ASSEMBLY DEBATES

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

(Legislature)

Monday, the 9th July, 1973

The National Assembly of Pakistan (Legislature) met in the Assembly Chamber, Islamabad, at ten of the Clock, in the morning, Mr. Speaker (Mr. Fazal Elahi Chaudhry) in the Chair.

(Recitation from the Holy Quran)

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE

[Information promised in reply to part (a) of starred question No. 33 asked by Makhdoom Mohammad Zaman Talbul Maula, M.N.A., on 21-8-1972].

Total Number of Industries in the country which have been closed down.

Following information may be added to the answer given on 21-8-1972 against Part (a) of the Question :—

"Industries closed down in Sind were 24 (23 in Karachi and 1 in rest of Sind)".

The words "excluding Sind. . . . Table of the House" may be deleted.

[Information promised in reply to starred question No. 47 asked by Ch. Zahur Ilahi, M.N.A., on 22-8-72]

PLACING OF FUNDS FOR JAIL REFORMS

The jails being primarily a Provincial subject the National Affairs, Overseas Pakistanis and Prisons Division is merely co-ordinating the implementation of the recommendations of the Jail Reform Conference. The funds for the purpose, as usual, are being provided by the Arovincial Governments concerned.

The Central Government, however, have provided funds for setting up a Central Institute for training jail official.

[Information promised in reply to part (a) of starred question No. 81 asked by Mr. Muhammad Bashir Ahmad, M.N.A., on 26-8-1972].

USE OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY

Punjab

(*i*) Percentage of Tractors used by cultivators for agricultural purposes.....80%.

(*ii*) Percentage of Tractors used by non-Agriculturists for transport purposes.....20%.

Sind

Tractors available with agriculturists are being used by them for agricultural purposes and very negligible percentage is used for non-agricultural purposes.

N.W.F.P.

The percentage of tractors used by cultivators for agricultural purpose is 100%. The percentage of tractors used for non-agricultural purposes is negligible.

Baluchistan.

Almost all tractors are being used for agricultural purposes.

[Information promised in reply to starred question No. 157 asked by Ch. Mohammad Iqbal, M.N.A. on 31st August, 1972].

INSTALLATION OF A T. V. REBROADCAST STATION AT THANA BHOLA KHAN

In reply to a Supplementary Question to Starred Assembly Question No. 157, the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Auqaf & Haj had assured in the National Assembly on 31-8-72 that the TV Rebroadcast Station at Thana Bhola Khan would be commissioned during the current financial year *i.e.* 1972-73.

2. The present position in this regared is that the TV Rebroadcast Station at Thana Bhola Khan has already started functioning which was formally inaugurated on 3-6-1973.

[Information promised in reply to starred Question No. 163 asked by an honourable Member on 31-8-1972].

INSTALLATION OF T.V. STATION AT PESHAWAR

In reply to the above Assembly Question, the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Auqaf and Haj said "A Television Re-broadcast Station is being constructed at Sakesar (Mianwali Distt.) which is likely to be commissioned in early 1973." It will cover Sone Valley and the surrounding areas" and in reply to a Supplementary Question, the Minister stated that "of course a Television Station at Peshawar will be set up soon and the people of Peshawar will be able to view Television by all means."

2. The present position in regard to setting up of a Television Booster to cover Sone Valley etc. is that the building of the Rebroadcast Station at Sakesar has been completed. The equipment has also been installed and the engineers sent by the manufacturers of the equipment are now actually testing the equipment. As soon as these engineers are satisfied with the performance of the equipment and give a go-ahead signal, the Station will be commissioned.

3. In so far as the assurance about the establishment of a Television Station at Peshawar is concerned, the poistion is that a fulfledged Television Station at Peshawar has been planned for the financial year 1973-74. By 30th

June, 1974, the building of this Station is likely to be completed. The equipment would then be installed which is likely to be done during the first quarter of the financial year 1974-75. However by 30th June, 1974, the Television centre at Peshawar will be linked with Rebroadcast Station at Cherat and will then be telecasting film programmes, pending commissioning of the Studio set up in the first quarter of 1974-75.

4. It is however, added that even now the programmes of Television Station of Rawalpindi are being received at Peshawar through the Rebroadcast Station at Murree.

[Information promised in reply to starred question No. 341 asked by Begum Nasim Jehan, M.N.A., on 18th Sept., 1972].

PROMOTION OF WOMEN IN RAILWAY SERVICE

1. There are eight Lady Doctors who are working in Lahore and no promotion of any Lady Doctor has been held up so far.

2. Working Lady Officers in the Railway Accounts Department of the Pakistan Western Railway are two. One of them is at present on deputation with W.A.P.D.A. Both these Lady Officers have been getting promotions in their turn and have not been superseded.

[Information promised in reply to starred question No. 20 asked by Ch. Zahur Ilahi, M.N.A. on 2-1-73].

-: Copy :-

No. F. 12-29/72-Bio-Statt.

Government of Pakistan

Ministry of Health and Social Welfare

(Healt and Social Welfare Division)

Islamabad, the 32rd June 1973.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

SUB : ASSURANCE GIVEN BY THE MINISTER FOR HEALTH IN RESPECT OF S.Q.NO. 20 DATED THE 2-1-1973 REGARDING NUMBER OF DOCTORS WHO ARE AT PRESENT SERVING ABROAD.

DOCTORS SERVING ABROAD

In continuation of this Ministry Office Memorandum of even number dated the 21st February, 1973 on the above subject the undersigned is directed to forward herewith sex-wise distribution of estimated number of doctors abroad at present :-

Male	*Female*	*Total*
1484 (84%)	277 (16%)	1761

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Sd./-

(Dr. Mushtaq Ahmad Chaudhary)
Assistant Director General, Health
Phone : 21648.

Information Promised in reply to starred Question No. 62 asked by Maulana Abdul Hakim, M.N.A. on 8-1-1973].

DARUL ULOOM DINIYAH

The number of recognised Darul Uloom Diniyah in Pakistan is as under :

Punjab	309
Sind	208
N.W.F.P.	14
Baluchistan	80

The list of their names is attached.

LIST OF DARUL ULOOMS IN PUNJAB

1. Madressa Khairul Uloom, Khairpur Tamewali.
2. Madressa Ashraful Madaris, Haroonabad.
3. Madressa Arabia Fazil, Ahmadpur East.
4. Madressa Arabia Anwaria, Habibabad, Gamani (Bahawalpur)
5. Madressa Arabia Islamia Hanfia, Chak No. 108 D.B., P.O. 117 D.B.
6. Madressa Arabia Fazil, Pappli Rajan Usmanpur.
7. Madressa Arabia Jamia Masjid, Bahawalnagar.
8. Madressa Jameul Uloom Eid Gah, Bahawalnagar.
9. Madressa Sadiqia Arabia, Minchinabad.
10. Madressa Mohammadia Qadria Mohammad Pur, Sansaran.
11. Madressa Qasimul Uloom, Faqir Wali.
12. Madressa Talimul Islam, Faizabad, Chak No. 37 (3 R).
13. Madressa Arabia Rahimia Talimul Islam, Eig Gah, Dunga Bunga.
14. Madressa Hanfia Talimul Islam, Helhum.
15. Madressa Izharul Islam College Road, Chakwal.
16. Madressa Arabia Uloom-e-Sharia, Jamia Masjid Grain Market, Jhung.
17. Jamia Arabia, Chaniut.
18. Madressa Arabia Islamia, Wahwa, Teh Taunsa.
19. Darul Uloom Talimul Quran, Raja Bazar, Rawalpindi.
20. Darul Uloom Hanfia Usmania, Mohammad Workshopi, Rawalpindi.
21. Darul Uloom Imdadul Islam, Masjid Golianwali, Rawalpindi.
22. Madressa Hanfia Talimul Quran, Kashmiri Bazar, Rawalpindi.
23. Madressa Arabia Ashraful Madaris, Rahim Yar Khan.
24. Madressa Makhzanul Uloom, Eidgah, Khanpur.
25. Madressa Qurania, Islamia, Meeray Shah, Teh. Sadiqabad.
26. Darul Uloom Sirajul Uloom, Jamia Masjid, Sargodha.
27. Madressa Arabia Madinatul Uloom, Sargodha.

28. Madressa Shabiria Miani.
29. Madressa Biharul Uloom, Roar, Teh. Khoshab.
30. Madressa Rashidia Talimul Quran, Faroka Town.
31. Darul Uloom Hussainia Fizia, Sillanwali.
32. Madressa Arabia Haoqania, Sahiwal Distt. Sargodha.
33. Madressa Arabia Darul Huda, Chaukira.
34. Madressa Talimul Islam, Khoshab.
35. Talimul Islam Masjid Bagar Wali, Khoshab.
36. Madressa Arabia Misbahul Uloom Hamia Masjid, Khoshab.
37. Jamia Ghausia, Masjid Parachagan, Khoshab.
38. Darul Uloom Shahabia Sialkot.
39. Talimul Islam Gamiala Distt. Sialkot.
40. Darul Uloom Madnia Duska.
41. Talimul Quran Pasrur Distt. Sialkot.
42. Madressa Talimul Quran Aminia, Sheikhupura.
43. Madressa Ummul Madaris, Talimul Quran, Shiriqpur.
44. Madressa Sabilar Rishad Talimul Quran, Grain Market, Nankana.
45. Madressa Hanfia Jamia Masjid Eid Gah, Sheikhupura.
46. Muftahul Uloom, Maluhowali, Teh. Pindi Ghep.
47. Ishaatul Uloom, Tala Gang.
48. Talimul Islam Kamil pur Musa.
49. Madressa Talimul Quran Makhad Sharif.
50. Darul Uloom Talimul Quran, Bazar Sarrafa, Chembulpur.
51. Madressa Islamia Talagang.
52. Madressa Mohammadia Shamsaabad Teh. Attock, Distt. Chembulpur.
53. Madressa Arabia Qadimia, Anni, Teh. Phalia.
54. Madressa Talimul Quran Banvi Rerkabala, Distt. Gujrat.
55. Madressa Arabia Hussinia, Mianwali.
56. Madressa Anwarul Uloom, Sheranwala Bagh, Gujranwala.
57. Madressa Nusratul Uloom Gujranwala.
58. Madressa Jamia Mashid Gujranwala.
59. Madressa Arabia Islamia Gujranwala.
60. Madressa Ashraful Uloom, Baghbanpura, Gujranwala.
61. Madressa Hussainia Hanfia, Goband Garh, Gujranwala.
62. Madressa Ashrafia Madina Masjid Pindi Bhattian.
63. Jamia Arabia Khadrul Uloom Pindi Bhattain.
64. Ashrafia Qurania, Hafizabad.
65. Ishaatul Uloom Jamia Masjid, Lyallpur.

66. Madressa Anwarul Quran Labour Colony Lyallpur.
67. Madressa Faiz Mohmmadi, Harcharanpura, Lyallpur.
68. Ashraful Madaris, Guru Nanakpura.
69. Talimul Islam, Sanat pura, Lyallpur.
70. Darul Uloom Rabbania Riazul Muslemin, Lyallpur (Toba Tek Singh)
71. Madressa Arabia Qadria Chak No. 300/G.B. Chatiana, Lyallpur.
72. Madressa Hazurul Islam Chak No. 669/B Toba kek Singh, Lyallpur.
73. Madressa Arabia Islamia Toba Tek Singh.
74. Madressa Rahmania Chak 165 Harsa Kot.
75. Ahayaul Uloom Mandi Mamoon Kanjan Distt. Lyallpur.
76. Madressa Nizamia Arabia Tandlianwala Distt. Lyallpur.
77. Madressa Arabia Naamania Kamalia Distt. Lyallpur.
78. Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore.
79. Jamia Madnia Lahore.
80. Madressa Qasimul Uloom Lahore.
81. Madressa Islamia Arabia, Lahore.
82. Jamia Qasmia Misbahul Uloom Gaiz Bagh, Lahore.
83. Madressa Karimia Muslim Masjid, Lohari Gate, Lahore.
84. Darul Uloom Islamia Old Anarkali, Lahore.
85. Madressa Nizamia Qurania Qila Gojar Singh, Lahore.
86. Madressa Mazharul Uloom, Jamia Masjid, Muslim Town Lahore.
87. Madressa Arabia Islamia, Inside Muhtamimanwala Gate Kasur.
88. Madressa Ahyaul Uloom Eid Gah, Muzaffargarh.
89. Darul Uloom Azizia Hashmia Basti Sheikh Umar, P.O. Iddo.
90. Mumtazul Madaris Basti Anoja P.O. Pelay wala.
91. Madressa Arabia Islamia Dini Daras Gah, Khan Garh.
92. Madressa Arabia Faizul Uloom Ali Pur.
93. Madressa Arabia Basti Bakiwani, Ali Pur.
94. Madressa Qasimul Uloom Liyah, Distt. Muzaffar Garh.
95. Darul Uloom Khairul Madaris, Multan.
96. Madressa Arabia Islamia Multan.
97. Madressa Arabia Islamia Multan.
98. Madressa Aaqqania Naeemia, Leather Market Multan.
99. Madressa Talimul Abrar, Eid Gah, Multan.
100. Madressa Takiatur Rahman, Talimul Hadis-o-Quran, Shujabad.
101. Madressa Ashatul Quran, Mari Sarfraz Khan, Chak 51, Vehari.
102. Madressa Arabia Hussania Chak 105, Wanjari.
103. Madressa Talimul Quran, Sarhal.
104. Madressa Darul Uloom, Eid Gah, Kabir Wala, Multan.

