SENATE OF PAKISTAN

SENATE DEBATES

Wednesday, January 3, 1990

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

(Recitation from the Holy Quran)

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

الٓرٰ تِلْكَ اٰيٰتُ الْكِتٰبِ وَقُرْاٰنٍ مُّبِيْنٍ ۝١ رُبَمَا يَوَدُّ الَّذِيْنَ كَفَرُوْا لَوْ كَانُوْا مُسْلِمِيْنَ ۝٢ ذَرْهُمْ يَاْكُلُوْا وَيَتَمَتَّعُوْا وَيُلْهِهِمُ
الْاَمَلُ فَسَوْفَ يَعْلَمُوْنَ ۝٣ وَمَآ اَهْلَكْنَا مِنْ قَرْيَةٍ اِلَّا وَلَهَا كِتَابٌ مَّعْلُوْمٌ ۝٤ مَا تَسْبِقُ مِنْ اُمَّةٍ اَجَلَهَا وَمَا يَسْتَاْخِرُوْنَ ۝٥
وَقَالُوْا يٰٓاَيُّهَا الَّذِيْ نُزِّلَ عَلَيْهِ الذِّكْرُ اِنَّكَ لَمَجْنُوْنٌ ۝٦ لَوْ مَا تَاْتِيْنَا بِالْمَلٰٓئِكَةِ اِنْ كُنْتَ مِنَ الصّٰدِقِيْنَ ۝٧
مَا نُنَزِّلُ الْمَلٰٓئِكَةَ اِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ وَمَا كَانُوْٓا اِذًا مُّنْظَرِيْنَ ۝٨
اِنَّا نَحْنُ نَزَّلْنَا الذِّكْرَ وَاِنَّا لَهٗ لَحٰفِظُوْنَ ۝٩

ترجمہ:۔ شروع خدا کا نام لے کر جو بڑا مہربان نہایت رحم والا ہے ۝ الٓرٰ۔ یہ (خدا کی) کتاب اور قرآن روشن کی آیتیں ہیں۔ کسی وقت کافر لوگ آرزو کریں گے کہ اے کاش وہ مسلمان ہوتے۔ (اے محمد) ان کو ان کے حال پر رہنے دو کہ کھالیں اور فائدے اٹھالیں اور (طول) امل ان کو (دنیا میں) مشغول کئے رہے عنقریب ان کو اس کا انجام معلوم ہو جائے گا۔ اور ہم نے کوئی بستی ہلاک نہیں کی۔ مگر اس کا وقت مرقوم و معیّن تھا۔ کوئی جماعت اپنی مدت (وفات) سے نہ آگے نکل سکتی ہے نہ پیچھے رہ سکتی ہے اور (کفار) کہتے ہیں کہ اے شخص جس پر نصیحت (کی کتاب) نازل ہوئی ہے تو تو دیوانہ ہے۔ اگر تو سچا ہے تو ہمارے پاس فرشتوں کو کیوں نہیں لے آتا۔ (کہہ دو) ہم فرشتوں کو نازل نہیں کیا کرتے مگر حق کے ساتھ اور اس وقت ان کو مہلت نہیں ملتی۔ بیشک یہ (کتاب) نصیحت ہمیں نے اتاری ہے اور ہم ہی اس کے نگہبان ہیں۔

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VISIT OF CHIEF JUSTICE OF PAKISTAN

Mr. Chairman: Gentlemen, before we start the proceedings of today, I would like to state that we, in the Senate, are very happy, proud and privileged to have amongst us this morning a new Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Justice Muhammad Afzal Zullah. I had the honour to meet him a few days ago and also this morning and he said that he would like to pay his respect to the Senate as part of Parliament of Pakistan. We are most grateful to the Chief Justice for this noble and gracious gesture. We fully understand that his respect for Parliament is really a respect for the Constitution, law and the people of Pakistan whom we in this House have the honour to represent. By making this noble gesture, the Chief Justice has started an historic tradition, the tradition that he has started is to show respect to the institutions created by the Constitution. The Chief Justice also stated this morning that the representatives of the people as symbolized by Parliament represent this sovereign in an Islamic State. In the Islamic State of Pakistan, the sovereignty vests in *Allah Almighty* alone and it is to be exercised on His behalf by the chosen representatives which is symbolized by Parliament. The Constitution of Pakistan visualized that the highest authority of the State of Pakistan vests in Parliament, the executive and the judiciary. The future of democracy rests in the manner in which these three organs of the State acquit themselves of these historic responsibilities. The visit of the Chief Justice to the Parliament is a unique honour for us. We hope and pray that it would also mark the beginning of a new era of sincere and solemn adherence to the Constitution and the noble objectives for which Pakistan was established. Today is indeed a very important day for us. I and the Members of the Senate welcome the Chief Justice of Pakistan and pray to *Allah* to enable him to establish during his tenure the highest traditions of justice and independence of the judiciary in accordance with the glorious traditions of Islam and the aspirations of the people of Pakistan. Our Prayers and good wishes shall always be with him. Thank you.

Now we proceed with normal business.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

جناب چیئرمین: جناب عالم علی لاہیکا صاحب ناسازیٔ طبع کی بنا پر ایوان میں

۲۷ دسمبر تا یکم جنوری شرکت نہیں کر سکے ۔ انہوں نے رخصت کی درخواست کی ہے کیا آپ ان کی رخصت منظور فرماتے ہیں ۔

(رخصت منظور کی گئی)

جناب چیئرمین: ڈاکٹر بشارت الٰہی ذاتی مصروفیات کی بنا پر ایوان میں ۲۷ تا یکم جنوری ایوان میں شرکت نہیں کر سکے ۔ اس لئے انہوں نے ایوان سے ان تاریخوں کے لئے رخصت کی درخواست کی ہے ۔ کیا آپ ان کی رخصت منظور فرماتے ہیں ۔

(رخصت منظور کی گئی)

جناب چیئرمین: جناب میر ہزار خان بجارانی ایوان میں ۲۷ دسمبر تا یکم جنوری ایوان میں شرکت نہیں کر سکے ۔ اس لئے انہوں نے ایوان سے ان تاریخوں کے لئے رخصت کی درخواست کی ہے ۔ کیا آپ ان کی رخصت منظور فرماتے ہیں ۔

(رخصت منظور کی گئی)

جناب چیئرمین: جناب اصغر علی شاہ صاحب ذاتی مصروفیات کی بنا پر ایوان میں ۲۷ تا ۳۱ دسمبر شرکت نہیں کر سکے ۔ اس لیے انہوں نے ایوان سے ان تاریخوں کے لیے رخصت کی درخواست کی ہے کیا آپ ان کی درخواست منظور فرماتے ہیں ۔

(رخصت منظور کی گئی)

Mr. Chairman: Now we proceed with the discussion on the President's Address.

Mr. Ahmedmian Soomro: Sir, I had yesterday by telephone requested the Joint Secretary to request the House to grant me leave for two days. I was not well at Karachi. So, if you may kindly put it to the House.

Mr. Chairman: We can put it tomorrow if you like. We do not have it on the agenda today but we will put it.

Mr. Ahmedmian Soomro: All right.

Mr. Chairman: Two ordinances are to be laid before the House.

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: I will lay them.

Mr. Chairman: Yes please proceed on.

ORDINANCES (XIII OF 1989 AND XIV OF 1989) - LAID

Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to lay before the

[Dr. Sher Afgan Khan Niazi]

Senate the following Ordinances as required by clause 89(2) of the Constitution the Islamic Republic of Pakistan:--

(1) The Registration of Printing Press and Publication Ordinance, 1989 (XIII of 1989).

(2) The Representation of the People (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1989 (XIV of 1989).

Mr. Chairman: The Ordinances stand laid, but I would like to point out .....

(Interruption)

Mr. Ahmedmian Soomro: Point of Order. I understand that the House is being prorogued tomorrow. I would like to move a motion for disapproval of the Ordinances.

Mr. Chairman: You kindly move it according to the rules but there is one observation I would like to make and Mr. Law Minister kindly take note of this. When were these Ordinances issued ?

Syed Iftikhar Husain Gilani: 30th November, 1989.

Mr. Chairman: This is, I would say a serious lapse because according to the rules of this House and also I would say according to the intention of the Constitution the Ordinances should be laid on the table of the House at the earliest opportunity without any undue delay, and this House has now been in session for several days. The Ordinance appears to have been issued on the 30th of the November, 1989 and today is almost one month and three days thereafter that the Ordinance is being laid.

The second Ordinance is of 2nd December, 1989

(pause)

How can that be? The National Assembly is in session how can you issue an Ordinance on the 2nd of December?

Mr. Javed Jabbar: It (2nd December) was the day of joint sitting. The

actual sitting of National Assembly began the day after.

Mr. Chairman: So, even then it is 30 days late. We already have a ruling by the then Chairman Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan on a point of order which was raised in this House that the Ordinances should be laid as soon as possible because then the House **get** an opportunity to debate that issue. Today you have laid it after 30 days in **one** case and about 60 days in the other case.

(Interruptions)

No No. They have to be laid at the earliest opportunity. They have been laid properly but I would like you to take note of this because earlier on this matter was raised through a point of order and there is a ruling of Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan on this matter.

Yes Prof. Khurshid Ahmed on a point of order.

پروفیسر خورشید احمد: جناب چیئرمین! اسی ضمن میں یہ سوال پوچھنا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ تمام Ordinances جو اب تک جاری کیے گئے ہیں کیا وہ سب اس ہاؤس کے سامنے "lay" ہو چکے ہیں اس لئے کہ میری اطلاع کی حد تک کچھ Ordinances جو جاری ہو چکے ہیں وہ سامنے نہیں آئے ہیں۔ یہ ہاؤس ۲ر دسمبر سے in session ہے اور Ordinances ۲ر دسمبر سے پہلے جاری کیے گئے ہیں اس لئے ۲ یا ۳ر دسمبر کو ان کو یہاں پر آجانا چاہیئے تھا۔

Mr. Chairman: Well, I am sure the Law Minister has taken note of this and whatever Ordinances have been issued must be laid on the table of the House as soon as possible and 'as soon as possible' means if the House is in session immediately thereafter.

Yes, Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh on a point of order.

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh: There are some discrepancies in the dates. There is no mention of the authority or even initials on the changed dates. The first date reads:

> "Published in the Gazette of Pakistan (Extraordinary) Part 1, dated September 10, 1988".

[Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh]

Then September 10, 1988 has been scored off and 30th November, 1989 has been put. This should have been explained.

Mr. Chairman: I think Shaikh Sahib probably what has happened is that these are being re-issued. So, this is the date of the original issue and four months having expired the Ordinances are being re-issued and I think for convenience they have changed the date by putting it in their hand but I think the more important thing is that it had not come soon thereafter that they were issued.

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh: Sir, if you see on the back of this Ordinance print-line says: "PCPPI Senate dated 14.9.1988". Therefore this seems to have been printed on 14-9-1988. The Secretary's name is Justice Nasim whereas the previous was Muhammad Ali, Draftsman.

Mr. Chairman: You see Hasan A. Shaikh Sahib these were issued earlier on, then they lapsed because of the expiry of four months period. These are being re-issued.

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh: Somebody should have explained this when he was placing it on the table of the House.

Mr. Chairman: I think this will come up. You know today it is only being laid and I had some observations which I have made. When it will come up for discussion these points can be taken up at that time.

Yes Mr. Ahmadmian Soomro is on a point of order.

Mr. Ahmedmian Soomro: I have given notice of a motion for disapproval of the Ordinances but I would like to point out that where is that opportunity. Tomorrow, I believe the House is being prorogued, so, if by tomorrow we do not disapprove the Ordinances that means they will continue which is not the sense of this House and not the spirit of the Constitution. They have completely violated the Constitution by not laying it before the House on 2nd December, 1989. We had met on the 2nd. Even taking for granted - they say the National Assembly meet on 3rd, in that case when after two days the National Assembly was meeting what was the need for them to issue an Ordinance which is a very emergent power that the Government had. Therefore, issuing of the Ordinance one day before the National Assembly was to meet proves the *malafide* of the Government.

Mr. Chairman: I am sure you will have an opportunity to talk about all this.

Mr. Ahmedmian Soomro: We will not, because tomorrow I believe we are proroguing, so when do we have the opportunity of disapproving these Ordinances?

Mr. Chairman: I agree there is a problem.

Now, we proceed with the discussion.

Mr. Shad Muhammad Khan: Point of Order. Sir, I had given a Call Attention Notice on the 1st of January, 1990, regarding an important business. Can I expect that it will be taken up in this session or not?

Mr. Chairman: That will be taken up, if necessary, at the end of the day's proceedings but we will see if I am able to do it.

Mr. Shad Muhammad Khan: Thank you.

Prof. Khurshid Ahmad: Point of Order.

Mr. Chairman: Yes please.

پروفیسر خورشید احمد: جناب والا! آپ نے اس ایوان میں یہ وعدہ کیا تھا اور ایوان نے اس سے پوری طرح اتفاق کیا تھا کہ اسی سیشن میں پرائیویٹ شریعت بل زیر بحث لاکر کسی نتیجے تک پہنچا دیا جائے گا مگر کل سینٹ prorogue ہو رہا ہے تو یہ اس وعدے کی خلاف ورزی ہو گی۔ میں چاہونگا کہ اس پر غور فرمائیں، حکومت سے مشورہ کر لیں ایسی کوئی ضرورت نہیں ہے کہ لاز ماً سینٹ کو کل Prorogue کیا جائے لیکن شریعت بل جو اتنے عرصے سے متعلق ہے، جس کے بارے میں اس ہاؤس نے solemn وعدہ کیا تھا کہ اسی سیشن میں ہم اسے زیر غور لے آئیں گے، وہ ضرور زیر غور آنا چاہیئے۔

Mr. Chairman: We will examine that and I will consult with the government on this matter and we let you know.

ڈاکٹر شیر افگن خان نیازی: پوائنٹ آف آرڈر۔

جناب چیئرمین: جی ڈاکٹر صاحب۔

ڈاکٹر شیر افگن خان نیازی: جناب والا! میں اس ضمن میں بات کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہماری Law and Justice کی سٹینڈنگ کمیٹی نے متفقہ فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ متفقہ بل لانے کے لئے اور اس میں مزید advance کرنے کے لئے فوری طور پر تمام سیاسی پارٹیوں کے سربراہوں کو، دینی علما اکرام کو، اور ان حضرات کو جو اس سمت میں علم رکھتے ہیں، دعوت دی جائے، اور ہم نے یہ دعوت دے دی ہے، اور اس مہینے کے اندر اندر ہم ان کے ساتھ بیٹھ کر مکمل بات کریں گے.....

جناب چیئرمین: لیکن اس کا تعلق اس شریعت بل سے نہیں ہے۔

ڈاکٹر شیر افگن خان نیازی: جو بھی صورت ہو گی ہماری کوشش ہے کہ کوئی متفقہ لائحہ عمل اختیار کر سکیں۔

جناب چیئرمین: شکریہ۔ جی، لا منسٹر صاحب،

On a point of order.

Syed Iftikhar Husain Gilani: No Mr. Chairman, on a point of personal explanation. I was told yesterday Mr. Chairman, during speech of one of the honourable Members of this House and I read in the press also, it is very unfortunate indeed to make allegations by naming Member of this august House without verifying the facts. There was an allegation made against me personally naming me, it has come in the press also that during the vote of no confidence proceedings in the National Assembly I had personally visited one of the honourable Members of National Assembly and he demanded rupees one crore from me and he said that as I had come, therefore, he will bring down the amount to 65 lacs. I would therefore, insist through you Sir, that this matter should be thoroughly investigated into because I make this statement with all the responsibility and with all the sobriety that I have at my command that it is utterly baseless, it is a matter which has no foundation at all. I had not even discussed this matter with any honourable Member of the House because in my perception Mr. Chairman Sir, no Member of this House or a Member of National Assembly can even be approached monetarily whosoever he or she may be sitting on right side or sitting on left side, to me they are all honourable Members and the

perception of others whatsoever their antecedents may be but to me once they are chosen representatives of the people they cannot and I am sure they will never do things which are attributed to them. So, I would only make request Sir, that instead of moving a privilege motion because I consider that my privilege and privilege of this House has been violated on totally/utterly baseless allegation, which has no truth, leave aside truth which has no basis at all. I Mr. Chairman Sir, take very strong exception and I would beg every Member of this House to make such scurrilous allegations against our own colleagues. We should at least ascertain the facts. There would have been no problem if I had just been asked that is it correct or not and I state this and I beg of you Sir, that you must using your authority order investigation in this matter because let the truth come out. Thank you, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: Well, when the matter comes up in a formal motion I will take it up.

