروائی کر سکیں جو آج فیصلے ہوئے ہیں۔

Mr. Chairman: Is that acceptable.

(Pause)

Mr. Chairman: So, I think, what we will do, is to adjourn the House till 4.30 P.M. tomorrow. I hope the Foreign Minister will be here so we will have the Foreign Minister taking up the floor after the adjournment motions. Correct ?

Prof. Khurshid Ahmed: That is right.

Mr. Chairman: And also there is this call attention notice. I think again the issue has been raised, we can have the reply of the Minister concerned a day after rather than tomorrow. So, we will try and save as much time as we can.

(مداخلت)

جناب چیئرمین ! جواب آچکا ہے لیکن ڈاکٹر صاحب پڑھیں گے تو اس پر گھنٹہ تک جائے۔ پرسوں ہی رکھ لیتے ہیں۔ اس کو کل کے لیے ہم کچھ وقت بچانے کی کوشش کر رہے ہیں تو میرے خیال میں یوں کر لیں ساڑھے چار بجے اجلاس شروع کرتے ہیں آدھ گھنٹہ

Immediately we will take up for the adjournment motions and then thereafter we will start the speech of the Foreign Minister hopefully if you are all here in time we can finish this by 5.00 O'clock and start the speech of the Foreign Minister at 5.00 O'clock. So, I will request you if you can kindly come in time tomorrow so that we can start the proceedings in time. so, this House is adjourned to meet again tomorrow at 04.30 p.m. Thank you.

[The House adjourned to meet again at four thirty of the clock in the evening on Monday, the 22nd May, 1989].

English and French, and the House will be in a position to discuss the subject.

The Chairman is not in the House.

(Pause)

The Chairman, so I think, that we will do it to-morrow. The House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow. I think the House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow. I think the House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow.

But, I think, that the House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow.

Mr. Chairman, And also, there is this question of the House. I think the House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow. I think the House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow. I think the House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow.

(Pause)

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مجلس: ان شاء الله تعالى

Immediately we will have a meeting of the House to discuss the subject. I think the House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow. I think the House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow. I think the House will be in a position to discuss the subject to-morrow.

The House adjourned to meet again at four o'clock on Monday, the 2nd May 1934.