105. Madressa Arabia Saeedia Qadir Puran Distt. Multan.
106. Madressa Daawatul Haq, Hussain Agahi, Multan.
107. Madressa Mohammadia Jhok Venis Distt. Multan.
108. Madressa Islamia Aalam Pur Distt. Multan.
109. Madressa Arabia Khairul Uloom, Lodhran Distt. Multan.
110. Madressa Khair Din Gogran, Distt. Multan.
111. Madress Arabia Islamia, Mian Channu.
112. Madressa Khuddamul Quran, Jalo Jem.
113. Medressa Arabia Jahanian, Distt. Multan.
114. Madressa Ghauspur Thaim, P.O. Sardarpur.
115. Madressa Azizul Uloom Shujabad.
116. Madressa Arabia Talamba Distt. Multan.
117. Madressa Ashatul Uloom Rangpur, Teh. Lodhran, Distt. Multan.
118. Madressa Arabia Babul Uloom, Kehror Distt. Multan.
119. Madressa Mueenul Islam Wahi Ali Arain, Distt. Multan.
120. Madressa Tadreesul Islam Kuhmar Mandi, Multan Cantt.
121. Madressa Farooqia Kutchery Road, Multan.
122. Madressa Arabia Hussainia Mian Channu, Chak No. 105 Distt. Multan.
123. Jamia Rashidia, Sahiwal.
124. Madressa Islamia Harrupa Distt. Sahiwal.
125. Jamia Usmania Masjid Goal Choak, Okara.
126. Madressa Arabia Farooqia Arif Wala, Distt. Sahiwal.
127. Madressa Talimul Quran Shahi Masjid, Dipalpur, Distt. Sahiwal.
128. Jamia Islamia Mianwali.
129. Ahyaul Uloom, Punj Garian, Distt. Mianwali.
130. Madressa Tablighul Islam Masjid Zargaran, Mianwali.
131. Madressa Arabia Dinia Darul Huda, Bhakkar.
132. Madressa Saeedia Arabia Khanqah Sirajia Kundian.
133. Madressa Arabia Hussainia Murshadabad.
134. Madressa Arabia Islamia, Chak No. 8 T.D.A.
135. Madressa Talimul Quran Jamia, Jindanwala.
136. Madressa Arabia Manda Khel Via Kirashani.
137. Madressa Mueenul Islam Essa Khel Distt. Mianwali.
138. Madressa Noorul Madaris, Chistian Sharif Bahawalnagar.
139. Jamia Rizvia Manzarul Islam, Harunabad Distt. Bahawalnager.
140. Darul Uloom Ahal-e-Sunnat Aljamaat, Machine Mohalla 1, Jhelum.
141. Darul Uloom, Quttbia Rizvia Chak No. 233 Distt. Jhang.
142. Ahsanul Madaris Jamia Masjid, Rawalpindi.

143. Madressa Alia Qadaria Darbar Golra Sharif, Distt. Rawalpindi.
144. Jamia Rizvia Mohammadia Distt. Rahim Yar Khan.
145. Madressa Arabia Sirajul Uloom Khanpur, Distt. Rahim Yar Khan.
146. Manbahul Uloom Paidehna, Distt. Rahim Yar Khan.
147. Madressa Alia Ziaush Shamas Darbar Sial Distt. Sargodha.
148. Madressa Arabia Jamia Masjid Sillanwali Distt. Sargodha.
149. Jamia Hanfia New Abad-1 Sahiwal.
150. Madressa Naqshbandia Alipur Saidan, Distt. Sialkot.
151. Madressa Hazrat Mian Sher Mohammad Sahib, Sheraqpur, Sheikhupura.
152. Madressa Ghausia Rizvia, Abdullahpur Distt. Sheikhpura.
153. Madressa Karimia Rizvia, Khanqah Dogran, Sheikhupura.
154. Madressa Khuddamus Sufia, Masjid Pir Bakhsh, Gujrat.
155. Madressa Ghausia Naeemia, Gujrat.
156. Mudressa Mohammadi Bhaki Teh. Phalia, Distt. Gujrat.
157. Madressa Sulaimania Rizvia, Mangat Distt. Gujrat.
158. Madressa Arabia Ghausia. Mohalla Nizampur, Lalamusa.
159. Madressa Saeedia Rizvia Alipur Chatta, Distt. Gujranwala.
160. Jamia Nizamia Ghausia, Wazirabad, Distt. Gujranwala.
161. Jamia Asgharia Mazharul Islam, Jhang Bazar, Lyallpur.
162. Madressa Rizvia Anwarul Islam Pir Mahal, Distt. Lyallpur.
163. Jamia Rizvia Sangli Hill, Distt. Lyallpur.
164. Madressa Nooria Rizvia Chaniot Road, Chak Jhumra.
165. Madressa Karimia Hanfia Rizvia, Akbari Mandi, Toba Tek Singh
166. Madressa Qutbia Rizvia Darbar Sindalianwali, Distt. Lyallpur.
167. Madressa Sultania Rizvia Chak No. 197/G.B. Distt. Lyallpur.
168. Madressa Charaghia Rizvia Ray, Chak No. 372, Gojra, Lyallpur.
169. Madressa Mujadadia Rizvia, Mari Attari adjacent Tandlianwalla.
170. Darul Uloom Hizbul Asnaf, Lahore.
171. Jamia Naamania, Eid Gah, Gharhi Shahu, Lahore.
172. Darul Uloom Naamania Inside Texali Gate, Lahore.
173. Jamia Nizamia Rizvia Lohari Gate, Lahore.
174. Jamia Ganj Bakhsh, Lahore.
175. Madressa Hanfia Rizvia Tajweedul Quran, Lahore.
176. Madressa Tanweerul Ghausia, Qila Gujar Singh, Lahore.
177. Madressa Rizvia Arabia, Kot Radha Kishan, Lahore.
178. Madressa Arabia Nakshbandia, Kasur, Lahore.
179. Darul Uloom Hanfia Kasur, Lahore.
180. Darul Uloom Shamsia Rizvia, Chak No. 25, P.O. Pattoki, Lahore.

181. Madressa Rizvia Mueenul Islam Chak No. 113, Teh. Chunisan, Lahore.
182. Jamia Razvia Anwarul Abrar, Outside Dehli Gate, Multan.
183. Madressa Anwarul Quran, Multan.
184. Madressa Anwarul Uloom, Kutchery Road. Multan.
185. Madressa Arabia Jamiaul Uloom, Khanewal, Distt. Multan.
186. Madressa Ahyaul Uloom, Mandi Burewala, Distt. Multan.
187. Jamia Sharqia Rizvia, Outside Grain Market, Sahiwal.
188. Madressa Alia Arabia, Sahiwal.
189. Madressa Hanfia Faridia, Basirpur, Sahiwal.
190. Darul Uloom Ashraful Mudaris, Okara, Sahiwal.
191. Anwar Ghausia Rizvia Old Okara.
192. Darul Uloom Hanfia Rizvia, Arif Wala.
193. Darul Uloom Hanfia Renala Khurd.
194. Madressa Arabia Faizul Uloom, Railway Road, Pakpattan.
195. Madressa Awaisia Sattaria, Ahmed Baghela Near Harrupa, Sahiwal.
196. Madressa Faiz Mohammadia Rizvia Hujra Shah Muqim, Sahiwal.
197. Jamia Serania Sulaimania Rizvia Old Eid Gah, Rahim Yar Khan.
198. Madressa Owesia Rizvia Manbaul-fuz, Pakka Laran, Rahim Yar Khan.
199. Faizul Madaris Faridia Rizvia Pakka Laran, Rahim Yar Khan.
200. Madressa Naqshbandia Jamatia Alipur Distt. Sialkot.
201. Darul Uloom Muballighin, Sharaqpur Distt. Sheikhupura.
202. Madressa Mazharul Islam Warburton, Distt. Sheikhupura.
203. Madressa Ghausia Naeemia Muslim Abad, Gujrat.
204. Jamia Mohammadi Mandi Bahauddin. Distt. Gujrat.
205. Madressa Hanfia Rizvia Sirajul Uloom Islamabad, Gujranwala.
206. Jamia Nizamia Ghausia, Wazirabad, Gujranwala.
207. Jamia Fathiy, Zaildar Road, Ichhra, Lahore.
208. Madressa Alia Furqania, Sagar Road, Lahore.
209. Jamia Hanfia, Kasur, Lahore.
210. Daras Gah Mohammadia Azharul Uloom, Shujabad.
211. Madressa Khidamat-e-Islam, Chah Naiwala, Multan.
212. Jamia Rizvia Anwarul Quran, Noori Mohalla, Multan.
213. Madressa Darul Huda, Basti Dalia, Alipur, Distt. Muzaffargarh.
214. Madressa Ghausia Faridia, Qadirpur Munshian, Distt. Sahiwal.
215. Madressa Arabia Sulaimania Kariwala Sharif, Boonga Hayat, Sahiwal.
216. Madressa Sadiqia Arabia Khumbianwali, Distt. Sahiwal.

217. Darul Uloom Ghausia Mandi Wisaway wali Distt. Sahiwal.
218. Jamia Mohammadia Pellan, Liaqat Abad.
219. Madressa Shamsul Uloom Wan Badihran, Distt. Mianwali.
220. Darul Uloom Ashraful Madaris, Okara.
221. Darul Hadees Jamia Masjid Ahal-e-Hadees, Jhelum.
222. Talimul Quran-o-Alhadees Mobal Bahadur Shah, Distt. Jhang.
223. Jamia Masjid Ahal-e-Hadees Jamia Masjid Rawalpindi.
224. Darul Hadees D Block Satellite Town, Sargodha.
225. Tajul Madaris, Khanda More, Distt. Sheikhupura (Jamia Masjid Ahal Hadees).
226. Darul Islah, Hail Distt. Gujrat.
227. Jamia Islamia Hakim Roy, Gujranwala.
228. Mohammadia Jamia Ahal-e-Hadees Chauk Niain, Gujranwala.
229. Ahal-e-Hadees, Hafizabad, Gujranwala.
230. Jamia Salfia Nishatabad, Lyallpur.
231. Darul Quran-o-Hadees, Jinnah Colony, Lyallpur.
232. Madressa Darul Quran Chak No. 80/G.B., Lyallpur.
233. Madressa Arabia Masjid Ahal-e-Hadees, Mandi Jaranwala.
234. Khadimul Quran-o-Alhadees Mandi Tandlianwala.
235. Madressa Khadimul Quran-o-Alhdees Chak, 427.
236. Madressa Khadimul Hadees Chak 422 Distt. Lyallpur.
237. Madressa Talimul Islam, Chak No. 493 Distt. Lyallpur.
238. Madressa Ahal-e-Hadees Roadala Road, Distt. Lyallpur.
239. Darul Uloom Taywiatul Islam Shish Mahal Road, Lahore.
240. Jamia Ahal-e-Hadees Chak Dalgaran, Lahore.
241. Madressa Tajweedul Quran, Masjid Chunianwali, Lahore.
242. Darul Hadees Fiazul Islam Bhoia Aamil, Distt. Lahore.
243. Darul Hadees Gehlan Hathar Distt. Lahore.
244. Darul Uloom Ziaus Sana Mir Mohammad Distt. Lahore.
245. Darul Hadees Mohammadia Sham Kot Distt. Lahore.
246. Madressa Ahal-Hadees Kot Radha Kishan, Lahore.
247. Madressa Naziria, Mian Channu.
248. Madressa Hifzul Quran, Mian Channu.
249. Madressa Saadia Chak 7/8 A.R. Distt. Multan.
250. Madressa Ahal-e-Hadees, Jamia Masjid Ahal-e-Hadees Vehari.
251. Madressa Rehmania, Khanewal.
252. Darul Hadees Mohammadia, Bagh-e-Aam Khas, Multan.
253. Darul Hadees, Burewala.
254. Madressa Talimul Islam, Sahiwal.

255. Madressa Ahal-e-Hadees, Chicha Watani.
256. Darul Hadees F. Block, Okara.
257. Madressa Islamia Dhaliana, Sahiwal.
258. Madressa Ahal-e-Hadees Rajowal, Sahiwal.
259. Madressa Faizul Islam Sher Nagar Khas, Distt. Sahiwal.
260. Jamia Tadreesul Quran Al-Hadees, Rawalpindi.
261. Darul Uloom Mannania Jamia Ahal-e-Hadees, Wazirabad.
262. Ziaur Rahman Madressa, Chak No. 110, Distt. Multan.
263. Talimul Quran-o-Hadees, Gakhar, Gujranwala.
264. Madressa Hussainia, Budha Jehana, Distt. Jhang.
265. Madressa Hussainia, Bhoan, Distt. Jhelum.
266. Darul Uloom Mohammadia, Block No. 19, Sargodha.
267. Mohammadia Madressa Isna Ashria, Jalalpur Nangiana, Distt. Sargodha.
268. Madressa Mohammadia Dewwal Distt. Sargodha.
269. Madressa Kazmia Mohammad Ali Wala, Distt. Sargodha.
270. Darul Uloom Jafferia, Khoshab.
271. Madressa Jefaria, Khoshab.
272. Madressa Anjuman Haideria, Nowshera Darkan, Distt. Gujranwala.
273. Jamia Imamia Karbala Gamay Shah, Lahore.
274. Madressa Jamiaul Muntazir, Wassan pura, Lahore.
275. Babul Uloom Multan.
276. Makhzanul Uloom Jeffaria Shia Miani Distt. Multan.
277. Madressa Arabia Kotla Jam Distt. Mianwali.
278. Madressa Faizul Quran, Pind Dadan Khan, Distt. Jhelum.
279. Jamia Mohammadi Sharif Distt. Jhang.
280. Ahayaul Uloom Alarabia, Chiniot.
281. Darul Uloom Jamia Rehimia, Mohalla Sheikh Lahori, Distt. Jhang.
282. Madressa Mohmmoodia, Taunsa Sharif, D. G. Khan.
283. Madressa Abaidia Block No. 3 D.G. Khan.
284. Jamia Sofia Hanfla Sirajul Uloom Khanpur, Distt. Rahim Yar Khan.
285. Madressa Arabia Nizamia Rafiqul Ulama, Walhar Distt. Rahim Yar Khan.
286. Jamiad Qadria Jamiad Masjid, Rahim Yar Khan.
287. Madressa Rafiqul Ulama, Sadiqabad, Distt. Rahim Yar Kahn.
288. Darul Uloom Azizia Jamia Masjid Bhera Distt. Sargodha.
289. Tafheemul Quran, Kanjrore Distt. Sialkot.
290. Madressa Alia Dinia, Makhad Distt. Kembulpur.
291. Madressa Mohammadia Sulaimania Mianwala Distt. Kembulpur.