Qazi Abdul Latif: Point of Order, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: Qazi Abdul Latif on a point of order.

قاضی عبداللطیف: ہم قابل احترام وزیر قانون کے انتہائی مشکور ہیں کہ انہوں نے بڑی فراخ دلی سے اپنے آپ کو اس کی تفتیش کے لئے پیش کیا ہے اس سے پہلے حزب اختلاف والے کافی الزامات لگا چکے ہیں اور انہوں نے ہمیشہ یہ مطالبہ کیا ہے کہ ایک جج کی زیر سرکردگی ایک کمیشن مقرر کیا جائے اور جو جو الزام ہم لگا رہے ہیں ان کو ثابت کرنے کے لئے ہم وہاں سب کچھ پیش کر دیں گے۔ اج وزیر قانون کے ہم یقیناً مشکور ہیں کہ انہوں نے اس طرف پیش قدمی کی ہے اور پیش رفت کی ہے۔ چاہیئے یہ کہ مہربانی فرما کر وا تعتاً ایک کمیشن مقرر کیا جائے جس کے سربراہ ایک جج ہوں تاکہ ان تمام الزامات کی وہ تحقیقات کرے اور جو کچھ خدشات لوگوں کے دلوں میں پیدا ہو سکتے ہیں' ان کا ازالہ ہو سکے۔

جناب چیئرمین: قاضی صاحب' جب اس معاملے میں میرے سامنے کوئی

[Mr. Chairman]

باقاعدہ موشن آئے گی، تو اس پر قانون کے مطابق، رولز کے مطابق غور کیا جائے گا۔

قاضی عبدالطیف: گزارش یہ ہے کہ انہوں نے خود پیش کش کر دی ہے۔

جناب چیئرمین: جی ہاں، لیکن جب تک .....

قاضی عبدالطیف: جب انہوں نے پیش کش کر دی ہے تو میرا خیال ہے کہ آپ کے سامنے ایک چیز باقاعدہ آگئی ہے۔

جناب چیئرمین: رولز کے مطابق ابھی نہیں آئی۔

جناب محمد طارق چوہدری: پوائنٹ آف آرڈر۔

جناب چیئرمین: جی فرمایئے۔

جناب محمد طارق چوہدری: شکریہ جناب چیئرمین! میں نے کل اپنی تقریر میں یہ بات کہی تھی کہ وزیر قانون .....

جناب چیئرمین: یہ آپ کی تقریر کا حوالہ دے رہے تھے جو آج انہوں نے وضاحت کی ہے، چونکہ میں اس وقت موجود نہیں تھا۔

جناب محمد طارق چوہدری: جی ہاں۔

جناب چیئرمین: بہر حال جو بات آپ نے کہہ دی، اس کے جواب میں انہوں نے آج اپنی بات کہہ دی ہے۔

جناب محمد طارق چوہدری: جناب مجھے بھی تو اس کی وضاحت کرنی ہے....

جناب چیئرمین: آپ وضاحت اس وقت کریں جب اس معاملہ کو ہم باقاعدہ لیں گے۔ آج تو صرف انہوں نے Point of personal explanation پر بات کی ہے۔

جناب محمد طارق چوہدری: جناب والا۔

No, I gave him permission Shaikh Sahib to speak on a point of personal explanation, please sit down.

طارق صاحب، جب باقاعدہ اس پر موشن آئے گی تو اس وقت اس پر غور کریں گے۔

Please sit down

(Interruptions)

Mr. Chairman: No more points of order. No, Behrawar Saeed Sahib.

Please sit down.

Now, we proceed with the discussion on the President's Address. Mr. Sartaj Aziz.

FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Mr. Sartaj Aziz:-- بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

Mr. Chairman, we have had a very intensive and fruitful discussion on the President's Address. Many important points arising from the Address have been debated in this House and I feel that it is important in the context of the process of strengthening democracy and establishing certain important rules of the game in politics to take these points seriously into consideration. I would supplement the debate that has gone on by emphasizing three or four supplementary points which seem particularly important to me. The President in his Address has specially emphasized the importance of rule of law and adherence to the Constitution as the main pillar of democracy and the main basis on which the political process in the country can be strengthened. In this context Mr. Chairman, the important place that our Constitution enjoys does not tolerate any two opinions but unfortunately in the past one year the government and its Ministers by starting a major vilification campaign against the Eighth Amendment have tried to create the impression that there is something seriously wrong with the Constitution and in fact several Ministers have made statements that the Constitution has been distorted. In fact we should be grateful to Almighty that despite Martial Laws and all kinds of political upheavals the 73 Constitution has survived and the Supreme Court in this context deserves some commendation that in 1977 they found a formula by which the Constitution was held in abeyance rather than abrogated. It is in the light of actual experience, it is also true that the amendments were made in March

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1985 did tilt the balance between the President's and the Prime Minister's powers but the 8th Amendment tried to restore that balance strengthening the role of Parliament as well as the Prime Minister. I maintain Mr. Chairman that the 73 Constitution as it stands today provides for a far better balance in the context of our peculiar political situation than the original 1973 Constitution did. It strengthened the role of the Senate. In the previous Constitution it had no effective legislative powers. But now, with the exception of Money Bills the Constitution as it stands today does gives an equal legislative power to the Senate. It has also made several other useful amendments and I am prepared if the Justice Minister or the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs wishes to undertake a public debate on this subject either on television or elsewhere to show that the 73 Constitution as it exists today is far more balanced and according to our requirements than the original 73 Constitution. It may have curtailed the powers of the Prime Minister which existed in the original 73 Constitution but I maintain that in our mercurial and immature political system the present system of checks and balances is absolutely necessary. In fact if we had a President with Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan's powers in 1977 rather than Chaudhry Fazal Elahi's powers, the Martial Law of 1977 might have been avoided. But that is now history. I think, it is important not to shake the confidence of the people in the Constitution as it exists today because that would be unfortunate if we want to uphold the sanctity and importance of the Constitution in strengthening the democratic process. Of course, there is always room for improvement, there is always room for amendments. We in the Senate made a standing offer as early as February, 1989 that if the government wants to discuss any particular amendments in the Constitution to improve the balance or further improve the Constitution we are ready to sit down but almost one year has passed and the government has not come up with any amendment. Only a public compaing against the Eighth Amendment and the issues involved has been launched without any specific agenda. So, I would suggest that it is a high time that if the democratic process has to be strengthened, the sanctity and the importance of the Constitution should not be challenged any more. If any

improvements are needed or any amendments are required should be taken up in a business like manner and according to the method and the system provided in the Constitution. We are ready to set up a special committee on the subject, we are ready to engage in separate negotiations but this compaing that the Eighth Amendment has seriously distorted the Constitution, or that something is seriously wrong with it should stop if the Constitution has to play its due role.

The second aspect Mr. Chairman, which I will like to cover in my statement has to deal with the rules of the game in politics and with special reference to the relationship between the Centre and the provinces. It is unfortunate Mr. Chairman, that ever since this new democratic phase has started after the first democratic phase of 1985-1988 which was interrupted on 29th May, 1988, the whole political scene is dominated by bickering, lack of understanding. This kind of political activity does not do much good to the democratic process. In this respect, I think both sides are to blame but the problem started early in 1989 when the federal government tried de-stabilize the provincial government in Punjab and then came the dissolution of the Provincial Assembly in Baluchistan. This naturally led to a reaction and the Opposition tried to do something similar in NWFP and later in the Centre. The President has rightly highlighted the damage. This manipulative political activity has done to the democratic institutions and has led to 'horse-trading' and 'political stock exchange' which the President has rightly termed as the most unfortunate and dangerous trend in our politics.

Thirdly, Mr. Chairman, the manner in which every activity, government decision, government resource has been directed to promote party ends rather than national interests also deserves some mention. Every political party, of course, is entitled when it gets the government, to try and use any resources, or any patronage that it has at its disposal, for its own political survival as well as political constitution but when this process goes to a point where national institutions and national objectives are compromised then it is not a very legitimate option to follow.

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[At this stage Mr. Chairman vacated the Chairman which was occupied by Mr. Deputy Chairman (Syed Muhammad Fazal Agha)]

Mr. Sartaj Aziz:- I will quote three examples. One is the Peoples Works Programme. We all know that under the Constitution and under the existing stabilized practice, many of the functions that are covered in the Peoples Works Programme fall within the purview of the Provincial Government and lower level institution like the District or Union Councils. But to promote their own political objectives at the local level these institutions of local bodies are being weakened. Local bodies are an important part of our political and administrative structure because local needs can be dealt with only at the local level. Despite their problems the local bodies have played a useful rule in the last 10 years since they were created. There have been three elections, one more is due next year. These institutions need to be strengthened further but they have been completely bypassed and a totally parallel structure of district committees to handle the Peoples Works Programme has been instituted. This to my mind is very striking example of how, for promoting a short term political ends, long term national objectives and institution are being damaged or weakened.

A second example in this case relates to bureaucracy and the civil services. Here again the manner in which the institution has been subjected to short term political ends to my mind is very unfortunate. The use of bureaucracy for naked political ends is in any case a very undesirable practice but to induct in the civil services candidates on political criteria rather than merits and as patronage or as spoils is very unfortunate. This has been done on a large scale through the Placement Bureau, almost five thousand people were inducted. Efforts are again being made through a Lateral Entry Scheme to induct people at higher levels. An adjournment motion on this subject has already been admitted by this House and I hope that the government will reconsider its policy because the present rule provides for initial induction of people in grade -16 to 22 only through the Federal Public Services Commission except on a limited basis that is on contract for two years or adhoc appointment for six months. Regular induction of these people in the civil services is not permissible under the

rules. Rules can be stretched here and there for a few cases but any large scale induction in my view will be a gross violation of the Constitution and the legislation on the subject. When this motion comes up before the House, I will have to say more on this.

The third area in which the rules of the game have been violated is the manner in which the resources and patronage available through the financial institutions is currently being used for political patronage. This to my mind is extremely dangerous. Not only the heads of financial institutions have been changed on a very large scale but the changes are partly intended, I maintain, to enable the government to channel these loans only to those parties or applicants who are in line with the party interest or whom the government wants to patronize politically. This Mr. Chairman, will destroy the very basis of our financial structure. Already the proportion of infected loans, i.e. loans where payments are over due for more than 180 days, has reached an alarming proportion. Many international financial institutions have started doubting the credibility of our institutions and credit worthiness and if this trend were to continue and more loans were to be given on political criteria rather than on the basis of the feasibility of the projects then it will destroy the health and viability of these financial institutions. I will strongly urge the government to introduce more professional criteria and give more autonomy according to the rules to the corporations and financial institutions so that the serious damage and erosion which is taking place in the financial sector of the economy can be arrested. These are Mr. Chairman, some of the examples on how national institutions which are important for the long term health and viability of the society and the economy, from the local bodies right down to the higher financial institutions are being damaged for short run political objectives and this, to my mind, is not doing any service to the process of democracy. Finally Mr. Chairman, I would make some comments on the overall economic situation which the President referred to in his Address.

He in his speech identified two or three aspects of financial discipline and access to more external assistance which he regarded as positive feature. I feel Mr. Chairman, that the President, to balance his overall charge sheet against the government, which has been so eloquently debated in our House, by mentioning a few positive things as far as the economic situation is concerned. But he did not present a total economic picture in

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that address because these two improvements that have taken place have not been without a cost to the overall economy. It is true that whenever under the influence of the World Bank or the IMF package a deflationary policy is adopted to control prices or achieve other short term objectives, it creates pressure in other directions. It is a well known in economic thecry that out of the four objective i.e. accelerating growth, promoting full employment, controlling inflation, and balance of payment equilibrium no system can achieve all four objectives at the same time. Whenever a system tries to move more strongly in one direction the other slips. So, if the policy to curb expenditure including development expenditure is being pursued successfully it also means that this year we will have lower industrial production, we will have a lower employment level and we will have a lower over-all growth rate. These costs as we are seeing today are mounting. The President mentioned that the industrial growth rate, last year was only 1%. This year also we do not see a much faster rate of growth in industrial production. This will have a very serious implications for the employment situation. Because the government, with the best will in the world, cannot provide jobs to everyone. This can only be done by accelerating the pace of industrial growth. Similarly, the drastic cut in development expenditure will have far reaching consequences for not only social programmes for providing various facilities but also for sustaining the growth rate of agriculture and industrial sectors. These programmes are right now really cut-down to bones. I know at least in agriculture sector with which I am in contact, that we have large number of scientists who do not have the minimum necessary budget this year to lay out experimental fields or drive their motor vehicles that have been given to them because they have no money for buying gasoline. So, the economic policy is being pursued with a very narrow vision right now. As far as the broader objectives are concerned there is no rounded off policy frame-work which tries to balance various objective, and to optimize the use of our scarce resources. This, Mr. Chairman, is a one sided and a very narrow short range policy and I hope that in preparation for the next budget, the government will take a broaden view. We in the Senate or in the respective committees are ready to work with the government on this task and hopefully try to create a more balanced economic management. This kind of economic management, Mr. Chairman, is going to lead to many serious economic problems while it may please the World Bank and IMF and we may have

access to some short-term additional resources, it will not give us a self-reliant dynamic strategy for mobilizing our own resources and providing jobs and meeting the basic needs for everyone.

These three areas, Mr. Chairman, further supplement the political balance-sheet which the House has already debated. if we really look at the Address of the President I think the real test and the impact of that speech will be for the government to honestly accept various deficiencies and inadequacies which the President has pointed out in respect of the political, economic, social and law and order situation. These are the right signals at the right time and think, there is a need for a very effective and timely reappraisal as we go along. Every month or at least every quarter, we should assess as to what extent those deficiencies and failings that the President had pointed out in his Address are being met and to what extent they are still being left unsolved. It is quite possible to raise a lot of froth and to raise a lot of dust in which the real issues get clouded and the government, therefore, may lose the perspective or the context in which we are discussing these matters. What we are discussing Mr. Chairman, are not the opposition V/S government kind of minor issues. What we are discussing is a fundamental issue of the health and sustainabilityof the democratic process on which the survival of this country depends. The establishment of the rule of law is at stake. Therefore, these vital issues should be looked at in a broader national context, if the government were to honestly and sincerely face the realities of its first year's performance and realize that it has not given cause for satisfaction to the citizens at large and the people of this country. That it needs to review its priorities and the way it conducts business. That it needs to make a genuine move towards greater understanding, greater harmony, better inter provincial relations. Only then the democratic process can be strengthened. I think, the tendency of the People's Party to regard whatever it is doing as more democratic and regard everything that the opposition says or does as the work of anti-democratic forces or 'Martial Law Ke Baqiat', etc. is not a very constructive attitude, because democracy can be strengthened only if Opposition and Government work together. The Opposition has always shown its willingness to work with the Government, in so far as national interest is concerned, in this a strengthened democratic process is a prime objective.