292. Madressa Talimul Quran, Sohdra Distt. Gujranwala.
293. Jamia Talimat Islamia, Lyallpur.
294. Madressa Arabia Hanfia Temple Road, Lahore.
295. Madressa Bakiat Assalihat, Shah Alam Market, Lahore.
296. Madressa Karimia Outside Lohari Gate, Lahore.
297. Jamia Nizamia Rizvia Inside Lohari Gate, Lahore.
298. Madressa Arabia Rayvind, Distt. Lahore.
299. Madressa Azizia Hanifia Talimul Quran, Lahore Cantt.
300. Madressa Nisaran-e-Islam, Dharampura, Lahore.
301. Madressa Tanweerul Ghausia Qila Gujar Singh, Lahore.
302. Madressa Shamshadia Sadar Bazar, Lahore Cantt.
303. Madressa Tajweedul Quran Masjid Madnia, Garhi Shahu, Lahore.
304. Madressa Islamia Khairul Moaad, Multan.
305. Mazharul Uloom, Abdul Hakim, Distt. Multan.
306. Darul Uloom Kabirwala, Distt. Multan.
307. Madressa Arabia Mohammadia Nasirul Uloom, Dhoraywala, Multan.
308. Madressa Faizul Madaris, Jatoi City, Distt. Muzaffargarh.
309. Madressa Mazaharul Uloom Kot Addo, Distt. Muzaffargarh.

LIST OF DARUL ULOOMS DINIA IN SIND

1. Darul Uloom, Korangi, Karachi 30.
2. Madressa Arabis Mazahar Uloom, Khada, Islamabad, Karachi-2.
3. Darul Uloom, Nanakwada, Karachi-1.
4. Madressa Arabia Islamia, New Town, Karcahi.
5. Darul Uloom, Amjadia, Gari Khatha, Feroze Shah Street, Karachi-1.
6. Darul Uloom Maghzan Arabia, Baherul Uloom, Robson Road, Karachi.
7. Madressa Gurbai Ahlay Hadees, Mohammad Masjid. Karachi.
8. Jamia Uloom Saudia, Assanmal, Ojha Road, Karachi.
9. Ahrarul Islam, Rexer Lines, Karachi.
10. Jamiad Imamia Madressatul Wazain, Nazimabad, Karachi.
11. Madressatul Binat, Jinnah Chowk, Karachi-1.
12. Islamic Research Centre, Karachi.
13. Maktib Anjuman (Ishatul Quran), Karachi.
14. Madressa Imdadul Uloom, Masjid Babul Uloom, Aram Bagh, Karachi.
15. Taleemul Quran, Karachi.
16. Darul Hadees Rehmania, Pakistan Masjid, Karachi.

17. Madressa Furqania, Mandi Masjid, Chakiwada, Karachi.
18. Madressa Arabia, Bakrapidi, Klakot, Karachi.
19. Darul Uloom Mazharia, Arambagh, Karachi.
20. Binatul Muslameen, Artillary Maidan, Karachi-1.
21. Jamia Islamia Matlaul Uloom Pry-Bada, Maidan, Nazimabad, Karachi.
22. Ishatul Quran Secondary School, Karachi.
23. Madressa Mashid Ajmeeri, Block No. 2, Lalukhet.
24. Madressa Mashid Darul Salah, Behind Jacob Lines, Karachi.
25. Madressa Masjid Rehmania, Lalukhet Block No. 1.
26. Madressa Mashid Qudusi, Jamshed Road, Karachi.
27. Madressa Nizami Road, Jacob Lines, Karachi.
28. Madressa Shahi Masjid, Landhi, Karachi.
29. Madressa Bilal Masjid, Behind Jacob Lines, Karachi.
30. Madressa Mashid Rahmani, West Jehangir Road, Karachi.
31. Madressa Masjid Inquiry Office, Tunisia Lines, Karachi.
32. Madressa Jamia Masjid Federal Area, Lalukhet, Karachi.
33. Madressa Sanati, Firdous Colony, Karachi.
34. Madressa Masjid Tyaaba, Sindhi Muslim Housing Society, Karachi.
35. Madressa Masjid Usmania, Amil Colony, Karachi.
36. Madressa Masjid Hamra, Behar Colony, Karachi.
37. Madressa Jamia Masjid, Bizerta Lines, Karachi.
38. Imdad Mdaressa Shuaib Mohammadia, Jacob Lines, Karachi.
39. Madressa Jamia Masjid Drigh Road Colony, Karachi.
40. Madressa Muttasil Lal Masjid, Qiadabad, Karachi.
41. Madressa Azam Masjid, C Area, Lalukhet, Karachi.
42. Madressa Masjid Noorul Haraam, Block No. 5, Lalukhet, Karachi.
43. Madressa Jamia Masjid, Commercial Area, Housing Society, Karachi
44. Madressa Muhajir Camp, Hub River, Mauripur Road, Karachi.
45. Madressa Masjid Gujernana, Lalukhet, Karachi.
46. Madressa Jamia Rashidia, Malir Muhajir Colony, Karachi.
47. Madressa Anwarul Uloom, Bakrapidi, Mahrab Khan Road, Karachi.
48. Madressa Masjid Bilal, Golimar, Karachi.
49. Madressa Adjacent to Masjid Hanifia, Sikandarabad, Karachi.
50. Madressa Bastanul Uloom, Mali Main Road, Karachi.
51. Madressa Faizanul Quran, Block No. 6 Lalukhet, Karachi.
52. Madressa Masjid Rehmania, Islamabad, Karachi.
53. Madressa Masjid Pak, Colony, Manghopir Road, Karachi.

54. Madressa Masjid Mohammadia, Jail Road, Karachi.
55. Taleemul Islam, Mujahidabad, Hub River Road, Karachi.
56. Darul Khair, Bakrapidi, Karachi.
57. Madressa Darul Uloom Irshadi Pir Jhando.
58. Madressa Darul Uloom, (Irshad Dargah Pir Jhando).
59. Madressa Madinatul Uloom, Bhindo Sharif.
60. Madressa Darul Uloom Islamia Ashrafabad, Tando Allahyar.
61. Madressa Darul Uloom Talimul Quran, Hyderabad.
62. Madressa Mazahirul Uloom, Latifabad, Hyderabad.
63. Madressatul Uloom Jinhan Soomro.
64. Madressa Hashmia Sujawal.
65. Arabic Madressa Welhat.
66. Madressa Madinatul Uloom Wariyaso.
67. Saeedpur Khadisul-Uloom.
68. Garhi (Arabic Madressa).
69. Sobho Mangsi.
70. Kanaul Uloom, Pipri.
71. Jamia Ahyaul Uloom Beri, Muhabia.
72. Darul Quran Mahar.
73. Darul Feuwz Soomar Tunio.
74. Madressa Arabia Ghajaria, Mehar.
75. Madressa Darul Hidayat Qazi Abdul Rehman.
76. Madressa Darul Uloom Khairpur Natan Shah.
77. Darul Uloom Kario Ghulam Shah.
78. Darul Uloom Mir Hasan Road, K.N. Shah.
79. Madressa Darul Feuwz, Dadu.
80. Madressa Wali Muhammad Leghari.
81. Darul Uloom Rashidia, Piaro Joonejo.
82. Madressa Faizul Uloom, Garkan.
83. Qasimul Uloom Shahpur Chakar.
84. Sibghatul Islam Sanghar.
85. Qasimul Uloom, Sanghar.
86. Madressa Hashimia Shahdadpur.
87. Madressa Shamsul Huda, Bagh Khan Jatoi.
88. Talimul Quran, Tando Adam.
89. Sibghatul Faiz Village Soomro.
90. Madressa Darul Huda, Theri.
91. Madressa Sultanul Khairpur.
92. Madressa Shamsul Uloom Kolab Jail.

93. Jamia Rashidia Pir Goth.
94. Madressa Hafzul Quran, Khairpur.
95. Madressa Ateri.
96. Madressa Goth Daud (Boys).
97. Madressa Goth Daud (Girls).
98. Madressa Namal Metlo.
99. Madressa Farique Mahesar.
100. Madressa Sajan Mashesar.
101. Madressa Ahmed Pur.
102. Madressa Langha.
103. Madressa Mahmood Phulpota.
104. Madressa Manesar Wada.
105. Madressa Khanpur (Girls).
106. Madressa Mari.
107. Madressa Drib Meharshah.
108. Madressa Saeedpur.
109. Madressa Bhunki.
110. Madressa Babha.
111. Madressa Genhwar Jalbani.
112. Madressa Priano.
113. Madressa Muftehul Uloom
114. Madressa Matual Uloom Ganbat.
115. Madressa Darul Fayooz Ranipur.
116. Darul Uloom Madei Hingorjo.
117. Madressa Gambat (Girls).
118. Madressa Belharo (Girls).
119. Madressa Ripri (Boys).
120. Madressa Watni Wada.
121. Madressa Ripri (Girls).
122. Madressa Mohammad Saleh Khuhro.
123. Madressa Khat.
124. Madressa Phulloo Bandari.
125. Madressa Mehro Wahan.
126. Madressa Agara (Girls).
127. Madressa Khemtia (Girls).
128. Madressa Setharja Balla.
129. Madressa Kot Noor Mohammad.
130. Madressa Deh Sohu.
131. Madressa Mithri.

132. Madressa Gambel Shah.
133. Madressa Dari (Dinpur).
134. Madressa Goundariro.
135. Madressa Shamsul Uloom Kharerah.
136. Madressa Mushul Huda, Khareri.
137. Madressa Mandanh (Girls).
138. Madressa Leghari (Girls).
139. Madressa Diam Kubar.
140. Madressa Anwarul Uloom Jilani.
141. Madressa Baghi (Girls).
142. Madressa Hussain Pato (Girls).
143. Gondahi Pato.
144. Madressa Badal Fakir Shar.
145. Madressa Mohammad Hasan Ghang.
146. Madressa Ali Bus Marre.
147. Madressa Noorul Huda N' Snah.
148. Madressa Talimul Quran, N' Shah.
149. Madressa Rahmania Moro.
150. Madressa Faizul Uloom Moro.
151. Madressa Ghulam Haider Dahri.
152. Madressa Anwarul Rehman Mari.
153. Madressa Adwarul Qaran, N' Feroze.
154. Madressa Taleemul Quran Mihiani.
155. Manressa Anwarul Uloom Kandiaro.
156. Madressa Darul Uloom That Goaho.
157. Darul Quran Shikarpur.
158. Ashraful Uloom Shikarpur.
159. Madressa Hamida Shikarpur.
160. Darul Fayooz Rustaom.
161. Madressa Kanzul Uloom Soomrani.
162. Madressa Kashaful Quran, Tali Sher.
163. Madressa Darul Uloom Drib Tanwari
164. Darul Islam Mohammad Bagh.
165. Darul Quran Qasmi.
166. Madressa Hidayatul Islam Chaho Labano.
167. Madressa Qasimul Uloom Ghotki.
168. Madressa Talimul Quran Sukkur.
169. Madressa Qasimul Uloom Thari, Chani.
170. Madressa Muhammadia Jacobabad.

171. Madressa Hamidia Village Abdul Ghani Shah.
172. Darul Uloom Shamsul Mahar.
173. Darul Falah Mirpur Buriro.
174. Madressa Shamsul Uloom Thal.
175. Madressa Ahyaul Uloom Khandkot Town.
176. Madressa Muftahul Uloom Khandkot.
177. Darul Fayooz Kandhkot.
178. Madressa Talimul Quran Kandhkot.
179. Darul Irshah Mureed Khoso.
180. Madressa Muhammad Amin Kaso.
181. Darul Uloom Village Abdullah.
182. Darul Islam Sirajuddin Koso.
183. Madressa Muftahul Uloom Rahim Bux.
184. Madressa Misbahul Uloom, Risaldat.
185. Madressa Qasimul Uloom Bakhshapur.
186. Madressa Irshadul Uloom Sher Mohammad.
187. Darul Uloom Jilani (Ahmadia).
188. Madressa Ishatul Uloom Larkana.
189. Madressa Makhzanul Uloom Agani.
190. Madressa Ishatul Quran, Akil.
191. Arabia Azizia Madressa Tatodero.
192. Darul Huda Khair Mohammad Karato.
193. Islamia Arabia Madressa Thorhi Bejar.
194. Madressa Sirajul Uloom Ber.
195. Madressa Faiz Illahi Shahdadkot.
196. Madressa Ahmadia Mohammad Bux Khoso.
197. Darul Fayooz Ashique Ali Mangsi.
198. Madressa Halmmia Shahdadkot.
199. Madressa Tanzilul Uloom Shahdadkot.
200. Madressa Arabia Darul Quran Mero Khan.
201. Darul Fayooz A.R. Jalbani.
202. Madressa Ashraful Uloom Mian dad Chinjani.
203. Darul Huda Bazari Kandhara.
204. Darul Huda Nasirabad.
205. Darul Islam Jakhara.
206. Darul Fayooz Juvani Sharif.
207. Madressa Anwarul Uloom, Mahboob Lash.
208. Darul Uloom Hati Sohu.

LIST OF DARUL ULOOMS DINIA IN N.W.F.P.

1. Darul Uloom Jamia Islamia Akora Khattak (Peshawar).
2. Madressa Islamia Rehimia Haripur (Hazara).
3. Madressa Akhilji Hander Khel.
4. Darul Uloom Haqania Akora Khattak (Peshawar).
5. Darul Uloom Zia-ul-Islam Sarai Hurang (Bannu).
6. Madressa Fareul Islam, Bahan Mari, Peshawar City.
7. Darul Uloom-Haqania, Saidu Sharif.
8. Darul Uloom Charsadda.
9. Darul Uloom Sarhad Peshawar.
10. Taleemul Quran Madressa, Swat.
11. Mirajul Uloom Bannu.
12. Jamia Ashrafia Peshawar.
13. Jamia Mohammadia Ahmad Khel Peshawar.
14. Madressa Aminia Islamia Saidu Sharif, Swat.

LIST OF DARUL ULOOMS DINIA IN BALUCHISTAN

1. Madressa Arabia Ziaul Uloom, Gulistan.
2. Madressa Arabia, Khanozai.
3. Madressa Naseemul Uloom, Quetta.
4. Qasimul Uloom, Kachi Beg. Quetta.
5. Gharibia Nazimia, Kechi Beg, Quetta.
6. Rozatul Hadood, Quetta.
7. Arabia Taleemul Quran, Chaman (Quetta).
8. Madressa Arabia Darul Uloom. Railway Jamia Masjid, Chaman
9. Madressa Jamia Masjid Kadeem Chaman.
10. Madressa Taleemul Islam, Chaman.
11. Madressa Arabia Mataul Uloom, Brewery Road, Quetta.
12. Madressa Dinia Arabia Mazharul Uloom, Shaldara, Quetta.
13. Madressa Tajweedul Quran, Toghi Road, Quetta.
14. Madressa Talimul Quran, Chaman.
15. Madressa Talimul Quran, Pishin.
16. Madressa Tajweedul Uloom (Mohtamim Hikani) Sariab Road, Quetta.
17. Madressa Anwarul Uloom Ghousia, Sibi.
18. Madressa Arabia Miftaul Uloom, Sibi.
19. Madressa Tajweedul Quran, Zandrah.
20. Madressa Zeenatul Islam, China.
21. Madressa Bahrul Uloom, Manah.

22. Madressa Anwarul Uloom, Kawas.
23. Madressa Islamia, Usta Mohammad.
24. Darul Uloom Arabia, Laralai.
25. Nasirul Uloom, Laralai.
26. Hafzul Quran, Laralai.
27. Madressa Talimul Quran, Laralai.
28. Darul Uloom Azizia, Laralai.
29. Madressa Khairul Uloom Bori.
30. Madressa Dini Shah Karez, Bori.
31. Dini Madressa Maulvi Abdul Hashim Sahib, Duki.
32. Madressa Chutiani Sahib Nana Sahib Ziarat.
33. Madressa Sangohri.
34. Dini Madressa Brug Musa Khel.
35. Burhoki.
36. Harasham.
37. Koch Jamalzai.
38. Dini Madressa Barkhan.
39. Darul Iqama Madressa Riazul Uloom, Fortsandeman.
40. Madressa Shamsul Uloom, Fortsandeman.
41. Madressa Faizul Islam, Murgha Kibzai.
42. Madressa at Algadh, Babar.
43. Madressa Taleemul Quran, Mindubagh.
44. Madressa Maulvi Yaqub at Khuidadai. Killa Saifullah.
45. Arabic Madressa Nushki Town.
46. Jamia Mosque, Dalbandin Town.
47. Jamia Mosque, Nokundi Town.
48. Madressa Killi Sardar Badini (Nushki).
49. Madressa Killi Sharif Khan (Nushki).
50. Madressa Killi Jamaldini (Nushki).
51. Madressa Killi Mangal (Nushki).
52. Madressa Station Ahmedwal (Nushki)
53. Madressa Darul Uloom, (Nushki).
54. Miftaul Uloom, Mastung.
55. Jamia Nazeeria, Mastung.
56. Madressa Islamia, Khuzdar.
57. Madressa Pringabad.
58. Madressa Mambaul Uloom, Pringabad.
59. Madressa Siddiquia, Mastung.
60. Madressa Ahingaran, Mastung.

61. Madressa Jamia Makhzan Uloom, Mastung.
62. Madressa Tajweedul Quran, Kalat.
63. Madressa Arabia, Khuzdar.
64. Markazi Darul Uloom Jamia Ghausia Karachi Road, Khuzdar.
65. Madressa Ghausia Khuzdar.
66. Darul Uloom Killi Saleh Muhammad, Wadh.
67. Darul Uloom, Pringabad.
68. Darul Uloom Bhag.
69. Madressa Tajweedul Quran, Mach.
70. Madressa Taleemul Quran, Jalalabad.
71. Madressa Sultania Anwar Bahu, Dhadar.
72. Miftaul Uloom (Sordu) Panjgur.
73. Darul Uloom, Turbat.
74. Miftaul Uloom Khudabandan, Panjgur.
75. Madressa Darul Tauheed, Buleda.
76. Darul Uloom, Kharan.
77. Madressa Mashkhel.
78. Madressa Darul Uloom Washak (Kharan).
79. Madressa Darul Feuz Washak (Kharan).
80. Madressa Darul Huddah, Washak (Kharan).

[Information promised in reply to starred question No. 102 asked by Mr. Ghulam Nabi Choudhry, M.N.A. on 23-1-73].

FOOD STUFF MOVEMENT IN BORDER AREA

(b) The movement of foodstuffs into the border area is already restricted under section 5 of the West Pakistan Border Area Foodstuff Control Order 1958. A complete ban on the foodstuffs and other good is not practicable.

[Information promised in reply to starred question No. 119 asked by Mr. Ghulam Haider Cheema M.N.A. on 23-1-73].

SUGAR AND MATCH BOX FACTORIES AT WAZIRABAD AND GUJRANWALA

One sugar mill namely, Rahwali Cooperative Sugar Mills, Rahwali, already exists in Gujranwala District. Gujranwala Tehsil is the only one in Punjab which during 1970-71 had about 5% area under sugarcane cultivation as compared to other Tehsils in the Punjab having sugar mills, which had areas from 5 to 30% and above under sugarcane cultivation. In view of the inadequate availability of sugarcane, the Government of the Punjab consider that setting up of another sugar mill in Gujranwala District is not feasible in the public sector.

As regard private sector, no application for establishing anothersugar mill in Gajranwala has been received from any party.

[*Information Promised in Reply to Starred Question No. 124 asked by Mr. Mahmood Azam Farooqui, M.N.A. on 24-1-1973*]

Production in taken over Industries

S.No.	Name of the taken-over Industries where the production was stopped during the months of Jan. to December, 1972	Period of stoppage	Causes of stoppage	Measures taken to ensure that such stoppages do not recur.	Loss suffered as a result of such stoppage
1	2	3	4	5	6
					Rs.
1.	National Motors Limited, Karachi.	8.6.1972 to 16.9.1972	General strike in SITE	—	6,92,107/00
		10.7.1972 to 13.7.1972	Curfew—Language controversy.	—	4,01,344/00
		11.8.1972 (1 day)	Tool down strike	Conciliatory methods were adopted and authorities concerned were informed	6,20,623/00
		18.9.1972 to 22.9.1972	Labour unrest and tool down strike caused by inter-union revalries.		
2.	Ravi Rayon Limited, Lahore.	Jan. 1972 (53 hours)	Stoppage of Sui Gas to War	Total shut down for reasons beyond the control of company was 98 hours while the plant shut down for annual repairs was for 209 hours.	Company lost 98 productive hrs. which means that 4 days production (40 metric ton of accetate yarn) was lost.
		Feb. 1972 (8 hours)	Sui Gas supply cut off		
		July 1972 (6 hours)	Failure of boiler.		
		(8 hours)	Power failure.		
		Oct. 1972 (1 hour)	Power failure.		
		Oct. 1972 (209 hours)	Annual repairs.		
		Nov. 1972 (17 hours)	Condensor leakage		
		Dec. 1972 (5 hours)	Condensor leakage		
3.	National Refinery Limited Karachi.	3.77 days	During December 1971, supply of crude oil from abroad was discontinued. As such, in January there was an acute short-	(a) The crude storage tanks have been cleaned and the sludge present in them drained out	1.2 laces.

1	2	3	4	5	6
			age of crude oil and in order to keep the refinery running crude tankers were discharged and the crude pumped to the refinery without allowing any setting time in the shore tanks. This resulted in disturbing the sludge previously formed in the tanks and charging it to the atmospheric distilation unit. On heating, the sludge formed excessive coke deposits in the furnace tubes and the unitubed to be shutdown for eleaning the furnace tubes.	(b) Order has been placed for installing a desalter unit which would minimize carry over of water and salts, to the processing units.	
4.	Pakistan Plastics Limited Karachi.	23.6.72 (3.45 hrs.) 5.10.72 (5.10 hrs.)	Workers stopped work for pressing ordinary demands.	Genuine grievances of the workers have been removed. Most of the facilities denied to them have been provided scales of pay have been formulated and leave facility properly regulated. Besides, improvements have been effected in the working of the Canteen and Fair Price Shop. The working of the Medical Section has similarly been streamlined.	15,000/00

1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Sind Alkalis Limited Karachi.	2.6.1972 to 22.6.1972	Break-down of the Turbo alternator and the prolonged general labour strike in Karachi.	Excepting one stoppage during June, all the remaining stoppages have been caused by factors entirely beyond control. Only one stoppage was caused by a break-down of the Turbo-alternator, which suspectedly was the result of sabotage. One employee was dismissed in this connection and adequate measures have been taken to prevent recurrence.	20,12,000/00
		9.7.72 to 18.7.1972	Curfew		
		23-24 September 1972	General labour strike in Landhi area caused by labour/management dispute of PMTF, Landhi.		
		20.10.72 to 10.11.72	General Labour strike.		
6.	Synthetic Chemicals Limited, Karachi.	12 days	Language trouble.	—	1,81,41,000,00
		7 days	Labour trouble in SITE area		
		151 days	plant break-pown		
		35 days	Water shortage, lack of raw material (Molasses) and technical defects.		
7.	Awami Autos Limited Karachi.	July 1972 (8 days-10,048 working hours)	Language disturbances and Curfew.	—	25,000/00
		Oct. 1972—Nov. 1972 (57,840 working hours).	Dock Strikes at London and Karachi ports.	—	1,54,000/-

1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	Sind Engineering Limited Karachi.	Jan. 1972 to March 1972 1,13,305 working hours)	Labour unrest.	Labour problem put under control	2,32,000/00
		Jan. 1972 to Dec. 1972 (2,28,030 working hours)	Inadequate inspection knowledge of army inspection team.	—	5,84,000/00
		July 1972 (8 days-28,000 working hours)	Language issue and curfew.	—	74,000.00
9.	Trailer Development Corporation Limited Karachi.	8.6.1972 to 17.6.1972 (65.30 working hours).	General Strike in SITE area.	—	1,00,000/00
		7.7.1972 (6.30 working hours).	Language disturbances.	—	10,000/00
		10.7.1972 to 15.7.72 (44 workiug hours.	Language disturbances.	—	60,000/00
10.	Karachi Pipe Mills Limited, Karachi.	187 days.	Shortage of raw material	Adequate arrangements have been made in the year 1972 for the import of raw material i.e. Steel Strips and Zinc ingots under US AID, Trading Corporation of Pakistan Ltd., (IDA Credit from Japan and Chinese Credit) and other resourees. The shipments have started coming-in as arranged: it is expected that the	24,00,000/00

1	2	3	4	5	6
				capacity utilisation of the factory would improve considerably.	
11.	Metropolitan Steel Corporation Limited, Karachi.	April 1972 (10 days)	Maintenance	—	17,00,000/00 Appro:
		May 1972 (4 days)	Maintenance	—	
		June 1972 (9 days)	In sympathy with strike in SITE area.	—	
		July 1972 (6 days)	Curfew imposed all over Karachi.	—	
		September 1972 (2 days)	In sympathy with strike in MTF	—	
		October 1972 (3 days)	Police action in Gull Ahmed & Dawood Textile Mills.	—	
12.	Republic Motors Limited Karachi.	8.6.1972 to 17.6.1972	General labour commotion particularly amongst the workers of textile industry which effected the entire SITE area.	—	Work was at stand still and there was surplus staff owing to ban imposed on import of CKD car components.
		7.7.1972 to 15.7.1972	Linguistic disturbances and Curfew restrictions.	—	-do-
		25.7.1972	-do-		-do-

1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	Nowshera Engineering Company Ltd.. Nowshera.	12.4.1972 to 19.4.72 (8 days)	Shipment delayed, Previous stock of Graphite Electodes exhausted.	Adequate procurement arrangements have been made to avoid recurrence.	20,000/00
		9.1.1973 to 13.1.1973 (5 days)	Non-availability of material in the local market.		-do-
		17.3.1972 (1 day)	Strike in sympathy with Paper Corporation, Charsadda.		—
14.	Pioneer Steel Mills Limited, Lahore.	January to October 1972.	Non-availability of raw material *viz.* steel strips at the time of take-over, electrical fault which caused accident of one of the electrical engineers, leakage in Galvanizing Tank.	Arrangements have been made to import sufficient quantity of steel strips through US AID source as well as through the TCP.	Due to the closer of the factory the period between Jan. to Oct. 1972 was recorded as complete loss.
15.	National Cement Industries Limited, Karachi.	4.4 days·	Curfew due to disturbances at Karachi.	—	3,300 tons clinker production lost due to closure of works.
16.	Javedan Cement Limited, Karachi.	11 days.	General strike	—	10,728 tons clinker lost due to closer of works.
17.	Lahore Central Foundry Limited, Lahore.	February 1972 (5 days)	Labour	Negotiations	8,00,000/00
		May 1972 (3 days)	Electricity	—	4,00,000/00
		August 1972 (4 days)	Labour	Negotiations	6,80,000/00

2	3	4	5	6
18. Quality Steel Works Ltd., Karachi.	Jan-Dec. 1972			
	472.30 hours.	Break-down	—	5,700/00 tons Approx:
	32.50 hours	Power failure.		
	146.30 hours	Strike		
	77.00 hours	Curfew		
	349.00 hours	Reduction in working hours.		
	396.00 hours	Repairs & maintenance		

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 131 asked by Main Mahmood Ali Kasuri, M.N.A. on 24-1-73 is contained in report on the Government Regulated Industries January 1972—March 1973 which being bulky is not included in the debate. It may be seen in the National Assembly Library.