So, with these words, Mr. Chairman, I can only end with the hope that in three months from now or six months from now, when we have an opportunity to re-assess this very stark and powerful

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balance-sheet which the President has presented in his Address, we will be able to say that the government has taken heed to those wise counsels, and the government is serious about implementing the advice given by him in strengthening the democratic process and is not just promoting its short-term political ends. If this does not happen, then I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, that the very political process we are all trying to protect will be in serious jeopardy. Thank you.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Thank yourvery much.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have been given an opportunity to speak at a time when most other speakers have already spoken on this very vital issue. I shall, therefore, not by to repeat what has already been said, I shall confine myself to a very limited area which I feel has not been eloquently or extensively dilated upon by the other speakers. The speakers have all along been stating their charges against the government but I would like to begin on another note. What has been the main achievement of the government in power so far and my answer to this is that the government has so far succeeded in hanging on to power. This is the one and the only achievement that comes to ones mind thinking on those lines.

آیا یہ حکومت کی اہلیت ہے یا اپوزیشن کی نااہلی ،

I leave this upon for the members of this House to deduce their own impression on this. The government has proved time and gain its lack of ability to govern, and it has its best been pretending to govern. Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Prime Minister started out with a vote of confidence from around 150 Members of the National Assembly. I am constrained to ask what is her strength today in the National Assembly and I am sure even my very worthy friends and only two of them are present in this Hall at this present moment really do not know what their strength in the National

Assembly is today and when I say this I say it because there is already a debate and perhaps the controversy is going on in the newspapers as to whether the Prime Minister will be required to take a vote of confidence after the 23rd of March this year.

Sir, in any democratic country, in a party based democracy whenever there is a move of no confidence against the Prime Minister, even if the move fails, it is incumbent on the Prime Minister to go back to the House in the minimum possible time and to ask for a vote of confidence to prove her strength in the House so that she can establish her authority. Unfortunately, this has not been done so far. As to whether or not is a legal requirement for the Prime Minister to go back to the National Assembly before the 23rd of March is a debatable point but if the government wants to establish its credibility, my honest advice to them would be that they should go in for a vote of confidence because that is the only way in which they can restore their confidence in the people of Pakistan.

Sir, this government has failed to work for the collective good of the people of Pakistan and has been concentrating on partisan advantage. It has operated so far as a government of a party forgetting that it is in office not because of its own strength but because of the coalition that they have been able to form. It has manifested its inability to operate within the political realities of the day and it has promoted political warfare trying to manoeuvre its political opponents. Its combative style vis-a-vis the Senate, the President, and the two provincial Assemblies had today alienated it from its erstwhile allies - its allies who were with the Peoples Party in the MRD and what we witness today is a Peoples Party versus the rest divide which is in the shape of COP. It has failed to appreciate its limited mandate and even now believes that its majority has been stolen rather than lost. It has and is still concentrating on assimilation rather than reconciliation. As far as assimilation is concerned the government is not prepared to talk to the opposition parties but it wants and has kept its doors open to talk to individual Members of the National Assembly and the Senate.

Sir, you will probably remember that it was the Peoples party which went into the court and contested that the elections should be held on party basis. The court decided that the elections should be held on the party basis and they were in fact, held on party basis but what

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is this government doing which proclaims wrongly to be Peoples Party government, it is a coalition government; that is why I say, it proclaims wrongly to be Peoples Party government. It is now flouting all norms of a party based parliamentary form of system. They have had no respect for the outcome of the elections. The sanctity of a multi-party parliamentary form of government which has been so near and dear to them is being openly flouted. I would like my friends on the front benches to make a note of this and I would also request them to comment on this during their winding up speech.

Sir, the last year has been a year of ever increasing unemployment. It has been a year of uncontrolled price hike. There has been a 20% price hike and I say this with authority on the basis of statistics. The increase in items of daily use for the common man of this country has been over 20% in the last one year. There are over three million unemployed persons. This may be a very conservative figure. I would not be surprized if the true figure is over five million. The loss in the value of Rupee over the last one year alone has been 20% to 25% against the major international currencies. Against some currencies it is for above this. There has been a decrease of &% in the bank deposits and what does this signify? It is signifying flight of capital from the country. Is is signifying that the investment is shy in this country.

Now a few words, Sir, about law and order, and in this connection I have with me a report which appeared in the daily 'Jang' of 24th December, 1989, meaning thereby that it is only about 10 days old. It starts off by saying:

سندھ میں ہر انیسویں منٹ میں ایک بڑی واردات (ہر انیسویں منٹ میں)
اس سال ہر چھٹے گھنٹے ڈکیتی، ہر ساتویں گھنٹے قتل اور ہر
گھنٹے اغواء کی واردات ہوئیں، صوبہ بھر کے تھانوں میں درج کئے جانے والے
مختلف جرائم کی مجموعی تعداد ایک محتاط اندازے کے مطابق تقریباً ستائیس
ہزار بنتی ہے۔

It is a long report but a short summary is:

-- Total crime registered in the thanas 27,032 which means 80 of these incidents per day;

-- Dacoities and highway robberies 1533 cases;

-- Murders 1270 and this does not include deaths as a consequence of violence;

-- Kidnappings 1070;

-- Car snatching 360;

-- Car thefts or motorcycle thefts (now this has been differentiated from car snatching) 11,140;

-- Instances of terrorism 545.

Now, this is the situation in Sindh. Sir, I am also constrained to admit that the situation in the other provinces had deteriorated over the last year. There have been increasing instances of crime and terrorism and other offences even in the province of Punjab from where I come. The situation in the Frontier has also deteriorated but inspite of whatever solace the government and its Ministers might take from the increase of these crimes in the other provinces, the situation in Sindh has become uncontrollable. I read out to you what appeared in the press, I also have certain details of the government figures from 1.12.1988 to 15.8.1989 and the comparative figures are:

Dacoities and robberies in Sindh		926
Kidnappings and abduction		427
Punjab --	Robberies	137
	Kidnappings and abduction	113
NWFP --	Robberies	79
	Kidnappings and abduction	184

And this was a report which is a government report, it says:

"Comments appeared to be quite alarming particularly in Sindh

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where not only the dacoities robberies have increased but the number of kidnapings for ransom has also increased to an alarming proportion."

I am reading out from a government document. I also have a break up for the different provinces and for the different cities with me but perhaps I have already made the points that I want to make.

Sir, the Sindh situation needs to be attended to urgently. It is high time that the government should stop hedging about this issue. We have a Minister for Interior who has appeared on the television, who has come to this House time and again and who has all along tried to maintain that all the things are under control. I beg to differ with the honourable Minister and the interior situation in Pakistan as far as crime is concerned, the hounourable government that in itself should be good enough for the Minister to resign or for the government to quit.

Sir, may I also briefly mention about the corruption that is rampant in this country today. It has, we all know and we all admit broken all records. 'The term' Mr. Ten Percent we know and my colleagues have already spoken on this, commissions on all deals - local or foreign have become the norm of the day.

I shall now revert to the foreign policy of Pakistan. Sir, may I begin by quoting Prof. A.S. Bukhari through courtesy of Mr. Khalid Mehmood who had a write-up about foreign policy in one of the local newspapers in which he stated that Prof. A.S. Bukhari once said that Pakistan has no foreign policy. It has only foreign relations which are illicit. Sir, do we have a foreign policy? The answer that comes to my mind is that we do not have a foreign policy in this country. We are under the dictates and we are subservient to Americans. We are hostages in the hands of Americans and the government of the day cannot afford to do anything other than what their American masters tell them to do and in this context my colleague has just mentioned a name and that name is Mr. Stephen Solarz, one of the 437 Congressmen of the United Sates of America but to Pakistan and to the Government of Pakistan he is a celebrity. he is one American who has come to Pakistan frequently since the present government came into power and he is the one person who no

matter how may times comes to Pakistan is given a red carpet treatment and treated as a VVIP. Sir, are we an independent sovereign nation or are we a satellite of America? We have got to make that decision now and may I also warn the government and the treasury benches that America is nobody's friend. America will use them for as long as it suits them and America will discard them the moment it does not need them. Mr. Solarz as a VVIP comes to Pakistan and all doors open automatically for him starting from the President of Pakistan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and all top class bureaucrats stand on one leg, "ایک ٹانگ پہ کھڑے ہو جاتے ہیں کہ جی سولارز صاحب یہاں تشریف لائے ہیں"۔ Are we not aware of that who this man is? Are we not aware of what his intentions are? Do we not know that he is in the Indo-Jewish lobby and why should we act and loose our balance and poise as soon as he enters the air space of Pakistan. let us try and hold our own. America may be a super power, Sir, Russia shall I say was also a super power. I believe that the myth has been broken, and I would not regard Russia today as a super power, it has lost its ground not only in Afghanistan but all over Eastern Europe. The Russian myth has broken and the time has now come that the American myth should also be broken and Pakistan should take a positive step in this direction. I can assure the government in power that if they try and act independently they will have more support from the people of Pakistan but the government and the Prime Minister feel that they owe their existence in power to the Americans and the Indians and they bend backwards to oblige them and all that we do sitting in this country act as relaying stations for transmitting whatever signals we get from our American masters.

Sir, the Afghanistan issue, what is our policy? I would like the honourbale Foreign Minister to kindly visit this House and make a categorical statement on what is our Afghan Policy. We were told that he has been retained in his position so that there is continuity in the Afghan policy. Now where is that continuity and what was that continuity? Have we not ditched the Afghan Mujahideen and this on the signal of our American masters who have now connived with the Russians because they are against an Islamic government in Afghanistan. Sir, we have got to look to our interest, we have got to look to our geopolitical situation. We cannot afford to have two hostile neighbours on our borders, we already have one and that is India. Lot of claims were made by the government and by the

[Dr. Besharat Elahi]

Prime Minister that our relations with India will improve and Mr. Rajive Gandhi took quick visit to Pakistan. Lot of trumpets were blown and the nation was given a false-hood. Mr. Rajive Gandhi during his last visit at the press conference came out in his true colours. He refused to recognize that Kashmir was an issue. He was also very sceptical about the Pakistan's nuclear programme. We are not even aware as Members of this House whether our nuclear programme is on or off. The government does not want to say a word about it.

As far as Kashmir is concerned the views of the present government Sir, are not very different from what Mr. Rajive told us when he was here last year. In this connection, I am sure most of the Members of this House have read the statement of Mr. V.P. Singh and his statement is not very different from what Mr. Rajive Gandhi said when he was here. For they believe that Kashmir is an integral part of India and they also believe that whatever resolutions were passed by the United Nations have been superseded by the so-called Simla Agreement. Sir, the situation in Kashmir is too well-known to us all. What is our government doing about it? Have we ever raised our voice of protest against what is happening to the Muslim population in Kashmir today? No, we have not, because we would not like to annoy India who have helped this government come into power. They own the allegiance to these two powers. I would request them to try and be a little more positive in their approach to the issues facing Pakistan. Power or no power this country must survive, this country must live, this country must be made strong. Yes Mohtarmah Benazier Bhtto is in power today, she may not be in power tomorrow but what is at stake is the survival, the existence and the strengthening of Pakistan that should be our main objective.

Sir, US support may be vital for the government in power but how far can we as a nation compromise on such vital issues of national importance. Let us have our independent foreign policy , if the other countries can live without America, if the other countries can live without Russia, if the other countries can exist when both these powers are hostile to them why can not we Muslims who form the majority of this country who have their faith in God - the *Almight*, why should we bow down to these super powers who have for some of us become the almight?

Sir, another point which I would like to mention on the floor of this House is that during the last speech of the President, the speech before this one when the new government was inducted, the President had mentioned about the urgency and the necessity of having a population control policy for Pakistan. Now, this has been missing in this year's speech of the President. I would like the government to take note of this and to apprise the House as to whattheir policy is on this particular issue and finally allow me Sir, to reiterate once again that a crash of the C-130 plan took place on the 17th of August, 1988 about over a year has passed since lot about it has been written in the foreign press and reproduced in the local press, not a word had been said about it by the government. May I request the government to please tell the nation about what investigation have been made so far about this crash. For it is all too well-known that it was not an accident but it was an active sabotage and the people of this country want to know who was involved in May I also standing here say that General Zia may be not more today but he has left a lot of people who are Zia lovers and who have a lot of respect for him and they want that the government should come out with the truth about this matter. They want to know about that and I also want to know about not because I a relative of General Zia but because I a a citizen of this country. I am rather constrained to say that even the President of Pakistan in both his addresses to the House has kept quiet on this issue. If it was a police 'Muqabellah' they should say it was a police 'Muqabellah', otherwise they have got to come out with the truth and the people of this country want to know about it.

Finally Sir, may I in the end felicitate and congratulate the President for having made a very objective speech and for his advice both to the government and to the opposition for strengthening democracy. Thank you very much.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Thank you very much. Brig. Abdul Qayyum Khan.

Brig. (Retd) Abdul Qayyum Khan: Thank you Mr. Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to express my views on the President's Address. I must confess I feel very small to express on that ocean of wisdom that he put in nut-shell. I don't think anybody can complete in the selection of words that is this alone. Sir, before I say anything I would like to mention that we are in a very peculiar situation whereas the Opposition in the Centre

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is in power in two provinces and the party in power in the centre is an opposition in these two provinces. Therefore, it is difficult to draw a line between whom to call the opposition and whom to call the party in power. At times I feel all of us are in power at one level or the other. But the problem is Sir, that all of us do not seem to have all the power at all levels and that seems to be the root cause of our political anarchy today. Sir, last year President addressed to the Parliament with an obvious sense of achievement and satisfaction. He had reasons to feel satisfied for he had been successful to bring about the peaceful transfer of power to the elected governments both at the centre and in the provinces inspite of very heavy odds. Sir, in his address last year, he had made a reference to the unhappy history of the growth of democracy in our country. He had advised the elected governments and the elected representatives that tolerance, accommodation and dialogue were the essence of parliamentary democracy. He had also advised that the essence of parliamentary democracy was the solution of problems through the constructive dialogues. Sir, this year, in his second address, the President recalled with pain and anguish that his advice had gone unheeded. He observed that it has been a year of confrontation rather than constructive dialogues. He was expressing opinion of the whole nation, when he said that it has been a year of unfulfilled hopes and utter disillusionment. Sir, It appears that only the President seems to realize and understand the agony and anguish of our people. Sir, whereas he said that all of us were responsible for this state of affairs yet each side would like to believe that the President has blamed the other side for it. I say it because I have heard the both sides saying this. This is a very sad attitude.

Sir, in the person of President, we have a reservoir of wisdom, unrivalled experience in state craft and dedication to Pakistan. It was a good omen and both the major parties decided to elect him as the President of Pakistan. One hoped that the youthful exuberance and the lack of experience of our new and young leadership tampered with his mature wisdom and very practical experience would help steer the ship of the state to the safe shores. Sir, we have failed to benefit from his advice, and timely warning. By going contrary to his advice, we have all suffered. Instead of dialogue, tolerance and accommodation, we have resorted to confrontation. We have deprived our people of their peace of mind. Ironically both sides seem to believe that people appreciate and applaud this politics of

confrontation. Sir, that belief is once again most dangerous as it only helps to harden the attitudes.

Sir, I wish both sides to realize that history tells us not only our own history but the history of other countries also that these very applauding crowds suddenly turn violent, hostile and jeering crowds. Sir, the President in his address said that the terms like horse-trading and political stock exchanges had been added to our political dictionary. Sir, through you, I would like to inform him that the words tolerance, accommodation and dialogue have disappeared from our political dictionary. Next time he may be kind enough to inform us as to what dictionary he finds these words from? Sir, you may also inform him that we have introduced weared innovations of Ayes and Noes lobbies in the hill stations of Murree and Mangora where we accommodate members and given them an opportunity to meditate and seek light before casting their votes in the National Assembly.