[Information promised in reply to starred question No. 140 asked by Sardar Inayatur Rahman Khan Abbasi, M.N.A., on 25-1-73.]

STUD LAND SCHEME

The Government will Review the Entire Stud Land Scheme.

Follow Up Information :

All the stud land which was subject of discussion in Starred Question No. 140, has been resumed under para 15 of MLR 115 and now vests in the Government. Government has been defined in the MLR as the Provincial Government. The entire question of horse and mule breeding in the Punjab is being reviewed by the Government.

[Information promised in reply to starred question No. 553 asked by Sahibzada Safiullah on 21-6-73.]

LAND COMMISSION DECISION ABOUT DISPUTE OVER AGRICULTURAL LAND

(a) Yes.

(b) (i) Final decision has not yet arrived at. Hence exact figures cannot be given.

(b) (ii) Does not arise.

(b) (iii) The Parties concerned had no documentary proof in support of their claims.

The Provincial Government will hear appeals.

[Information promised in reply to starred question No. 525 asked by Chaudhry Zahur Ilahi M.N.A. on 5-7-73.]

SHIKARGAHS DISTRIBUTED AMONG LANDLESS FARMERS

There are no Shikargahs in the Provinces of Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan. Names of Shikargahs in the Province of Sind are as under :—

District	Name of Honorary Manger of the Shikargah	Area	No. of Haris/Farmers benefitted
Nawabshah	Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi.	3,850.31	123
Khairpur	Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur	5,240.21	
Khairpur	Pir Mohyuddin Shah of Ranipur	367.08	
Larkana	Mr. Sultan Ahmed Chandio	1,25,519.39	
Larkana	Mr. Z. A. Bhutto	178.31	39

OATH & SIGNING OF ROLL OF MEMBERS

Mr. Speaker : Honourable Members who have not taken the oath may please do so.

The following honourable Members took the oath :—

(i) Pir Safiuddin.

(ii) Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talibulmoula.

LEAVE APPLICATION

Mr. Speaker : There is a leave application on behalf of Choudhery Zahur Ilahi. He has requested for the grant of leave of absence for three days from 2nd to 4th of July, 1973, due to pre-occupation with his cases in the courts. Is the Assembly prepared to grant him leave ?

Members : Yes.

Mr. Speaker : Leave is granted. Now Sahibzada Safiullah to move his adjournment motion.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION *RE*: UNSATISFACTORY POSTAL SERVICE IN DISTRICT DIR

صاحبزادہ صفی اللہ : جناب والا ! میں حال ہی میں وقوع پذیر ہونے والے اور فوری اہمیت عامہ کے حامل واقع ، متعین معاملہ پر بحث کرنے کے لیے اسمبلی کے التواء کی تحریک پیش کرتا ہوں ۔ مسئلہ یہ ہے کہ ضلع دیر میں ڈاک کا انتظام نا گفتہ بہ ہے اور اس سے وہاں کے عوام میں سخت بے چینی پھیل گئی ہے ۔ آٹھ دن سے وہاں ڈاک کا نظام معطل ہے ۔ جناب والا ! آج کے "نوائے وقت" میں خبر آئی ہے کہ ضلع دیر میں آٹھ دن سے ڈاک معطل ہے اور وہاں کے عوام نے حکام بالا سے اپیل کی ہے کہ اس مشکل کو حل کرنے کے لیے فوری اقدامات کیے جائیں ۔ چونکہ یہ ایک اہم مسئلہ ہے اس لیے ضروری ہے کہ یہاں اس ایوان میں اس پر بحث کی جائے ۔

Mr. Speaker : This adjournment motion relates to the working of the Postal Department in the area of Dir and according to the honourable Member who has given notice of it, he says that the arrangement have always been unsatisfactory, but especially during the last eight days, he says there has been complete dislocation. So he had brought this adjournment motion day before yesterday but the honourable Minister for Communications was not here on that day and moreover due to some technical objections the adjournment motion could not be taken up on Saturday. So I would like to know from the honourable Minister as to what is the actual position.

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi : Sir, it is not correct.....

Mr. Speaker : Malik Muhammad Akhtar, what is your objection ?

Malik Muhammad Akhtar : Sir, with your kind permission, I would most obediently object to the presentation of the adjournment motion itself and I will again refer you to rule 53 which reads :—

"Notice of a motion under rule 52 shall be givan in writing and shall be accompanied by a written statement of the matter proposed to be discussed. Such notice shall be delivered to the Secretary in triplicate not less than two hours before the commencement of the sitting in which the motion is proposed to be moved, and the Secretary shall thereupon bring the notice to the knowledge of the Speaker, the Minister concerned and the Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs.

Sir, again rule 56, I may quote in the same context :—

Time for asking leave for motion of adjournment.—Leave to make a motion for adjournment shall be asked for after questions and before other business entered on the Orders of the Day is taken up :

Firstly, I am unable to concede that Rule 53 could be amended by deferring adjournment motion to the next day. That is mere negation of the rule and I consider that the motion was proposed to be discussed on the day it was made but it was not made two hours earlier as required by Rule 53. I regret to point out that Rule 53 cannot be amended. Of course, it can be suspended which has not been done in this case. Then Sir there is no Question Hour for this morning and as such, Sir, I consider the framers of the rules have expressly provided that adjournment motion shall only be made on the day on which Question Hour is fixed. Sir, the idea is that there may be some sitting, which may be special sitting, when Question Hour may be suspended altogether and due to same reason there is no Question Hour. So, Sir, I have got these two thchnical objections on this adjournment motion which your honour can look into.

Mr. Speakar : So the honourable member objects to the admissibility of this odjournment motion on two grounds: (1) that the notice of this adjournment motion was not given today two hours before the sitting.

Malik Mohammad Akhtar : On the 7th two hours before the sitting. I raised this point even on that day. Sir, it was practically moved and the objection was heard but it could not be decided and the motion was deferred and is being taken up today. The motion was moved, objection was raised, and no decision was taken. I stick to that position that it should not be taken up in the light of the argument and objection made on that day, Sir.

Mr. Speaker : The point is that admissibility can be attacked on two grounds (1) that on the day on which it was moved, the notice had not been given two hours before the sitting, and secondly if it was intended to be moved today, a new notice should have been given two hours before the sitting. These are the two objections. And the third is that there is no Question Hour today and as it is provided in Rule 56 the adjournment motions are to be taken up after Question Hour. These are the three objections.

Malik Mohammad Akhtar : Yes Sir.

Mr. Speaker : I am sorry that I cannot agree to any of the objections. Firstly, on the 7th, no doubt, he had given notice not two hours before the sitting, at least half an hour before the sitting, when an objection was being raised by Malik Akhtar, I said that if technically it could not be taken up that day on the 7th we would take it up on the next day. This matter was decided on the 7th that it would be taken up today. So, this objection with regard to point number one goes. Secondly, if a motion is already pending and it had been decided that it would be taken up on Monday so the other argument that the matter had not been decided on that day and, therefore, it cannot be raised today also goes. Thirdly, the point is that after Question Hour it had to be taken. When there is no Question Hour, the question of raising this objection does not arise. So on all the three points I am unable to agree.

Malik Mohmmad Akhter : It is a matter of opinion.

Mr. Speakar : Now Minister for Communications, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi.

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi : Mr. Speaker, Sir, firstly it is not correct that the delivery and the carrying of dak to District Dir, has been disturbed for the last eight to ten days. Sir, it is a fact that there are two or three Post Offices in the interior of the District where we had not been able to carry mail for the last 4 or 5 days and these are small villages Manda Kher and Lal Qilla. The Deputy Commissioner of the District gives contract for the delivery of the mail and this has to be carried to these areas. The contractor has recently been clianged and perhaps the new contractor had not been able to acquire conveyance to carry the mail to those areas. Therefore, we are sorry that there has been some disturbance but on hearing the difficulties the Superintendent and the Inspector of the Post Offices have gone to the area and I may inform that either today or tomorrow the mail will be restored to these villages and I assure the honourable Member and I am sorry for the inconvenience caused to these villages.

Mr. Speaker : Is the honourable member satisfied with the assurance given by the honourable Minister ?

Sahibzada Safiullah : Yes Sir.

Mr. Speaker : So you do not press for your adjournment motion.

صاحبزادہ صفی اللہ : چونکہ وزیر متعلقہ نے فرمایا ہے کہ معاملہ زیر غور ہے اس لیے میں اسے پیش نہیں کروں گا۔

ELECTION FOR BOARD OF FILM CENSORS

Mr. Speaker : So this adjournment motion is withdrawn. Next item No. 3, Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, Minister for Education and Provincial Co-ordination to move his motion.

Sheikh Muhammad Rashid : Sir, it is not to be moved today.

Mr. Speaker : You must move it, we are deferring it from day to day. There is no harm. Any five members can be appointed.

Sheikh Muhammad Rashid : It was deferred because the honourable Law Minister was away. He wos not here and with his concurrence we had to elect and therefore, it had to be deferred. I am sorry for that but it may be taken up on the next day.

Mr. Speaker : The Deputy Leader of the House can act on his behalf. There is no harm. I can adjourn the House for a few minutes and you can decide. At least we should be able to transact some business this moring.

Sheikh Muhammad Rashid : It is a small business. All other business had been conducted very smoothly. Of course we also want his opinion because it is his portfolio.

جناب محمود اعظم فاروقی : چونکہ مولانا کوثر نیازی acting minister ہیں اس لیے وہ اسے خود کر سکتے ہیں۔

Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan : Maulana Kausar Niazi is incharge of films.

Sheikh Muhammad Rashid : He is not incharge, now Education Minister is in charge.

جناب محمود اعظم فاروقی : چونکہ مولانا کوثر نیازی فلموں کے انچارج نہیں اس لئے وہ اس کو خود کر سکتے ہیں۔

Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan : It is a very minor matter. They can decide and give the name or nominate any Member.

Mr. Speaker : It does not look proper that this item should be postponed every day.

Sheikh Muhammad Rashid : It is only for the reason that the Minister in charge was not there. The honourable members should appreciate that he was not there. It is only a question of two minutes. Of course we have to consult the member in charge.

Mr. Speaker : It is a very minor thing. It is not so important and serious.

Sheikh Muhammad Rashid : Then we should be allowed to place this item on tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker : Tomorrow we have other important business. We should not devote any time to any other business. As at this sitting there is no other business, I can adjourn the House for half an hour aud you may have consultation and decide.

Sheikh Muhammad Rashid : It may be adjourned for one hour.

(The House re-assembled at 11-30 a. m. after break, Mr. Speaker in the Chair).

Mr. Speaker : The House is adjourned for one hour and we meet again at 11.30.

Mr. Speaker : You have to move the motion.

Sheikh Muhammad Rashid : Yes Sir. Sir I beg to move :—

"That as required by the Ministry of Education and provincial Co-ordination Notification S.R.O. 24/KE/73 of 15th June, 1973, this Assembly do proceed to elect five of its Members to be members of the Central Board of Film Censors, Rawalpindi."

Mr. Speaker : Motiou moved :—

"That as required by the Ministary of Education and Provincial Co-ordination Notification S.R.O. 24/KE/73 of 15th June, 1973, this Assembly do proceed to elect five of its Members to be members of the Central Board of Film Censors, Rawalpindi."

Sheikh Muhammad Rashid : Sir, I propose that the following five Members :—

i) Ch. Mumtaz Ahmad.
ii) Ch. Barkatullah.
iii) Mr. Nur Mohammad Lund.
iv) Mr. Niamatullah Khan Shinwari.
v) Mr. Sher Baz Khan Mazari.

May be elected on the Central Board of Film Censors, Rawalpindi.

Mr. Speaker : Any other proposal ? No. The question is that Mr. Mumtaz Ahmad, Ch. Barkatullah, Mr. Nur Mohammad Lnnd, Mr. Niamatullah Khan Shinwari and Mr. Sher Baz Khan Mazari be declared as elected to be Members of the Central Board of Film Censors, Rawalpindi.

The motion was adopted.

The five Members are elected on the Central Board of Film Censors, Rawalpindi.

مولانا کوثر نیازی : جناب اسپیکر ! میں اس بورڈ کے سلسلے میں ایک وضاحت کرنا چاہتا ہوں ۔ فاروق صاحب نے اس وقت کہا تھا کہ علم کا شعبہ میرے پاس ہے ۔ وہ اتنے بے خبر ہیں ۔ انہیں علم نہیں ہے کہ اگر یہ میرے پاس ہوتا تو یہ موشن وزیر تعلیم پیش نہ کرتے اب یہ شعبہ وزارت تعلیم کے پاس ہے ۔ اگر میرے پاس ہوتا تو میں کبھی قومی اسمبلی کو زحمت نہ دیتا کہ وہ اس مقصد کے لیے وقت ضائع کرے ۔

جناب محمود اعظم فاروقی : میں نے صرف یہ کہا ہے کہ یہ acting کر لیں ۔ ان کی acting ہو جائے گی ۔

مولانا کوثر نیازی : میرے خیال میں فاروق صاحب اچھے actor ہوں گے -

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OATH AND SIGNING OF ROLL OF MEMBERS

Mr. Speaker : I call upon Main Mahmood Ali Kasuri to take the oath.

(*Mian Mahmood Ali Kasuri took oath and Signed Roll of Members.*)

Mr. Speaker : The House stands adjourned to meet again at 5.30 p. m. today.

The House re-assembled at 5.30 p. m., Mr. Speaker, in the Chair.

Recitation from the Holy Quran and its Translation

OATH AND SIGNING OF ROLL OF MEMBERS

Mr. Speaker : Members who have not made the oath under Article 65 of the new Constitution to kindly do so and to sign the Roll of Members.

Following Members took oath and signed the Roll of Members :—

Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar.

Mr. Speakar : Now we proceed to choose Members of the Senate from the Federal Capital. The Bell be rung for 10 minutes to enable Members who are not present to come in.

(*The Bell was rung*).

Mr. Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Sir, we did not hear you.

Mr. Speaker : I said now we proceed to choose Members of the Senate from the Federal Capital. The bell will be rung for 10 minutes to enable the Members who are not present in the House to come in. The bell is ringing.

Let the doors be closed.

Now I read out the names of the candidates validly nominated for being chosen as members of the Senate from the Federal Capital in the order in which their nomination papers were received. They are :—

(1) Mr. Nargis Zaman.

(2) Mr. Zafar Ali Shah.

(3) Mr. Aziz Ahmad.

The proposers or seconders of the respective candidates may now make motions for choosing members of the Senate in the order called by me. The motion be moved for Mr. Nargis Zaman.

Malik Mohammad Jafar : I respectfully move :

"that Mr. Nargis Zaman Khan be chosen as a Member of the Senate from the Federal Capital area".

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

"that Mr. Nargis Zaman Khan be chosen as a Member of the Senate from the Federal Capital area".

Mr. Speaker : Next motion. Let the motion be moved for Mr. Zafar Ali Shah.

Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri : I respectfull move :

"that Mr. Zafar Ali Shah be chosen to represent the Senate from the Federal Capital area".

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

"that Mr. Zafar Ali Shah be chosen to represent the Senate from the Federal Capital area".

Mr. Speaker : Let there be a motion in respect of Mr. Aziz Ahmad.

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jotoi : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move :

"that Mr. Aziz Ahmad be chosen as a Member of the Senate from the Federal Capital area".

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

"that Mr. Aziz Ahmad be chosen as a Member of the Senate from the Federal Capital area".

Mr. Speaker : Now each motion will be put to the House in the order in which nomination papers were received before the division is ordered. Let the Members go.....

POINT OF ORDER *RE* : METHOD OF CHOOSING SENATORS

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri ; Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I be permitted to raise a point of order. Sir, my point of order is that this election cannot take place reason being that according to Article 226 of the new Constitution, page 104. "All elections under the Constitution, other than those of the Prime Minister and a Chief Minister, shall be by secret ballot".

We are now here electing two Members of the Senate from the Federal Capital area. Even though we might call it an act of choosing, it is an act of election. May I refer you to Article 59 of the Constitution which deals with the composition of the Senate and it gives us how many people are to be elected from the various areas ; how many people will represent each area. The other point which should be brought to your notice is that 14 shall be elected by the Members of each provincial Assembly; 5 shall be elected by the Members from the Federally Administered tribal areas and 2 shall be chosen from the Federal Capital in such member as the President may, by Order, prescribe. Now I here submit most respectfully the word 'chosen' has been used in sub-clause (c) and does not change the character of the Act of the National Assembly being called upon to perform its functions. Now if you look at the Oxford Dictionary the definition of election, there it is defined as "the action of choosing for an office, dignity or position". It is contained in the Shorter

Oxford Dictionary. I have also checked the bigger one and it reinforces the definition which is mentioned in the Shorter Oxford Dictionary. Sir, you will find that 'election' and 'choosing' are the same thing, and as the mandate of the Constitution is that "all elections under the Constitution, other than those of the Prime Minister and a Chief Minister, shall be by secret ballot", it is my submission that the provisions of the Presidential Order XII insofar they provide to the contrary or provide that the method of election shall be by Division in the Lobbies is unconstitutional and, therefore, it is my submission that this election cannot take place until the law is corrected, otherwise is a serious possibility of the matter leading to serious complications.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, I oppose this point of order and the grounds that I would advance are absolutely clear. I say that there is no substance whatsoever in the point of order raised by Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri for two reasons. First is that if you kindly look at Article 59 of the permanent Constitution, there will be no necessity whatsoever to look at any dictionary. Dictionary gives meanings of certain words. It can be subjective. But we have to look at the objective language used in Article 59. You will see that in clause 1 of Article 59 it is provided that :

(1) The Senate shall consist of sixty-three members of whom—

(*a*) fourteen shall be elected by the members of each Provincial Assembly ;

(*b*) five shall be elected by the members from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas in the National Assembly ; and

(*c*) two shall be chosen from the Federal Capital in such manner as the President may, by Order, presccibe.

Now you will see the provisions of sub-clause (a) and sub-clause (b) of clause (1) of Article 59 in juxtaposition with sub-clause (c) of Article 59. What was the intention of the Constitution makers to use the word 'choosing' in juxtaposition towards election as used in the first two sub-clauses ? I would submit that we are conscious that that was not to be election within the meaning of the Constitution or within the meaning of Article 226 of the Constitution. The President shall give under the Constitution an authority to prescribe the manner of the choosing of the Senators from the Federal Capital area ; (2) this is far more weighty. Article 226 applies only to elections under the Constitution and not to elections outside the Constitution. Tne election of the Members of the Senate from the Federal Capital area is not an election under the Constitution. Elections under the Constitution are only those election which are contemplated by the Constitution itself. Kindly read Article 226 which says :

"all elections under thc Constitution, other than those of the Prime Minister and a Chief Minister, shall be by secret ballot."

The election of the Members of the Senate from the Federal Capital area is not an election under the Constitution. Under the Constitution we have got some specific election. This is an election under the Presidential Order even if it is called an election. First of all, this is not an election because Article 59 of the Constitution has used the word 'choosen' in a manner to be prescribed by an Order made by the President; secondly this is not an election under the Constitution. On these two grounds the point of order that has been raised is absolutely frivolous. It has got no authority whatsoever. It is only a belated attempt on the part of the honourable Member to stop the proceedings of this House and enforcement of the Constitution on the scheduled date. Therefore, I would submit that it should be ruled out of order.

Mr. Speaker: The point is very clear. In Article 59 (1) (c) different methods have been prescribed for choosing two Senators from the Federal Capital area. The President could very well prescribe any other method. But he has deemed it fit to allow the National Assembly to choose these Senators. He could prescribe, as I have told earlier, some other method, for instance, some Corporate body like C.D.A. or any other such corporate body could send two persons from the Federal Capital area and secondly the word 'chosen' is not the same as 'elected' because of the intention was to have election on the same method, then here different methods would not have been used. Election was quite appropriate under Article 59 (1) (a) (b). It can also be used in sub-clause (c). Then, thirdly, this word has been taken from the Indian Constitution and so the chosing of Speaker and Deputy Speaker is prescribed in the similar manner by Division in the Lobbies. Therefore, I think, this point of order has no force and is ruled out.

CHOOSING OF MEMBERS OF SENATE FROM FEDERAL CAPITAL

Each motion has been put before the House. Before the Division is ordered let the Member who are present be counted. The total number is 126. Now, after I order a Division then after that bells will be rung for two minutes to enable the Members to come back to the Chamber to hear the result of the Division and to take part in the next Division. So, bells will not be rung again for ten minutes as was done in the beginning. Now, as many as are of the opinion that Mr. Nargis Zaman Khan be chosen to the Senate from the Federal Capital Area may please go to the Ayes Lobby, and vote. One by one in single file.

خان عبدلوالی خان : جناب اسپیکر یہ نرگس مرد ہیں یا عورت ؟

جناب اسپیکر : آپ کو جلد ہی معلوم ہو جائے گا۔

جناب محمود اعظم فاروقی : آپ نے تو دیکھ لیا ہو گا ۔

جناب اسپیکر : نہیں میں نے نہیں دیکھا آپ کے پاس بھیج دیں گے ۔

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Sir, our candidate, Inshallah, will be elected and the honourable gentlemen will have an opportunity to see whether he is a man or a woman ?

Mr. Speaker : The Division is over. For the motion 99. Mr. Nargis Zaman Khan stands elected.

Next, let the bells be rung for two minutes and the honourable Members should come into the House.

Mr. Nargis Zaman Khan gets 99 votes out of 126. He stands elected.

The question is that Mr. Zafar Ali Shah be chosen as a Member of the Senate from the Federal Capital Area. As many as are of that opinion may please proceed to the Ayes Lobby and record their votes. Those who do not want to vote, may please remain seated in their own places.

The result of the Division is that 26 votes have been cast in favour of Mr. Zafar Ali Shah. As he has not secured the majority of the votes of Members present in the House, therefore, he stands defeated.

The question is that Mr. Aziz Ahmad be chosen as a Member of the Senate from the Federal Capital Area. As many as are of that opinion may please proceed to the Ayes Lobby and record their votes. Those who do not want to vote remain seated in their own places.

جناب عبدالحمید جتوئی : بخاری صاحب غلط راستے سے آ رہے ہیں ۔

Mr. Speaker : Order. Mr. Bokhari you are not to vote. Why did you do in this way ?

(Division Continued)

(*Mr. Bokhari then went out of the House*)

Mr. Speaker : The result of the Division is that Mr. Aziz Ahmed secured 99 votes and has been validly chosen as a member of the Senate. Now under Article 272 (b) out of these two Senators one is to have a term of two years, the other is to have four years and the matter will be decided by drawing of lots. So any one of the proposer or seconder of these two may come here and lots be drawn to determine who will have a term of two years.

(*Malik Mohammad Jafar and Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi came to Mr. Speaker for drawing of lots*).

Mr. Speaker : As a result of the drawing of lots Mr. Aziz Ahmed has been placed in the first group and his term of office will be 2 years while Mr. Nargis Zaman has been placed in the second group and his term of office will be four years.

Mr. Speaker : The President will address the Assembly.

(*Opposition walked out of the House*)

Members : Shame, shame.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

President of Pakistan : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have come to address the National Assembly today on the question of a durable peace in the sub-continent without which no progress towards our national objective, economic, social or political is possible. This is a subject which transcends all internal controversies and is close to the heart of every patriotic citizen of the country.

The Assembly will recall that, after the upheaval of 1971, the Government was confronted with a question of the utmost urgency and poignance. What do we do next ? There were two paths open to us. We could either parade our wounds, wallow in morbidity and dream of revanchist policies which would prove utterly futile. Or, as a spirited and healthy people, we could attend to our re-construction, establish normal relations with our neighbours, break our isolation from those who were our compatriots and so strengthen ourselves politically, socially and economically, that even though we were reduced in size and number, we would emerge as a more cohesive nation, less subject to internal strains, less vulnerable to foreign aggression, and more confident of our future. With the overwhelming support of the people, the Government chose the sensible course.

It was this attitude, an attitude of realism untainted by despair or any sense of inferiority, that prompted the many initiative towards peace taken by the People's Government. Soon after coming into office, we released Mr. Mujibur Rahman unconditionally. To put it mildly, I have not regretted that decision for a moment. Then, we repeatedly expressed our good-will towards Muslim Bengal. We offered to return some 30,000 Bengali personnel in the Pakistan Army and about 17,000 Bengali civil servants of different categories to assist Mr. Mujibur Rahman in strengthening his administration. When there was food scarcity among those who were torn apart from us, we made an offer of a gift of 100,000 tons of rice. These offers were not accepted. Were they, therefore, unwise. It is only the small-minded, the people who are torn by insecurity and by an inferiority complex, the people who look only at the immediate results and do not understand the slow-moving forces in international life, will think so. We made the offers not with a desire to cajole but in expression of a stable and well considered attitude.

To India we made it clear that we were prepared for a normalisation of relations as between equals and that durable peace could be established on the basis of non-interference and a just and honourable settlement of all differences and disputes. This led to Simla.

A few weeks after the Simla Agreement was concluded, I observed that the agreement was the starting point towards durable peace in the sub-continent.

At the same time, I could not but express the fear that the goal could prove elusive and the peace that would prevail would be not just and honourable but illusory and iniquitous. Even worse, there could occur a perversion of the process with the result that tensions would persist which had marred relations between Pakistan and India.

We left Simla in a state of hope not unmixed with apprehension. The apprehension existed because of our experience of a quarter century. It is not agreements which matter so much as the will and the attitude behind them. Peace is unattainable without mutual goodwill. Moreover, the search for peace requires a tempo, a momentum, a regard for timing just as much as war requires speed and surprise. Again, the first essential in normalisation of relations is a constancy of communication between the two sides. If these essentials are lacking, an agreement can easily be eroded and it results prove evanescent.

It was with this realisation that, since the conclusion of the Simla Agreement, we on our part tried our utmost to maintain the momentum in a step-by-step approach to the normalisation of relations. The negotiations over the withdrawal of forces were unfortunately protracted and difficulties arose which slowed progress disturbingly. However, when the troop withdrawals were eventually completed, I conveyed to the Prime Minister of India that the most important issue facing us in the sub-continent was the one relating to the Pakistani prisoners of war. It was obvious that this was the biggest obstacle to the normalisation of the situation in the sub-continent.

Some months elapsed. Then on 17th April, a statement was issued in Delhi. As we stated in our response on 20th April, it had many implications which required clarification. The basic truth is that the problems to which the statement addressed itself cannot be resolved by dogmatic assertion, legal quibbling or so-called package deals involving issues one of which is qualitatively different from another. They require good sense and a humane approach. Regrettably, the statement issued in Delhi conveyed a take-it-or leave-it attitude which could not be conducive to the promotion of peace.

There were several major difficulties inherent in the terms of the Delhi statement. It required Pakistan to agree to the trials by the Dacca authorities of some among the prisoners of war on criminal charges. This was a condition we could not possibly accept. Let me stress that it is not only a question of legal competence, the issue impinges on a nation's sovereignty which Pakistan will under no circumstances be prepared to compromise. Furthermore, the question involved is whether the parties are to prolong rancour or to work towards reconciliation. How can any one deny that enormous wrongs were committed on all sides in the tragic conflict of 1971 ? Were we to embark on their examination in a revanchist spirit, bitterness would sweep the whole area and wounds would be re-opened which we want to heal. I have said plainly that,

if these trials are held in Dacca, an irreparable damage would be caused to the fabric of peace, which no one can deny, is still fragile.