Sir, I hope both the government and the opposition know that country resounds with stories of horse trading. Sir, we must realizethe consequences if people believe that our elected representatives are horses for sale. This will have a very serious consequences and this is what precisely both sides want the people to believe about each other. Sir, both sides seem to have shown some sort of grudging tolerance and that is because both sides seem to be in existence till today. But grudging accommodation and tolerance without meaningful dialogue is of no avail. Sir, I feel in straightforward terms we have not accepted the verdict of our people. Sir, it is understandable that the pre-election period generates a certain amount of heat while raising political tempers. It also marked by a degree of polarization resulting in acrimonious exchange. During this phase life is temporarily disrupted and normalcy is suspended but this is usually for a very short period.

Sir, in the post-elections era one rationally expects the lowering of political tempers. While the pre-election period generates more heat, the post-election era is supposed to generate more light. Sir, the nation restricted to inside the elected Houses both at the national level and at the provincial level and it was hoped that these Houses will provide appropriate and correct forums for the percussion of the grievances of the people

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through their elected representatives. But in our case, the pre-election tempo has continued unabated for the last one year. The climate of polarization has further deteriorated and acrimony continues to haunt our national life. We have witnessed continued efforts at de-stabilization. Sir, we need to draw a line between destabilization, between changes of government and anarchy. We must do so before tension generated snaps the vital cards of the system beyond repair. We must know the limits of flexibility of our system that sustains us. Sir, we should draw a line between the destabilization and constitutional provisions for bringing about the changes of government. Sir, the constitutional provisions which are meant to pull the nation from the crisis, are being misused by both sides and continuously for the past one year. Both sides have been trying to misuse this provision; both sides maintain that it is their democratic right and this right is being so emphasized above every other consideration that one feels, we must be suffering from some unique type of democratic diarrohea.

Now, Sir, I come to political patronage. It is understandable as my colleague Mr. Sartaj Aziz has said that political party in power has an eye on the next general elections. Sir, in developed democracies the political parties in power try to achieve this by pursuing policies aimed at removing the hardships of their people and improving their lot. They try to gain popularity and improve their image through these means. But unfortunately, in our case, we resort to political patronage of our workers and members. This invariably leads to violating the normal laws, rules and procedures. It is counter-productive by because it appeases only a few as compared to the large number to whom it causes disappointment and disillusionment. Sir, it causes public resentment leading to political agitation that creates objective conditions for other form of government to set in. Sir, stripped off of all verbiage, the political patronage is a form of political corruption and, therefore, counter-productive. Sir, the parties in power should not forget that parties not in power have also often won the general elections and come to power. Similarly, they should remember that parties in power have lost in he general elections only because they resorted to political patronage against which resentment was developed among the masses. Sir, it requires an open mind to understand this simple truth. We have our own example. Our present government was not in power when it

emerged as the largest party in the general elections and eventually inherited the power. Next door the party in power lost because of the political patronage they resorted to.

Sir, in our peculiar situation where Opposition is in power in two provinces, it is likely to give rise to confrontation. Mr. Sartaj Aziz has already given the examples of creation of Placement Bureau, lateral entry and the institution of Peoples Programme. Sir, in my view, the best way for the political parties to gain popularity and improve their image is to run good governments. Political patronage is certainly an impediment in running a good government. Therefore, I request both sides to concentrate on running good governments and give up corruption by political patronage.

Sir, much has been said about centre-province relations. I would like to express my opinion on this. I feel that a major irritant has been the slip shod and arbitrary manner of implementation of the Peoples Programme. Sir, I want the words to be noted "implementation of the Peoples Programme". The Federal Government has chosen to bulldoze its way despite vehement opposition and objections by two of the provinces. Both provincial governments regard it as very dangerously impinging on provincial autonomy. They are told that it is a programme for the poor. Even so, is that enough reason for side-tracking the constitutionalities and the difficulties of the provincial governments? In my opinion the Federal Government's obdurate approach to the Peoples Programme is harming its own interests in the provinces. The programme in its present form has only served to embitter the centre-province relationship which is not healthy for the Federation. Even own members of the Peoples Party have had reservations about the administration of this programme. It has taken one long year for the government to understand the reservations and the point of view of their own party members as a result of which they have recently brought about certain changes. The changes are that from non-elected administrators they have now made Peoples Party MNAs and MPAs as administrators in their respective constituencies. Sir leave alone the constitutionalities involved in the issue, the vehement opposition by the provincial governments is a big enough reason for the Federal Government to re-think. No federal government can and should bulldoze its way in the face of opposition by half the Federation. Sir, there is no place for arrogance and obduracy in such matters. Strengthening the Federation and

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smooth relationship between the centre and the province is more important than any development programme. Therefore, I request the Federal Government to remodel the programme in consultation with all the provinces and make it acceptable to all the four provinces. Their needs are different, therefore, their priorities are different. You cannot have one form or one type of programme in all the provinces. Sir, it must be a programme of equity and harmony, not of discord and conflict. Let it be said that at least in this case the Peoples Party government placed the interest of the nation above their party interests.

Sir, there are quite a few other things and quite a lot has been said on the balance of power. This morning Mr. Sartaj Aziz explained it fully. I would like to say that the balance of power was certainly tilted on the side of the President when he was also the Chief of Army Staff but that is no longer the position. Now the office of the Chief of Army Staff and the President have been separated and that is how it ought to have been in a democratic set up. Sir, secondly it was seriously tilted in favour of the President when he had apparentlyun-restricted powers for the dissolution of the National Assembly. That power has been hedged in by the Supreme Court. Sir, the provincial Chief Ministers are now elected by the provincial Assemblies and not appointed by the Governor. Similarly, from 20th March 1990 onwards, the Prime Minister will be elected by the National Assembly and not appointed by the President. Therefore, I think the balance is no longer adversely tilted in favour or against anybody. However, given the polarization and confrontation amongst the political forces, there is an inherent danger of tilt in favour of the third force. This calls for serious thinking by all those who are genuinely interested in the growth of democracy in this country. Sir, all of us need to grow fast in maturity, vision and statecraft.

Sir, as regards the economic issues, I confess, I don not understand any thing about them but I feel the punch that tells me about the economic health of my country. Inflation must have been controlled to some extent but I have felt no relief, nor does the common man feels any relief. Sir, all the Finance Ministers in the past including our respected President always made a selection of cheerful statistics to prove the economic health of the country. It amounts to hide the fundamental economic problems which remain unresolved. Sir, while on this issue I would like to say that the

development process has got mixed up with appeasement of individuals. It has revolved round the distribution of bicycles, sewing machines and fertilizer bags. In some cases a few plots here and there to the party favorites. Sir, appeasement is not development. Development is for the common good of the common masses and that is how much I understand of the present economic situation.

Sir, next is sound law and order. Sound law and order is an attribute of a stable government. If both sides persistently try to de-stabilize each other's governments how can we expect sound law and order from them. Governments under perpetual threat of de-stabilization cannot give us good administration. Sir, if we try to draw political mileage from worsening law and order situation in one or the other province how can we expect the situation to improve. I have all my sympathies with our Interior Minister who on occasions through superficial statistics tries to prove the improvement in the law and order situation but he knows, as every one of us knows that the life of the common man in this country continues to be insecure and he faces uncertainty. Only stable governments and good governments can solve this problem, therefore, both sides should avoid attempting at destabilizing each others' governments.

Sir, coming to the Kashmir problem, I believe when I was not here some of my colleagues have raised this issue. It was heartening to hear the President to say that we shall under no circumstances cease to support the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir through an impartial plebiscite. But the relegation of Kashmir problem from public view appears to be a deliberate strategy. We vociferously voice support for freedom movements everywhere in the world but on Kashmir which is the lifeline of Pakistan both the government and the opposition have maintained a studied silence. Sir, today Kashmir is undergoing a deep transformation, the people of Kashmir have demonstrated unprecedented capacity for organized resistance against Indian occupation. The Kashmir Muslim struggle is at cross roads.An historic opportunity awaits them for breaking the shackles of the Indian bondage. They need our support.

Sir, it pains me to say that Members of both Houses of Parliament have moved adjournment motions on plethora of subjects but there has not been a word on the sufferings and heroism of our Kashmiri brethren. We have

not shown solidarity with their cause, we have not said a word of sympathy for them. Sir, the indifferent attitude of the government and opposition seems to have influenced even our national press who refer to the freedom fighters in Kashmir as dissidents and secessionists. Sir, secession from whom, they never acceded to any country. Sir, I hang my head in shame to read such news and it pains me more. Fortunately there are two honourable Ministers sitting here, the Foreign Minister and the then Information Minister who might explain how is it that our national press calls explain the freedom fighters in Kashmir secessionists and dissidents. I was shocked when I has asked how else should they refer to them and had said that if the people elsewhere could be called freedom fighters why can't that they will see what can be done about it but I suppose, as I said, it is a deliberate policy to place Kashmir under the table.

Sir, a lot has been said about Wuller Barrage. We forget that Wuller Barrage was preceded by Sallal Dam. Construction of Wuller Barrage has raised a specter of adverse possibilities on the waters reaching Pakistan. These dams and barrages are only subsidiary issues. If Kashmir is to be forgotten and relegated many dams and barrages will be constructed on these rivers and their tributaries. Many other glaciers will be occupied. We must, therefore, realize that main problem is Kashmir. Kashmir is the real test of the people of Pakistan. Sir, it is the Kashmir where people celebrate Pakistan Day. It is the people of Kashmir who raise the Pakistan flag under the bayonets of Indian Army. Sir one wonders whose policy are were following on Kashmir? Are we being dictated to keep quiet about it? Are we being told to remain indifferent to it? Sir, I hope 'not', but then why is our press calling the freedom fighters in Kashmir dissidents and secessionists. Sir, I urge the government and the members of the Parliament and people of Pakistan to awake to the reality of Kashmir. I request our press to be more generous to the freedom fighters of Kashmir.

Sir, quite a lot has been said about the Afghan policy. It has also been pointed out that a wind, I should say storm of change has altered the political map of Europe and that must be obviously having some bearing on Afghanistan. I hope we are cognizant of that. My problem is that diminishing interest of the powers that helped Afghan Mujahideen is clearly discernible. We have the experience of Palestinian refugees and we have the

experience of Kashmir refugees who came here and were temporarily settled in he hope of their going back to Kashmir. Sir, it is a ticklish and a complicated problem. We are stuck up with the term of broad based government. Believe it or not I honestly and sincerely say that I have not understood what the broad based government means. Sir, let us broaden our base and take the opposition into confidence as it was done in the past and try to apply our collective wisdom to this national problem. I hope the government will think of that.

Sir, the President in his address made a reference to some irresponsible people placed in responsible positions who made efforts to make the Senate controversial institution. Sir, I would have liked to say quite a few things on this but luckily our Chairman in his interview to the press seems to have clarified many points. All I want to say that I feel proud of being a Member of this House. Sir, the Members of the Senate have set an example of constructive thinking. Sir, under extreme provocations from the government and I say repeatedly from the government they have not lost their dignity, poise and the pride. Sir, while we were being dragged in all the High Courts of Pakistan, this House showed the dignity and poise and unprecedented cooperation with a government which is virtually not existent in this House when they passed at one stage four Bills brought by the government in no time, I should say ten minutes is no time for a House to pass the Bills. The performance was repeated on the second occasion. Sir, I wish the government had known that we had in our party taken a decision at a very early stage that we are going to deal with the legislative business brought by the government purely on merits and not on the basis of partisan politics. Sir, I feel proud of my colleagues. I am not saying that because I belong to this House but I genuinely and honestly feel proud of my colleagues. Their response has been very dignified and very constructive. In fact, I feel that it reflects the poise, dignity and the pride of this nation. I salute them.

Sir, before I end I want to earnestly request both the governments and opposition to realize the agony that is being caused to the people of Pakistan by the confrontation of policies pursued by both for the past one year. Sir, it does not require any extraordinary wisdom to know that both sides have suffered, both sides have been uneasy. Uneasy governments can only add to the problems of people. Such governments cannot be expected

to solve even day to day problems leave alone major national problems or issues. Sir, I can only advice under the present circumstances that they should both take their problems to the President and seek his guidance and abide by his advice. Sir, with that I support the motion of thanks moved by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and I thank you very much for bearing with me.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Thank you very much. Ahmedmian Soomro Sahib.

Mr. Ahmedmian Soomro: Sir, I fully support the motion moved by the honourable Minister for a vote of thanks to the President of his address delivered to the joint Houses on the 22nd of December, 1989. I would, before pointing out some of the relevant portions of his address, appeal to the Prime Minister, which I had also made to her once before that she should please accept the Senate as a part of the Parliament under the Constitution and she should grace the Senate by her presence off and on. Unfortunately during this period of over one year she has been able to attend the session only once for 15 to 25 minutes. I would appeal to her to kindly give the Senate her valuable time also. The wrong impression that was created in her mind by some of the Advisors that the Senate opposes everything for the sake of opposition. This Sir, has been completely belied government, as rightly pointed out by my learned brother Brig. Abdul Qayyum, this House at times even passed four Bills in 15 minutes or 10 minutes with greater speed and cooperation, in-spite of the fact that one out of those four Bills had mistakes and the honourable Minister for Parliamentary Affairs was pleased to accept the mistakes pointed out by me in that Bill. He appealed not to reject that Bill and his House very graciously insipit of those omissions and mistakes on the assurance of the Minister that they would correct them through further legislation passed those Bills in fifteen minutes. With so much cooperation from the Senate I once again urge her to be present in this House occasionally and treat as the rightly has been observing parliamentary traditions and respect for Parliament.

Sir, as far as the constitutional validity of this Senate is concerned not only the Law Minister in this House but even the superior courts have held

its validity. As against this Sir, it was very surprising to note that the Attorney-General in the High Court inspite of decision to the contrary challenged the validity of this Senate. Have we ever had instances where the Attroney-General takes a stand completely opposite to what the government takes? He is supposed to represent the view point of the government what do we find, look at the chaos, the Law Minister says -- one thing in this Senate and the Attorney-General says some thing different in the High Court. Where are we leading to? What is this? The Senate's role, as I said, has been commendable and I challenge anybody even from the treasury benches to prove that this Senate has not cooperated with the government in any good objectives, as against that even recently the treatment meted out to the Senators. Recently there was a notification or news item in the press where the National Assembly members and the provincial Assembly members have been allowed to recommend specified number of arms licences but no mention of Senators. Is this the way the government wants to treat the Senate? Is this the way to pay us back for all the cooperation that we are giving them? Senate is supposed to be the highest body in the legislative side, is this the way to treat it? What difference would that have made to them to discriminate in this manner? I hope it is the misprint in the Press that is all I can say and I hope that the honourable Minister will take note of it and issue a clarification and if this is a lapse they would correct it.

Then Sir, this Senate had passed the resolution unanimously requesting for privileges to use the VIP rooms by ex-parliamentarians, ex-National Assembly Members and Senators. Inspite of the fact that that was the unanimous resolution of the Senate, the respect shown to that is that we received a reply rejecting that resolution indirectly. Now Sir, after that again a matter was raised and the honourable Minister for Parliamentary Affairs in February assured the Senate that that was being reconsidered and he expected a favourable decision very early. It did not come for a few months and again it was raised here when he again assured the House. May I point out Sir, that if you see the VIP rooms are being used by retired bureaucrats, they are being used by retired military officials but to deny this to the members of the highest body, I think Sir, calls for review of the decision. And I am confident that with the feelings improving now in which the President has taken an active part to see that this tension does not exist even between the Centre and Province, I hope the representatives of the

government present here would take up this matter and show grace and inform this august House of acceptance of its unanimous resolution at an early date.

Sir, the President in his address has rightly referred to a number of things. He has said, 'if an appraisal of the past leads you to conclude that you have been forging ahead in your setdirection at a satisfactory pace, well and good but if you feel that all the available opportunities have not been fully exploited and all that was possible has not been achieved so far we should analyses the causes of our slow progress and try to accelerate the pace.'

He has also talked about adversaries and follies of friends. The stage to which we have now come Sir, I think cannot be taken as satisfactory. He has also talked about certain negative tendencies came into play and certain disappointing developments which took place which turned the atmosphere from jubilation to frustration. People were happy that democracy has come into play but Sir, let us be frank, the people are very much frustrated. The President said which I repeat, "I had submitted that understanding and accommodation should be shown towards each other but throughout the year we saw confrontation at all levels even on most trivial issues. I had emphasized the indispensability of clean politics instead of political stock exchanges and horse-trading which have become established expressions in our political lexicon." Sir, let us not close our eyes to the fact as to what happened on the occasion of the 'no confidence motion'? Horse-trading was the order of the day. I will blame both the side. I am not blaming one side. They are both responsible for the state of affairs prevailing now in our country. This tussle must end if they are interested in the progress of democracy and the stability of this nation. The way, I am sorry to say, public representatives were bought, were given favours, there was a height of nepotism and favours, be it in cash, or be it with the available resources of one of the parties; be it the centre, be it the provinces, they must realize that this cart of democracy can only move ahead when both the wheels, i.e. the federation and the provinces, go together otherwise the cart cannot move.

This democracy, we have attained after a long time after many sacrifices People offered arrests and I had the privilege also of offering

arrest for removal of Martial Law and for restoration of democracy. But where are we leading to? I would appeal to both the parties, if we lose this chance it would be a very difficult situation for the whole nation, for the whole country. The Political Parties Act has been flouted. I remember, Sir, when it was being passed in the Senate, I had pointed out to the then government that this would not solve purpose, the There were flaws but mine was the lonely voice at that time. The Senate passed it and now what do we find Sir, it has become an Act merely on become even Ministers in the opposite party and continue on their seats. Was this the spirit on the Political Parties Act? Was this, what they wanted to achieve? The object of that Act is to see that anybody from one party does not resort to floor crossing. Whereas here, not only a question of floor crossing but were got promoted from Member to a Ministers instead of going back home to his constituency to get a fresh mandate. This, Sir, is completely contrary to the spirit of the Political Parties Act. The purpose of which was to establish stability; the purpose of which was to make parliamentary democracy function properly rather than people changing over, rather than this stock exchanges and horse-trading to which the President has very kindly referred.

Then Sir, as far as the working of the Senate and the working of the government is concerned, the Senate has got no work on the legislative side. It probably did not expect that the Senate would be so cooperative as to pass four of the Bills in fifteen minutes. There is no legislation before us. On this point we find how government resorted to issuing Ordinance against the very spirit of the Constitution. This morning only we found two Ordinances laid on the Table of this House - one of 30th November and the other of 2nd December. Now, Sir, under Article 89, these Ordinances had to be laid; as early as possible and they should have been laid on the Table of this House on the 2nd December, the first date when it met. In fact, on 3rd of December the National Assembly was meeting. What was the point in issuing an Ordinance on the 2nd of December. Is this how the Constitution and parliamentary practice is being adhered to? They are depriving the Senate to act constitutionally and exercise its rights. Today, no sooner these Ordinances were laid on the Table of this House, it was pointed out that it was in violation of the law and the honourable Chairman of the Senate also drew the attention of the government to this. Why is the

government playing with the legislation like this? Tomorrow in the ordinary course, unless the Members resort to request the House for some extraordinary measures to consider it, these Ordinances have deprived the Senate of disapproval of the Ordinances in which case it would carry on for four months. Sir, is this the spirit of the Constitution? Is this for which Article 89(2) was enacted? Is this how they treat the parliament? Sir, I would request them to please change this attitude to deprive the Senate of its powers for accepting a Bill or recommending its amendments or rejecting it. An attempt has been made to by-pass the Senate by introducing amendment in the Finance Bill.

Now, Sir, I would respectfully submit that it was not necessary for them, it was not unconstitutional for them to bring an amendment in the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance by including it in the Finance Bill. They have tried to find an easy way to deprive the Senate of this right by including the matters in the Finance Bill. So many other things have been included in the Finance Bill, Sir, which should not have been in the Finance Bill to deprive the Senate of expressing it views on these matters. No doubt, as I learnt, the matter may go to a court but why Should this situation be deliberately allowed to arise? Sir, look at the functioning of the government up to this time. The nation is not aware of the Ojheri Camp blast, how it happened, what had happened and what were its causes? Upto this time the nation is not aware of the enquiry repot of the tragedy of 17th August, 1988. Is this how the superiority of the parliament is being maintained? They are not being given information and the causes of such important events. Sir, this is not the way to treat the legislature. The past one year has shown this lapse. I hope and appeal to the government not to resort to this and not to repeat this at least during the current year.

Sir, as far as the functioning of government is concerned I will point out a gazette notification which I have brought. It is of December 27, 1989. In this gazette of 27th December, 1989, a Notification No. 80-E. 1 is mentioned. The notification of Establishment Division is of dated 6th of June, 1989, published on December, 27, 1989. It says, "the competent authority has been pleased to re-instate in service Khawaja Shahid Hussain, an officer of Secretariat Group, BPS 21, formerly Managing Director, National Film Development Corporation with immediate effect. The intervening period from 12 March, 1978 to date shall be covered by

leave as admissible under the rules". Thus a person who had been removed in 1978 is brought back in 1989 and the intervening period also is considered as duty, and this has been dated 6th June, 1989, published in the Gazette of 27th December, 1989. Sir, does it take over six months to publish a notification issued in Islamabad in the gazette published in Islamabad? I this how the government is to function? Is this the efficiency? I wanted to point this out to the government so that at least they should see that in the current year these things are not repeated.

Sir, the provinces had been demanding a meting of the Council of the Common Interests. It is a constitutional body, and appeal against which lies to the joint Houses of parliament. It has been given so much of importance. Three of the provinces - NWFP, Punjab and the Baluchistan province are demanding a meeting of this. What is preventing the government in not holding its meeting and turning a deaf ear even to the proceedings of this House in respect of the meeting of the Council of Common Interests. It is a constitutional body. Let us all try to work under the Constitution. Let us all adhere to the Constitution. We have taken an oath, let me remind every one, of acting and defending the Constitution. is this how we are acting, is this how are defending the constitution, is this how we are adhering to our oath? I would, therefore, again in the interest of democracy and fair working, respectfully appeal that the meeting of the Council of Common Interests be called as early as possible so that this question may be settled once for all.

Sir, the relations between the Centre and provinces must improve. As far as Sindh province which we represent is concerned, the conditions day by day are getting worse. I have had the honour of presenting a report of the Special Committee on the Situation in Sindh of which I am the Chairman. It is now before every one. It is a public document. It does not attack any party. It is above all board. If the government is sincere in bringing about amity it is high time that they should accept the recommendations of this report. There are non-controversial recommendations - short term and long term. I hope the government would at its earliest take the trouble of going through it and trying to implement it because conditions in Sindh have deteriorated to such an extent that whatever I say would be less than the actual situation there. It is very very serious. In fact the wit of the government does not exist in Karachi, Hyderabad or anywhere in Sindh. Kidnapping is the order of the day, robberies in cities are the orders of the day. People are being kidnapped

in day time in the middle of cities. The police has become absolutely inefficient. or, in fact, I would say non-existent. A General Post office, two days back, has been robbed of a little under ten lakh to rupees. The National Savings Centre in Karachi at its head office where money is usually brought as the Treasury was robbed of 64 lakhs of rupees, in the city of Karachi. Sir, where are we going? Where are we heading for? It calls for serious action on behalf of the government and I would appeal to the President to please take a very serious notice of this because if there is no law and order, if the life and property of people is not safe who is going to invest in industries and other things? This, therefore, requires the most urgent attention. I have found that the Prime Minister has been taking keen interest recently in these matters. We are not yet aware of what real steps have been decided because we can only see from the result. The result has shown no improvement. In fact, in the last few months there has been deterioration. I, therefore, think that the Prime Minister and Sindh Government which also has a very vast majority of Peoples Party would establish rule of law and equality before law which is the primary duty of the government. Sir, instead a lot of police is being wasted on security arrangements. Each residence of Ministers even in their home towns and the places where they are serving and where they go are guarded by police guards. They are public representatives. Why are they so afraid of public? If you want to be protected in every nook and corner then why should you expect other work from the police? If the Prime Minister goes anywhere or comes to Karachi the whole police is lined up right from the airport upto her house. Wherever she goes, this is the case. Why? When the Queen of England moves around you hardly find one officer just following lest any mishap may happen. But here what do we find? Here even in the case of Minister just imagine the large number of police full guards are wasted on the irrotection even if they are not there at their houses. We find high bureaucrats and other officers having guards at their houses. Why is this waste of public money being allowed any further? Now that it is a democratic government, please give this a serious thought and save those 30% of the police force from these duties so that they can divert their attention to some thing which they really are paid for.

Sir, as far as education side is concerned I want to point out that recently I had the pleasure of visiting an education institution - Pakistan Islamia Secondary School set up in Dubai. The Speaker of the National Assembly was recently, when I was also there, pleased to perform the

ceremony for giving away prizes to the students who had won laurels (boys and girls). Sir, this is very big institution where a big part of it was opened a year and half back by the then President of Pakistan. Sir, it is being run by the benevolence of Pakistanis there, a very large amount of expenditure is incurred on that without taking a single pie from the Government of Pakistan. All they want is that the institution should be recognized here on a permanent basis like other private institutions here but instead what do we find, they are being given recognition only from year to year basis to such a big institution where Islamic education is also being given government. The reason is that the want that the Chairman of the Board should be someone from the Embassy. Sir, I am fortunate that the honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs is also here. What right does the government have to demand that the Chairman of that Board should be form the Embassy when such a big institution is being run without a single pie being given as help by the Government of Pakistan. In fact they should be helped by our Embassy there, not that they should create hitches and demand that someone from the Embassy should be made the Chairman of the Board. Is this Sir, not a matter of shame for us? Our Pakistanis abroad who are making such laudable efforts, who are contributing so much money to run such a big institution, they are every year tight cornered by not giving them recognition whereas here any private school you start you will immediately get recognition. I would therefore appeal to the government to please look into this and not leave it to some bureaucrats in Eduction or Foreign Office. We should be proud of this institution, we should be proud of those Pakistanis living there who have set up such a successful institution for our boys and girls.

Sir, I thank you for giving me time but in the end I would be winding up and again we have today had Sir, the honour of the Chief Justice of Pakistan attending our Senate but I would very respectfully draw something which has agitated the minds of the lawyers and the public that the Chief Justices of our superior courts should not go on delegations with a political Prime Minister. The justice must not only be done, it must appear to be done. On political delegations it does not behove Chief Justice going there. I would respectfully point this out to them because I am a great admirer of our judiciary and being a lawyer I have the greatest regard and

respect for our superior courts and I am sure that this thing which was felt unpleasant by the public would not be resorted to in future. Although it was started once before when Justice Yaquab Ali toured with the Prime Minister but Sir, I would very respectfully appeal to the judiciary or the superior courts to kindly not allow this to agitate the minds of the people. Sir, in he end I would once again thank you for your giving me this opportunity and to finish the tension between the centre and the provinces to please bury the hatchet and strengthen the hands of the President and bring about some working solution between them. Thank you, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Thank you very much. Aijaz Ali Jatoi Sahib.

جناب اعجاز علی خان جتوئی : میں آپ کا بہت ہی مشکور ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے یہاں اپنے views express کرنے کا موقع دیا۔ پریذیڈنٹ صاحب نے اپنے پارلیمنٹ کے ایڈریس میں کافی اہم نکات اٹھائے اور کچھ نکات شاید کسی مجبوری کی بنا پر رہ گئے۔ میں جہاں political scenario میں سب سے پہلے آپ کی توجہ آج کے اس سارے ہم آج کھڑے ہیں قومیتوں کے مسائل پر لانا چاہتا ہوں ۔ ۱۹۴۰ء کے ریزولیوشن میں یہ بات واضح طور پر لکھی گئی تھی کہ پاکستان ایک کثیر القومی مملکت ہے اور اس میں جو federating units ہوں گے وہ autonomous ہوں گے اس کو مسلسل ہم neglect کرتے رہے ہیں۔ قومیتوں کا جو وجود تھا اس سے ہم انکار کرتے رہے اور نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ آج ہم مختلف وحدتیں ایک دوسرے سے دست و گریباں ہیں ۔ جناب چیئرمین ! میں آپ کے توسط سے گذارش کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ان ریاستوں یا ان States نے پاکستان میں جو شمولیت کی تھی وہ ایک agreement تھا اور اس agreement میں اپنی تاریخی سیاسی اقتصادی اور ثقافتی rights کی کوئی سودے بازی نہیں کی گئی تھی۔ اس agreement کے تحت ہمیں یقین دلایا گیا تھا کہ ہماری شناخت برقرار رکھی جائے گی۔ اس طرح قومیتوں کے اپنے historical rights کو بالائے تحفظ دیا گیا تھا لیکن افسوس سے کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ اتنے اہم issue پر صدر صاحب نے اپنے خطاب میں کچھ نہیں کہا اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ آج جو مشکلات اور حالات ہمارے سامنے ہیں اس کی ایک اہم وجہ یہ بھی ہے کہ قومیتوں کے حقوق سے کو

مانا ہی نہیں گیا۔ اسے آپ کو tackle کرنا پڑے گا۔ دنیا کی صورت حال کو مدنظر رکھیں آج دیوار برلن کو گرے چکے ہے چالیس سال پہلے دیوار برلن جب قائم کی گئی تھی اس وقت کوئی بھی political نجومی اگر یہ کہتا کہ آج سے چالیس سال کے بعد ۱۹۸۹ء میں یہ دیوار برلن گر جائے گی اور مشرقی اور مغربی جرمنی قوم ایک ہو جائے گی۔ تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس پر کوئی اعتبار نہ کرتا آج Perestroika کے reforms تحت global situation میں اور خاص کر مشرقی یورپ میں major reforms ہو رہی ہیں قوموں اور عوام کے حقوق جبر کے تحت دبائے گئے تھے۔ بالآخر آپ نے دیکھا کہ وہ لاوا پھٹا اور اتنا بڑا پرانا نظام تہس نہس ہوا آپ نے دیکھا رومانیہ میں کیا ہوا اسی طرح سے Eastern Europe کے کئی ممالک میں جہاں پر قومیتوں کو جبر کے تحت ایک فرسودہ نظام کے تحت غلام بنایا گیا وہاں پر آپ نے دیکھا کہ قومیتوں نے اپنے حقوق کو منواتے ہوئے ان boundaries کو اور اس جبر کے نظام کو تہس نہس کر دیا۔

اس سلسلے میں آپ کے توسط سے اپیل کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ بہت ہی important مسئلہ ہے اور اس صدی جب کہ internationally, globally democratization کا process چل رہا ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں قومیتوں کے وجود سے انکار نا اہلی کا ثبوت دینے کے برابر ہے جب سے یہ present government induct ہوئی ہے ۲ دسمبر سے آج تک وزیر اعظم صاحبہ یہاں پر صرف بیس منٹ کے لئے تشریف لائیں اور اس کے بعد سینٹ سے منہ موڑ کر پھر کبھی اس طرف کا رُخ نہیں کیا جناب والا ہم ان کی خدمت میں عرض کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ یہ supreme body ہے اور اس ملک کا ایک اہم ادارہ ہے، اس کے خلاف کئی مرتبہ High Courts میں اور دیگر کئی جگہوں پر حکومت کے وزراء کی جو ایک کرکٹ ٹیم ہے اس میں کچھ all rounders ہیں کچھ اچھے batsmen ہیں اور کچھ ایسے لوگ ہیں کہ جن کی تعریف الفاظ میں ممکن نہیں انہوں نے کچھ اس طرح کا impression دیا کہ یہاں سینٹ میں صرف آئی جی آئی کی یا مسلم لیگ کی majority ہے اس لئے یہ سینٹرز جو ہیں ۔