Then again, the Delhi statement asked us to agree, in advance of any discussion to accept a blanket exchange of population. How could we do so? Of course, no one can be more sensitive to the human plight of what are called in the statement and I quote 'Pakistanis in Bangladesh' than we. But it is only fair that the concrete human implications of a possible solution must be squarely faced before it is proposed. It would be sheer callousness to approach a matter of this kind unrealistically. Nor must the issue of moral responsibility involved in it be considered in stereotyped terms. Who are the 'Pakistanis in Bengladesh'? On what ground can they be considered to comprise only of the non-Bengalis? What was the kind of option they were supposedly given? How can the Dacca authorities release themselves from the obligation of respecting the human rights of all the people who had made East Pakistan their home a year before the establishment of Pakistan? How can they ignore the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which forbids exile or arbitrary deprivation of legal and morl claims of people on racial or ethnic grounds? I am posing these questions not to score points in argument but to underline the fact that this is a matter which requires careful examination in a humane spirit. I would not foreclose any workable solution. But no solution will be workable if it does not take into account the physical, economic and social consequences for the life and future of the human beings involved. The human beings involved are not only the members of this unfortunate minority but also those among whom they are suggested to be resettled. I cannot agree to a simplistic and sloganized approach which, instead of ending the misery of the people approach which, instead of end ing the misery of the people concerned, will only aggravate it.

I see no problem whatsoever in the repatriation of Bengalis in Pakistan. We do not want them to suffer. They are our brethren and we want them to resume their normal life. It has yielded us no happiness that we were forced to restrict their freedom of movement until the day that their repatriation could take place in an orderly manner. It is only due to the attitude of the authorities in Dacca that that day has not already arrived.

All these matters have been clear for quite some time. Our response to the statement issued in Delhi suggested a further dialogue between Pakistan and India. It is essential that such a dialogue should not be unfruitful. It is of the utmost importance for peace in the sub-continent that a deadlock should not be allowed to harden.

To achieve this objective, it is necessary that, on our part, there must prevail a clarity on our attitude towards Muslim Bengal. The issue has excited

strong emotions among our people. This is understandable ; after all, East Pakistan was an integral part of Pakistan. It cannot but be painful decision for any one in Pakistan to accept it as a separate entity. But many a nation has emerged stronger after painful decisions of this kind ; history is replete with relevant examples. We must on no account give the impression that we are so obsessed with the past as to be divorced from realities. Whatever be the way one looks at the question, one thing is clear : we cannot interfere in the affairs of those who constituted the majority of Pakistan, far less try to impose our will on them. Whatever be the strength of trends in Bangladesh for a fraternal relationship with us, these would be retarded rather than accelerated if we showed that we suffer from a mental block. We must show that we are prepared to accept the changed realities of December 1971 whenever it is in our best national interest. It is, therefore, for the National Assembly to arm the Government with the authority to accord *de jure* recognition to Bangladesh at a time which the Government may consider appropriate.

I repeate the words a time which the Government may consider appropriate. It is obvious that, with our prisoners of war in captivity and with the talk of bringing some of them to trial in Dacca or anywhere outside Pakistan, the time is not appropriate. But we, on our part, are prepared to make an effort towards unfreezing the present situation. We are prepared to cooperate in arrangements for the repatriation of all the Bengalis who wish to leave Pakistan, enter into discussions regarding the international effort to alleviate the plight of the minorities in Bangladesh and extend recognition to Bangladesh. But the pre-requisite to the re-establishment of normal relations is the repatriation of the prisoners of war. Moreover, it is obvious that no discussion regarding the Biharis living in Bangladesh can be fruitful under the stress of the threat of their being penalized or arbitrarily expelled.

This initiative on our part does not require the other party or parties to do anything more than comply with what are inescapable obligations under law and morality. To release all our prisoners of war now would be but to fulfil, albeit tardily, the Geneva Conventions and the jointly accepted Resolution 307 of the Security Council. To refrain from holding any trials would be but to show respect to the principles of international law and to give priority to the future over the past. To abandon vendettas against ethnic minorities would be but to evince some regard for basic human rights.

The same cannot be said of the recognition of Bangladesh. It is a state's sovereign choice to extend or withold recognition to another state. It is not an obligation. Yet we are showing our preparedness to exercise this choice positively because of the compelling necessity of a durable peace. Peace cannot be established by passivity. Peace requires a dynamism. Indeed, it is

hard to make peace, easy to make war. Were we to adopt an attitude of waiting, not only will much time pass but frictions will continue to mount, distrust and suspicion will multiply and the gulf didiving the parties will become more and more unbridgable. Who can benefit by such stalemates? Who profits from such sterility? Every day the truth is, or should be, borne home that tensions in the Sub-continent doom its peoples to insecurity and despair. We have made a commitment to the elimination of the sources of conflict. We intend to do our utmost to fulfil this commitment. But the peace that we seek cannot be ushered in by any imposed solution or by seeking to avoid an honourable settlement of differences and disputes.

Nor can peace be established by any evasion of realities. As far as Bangladesh is concerned, the primary reality for us is the existence of a large Muslim national community which combined with us under a single sovereignty but has established its own statehood now. The relationship between Pakistan and Bangladesh cannot but be governed by the spirit of mutual forgiveness and understanding which is of the essence of Islamic traditions. It is this spirit which will prevail over the rancour and hate which was engendered by reactionary forces and which democratic and progressive elements in both communities equally deplore. Such a development cannot even be initiated unless some contact is established between the two communities.

Ordinarly, a matter of this kind falls exclusively in the sphere of responsibility of the executive in a government. Treaties relating to war and peace, the cession of territory or alliances with foreign powers are concluded by government without parliamentary sanction. In the extraordinary circumstances of this case, however, my Government has thought it necessary, indeed essential, to obtain the approval of, and authority from, the National Assembly through a resolution which would express its considered opinion. The House is aware of the reference which I made for the advisory opinion of the Supreme Court about the validity of such a resolution. I am glad that the opinion rendered by the Court has removed any possibility of confusion being created on this issue. Some people might say that we need not have exhibited such an attitude of abundant caution. But my Government has been the product of democratic struggle and no cause is dearer to it than that of nurturing respect for the rule of law and an attachment to the processes of democracy in the country. It was, therefore, axiomatic that my Government would seek the highest judicial opinion in the country on this issue as well as the endorsement of its actions and policies by the sovereign people of Pakistan through their democratically elected representatives in the National Assembly.

Though a year has passed since the Simla Agreement was concluded, I do not think it is too late to proceed towards its implementation. Indeed, the year has not been barren of results. In addition to our economic and political

recovery, to our regaining a sense of identity, and to our consolidating our integrity, at least one thing has been established. It is that no political advantage can be extracted from Pakistan under duress. It is, or should be, understood now beyond any doubt that we will not agree to any humiliating terms, any conditions that militate against our principles, under any pressures whatsoever. It is, or should be, manifest now that there is no question of our accepting India's dominance in South Asia.

It is, or should be, recognised now by all concerned that Pakistan is not constituted to play a subservient role in the Sub-continent. In the long run, this will prove to have been a gain for peace. For this result, I owe gratitude to the people of Pakistan who have stood with their Government and demonstrated that hardship and suffering will not make them agree to a dishonourable peace. The nation, in turn, owes its gratitude to the prisoners of war and their families who have shown unexampled fortitude in adversity. They have shown that they consider no sacrifice too great for the nation's honour.

I am sure that the people will extend the same support to their Government in its search for a fair, honourable and lasting peace in the Sub-continent. Such peace is essential if this large segment of the human community is to be rescued from futility and put firmly on the path of social and economic advance.

This is a truth which will appeal most to the poor and the down-trodden who are the majority in the country. It should also appeal particularly to the youth of Pakistan who cannot but be sensitive to our social and economic conditions and be impatient for progress. They have not known the plenitude of progress which only real peace can ensure. They have witnessed no breakthrough in their country's tortured relations with its larger neighbour, India. We of the older generation owe them at least the promise of a brighter future. It is true that it has not been Pakistan's fault if real peace has never prevailed over the Sub-continent; Pakistan has had to struggle for its existence and its rights. But governments ruled this country which were not anguished by this state of affairs. On the contrary, they represented vested interests which sought to exploit a situation of neither war nor peace in the interest of their own class. The Peoples' Government, which I am privileged to lead, cannot do so. It cannot, and will not, exploit the sacred name of Islam nor appeal to the most herished patriotic sensibilities in order to advance the interes, and perpetuate the power, of a limited class. Such hypocrisy is the deadliest sin in its ethic. The Peoples' Government is determined to do what it can to bring about a healthier situation in the Sub-continent without abdicating the rights and interests of Pakistan.

It is my hope that both India and Bangladesh will reciprocate this spirit of ours. If they do, they will respond to the call of the contemporary age. It

is an era of detente and reconciliation, not of belligerency and strife. It is an age when the new generation all over the world has rejected the philosphies of hate. Those who fought each other at Stalingred are now engaged in dialogues of peace. Those who considered each other's ideology anathema are now resolved to pursue the paths of peaceful co-existence and mutual non-interference. Surely, what divide, India and Pakistan is not something more than what divided the Soviet Union and Germany or the United States and the Soviet Union or China and the United States. Surely, an antagonism between Pakistan and India is not inherent in their very existence. I say to my people as I would say to the people of India : do not be sworn to eternal hostility against each other; if you do, only your common enemy, which is squalor and poverty, will triumph. It is time for the peoples of the sub-continent to mount a challenge and give battle to that real foe.

I thank you.

Mr. Speaker : Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer to move his motion.

RESOLUTION *RE*: RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Sir, I beg to move :

" that under rule 226 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly (legislature), 1972, rule 87 of those rules be suspended in its application to the resolution set down in item 6 of the Orders of the Day."

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved is :

" that under rule 226 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly (legislature), 1972, rule 87 of those rules be suspended in its application to the resolution set down in item 6 of the Orders of the Day."

Mr. Speaker : The question is that this motion be adopted.

(*Motion was adopted*)

Mr. Khurshid Hasan will move this Resolution.

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Sir, I beg to move the followidg resolution :—

"The National Assembly, believing that the spirit of Muslim brotherhood should govern the relationship between the people of Pakistan and those of the area which now calls itself Bangladesh, acclaims all efforts directed towards the healing of the wounds suffered by both communities in the tragic events of 1971. The Assembly is confident that mutual forgiveness and understanding will eventually prevail over the rancour and hate which democratic and progressive elements in both communities equally deplore.

2. In this context, the National Assembly endorses the stand taken by the Government with respect to the immediate issues which need to be resolved for the normalisation of the situation in the sub-continent. The Assembly is convinced that a pre-requisite of such normalisation is the full implementation of the provisions of Security Council Resolution 307 and the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the release and repatriation of the prisoners of war and civilian internees without any further delay.

3. The Assembly strongly supports the Government's position on the issue of the holding of trials of some among the prisoners of war and civilian internees on alleged criminal charges and urges all concerned to respond to the needs of reconciliation by refraining from holding any such trials which would cause a grave setback to the efforts being made towards the normalisation of the situation in the sub-continent.

4. In accordance with these principles, the Assembly is of the opinion that the Government of Pakistan may accord formal recognition to Bangladesh and initiate such Constitutional measures as may be necessary therefor, at a time when, in the judgment of the Government, such recognition is in the best national interest of Pakistan and will promote a fraternal relationship between the two communities."

Mr. Speaker : The resolution moved is :——

"The National Assembly, believing that the spirit of Muslim brotherhood should govern the relationship between the people of Pakistan and those of the area which now calls itself Bangladesh, acclaims all efforts directed towards the healing of the wounds suffered by both communities in the tragic events of 1971. The Assembly is confident that mutual forgiveness and understanding will eventually prevail over the rancour and hate which democratic and progressive elements in both communities equally deplore.

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Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri : The Resolution is strongly opposed.

Mr. Speaker : There is an amendment notice which has been given by Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan.

Mr. Mahmood Azam Farooqui : I am on a point of order, that the motion is out of order.

Mr. Speaker : All right.

چوہدری ظہور الٰہی : جناب والا ! وہ حاضر نہیں ہیں ۔ اس لیے وہ move نہیں کر رہے ہیں ۔

POINT OF ORDER *RE*: INADMISSIBILITY OF THE RESOLUTION FOR RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH

Mr. Mahmood Azam Farooqui : My point of order is that this resolution is out of order under rule 88 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly (Legislature).

> "A resolution shall be in the form of a declaration of opinion by the Assembly."

Then if you go on to sub-clause (4) of rule 88, it reads :

> "It shall not contain arguments, inferences, ironical expressions or defamatory statements, nor shall it refer to the conduct or character of a person except in his official or public capacity."

Then, Sir, it further says that it shall relate to a single matter.

Now, Sir, my objection to this Resolution is that first of all it contains arguments. It is against the Rules of Procedure. To express the opinion of the Assembly, a series of arguments have been presented that this Assembly should form this opinion. So putting of any arguments in the Resolution makes it out of order. My second objection is that under item 4 of this Resolution, there are two matters which have been placed before the Assembly. One is the recognition of Bangladesh to be left at the discretion of the Government and the other is to initiate Constitutional measures. So, there are two definite matters, One is the recognition and the other is taking Constitutional measures. So my point of order is that (1) resolution contains an argument and (2) that it relates to two matters and not one single matter.

Mr. Speaker : I have heard your point of order. I would like to hear the Law Minister.

Mr. Khurshid Hasan : May I answer it ?

Mr. Speaker : No, I would like to hear the Law Minister. But before I do so, I would adjourn the House to meet again at 8 p.m.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Have you called upon me to answer ?

Mr. Speaker : I will hear you when we re-assemble. I have given you the floor. You can speak when we re-assemble. So the Assembly will re-assemable at 8 p.m.

(The Assembly adjourned till 8 p. m.)