[Mr. Aijaz Ali Khan Jatoi]

pre-conceived ideas لے کر آتے ہیں اس لئے اس ہاؤس میں جانے کا کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہے۔ میں ان کی خدمت میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جناب ہم نے آپ کی قومی اسمبلی کی کارروائی بھی دیکھی ہے وہاں جو گالی گلوچ ہوتی ہے وہ بھی ہم نے دیکھی ہے جس طرح لگے آپ نے موچی گیٹ بنایا ہوا ہے وہ بھی ہم نے دیکھا ہے۔ ہمیں فخر ہے کہ یہاں پر مختلف ideologies کے لوگ بیٹھے ہیں۔ میں اپوزیشن کا ہوں مسلم لیگ یا آئی جی آئی میں نہیں ہوں، میں پیپلز پارٹی میں بھی نہیں ہوں لیکن ہم جب یہاں بات کرتے ہیں تو مثبت بات کرتے ہیں۔ مخالفت برائے مخالفت نہیں کرتے جناب یہاں پر بات کریں ہم provincial autonomy کا ایک بل یہاں لانا چاہتے ہیں شاید آپ اس سے sincere نہیں ہیں۔ آپ committed بھی ہیں ۱۲ اگست ۱۹۸۶ء کا ایک resolution ایم آر ڈی میں پاس ہوا تھا لیکن آپ نے خود ہی کہا کہ ایم آر ڈی مردہ گھوڑا بن چکا ہے آپ نے ایم آر ڈی کو ادھر حکمرانی میں شامل نہیں کیا اور مجھے وہ الفاظ یاد ہیں۔ محترمہ کو بھی یاد ہوں گے جب یوسف ہستی خان لاج میں ہم لوگ بیٹھے ہوئے تھے اور ہمارے مرحوم میر غوث بخش بزنجو نے آپ کو کہا کہ محترمہ آپ اکیلی حکومت میں جا تو سکتی ہیں آپ حکومت بنا تو سکتی ہیں۔ لیکن آپ حکومت چلا نہیں سکتیں کیوں کہ آپ میں اتنی اہلیت نہیں کہ آپ اکیلے صرف پیپلز پارٹی کی اس immature team کو لے جا کر حکومت بنائیں اس لئے آپ کے لئے بہتر ہوگا کہ آپ ایم آر ڈی کے تحت حکومت چلائیں for the sake of democracy ظاہر ہے جناب ہم سب ایک democratic institution کی پیداوار ہیں ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ آپ اس معاشرے کو institutionalize کریں آپ کا جو party programme ہے وہ clear ہے جو منشور ہے اس میں آپ نے بات کی ہے طبقاتی نظام کو ختم کرنے کی اس میں آپ نے بات کی ہے لوگوں کو ان کے گھروں تک انصاف مہیا کرنے کی اس میں آپ نے بات کی ہے ایک sensible اور balanced معاشرہ بنانے کی اور اس میں آپ نے بات کی ہے روٹی، کپڑا، مکان دینے کی اب جناب والا!

بات یہ ہے کہ چونکہ صدر صاحب نے اپنے خطاب کے شروع میں کہا کہ جب گزشتہ برس میں آپ کے سامنے حاضر ہوا تھا تو ملک میں جشن کا سماں تھا قوم کا چہرہ ایک نئے عزم سے تمتما رہا تھا اور آنکھیں نئی امیدوں سے روشن تھیں امن و امان ہم آہنگی، انصاف اور مساوات کے ایک نئے دور کے استقبال کی تیاریاں ہو رہی تھیں پھر ایک سال بیت گیا اس ایک سال کے دوران منتخب اداروں نے کم از کم بحث مباحثے کی حد تک بھرپور زندگی کا ثبوت دیا جمہوری اداروں کو ایک گونہ استحکام نصیب حاصل ہوا اور قومی معاملات ایک بار پھر بلا شرکت غیرے قوم کے منتخب نمائندوں کے ہاتھوں میں رہے" اس کے علاوہ انہوں نے کہا" اگر باہمی الزام تراشیوں سے صرفِ نظر کیا جائے تو نہ وہ سرور و شور نظر آتا ہے نہ جوش و خروش جو جمہوری تعمیر کی علامت کے طور پر نظر آنا چاہیئے تھا، غلط یا صحیح، عوام میں بے عملی کا کچھ ایسا تاثر پایا جاتا ہے جو نوخیز امیدوں کو مضمحل کر رہا ہے، بدامنی، تشدد اور لاقانونیت نے ملک کے کئی علاقوں میں خوف و ہراس کا ماحول پیدا کر رکھا ہے۔۔۔"

اب law and order پر آتے ہیں کیوں کہ اس حکومت نے جب وہاں پر ۱۲ دسمبر سے پہلے کئی rallies میں باتیں کی تھیں، کئی جلسوں میں باتیں کی تھیں کہ" ہمیں یہاں پر لوگوں کو تحفظ دینا ہے ہمیں یہاں پر چادر اور چار دیواری کا تحفظ کرنا ہے ملک کی بگڑی ہوئی امن و امان کی صورتِ حال کو ٹھیک کرنا ہے۔ ہم حکومت میں آئیں گے تو آپ کو یہ انصاف مہیا کریں گے، اب جناب انصاف کیا مہیا ہوتا ہے یہ بھی ذرا دیکھیں میں کہتا ہوں کہ اس معاشرے میں اگر کچھ فیصد لوگ honest ہیں تو وہ پاگل ہیں اس معاشرے کو وہ belong ہی نہیں کرتے، بہتر ان کے لئے یہ ہے کہ یہاں سے ہجرت کر کے کسی ایسے ملک میں جائیں جہاں پر کچھ honest لوگوں کا معاشرہ ہو کیوں کہ یہاں پر تو جناب ننانوے فیصدی لوگ اس marathon میں شامل ہیں کہ راتوں رات کس طرح سے انہیں

sugar mill کا permit ملے اور کس طرح سے انہیں easy money ملے جناب والا! آپ اندازہ لگائیں ایک وزیر قانون سندھ کا CIA Police Station داد و میں جاتا ہے اور وہاں پر جا کر کہتا ہے کہ میں آیا ہوں آپ نے بے گناہ لوگوں کو پکڑا ہوا ہے اور چھ آدمی چھڑا لے جاتا ہے وہ دو معروف ڈاکو، ایک چانڈیو قبیلے کا اور ایک کسی اور قبیلے کا غالباً کھوسہ قبیلے کا، جو murderers ہیں جن کے خلاف FIR's کٹیں ان کو وہاں سے چھڑاتا ہے اور ان کو اپنی گاڑیوں میں بٹھا کر اپنے گھر لے جاتا ہے ایس ڈی ایم کو فون کرتا ہے کہ میں نے بے گناہ لوگوں کو چھڑایا ہے عوامی حکومت میں یہ کام نہیں چلے گا ایس ایس پی جو وہاں کا تھا اس نے road block کرایا اور جب وہ منسٹر صاحب اپنی جھنڈے والی گاڑی میں ان آدمیوں کو ساتھ لے کر آ رہا تھا تو اس کو پولیس نے روکا گن دکھا کر کہا کہ آپ آگے نہیں جا سکتے اس نے کہا کہ میں وزیر قانون ہوں کیوں کہ اسی وزیر قانون نے پہلے ایک اے ایس آئی کو گھر پر بلوا کر جوتے مارے کیونکہ کسی وقت پیپلز پارٹی کے ایک جلوس سے اس نے اس کو گرفتار کیا تھا جناب والا! وہاں پر وہ پولیس افسر لوگوں کو اتارتا ہے اور کہتا ہے کہ جناب کہ یہ تو دو murderers ہیں اور دو اس میں ڈاکو ہیں جن کو کلاشنکوف کے ساتھ پکڑا گیا ہے اور یہ لوگ چوری اور ڈاکے کے تقریباً تین سو مقدمات میں ملوث ہیں، وزیر قانون کہتا ہے کہ ۲۴ گھنٹے کے اندر تم یہاں نہیں ہو گے اور وہ وہاں لوگوں کو چھوڑ کر چلا جاتا ہے کیونکہ وہاں پر فورس تھی اور اس دن سے لے کر روز پریس میں Statements آتی ہیں۔

جناب والا! میں آج آپ کے سامنے یہ بات کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ داد و کا ایک ایم پی اے خود کوٹری پولیس سٹیشن میں چوری کے کیس میں گرفتار ہوا تھا، اور داد و کے ہی ایک ایم این اے کو جب رینجرز نے اس کے اڈے پر raid کیا، لوگوں کو پکڑا رینجرز نے اس کے بیٹے کا بازو توڑ دیا کیونکہ اس نے مزاحمت کی تھی، ایم پی اے، ایم این اے اور وزیر قانون کے خلاف ایف آئی آر داد و میں درج ہیں پولیس نے خود کی ہے۔ ایس پی نے خود وہاں جا کر فریاد کی کہ یہ

جو لوگ ہیں یہ گورنمنٹ پارٹی سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں ایک وزیر قانون ہے یہ قانون کے خلاف کام کرنے والے لوگوں کو چھڑانے آئے تھے اور ایک ڈاکو اور دو قاتلوں کو آزاد کرایا لیکن جب یہاں پر vote of no confidence move ہوا تو وہاں فون کیا کہ اپنے ایم این اے کی ہمیں ضرورت ہے فی الحال cases کو withdraw کیا جائے اور ان سب کو رہا کیا جائے۔ جاوید جبار صاحب یہاں موجود ہیں اگر آپ یہ investigation کرائیں تو ایف آئی آر موجود ہے اور اس تھانے میں سی آئی اے کا واقعہ بھی موجود ہے۔ اب میں نے آپ کو ایک واقعہ سنایا تو بات یہ ہے کہ جس صوبے میں MNA's اور MPA's خود چوری میں ملوث ہوں۔۔۔ اسی ایم پی اے کی فائل پر بھٹو صاحب مرحوم نے لکھا تھا Why he is out? He is a known dacoit, he should be inside. میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ law and order situation جو آج سندھ میں ہے وہ پہلے سے بہت بدتر ہے ہمیں امید یہ تھی اب public کے نمائندے یہاں آئے ہیں commitment لیکر آئے ہیں کہ وہ law and order situation بہتر بنائیں گے لیکن پرائم منسٹر صاحبہ کے اپنے district میں اور districts کو تو آپ چھوڑ دیں اور districts کی حالت تو بہت بری ہے۔ ان کے اپنے DISTRICT میں چھ چھ آٹھ آٹھ آدمی اغواء کئے جاتے ہیں۔ المرتضیٰ کے ساتھ ساتھ گھر ہیں وہاں پر شیخوں کے پورے محلے کے گرد گھیرا ڈال کر ڈیڑھ گھنٹہ تک اسے بُری طرح لوٹا گیا۔

اب آتے ہیں شہروں کی طرف۔ شہروں میں جو Law & order کی situation ہے وہ انتہائی شرمناک ہے۔ گیارہ مہینے تک تو ہم جمہوریت کی اس خوبصورت دیوی کو کم از کم سندھی لوگ قربانی اور بلیدان دے رہے تھے۔ کیونکہ ان کا ایم کیو ایم کے ساتھ agreement تھا۔ شہروں میں جو صورتِ حال ہے۔ وہ آپ سے چھپی ہوئی نہیں ہے۔ میں آپ کو حالیہ ایک واقعہ سنانا چاہتا ہوں۔ جو حیدرآباد میں پیش آیا جس میں ۲۱ لوگ مارے گئے اس میں اندرون سندھ کے رہنے والے ۱۷ بے گناہ لوگ مارے گئے جن کے ناموں کی فہرست اس اخبار میں بھی آئی ہے۔ اور میرے پاس موجود ہے کوئی دن خالی نہیں ہے جب کوئی dead body اندرون

[Mr. Aijaz Ali Khan Jatoi]

سندھ نہیں پہنچتی یعنی ایک عجیب قسم کا واقعہ ہے۔ کاش کہ وزیر داخلہ صاحب یہاں ہوتے تو میں ان کے سامنے بتاتا کہ ان کی حیدر آباد میں جو تذلیل ہوئی ہے۔ اگر تھوڑی بھی غیرت ان میں ہوتی تو وہ استعفیٰ دے جاتے جناب! لوگ پکڑے گئے ہیں نورانی بستی سے لوگ حملہ کرنے کے لئے نکلتے ہیں لاشاری گوٹھ سے لوگ پکڑے گئے ہیں چار آدمی Rangers Force کی فائرنگ سے مارے گئے ہیں بارہ آدمی ہتھیاروں سمیت گرفتار ہوئے جو حملہ کرنے جارہے تھے نتیجہ کیا نکلتا ہے کہ وہاں کے ڈپٹی کمشنر صاحب موقع پر آتے ہیں۔ کچھ لڑکے اس کو اور ایس ایس پی حیدر آباد کو جوتے مارے ہیں ایس ایس پی حیدر آباد کی اتنی پٹائی ہوتی ہے کہ اس کو کچھ آتے ہیں اور ڈپٹی کمشنر کو مسجد میں بٹھایا جاتا ہے اور تاثر یہ دیا جاتا ہے کہ یہ HOSTAGE ہیں اس وقت تک HOSTAGE ہیں جب تک کہ ہمارے لوگ RELERSE نہیں ہوں گے اور آپ اندازہ لگائیں کہ اس بنا پر ۱۲ دہشت گردوں کو چھوڑ دیا جاتا ہے۔

جناب! بات یہ ہے کہ سندھ کے جو دو شہر ہیں وہ دہشت گردوں کے حوالے ہیں کراچی حیدر آباد میں کوئی قانون نہیں اور جو اندرون سندھ ہے وہ ڈاکوؤں کے حوالے ہے مجھے سمجھ نہیں آرہی کہ جو لوگ دعویٰ کرتے ہیں کہ سندھ ہماری جاگیر ہے ایک خاندان کی جاگیر ہے وہ سندھ کے حالات ٹھیک کرنے میں ناکام کیوں ہو رہے ہیں؟ میں دعویٰ سے کہتا ہوں کہ چالیس ایم این اے اور ایم پی اے جو وہاں سے آئے ہیں وہ سب کے سب جرائم میں ملوث ہیں۔ میں خود کو آپ کے سامنے پیش کرتا ہوں آپ مجھے گرفتار کریں مثال قائم کریں کہ پارلیمنٹرین بھی گرفتار ہو سکتا ہے کوئی شخص بھی آئین اور قانون سے بالاتر نہیں اور پھر آپ چالیس کو بھی گرفتار کریں پوری طرح تحقیقات کریں کون تمہاری دار ہے اور کون یہ چلا رہا ہے ہمیں پتہ ہے میرے پاس ثبوت موجود ہیں کہ کراچی میں اغوا کی وارداتیں کون کر رہا ہے۔ افضل شگری کی رپورٹ کر آپ کیوں ڈسکس نہیں کرتے۔ اس نے محنت سے ایک رپورٹ تیار

کی ہے اور اس شخص کا تعلق سوات سے ہے یہ ایک آدمی ہے آپ دیکھیں گے کہ شہروں میں جرائم کون کر رہا ہے پھر آپ کو پتہ چل جائے گا کہ اندرون سندھ میں جرائم کون کر رہا ہے موٹر کار میں بارہ آدمی ہتھیاروں سمیت کہ interior میں جرائم کون کر رہا ہے موٹر کار والے سکندر کے اغواء میں کون ملوث تھا۔ اندرون سندھ کوئی قانون نہیں ہے۔ دن کو بھی لوگ باہر نکلتے ہوئے ڈرتے ہیں کوئی قانون شہروں میں نہیں ہے کراچی اور حیدر آباد بیروت کا منظر پیش کرتے ہیں جہاں پر کوئی قانون نہیں کوئی safety نہیں سکول بند ہیں بچے جب سکول جاتے ہیں تو ہم ڈرتے ہیں کہ کیا واپس بھی آجائیں گے۔ کیا ۱۹۴۰ء کے ریزولیوشن کے تحت ہم اس لئے پاکستان میں شامل ہوئے تھے کہ آج ہمارا یہ حشر کیا جائے گا کہ ہماری تہذیب ہماری ثقافت ہماری زبان اور ہماری جانوں کو آپ تہس نہس کریں گے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ آپ کو کوئی solution نکالنا پڑے گا۔ ورنہ لوگ اپنے فیصلے خود کریں گے آپ نے کونسا نظام دیا ہے۔ میں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہاں پر بات چلتی ہے۔ صدر صاحب نے اپنی تقریر میں کہا کہ Horse-trading and Political Stock Exchange میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ذرا اس کو نام دوسرا دیا جائے بات (xxx) یہ ہے کہ میں صرف یہ بات ایک سائیڈ کی نہیں کر رہا ہوں، کچھ لوگ وہ تھے جو مظلوم انسانیت کی بات کرتے تھے، اس طرف بھی میرے colleagues بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں، جن کا واسطہ آئی جے آئی اور وابستگی آئی جے آئی سے ہے۔ دونوں طرف سے horse trading ہوئی۔ اس طرح سے سندھ میں چھ شوگر ملز دی گئیں اور اپنے لوگوں کو دی گئیں۔ یہ ہے sugar coated democracy - جو یہاں پر آکر بات کرتے تھے کہ ہم سندھ کے حقوق پر سودے بازی نہیں کریں گے، دوسری طرف سے بھی خرید و فروخت ہوئی، corruption کو اس دور میں institutionalize کیا گیا ہے، اداروں کا بیڑہ غرق کیا جا رہا ہے۔ جناب آپ کو پتہ ہوگا کہ یہاں پہ جو آج حالات ہیں،

" (xxx) EXPUNGED IS ORDERED BY THE CHAIRMAN"

[Mr. Aijaz Ali Khan Jatoi]

satellite deal کی بات ہو رہی ہے، جس میں دو ارب روپے کا ذکر ہے، اور وہ کلیتاً head of the government کے اوپر ہے۔ اس کے بعد Boeing deal کی بات ہو رہی ہے، Fertilizer deal کی بات ہو رہی ہے، اسی طرح سے کئی چیزیں ایسی ہیں کہ جن کے ضمن میں بڑے serious allegations ہیں ان لوگوں کے اوپر جو کافی اہم عہدوں پر گورنمنٹ میں موجود ہیں۔ یہ انٹرنیشنلی رپورٹنگ ہوئی ہے۔

میں جناب والا! آپ سے عرض کرتا ہوں کہ آج آپ کی پارلیمنٹ کی International reputation کیا ہے۔ جناب دیکھیں بات یہ ہے کہ جب یہاں نیشنل اسمبلی اور سینیٹ کے ارکان چند لاکھوں اور چند کروڑ روپے پر اپنی وابستگیاں، اپنی پوری کی پوری political affiliations چند گھنٹوں میں change کریں گے تو آپ بیرونی ممالک میں جا کر اپنا کیا منہ دکھائیں گے۔ جب یہاں پر آپ اس طرح کی چیزیں کریں گے، اس طرح کی examples قائم کریں گے کہ اگر کوئی vote of no confidence میں ووٹ دیتا ہے تو بیس گھنٹے کے بعد وہ وزیر ہوتا ہے۔ بیس گھنٹے پہلے آپ اس سائیڈ پر ہوتے ہیں اور پھر بیس گھنٹے کے بعد آپ اس طرف آ جاتے ہیں front benches پر، اور سومرو صاحب نے یہ ذکر کیا کہ تین ممبران اپنی political affiliations اور اپنی بنیادی سیاسی تنظیم چھوڑ کر آگے آ گئے ہیں۔ اس وقت میں نے کہا کہ وہ تینوں وزیر بن کر ہمارے آگے بیٹھے ہیں۔

میں کہتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان خواہ مخواہ تو ہزار کروڑ روپے اپنے دفاعی اخراجات پر خرچ کر رہا ہے لیکن ہم نے اس پارلیمنٹ سے 119 آدمی خریدنے کے لئے دو کروڑ روپے ایک آدمی کی price ادا کی ہے یہاں پر کوئی بھی اپنی کٹھ پتلی حکومت بنا سکتا ہے۔ تو پھر جناب کیا ضرورت ہے آپ کو اتنے resources, ضائع کرنے کی، ہم نے خود ثابت کر دیا ہے کہ ہمارا کوئی اصول نہیں، ہماری کوئی سیاسی وابستگیاں نہیں، ہماری کوئی اقدار نہیں۔ ہم یہاں 9/10 کروڑ عوام کی نمائندگی کر رہے ہیں اور ہمارا اپنا یہ عالم ہے۔ کہ آدھے گھنٹے میں ہمارا کریکٹر

change ہو جاتا ہے، آدھ گھنٹے میں ہماری affiliation, تبدیل ہو جاتی ہیں۔
اس کے بعد جناب صدر نے smooth transaction of power کی بات کی ہے کہ یہ کوئی احسان نہیں" یہ ملک جمہوریت کے لئے ہی بنا تھا" اور اگر آپ نے اس ملک کو اکٹھے رکھنا ہے، intact رکھنا ہے، تو آپ کو یہاں پر democratic system لانا پڑے گا۔ اداروں کو یہاں پر مضبوط کرنا پڑے گا، میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ بغیر democracy کے اس ملک میں کوئی نظام قابل قبول نہیں۔ آپ نے سب کے سب نظام آزما لیے ہیں، کئی جابر آئے ہیں جنہوں نے وردی میں آکر یہاں حکمرانی کی ہے۔ انہوں نے بھی اس ملک کو توڑا اور مزید اس ملک کو چلانے کے لئے intact رکھنے کے لئے ضروری ہے کہ آپ democratic institutions کو مضبوط کریں۔
میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ آج ہمارے ووٹ کا کوئی تقدس نہیں ہے، ہم جب ووٹ دے کر یہاں کسی کو بھیجتے ہیں، تو ہمیں سوال یہ کرنا چاہیئے کہ آیا ہمارے ووٹوں پر گورنمنٹ change ہوتی ہے یا واشنگٹن سے گورنمنٹ change ہوتی ہے آپ کے توسط سے میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ American imperialist نظام نے ہمارے اوپر غنڈہ گردی کے طور پر قبضہ کیا ہوا ہے کبھی ہم برطانیہ کے غلام تھے، آج ہم امریکہ کے غلام ہیں۔ جناب والا! میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہماری خارجہ پالیسی committed ہے، even Peoples' Party کا جو manifesto ہے وہ اس سے committed ہے کہ ہماری خارجہ پالیسی non-aligned ہو گی، پڑوسی ملکوں سے تو ہماری دشمنی ہے، اور دس ہزار میل دور جو ہیں ان سے دوستی ہے اور وہ بھی وہ دوستی، جس کا Seventh Fleet ۱۹۷۱ء میں آرہا تھا، اور جس کا چرچا تھا کہ Seventh Fleet اب آرہا ہے اب آرہا ہے اور اب ہم بچ جائیں گے۔ لیکن تاریخ میں وہ سانحہ ہوا کہ ہماری نوے ہزار فوج نے 7th Fleet کے آسرے میں surrender کیا۔ ہم نے افغانستان میں بلاوجہ مداخلت کی ہے Geneva Accords کے مطابق اگر افغانستان میں کوئی گورنمنٹ بنتی ہے تو وہ وہاں کا internal affair ہے، افغانستان میں اگر انقلاب آتا ہے تو وہ وہاں کا internal affair ہے۔ میں آپ کے توسط سے یہاں پر پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جناب آپ کون ہوتے ہیں

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یہ کہنے والے کہ افغانستان میں ڈاکٹر نجیب کی جو حکومت ہے وہ ہمیں قابل قبول نہیں ہے، اس کو ہٹاؤ تو پھر ہم بات کریں گے، اگر کل بالفرض افغانستان یہ بات کہے کہ ہمیں بے نظیر کی حکومت قبول نہیں، ہمیں اسحاق خان کی حکومت قبول نہیں، ان کو ہٹاؤ تو ہم پاکستان سے بات کریں گے، تو کیا آپ یہ پسند کریں گے۔ افغانستان میں جو انقلاب آیا ہے وہ وہاں کے فرسودہ نظام کی وجہ سے آیا ہے، جو وہاں پر ایک جاگیرداری کا نظام مسلط تھا، اسی کی وجہ سے آیا ہے، اور وہ ان کا فیصلہ ہے۔ میں آپ سے اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ جس سپرپاور سے چند ایف ۔ ۱۶ لے کر آپ خوش ہو کر یہاں پہنچتے ہیں کہ امریکہ ہمارا دوست ہے، میں آپ سے عرض کرتا ہوں کہ وہ اور سوویت یونین شاید کسی agreement پر پہنچ چکے ہیں، اور آپ اس وقت سے ڈریں جب آپ کے ملک میں اتنے زیادہ ہتھیار آئیں گے ڈریں اس وقت سے جب ان بندوقوں کا رُخ بجائے افغانستان کے، اسلام آباد کی طرف ہوگا تو پھر آپ کیا کریں گے، کیونکہ آپ نے جن تیس لاکھ لوگوں کو پالا ہوا ہے ۔۔۔۔ میں بالکل واضح طور پر یہ بات کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہاں پر لا اینڈ آرڈر کا مسئلہ، کلاشنکوف کی وجہ سے پیدا ہوا ہے، یہ کلاشنکوف پہلے ہم نے کبھی نہیں دیکھی تھی، یہاں پر processed heroin ہم نے دیکھی ہے جو افغانستان سے آنے والے لوگوں کی وجہ سے ہے۔ میں آپ کے توسط سے حکومت سے اپیل کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ان لوگوں کو باعزت طور پر واپس بھیج دیں اگر ان کو اس حکومت پر کوئی اعتراضات ہیں، تو یہ وہاں جا کر بات کریں، وہاں جا کر الیکشن کے لئے پریشر ڈالیں، وہاں جا کر political mobilization کریں وہاں جا کر جو بھی rights کی بات کرنی ہے، within the framework of Afghanistan کریں، ہماری زمین سے نہ ہتھیار فراہم ہوگا اور نہ ہی ہماری زمین سے کوئی ایسی چیز ہوگی جس کے تحت ہم بین الاقوامی قانون کی زد میں آتے ہیں۔

جناب والا! ایک بہت ہی اہم مسئلے، جس کی طرف میں آپ کی توجہ مبذول کرانا چاہتا ہوں آپ کو پتہ ہوگا کہ کئی اخبارات میں حیدر آباد ڈویلپمنٹ

اتھارٹی کا ایک لیٹر چھپا ہے ایک بہت ہی اہم افسر، ایم کیو ایم کے ایک بہت ہی اہم رکن کو یہ خط لکھتے ہیں کہ امریکن ایمبیسیڈر، مسٹر اوکلے سے بات چیت ہو گئی ہے، اور الگ صوبہ بنانا گزیر ہے۔ جناب والا! میں آپ کے توسط سے سندھ کے ایک نمائندہ کی حیثیت سے اور پاکستان نیشنل پارٹی کے صدر کی حیثیت سے بالکل serious accusation عرض کرتا ہوں کہ سندھ کی تقسیم میں امریکن سفیر involve ہے کیونکہ ہانگ کانگ چین کو واپس ملنے کے بعد یہاں پر ایک Free Economic Zone کی بات ہو رہی ہے۔ جس کی Confederating پاکستان کے ساتھ ہو گی۔ باقاعدہ اس کی حدود دکھائی گئی ہیں، جس میں سندھ کے چار اضلاع اور ایک کراچی ڈویژن بلوچستان کا ایک ضلع لسبیلہ، جس کو کاٹ کر Coastal area کے طور پر ایک صوبہ بنانے کی بات کی گئی ہے۔

جناب میں یہاں پر یہ بات واضح کرنا چاہتا ہوں

اس سکیم کو ہم نے اخبارات میں دیا ہے کہ امریکن سفیر اس میں involve ہے اس نے various meetings کی ہیں اس نے MQM کے اور various organizations کے ساتھ مل کر ایک plot بنایا ہے ایک strategy بنائی ہے جس کے تحت سندھ کو تقسیم کرنے کی ایک سازش ہو رہی ہے۔ جناب والا! میں آپ کو یہ یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ڈیڑھ کروڑ سندھی سندھ کو تقسیم نہیں ہونے دیں گے۔ تقسیم سندھ کی نہیں بلکہ پاکستان کی ہو گی۔ امریکن سفیر کو وزارت خارجہ میں بلا کر خود وزیر اعظم صاحبہ بھی seriously اس کو take up کریں اور پرزور احتجاج کیا جائے۔ اور کہا جائے کہ ہم آپ کی سکیم کو مسترد کرتے ہیں اور انتباہ کرتے ہیں کہ اپنے رویہ کو درست کریں وگرنہ ہم پاکستان کی فارن پالیسی میں امریکہ کو مٹا دیں گے، ہم تم سے Bilateral relations نہیں رکھیں گے۔ چونکہ یہ ۱۹۴۰ء کی اس قرارداد کی خلاف ورزی ہے جس میں موجودہ حدود کو مانا گیا ہے۔ ہم کسی بھی ملک کو یہ اجازت نہیں دیں گے کہ وہ کسی تخریب کار تنظیم کے ساتھ مل کر یہاں پر اس طرح کی چیزیں کرے۔ جناب والا! آپ کو یہ پتہ ہو گا کہ کل یا پرسوں گورنر سندھ کی سٹیٹمنٹ آئی ہے کہ سندھ کے

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حالات میں External forces کا ہاتھ ہے۔ بڑے افسوس کی بات ہے۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ جناب point out کریں کہ وہ کون سی جس کو External forces ہیں یہاں پر امداد دیتی ہیں۔ چونکہ بین الاقوامی terrorism کا بھی ایک اصول ہے اگر وہ کسی ملک میں terrorist activities کو encourage کرتے ہیں یا کسی ملک کو destabilization کرنے کے process کو encourage کرتے ہیں تو ان کے بھی کچھ مفادات ہوتے ہیں اور میں یہ بات آج یہاں اعلانیہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کوئی بھی سندھی قوم کا غیرت مند فرد یا غیرت مند فرزند ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق نہیں کرنا چاہتا۔ ہم نے ۱۹۴۷ء میں ہندو کو یہاں سے نکالا۔ کیسی دل دکھانے والی یہ بات ہے کہ یہاں پر External forces involve ہاں یہاں پر external force ہے investigate کریں وہ کون لوگ ہیں جو آج تک نیو دہلی سے آٹھ نو سو ویزے لے کر نکلتے ہیں وہ کون لوگ ہیں؟ وہ ہمارے لوگ نہیں ہیں آج ان کی population کے ساتھ موازنہ کریں کہ اتنا بڑا Influx ایک صوبے میں آیا جو 92% آبادی تھی اس کو گھٹا کر 42% کیا، پھر آپ کہتے ہیں کہ ہم اپنی زمین دے کر ملوث ہو رہے ہیں۔

جناب والا! میں یہ واضح کر دوں کہ ہم تو دس کروڑ عوام اپنی nationality اور Identity کو رو رہے ہیں۔ اسی کروڑ سے ہمیں کیا ملے گا؟ A drop in the sea. میں کہتا ہوں کہ کوئی بھی عقلمند اور ہوش مند شخص پاکستان کو توڑنا نہیں چاہتا۔ پاکستان ہم نے بنایا ہے اور ہمارے مخصوص حالات ہیں اور میں یہ بار بار ہاؤس کے سامنے کہہ رہا ہوں کہ خدارا ہمارے مخصوص حالات کو سمجھیں open minded ہو کر سوچیں ہم اور آپ ایک مذہب و ملت سے ہیں۔ ہم ایک امت بن سکتے ہیں لیکن ایک قوم نہیں بن سکتے۔ جب تک آپ historical process میں نہیں جائیں گے کہ قومیں اس طرح نہیں بنتی ہیں۔ قوموں کا ایک پس منظر اور تاریخ ہوتی ہے، زبان اور زمین ہوتی ہے۔ میں اگر یہاں سندھی میں تقریر کرنا شروع کر دوں تو کتنے لوگ اسے سمجھیں گے۔ آپ یہاں پشتو میں رولنگ دیں تو کتنے لوگ اس کو سمجھیں گے جناب والا!

سندھی الگ زبان اور تاریخ ہے۔ اگر آپ میری زبان، ثقافت اور تاریخ کو مجھ سے چھینیں گے اور مجھ پر جبر و تشدد کریں گے تو میں چیخوں گا۔ آپ کے سامنے ضرور چلاؤں گا کیونکہ مجھے پتہ ہے کہ ایک مذہب کے ناتے ہم ایک ہیں۔

اس سلسلے میں آپ سے اپیل کروں گا اگر دنیا میں اتنی بڑی تبدیلی آسکتی ہے کہ اتنے پرانے نظام کو reform کے ذریعے تبدیل کیا جا سکتا ہے سوویت یونین میں Perestroika آسکتی ہے تو خدارا یہاں پر ہمارے مسائل سنے جائیں۔ آج ہم صرف ۵۲ فیصد بچے ہیں، ہم چلا چلا کر آپ سے کہتے ہیں کہ سندھ میں مزید influx کی گنجائش نہیں ہم چلا چلا کر آپ کو بولتے ہیں کہ لاکھوں افراد جو ہندوستان بنگلہ دیش وغیرہ وغیرہ سے آئے ہیں کیا پتہ ہے کہ ان میں سے کتنے کس کے agent ہیں۔ مرحوم جنرل ضیاء الحق صاحب نے یہاں پر ایک statement دی تھی وہ وہ مجھے یاد ہے کہ ان افغان مہاجرین سے جو یہاں آئے ہیں ان میں سے پچاس فیصد KGB کے لوگ ہیں How can you differentiate? اور آج کے influx کا کیا جواز ہے؟ میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر اس sub-continent میں اسلام خطرے میں تھا تو اس کی وجہ سے پاکستان بننا ناگزیر تھا تو آج جو دس کروڑ مسلمان وہاں بیٹھے ہیں تو کیا وہ مصیبت میں ہیں؟ کیا ان کو مذہبی آزادی حاصل نہیں؟ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ قطعاً نہیں، اگر آج وہ دس کروڑ مسلمان یہ فیصلہ کریں کہ ہم پاکستان آنا چاہتے ہیں تو آپ ان کو accommodate کر سکتے ہیں۔ کتنے نوجوانوں کو آپ نے روزگار دیا ہے؟ آج ہماری حالت یہ ہے کہ ہم ایک دوسرے سے دست و گریباں ہیں۔ سندھی شکایت کر رہا ہے کہ پنجابی میرا حق کھا رہا ہے پنجابی شکایت کرتا ہے کہ مجھے حقوق نہیں مل رہے یہ کیا ہے؟ پھر اس کے علاوہ۔ چھوٹے صوبوں کو اس نظام سے شکایات ہیں آپ ان کی تقسیم کی بات کریں۔ سندھ اور بلوچستان کی خاص کر۔ جاوید جبار صاحب یہاں موجود ہیں۔ یہاں Department of Ocean-graphy بنایا

گیا ہے، اور "ڈان" میں باقاعدہ اتنا بڑا مضمون آتا ہے، آپ دیکھ لیں۔ میں اس کے خلاف نہیں ہوں، اگر اقتصادی ترقی کے لئے آپ نے کوئی انڈسٹری بنانی ہے تو میں اس کے خلاف نہیں ہوں میں industrialization process کے خلاف نہیں ہوں، لیکن میں مطالبہ کرتا ہوں کہ آپ چاروں صوبوں میں مساوات قائم کریں، تقسیم کرکے industries لگائیں تاکہ ہمارا جو پختون بھائی اپنا گھر بار چھوڑ کر یہاں آتا ہے وہ یہاں نہ آئے، اس کے دروازے پر روزگار ملے تاکہ کوئی اس طرح کی چیز flare up نہ ہو۔ جو پنجاب سے ہمارا بھائی آتا ہے اسے بھی اپنے صوبے میں، روزگار مہیا کیا جائے تو وہ یہاں نہیں آئے گا، لیکن اگر اس طرح سے aid دیں گے تو پہلے ہی شکوک و شبہات موجود ہیں وہ اور بڑھیں گے۔

بہرحال جناب والا! ہم یہ بات واضح کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ ہم کوئی تقسیم نہیں ہونے دیں گے۔ ہم مرنا پسند کریں گے ہم لڑ کر مریں گے لیکن اس طرح سے ہم اپنے حقوق سے دستبردار نہیں ہوں گے۔ جناب مجھے پتہ ہے کہ ٹائم کم ہے اور ڈیڑھ بھی بجنے والا ہے۔

جناب ڈپٹی چیئرمین: والا نہیں، بج گیا ہے۔

جناب اعجاز علی خان جتوئی: جی ہاں۔ میں صرف اتنا عرض کردوں۔ کہ ایک آئین موجود ہے۔ اس میں سی سی آئی کی میٹنگ بلانے کی کیا صراحت موجود ہے۔ مجھے سمجھ نہیں آتی کہ اس کی میٹنگ بلانے سے فیڈرل گورنمنٹ کیوں ڈر رہی ہے غالباً اس لئے کہ سی سی آئی کی میٹنگ میں اگر مسائل طے نہ ہوئے تو Joint sitting بلانی پڑے اور Joint sitting میں شاید یہ سینیٹ کی اکثریت اسے تنگ کرے، جناب ایسی بات نہیں ہے۔ اگر آپ کھلے دل سے یہاں آئیں گے تو ہم بھی کھلے دل سے آپ سے بات کریں گے، لیکن آپ pre-conceived ideas لے کر آئیں گے تو ہم بھی ظاہر ہے کہ ویسا ہی response دیں گے، Council of Common Interests میں یہ باتیں طے کی جائیں اور میں بالکل واضح طور پر کہتا ہوں کہ یہ جو مرکز

اور صوبوں کے تعلقات ہیں انہیں کے لئے بھی بہتر فورم Council of Common Interests ہی ہے۔ اسی طرح سے ۲۰ مارچ کی جو situation ہے آئین میں واضح ہے، اس کو interpret کرنے کے لئے اس ملک میں عدالتیں موجود ہیں، سپریم کورٹ موجود ہے، ان سے رجوع کیا جا سکتا ہے، پھر سندھ کا ان کا مسئلہ ہے کالا باغ ڈیم، بھاشا ڈیم بنانے کا مسئلہ ہے، ہم واضح طور پر بتانا چاہتے ہیں کہ ہم right of rule اور کلیتاً اپنے resource پر اختیار چاہتے ہیں، ہم کالا باغ اور بھاشا اور کسی اور ڈیم کی اس وقت تک مخالفت کریں گے خواہ کتنا ہی ناگزیر نہ ہو جب تک آپ پانی کی تقسیم کی بات ۱۹۴۵ء کے معاہدے کے مطابق طے نہیں کر لیتے، اس کے تحت آپ تصفیہ کر دیں پھر ہمیں کوئی اعتراض نہ ہوگا خواہ آپ دس ڈیم بنائیں، سندھ کو پانی کا اپنا حصہ مل جائے، بلوچستان کو پانی کا اپنا حصہ مل جائے، پنجاب کو اپنا حصہ ملے پھر وہ کچھ بھی کریں ہمیں کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہوگا۔ جاوید

جبار صاحب محترمہ کے بہت ہی چھوٹے وزیر ہیں شاید وہ آج کل ان کی advice نہیں سنتیں کیونکہ یہ آج کل scientific advice دیتے ہیں، ان کے دماغ میں سائنس گھس گئی ہے اس لئے شاید وہاں پر بھی star wars اور اس طرح کی باتیں کرتے ہوں گے، جاوید جبار کے توسط سے میں محترمہ سے یہ عرض کروں کہ جی آپ کی حکومت اور آپ کا نظام صحیح نہیں چل رہا، یہاں تک کہ آپ کے گھر پر اور آپ کے خاندان پر accusations ہیں allegations ہیں، اندازہ لگائیں کہ American Express Bank کو permission ملتی ہے اور جب وہ یہاں بینک قائم کرنے کے لئے آتے ہیں تو ان کو کہا جاتا ہے، وہی Mr. 10 percent کی طرف سے کہ آپ ہم سے بات کریں اب ہم ہیں انچارج اور ان سے دو کروڑ ڈالر مانگے جاتے ہیں، وہ اپنی ایمبیسی جاتا ہے اور کہتا ہے کہ ہم بینک ہیں، ہم دو کروڑ ڈالر کہاں سے لائیں گے، اس ایمبیسی کا ایمبیسیڈر وہاں جاتا ہے وہ protest کرتا ہے، جواب ملتا ہے کہ میں اتنی بڑی پارٹی چلا رہی ہوں مجھے فنڈز چاہئیں، اندازہ لگائیں کہ آپ internationally کتنے

بدنام ہو رہے ہیں ۔ ، سلیم سیف اللہ صاحب
کی بات سے میں متفق ہوں کہ musical chairs ہیں ۔ جاوید جبار صاحب ،
کبھی آپ وہاں تھے ۔
کبھی ہم بھی تم سے تھے آشنا تمہیں یاد ہو کہ نہ یاد ہو ۔
کبھی ہم ایک گروپ میں تھے ۔

جناب ڈپٹی چیئرمین : کبھی چاہ بھی تھی نا آپس میں ۔

جناب اعجاز علی خان جتوئی : اور جو ہم میں اور ان میں دیوار برلن حائل ہے ۔۔۔۔
کیونکہ ideologically میں ان دونوں تنظیموں سے بالکل مختلف اپنے نظریات
رکھتا ہوں مشاہدات رکھتا ہوں
ہمیں امید ہے کہ elected government یہاں پر
ایک اچھا نظام لائے گی ، اچھی چیزیں introduce کرے گی ، اچھے laws لائے
گی ۔ یہاں پر تو حشر یہ ہے کہ قومی اسمبلی میں گالی گلوچ ہوتا ہے ، نہ قانون
سازی ہے نہ سینیٹ کا کوئی اور function ہے ، آپ مجھے بتائیں کہ یہاں پر
کتنے بل پاس کیئے گئے ہیں ۔ سوائے اس کے کہ یہاں پر بیٹھ کر ہم تحاریک
التوا اور تحاریک استحقاق پر بحث کرتے ہیں ۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ حکومت
کی نااہلی ہے ۔
میں آخر میں سندھ کی Law & Order situation پر strongly protest
کرتے ہوئے عرض کرتا ہوں ۔ کہ وزیر داخلہ کو کم از کم ، یہ چیز own کرتے ہوئے ،
استعفیٰ دے دینا چاہیئے ۔ کیونکہ یہاں بہت سے لوگ مارے گئے ہیں ، بے گناہ اور معصوم
لوگ مارے گئے ہیں ، اس responsibility کو own کرتے ہوئے وہ اگر ان میں
تھوڑی سی Democracy نام کے حوالے سے کوئی چیز ہے تو وہ مستعفی ہو جائیں وہ جب وکیل تھے
تو میں کورٹ میں جا کر ، ان کو بڑا سنتا تھا جب یہ پارلیمنٹ میں آئے تو انہوں
نے مجھے بڑا مایوس کیا جب پارلیمنٹ میں ان کے اوپر یہ accusations لگے
ہیں کہ وہ بھی ان deals میں ملوث ہیں ، بہرحال میں آپ کی بیچینی کو دیکھتے ہوئے
ختم کرتا ہوں اگرچہ کافی پوائنٹس ابھی بھی میرے پاس باقی ہیں ، لیکن اس ایوان کے سامنے

آخری مرتبہ پھر عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جناب صرف اخباری بیانات اور اخباری رپورٹنگ پر نہ جائیں ۔ سندھ کے حالات کچھ اور ہیں ۔ میں آپ سب کو دعوت دیتا ہوں کہ آپ وہاں چلیں اور وہاں کے حالات دیکھیں ۔ لوگوں سے ملیں ، سندھ کمیٹی کے حوالے سے کافی ہمارے ساتھی interior میں گئے تھے لوگوں سے ملے بھی تھے ، کافی valuable interviews بھی لئے تھے آپ دیکھیں آج جو ہم چلا رہے ہیں شاید کل ہم جیسا یہاں نہ ہو پھر کوئی شاید table پر بیٹھ کر مذاکرات کرنے والا نہ ہو ، اس لئے وقت کی نزاکت کو دیکھتے ہوئے see the writing on the walls just they are not kidding they are not joking خدا کے لئے سندھ کے حالات کو آپ سب پہلوؤں کو مدنظر رکھتے ہوئے دیکھیں ، جو ہماری problems ہیں جو ہماری grievances ہیں ان کو سامنے رکھتے ہوئے غور فرمائیں ۔ جناب صدر سے بھی یہی اپیل ہے کہ انہیں کسی بھی ایک saction کے اوپر trust کرکے کوئی اس طرح کی کارروائی نہیں کرنی چاہیئے ، سارے جو لوگ وہاں آباد ہیں ان سے پوچھ گچھ کرکے کوئی اس کا حل نکالنا چاہیئے ۔ بڑی مہربانی ، شکریہ !

جناب ڈپٹی چیئرمین : بہت شکریہ ۔ جی جاوید جبار صاحب ۔

Mr. Javed Jabbar: Point of clarification. I just want to clarify the reference given the honourable Senator to the so-called 'fifth' provinces of Pakistan. This appears to be a clear misunderstanding, the exclusive economic zone of the Pakistan in the Arabian Sea is an area measuring about 240,000 Sq. Kms. and the term inviting Pakistanis to invest in the fifth vices is only meant to encourage financial and other exploitation of the tremendous resources that are within the control of Pakistan. It is not meant to suggest any kind of territorial change or adjustment within the Federation of Pakistan. It is only meant as a promotional term.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Thank you.

I think he did not mention the 5th province. What he mentioned was Oceano-graphy or something like that.

Mr. Javed Jabbar: May I point out that that was published by the National Institute of Oceano-graphy under the Ministry of Science and

[Mr. Aijaz Ali Khan Jatoi]

Technology to invite the businessmen from all over Pakistan and not just from Sindh and Baluchistan.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: So, it is not a fifth province.

Mr. Abdul Majid Kazi on a point of order.

Mr. Abdul Majid Kazi: My point is that why should we put the word 'province'? Why cannot we put here some areas, or some other name that we could give? There are four provinces and we know it. So, why we should be using that word 'province' as such? Why cannot we take some other name so that there should be no problem, or ambiguity about it.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: O.K.

Mr. Aijaz Ali Khan jatoi.

جناب اعجاز علی خان جتوئی: انہوں نے ایک a point raise کیا تو میں نے اس وقت اپنی speech میں یہ کہا تھا کہ میں اس کے against نہیں لیکن بات یہ ہے۔

جناب ڈپٹی چیئرمین: نہیں وہ بات نہیں ۔۔۔

جناب اعجاز علی خان جتوئی: میں آپ سے عرض کروں گا کیوں کہ یہ strongly feel کیا جاتا ہے اور Fifth province in Pakistan کا تصور دینا تو اسے ہم strongly feel کرتے ہیں۔

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Thank you very much.

Now, it is clarified.

I think we will continue debate on the President's Address and the House is adjourned for the time being. We will meet tomorrow at 10.00 A.M. on Thursday, the 4th of January, 1990

Thank you very much

(The House then adjourned to meet again at ten O'clock in the morning on Thursday, the 4th of January, 1990)