(The house re-assembled after MUGHREB PRAYERS

Mr. Speaker : Yes, Mr. Pirzada,

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for having called upon me to reply to the point of order that has been raised by the honourable Member from the Opposition. I will contest the validity of the point of order on two distinct grounds. Ground No. 1 is that the occasion at which or the juncture at which this point has been raised is such that straightaway it renders the point of order in-competent. I will elaborate the statement a little later. Point No. 2 is that I do not accept the ground on which this Resolution has been assailed by the honourable Member from the Opposition. I will come to the first point. I say that this is not the stage at which any question or any point of order with regard to the validity of the text or the form or the content of the Resolution could be raised by the honourable Member. I would with respect draw your attention to the scheme for moving the Resolution. It has been provided in chapter 9 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business. Would you kindly see Rules, 86, 87, 88 and 89 which deal with the form and formalities with regard to the competency of a resolution before it is moved in the House. Rule 86 talks about Right to move resolution. Rule 87—Notice of resolution. Rule 88 talks about Form and contents of resolution and Rule 89 finally talks about raising discussion on matters before tribunals, commissions, etc. Now, Sir, after laying down the ground rules which are applied to the form and content and the procedure for moving a resolution, we finally come to Rule 90 and this is also before the stage of the moving of a resolution. Now, the Speaker has to apply and find out whether the resolution is in order or not. If the Speaker has applied his mind and has come to the conclusion that a particular resolution sought to be moved before the House or sought to be brought by an honourable Member is not in order, then the provision of this Rule 91 applies which relates to the moving of resolution or its withdrawal which provides :

> A member in whose name a resolution stands in the Orders of the Day may, when called upon, either—
>
> (*a*) move the resolution in which case he shall commence his speech by a formal motion in the terms appearing in the Orders of the Day ; or
>
> (*b*) not move the resolution but may make a brief statement.

Now, my submission is that no one can deny that the sovereignty vests in this

National Assembly—in these rule—inasmuch as they are binding on the National Assembly are also subservient to the wishes of majority of the Members comprising this National Assembly, but at any time can suspend the operation of any of the rule and sanction for which is also given under Rule 226 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business. Now, I would go on to say that the stage at with an objection could have been raised was before the motion was made by the honourable Minister without Portfiolio before the House. You will kindly see that indirectly the National Assembly has already super imposed its will on the powers that have been given or the discretion that is given to the Speaker under Rule 9. Would you kindly see in the Orders of the Day as this Resolution has already been mentioned. But it was mentioned subject to the condition that the Assembly also do adopt by majority vote the motion contained at item 5 of agenda for the day. What is Item 5 of the agenda? That is that Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer, to move that under Rule 226 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly (Legislature), 1972, Rule 87 of those rules be suspended in its application to the resolution set down in item 6 of the Orders of the Day. Now, having known that this Assembly consciously after having applied its mind to the contents of the Resolution has been a party to the suspension of Rule 87 of the Rules of Procedure ond Conduct of Business of the National Assembly and given the permission to the honourable Minister without Portfolio to move his resolution, and that this permission is granted by this august House by an overwhelming majority of the Members, it cannot not be done away with on a point of order, raised by one of the Honourable Members. If they had any reservation to the contents of this Resolution the proper time for that would have been to get up and object to the admissibility or competency or validity of the Resolution before Item 5 of the Orders of the Day had been put to the House and voted upon. The House has given express permission to the honourable Member to move this Resolution in pursuance of that resolution which has already been moved so the Resolution is the property of the House and without the permission of the House no objection whatsoever can be taken with regard to its content, its form or the manner in which it has been brought. This was my first submission. My second submission is that the objections raised with regard to the form and contents of the Resolution are totally misconceived and not available to the honourable Member who has raised this point of order. Would you kindly see that there is one issue, that is in favour of this resolution. I am coming to the first part of the second objection that has been taken by the honourable Member. Now, where does it say that a resolution must confine itself only to a single identifiable issue? It does not say so. I say very clearly that this is a misconception in the mind of the honourable Member who has not taken the trouble of reading the Rules of Procedure

very carefully. I would with your permission draw his attention—if it is worth any thing—to Rules 88 which relates to the form and contant of the resolution and the relavant part of this rule is Rule 88 sub-rule (3) which says :—

"It shall be clearly and precisely expressed and shall raise substantially one definite issue."

substantially must raise one issue and if there is preamble; if there are off shoots; if there are consequential matters or if there are any precondition to that substantial issue—one issue the resolution is absolutely in order. Therefore. to say it must raise one issue whether 'A' is not black or not, then you can also say that while looking it is true that 'A' is black and therefore let us express the opinion that 'A' is not black or on the contrary 'A' is white, you say yes such and such colour and therefore it has got to be white. Therefore you cannot just confine—the rule says it must raise substantially one substantial issue. Now what is that substantially one issue that we are raising in this Resolution. You can look at the text of the Resolution and the operative part would be seen in para 1 and 4 of the Resolution. I would only refer to the specific part of these paragraphs in the Resolution: "The National Assembly, believing that the spirit of muslim brotherhood should govern the relationship between the people of Pakistan and those of the area which now calls itself Bangladesh, acclaims all efforts directed towards the healing of the wounds suffered by both communities." As a consequence of this we go on and on. What is axiomatic in this situation and what is most consequential and follows from this you would see at the end of this resolution in para 4, which says that: "In accordance with these principles, the Assembly is of the opinion that the Government of Pakistan may accord formal recognition to Bangladesh and initiate constitutional measures that may be necessary at the time when in the judgment of the Government it is in the best interest of Pakistan and will permit fraternal relationship between the two communities. Now the underlying factor is the eternal relationship between the two communities. This is what we have expressed; this is axiomatic; this is what we must do. This is the next stage and this is how we must proceed. We also state as to how this is necessary.

Now I come to the second part of the objection that this is argumentative. Nothing could be more definite than the contents of this resolution. I challenge any honourable Member sitting in this House to Point out a single sentence which is not based on reality, which is not based on fact, which does not recognise existing facts in the situation. What is an argument; you argue on one side and on the other side without any justification. We are not leaving any matter suspended in balance, neither talking in one way or in the other. We are clear in our mind. We have brought this Resolution before this House and we say that it is absolutely essential if you want normalisation of conditions in

the Sub-continent, if you want healing of the wounds, if you want to do away with the rancour and acrimony, with the hatred which progressive forces must acclaim. We must recognise the objective reality and the Government has been authorised at some future date considered to be appropriate to accord recognition to Bangladesh. I do not see any objection can be raised.

Mr. Mahmood Azam Farooqui : May I reply to the objections raised on my point of order. The first objection, the Law Minister has raised on my point of order is that it was not raised at the appropriate time. According to him the appropriate time was at the time when the first motion *i.e.*, Item No. 5 was raised under rule 226, that the provisions of rule 87 be suspended. My submission is that this is not correct. I would read out to you the rule for the benefit of this House. I refer to page 52—Points of Order. Rule 206 deals with Decisions on points of order. It says: "A point of order may be in relation to the business before the Assembly at the moment". So a point of order should be raised and can only be raised when a Particular business is in fact before the Assembly and not in contemplation *i.e.* not that it is contemplated to be brought before the Assembly. It should be effectively before the Assembly. Now, Sir, if you look at item No. 5 of orders of the day, it was for suspension of the rule. Here the question before the House was whether under rule 226 the requirements of rule 87 should be suspended or not. The merits of the Resolution whether the Resolution was in order or not was not before the Assembly. It could be contemplated all right. But as I have pointed out under rule 206 on page 52 a motion or point of order cannot be raised in respect of a matter which is contemplated to come before the Assembly. It should be for a matter which is before the Assembly, effectively before the Assembly. That stage has come only after item No. 6 or 5 of the order of the day was moved. You allowed this Resolution to come before the House, therefore, my respectful submission is that my point of order was exactly at the time when it should have been moved. For the earlier item No. 5 it could not be moved. It would have been before time. Then it should have been out of order.

The second point is about the argument. I am afraid, I have not been able to understand and I cannot bow before the argument of the Law Minister. If you read rule 88(4) it says : "It shall not contain arguments," now what are the arguments; what is the meaning of arguments. The meaning of arguments, according to my way of thinking, is that you put a proposition, then you give reasons why this proposition should be accepted. Or you suggest argument in favour of the proposition or against the proposition. According to rules and purliamentary practice the world over, a resolution should not contain any argument in favour or against it as to why this proposition should be accepted. If you keep this in mind and go through this Resolution which Mr. Khurshid

Meer has just placed before the House, it is very evident that it contains arguments or reasons why the Assembly should give power to recognise Bangladesh. The reason for this is fraternal relationship with the people of East Pakistan and so many other things here and there. The reasons are there why this Resolution should be accepted, why this Assembly should express that opinion. So reasons have been advanced why you should give that power to the Government. My submission is that the argumeuts are there in whatever words they may be. In so many words the arguments are there why this House should resolve in favour of that proposition.

Now the third point which I had raised originally is that it is not a definite matter. I would again submit and I agree with Mr. Pirzada that it should be one substantial matter.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : I am sorry to interfere. This is not a reply. This is misuse of the right of reply. The honourable Member has raised a point of order. I have replied. Why is he raising new external points? I have confined to two things. In this way we will go on and on.

Mr. Speaker : He was just making his point.

A Member : He is dealing with argumeuts of Mr. Pirzada.

Mr. Mahmood Azam Farooqui : I do not know if he is hard of hearing. I am finishing my point. Under the rules a resolution should deal with one substantial matter. But what I can see from this resolution it is not substantially one matter, it is definitely two matters. One is the authority, the right or power which the House has given to recognise Bangladesh and the other is to initiate constitutional amendments. Such amendments are a separate matter. The House is giving opinion about recognition. To my way of thinking I would say that this point of order has been raised at the right and opportune time. It contains argument, which is against the rules. It is not substantially one matter; it relates to two specifically different matters. Therefore the resolution is out of order.

(*Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri rose to speak*)

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Are we going to establish new precedent on a point of order that every Member gets up as a matter of right. I have already given my reply, he rises on a point of order, how is it fair to me.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : There is no bad precedent in the House.

I am raising a point of order. I have asked permission for raising a point of order.

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Unless the first point of order is disposed of how can he raise a new one ?

Mr. Speaker : We are already discussing a point of order.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : You do not want to hear anything more about that.

Mr. Speaker : You said you are on a point of order ; we are already discussing a point of order.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Point of order.

Mr. Speaker: We are discussing a point of arder. You want to supplement the arguments.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : If you will permit me, then I can make my submissions on the point of order.

A Member : An honourable Member has already made his submissions on the point of order, therefore he should sit down.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : I have to supplement the arguments in view of what has been stated by the Law Minister, therefore, my point of order becomes valid.

Mr. Speaker : The point of order has been raised by Mr. Farooqui. A reply has come from the Law Minister. Mr. Farooqui has already given his reply.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : It is entirely for you.

Mr. Speaker : This point of order has been debated and the mover of the adjournment has given his reply already.

So I think there are two points involved. It will take up second point first. It is said that there are more than two issues involved in this resolution. Now in this connection I would refer to an instance in the Indian Legislature. It relates to the year 1921, and I will read the resolution which was moved by a member in the Indian Legislature. The resolution was to this effect :

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to move the secretary of State for India in Council for taking necessary steps for ensuring :

(1) the transfer, from the beginning of the next term of the Legislative Councils of all provincial subjects to administration of the Governor acting with Ministers ;

It was a pariod of dyarchy.

(2) the transfer, from the beginning of the next term of the Legislative Assembly from among the Central subjects of all subjects except Army, Navy, Foreign and Political Departments to the administration of the Governor-General acting with Ministers, provision being made for such constitutional changes as may be necessary in that behalf, on the Lines of the provision for administration of transferred subjects of the Local Governments ; and

(3) conferment from the beginning of the fourth term of the Legislative Assembly. of full Dominion Self-Government in India."

So many issues where taken up in this one resolution and this resolution was debated in Legislative Assembly of India.

Mr. Amirzada Khan : What were the rules governing the matter then ?

Mr. Speaker : The rules were exactly the same.

Mr. Ghafoor Ahmad : This ruling was dated before Mr. Pirzada was born. Is there anything later than that ?

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Now I can give you a ruling before also you were born. I do not know whether we will be able to trace that or not.

Mr. Speaker : I will read the rules which were applicable then. It was Rule 141: "Form and contents of resolutions—Subject to the restrictions contained in the rules and to the provisions of the standing orders, any member may move a resolution relating to a matter of general public interest :

Provided that no resolution shall be admissible which does not comply with the following conditions, namely :—

(*a*) it shall be clearly and precisely expressed and shall raise substantially one definite issue.

It was the real condition at that time. But if we can consider that resolution wherein three definite matters were taken up. One was the transfer of subjects in the provincial sphere to the Ministers, the second was the transfer of all subjects except Navy, Foreign Affairs and Political Department to the Ministers and the third was conferment of dominion status. But if we takes in a wider context it was substantially one issue, self-rule and self-government for India. Therefore I can say on the analogy of that ruling that it raises substantially one issue and does not raise more than one.

It is the question of the mutual relationship between the two Muslim communities, living in East and the West. So on this ground I think there is ample authority and the rules do not prohibit the moving of a resolution in the form in which it has been moved, because substantially it raises one issue.

Now the second point is that it is argumentative. That is the first objection. Now if we go through this resolution we find it gives a short history of the issue. In paragraphs 2 and 3 instead of allowing a free hand to the Government it places certain restrictions on the Government that they are not to depart from the principles which have been stated in paragraphs 2 and 3, while acting on the operative part of this paragraph 4, therefore we cannot say that it is argumentative in that sense in which it can be ruled out. It gives short history of the issue of matter before the House in paragraphs 2 and 3. It places certain definite restrictions on the future action of the Government and in paragraph 4 it is the operative part. No noubt the drafting of the resolution is a bit different from the normal resolutions which this House has been discussing. But if you can move and go through the Resolution in the united Nations and other international bodies you find for a single substantial matter even six pages of a resolution are there—first it is the preamble, then it is the short history, then the instances and ultimately opeeative part. It is a form of

drafting resolution. So in my opinion this resolution is not contrary to the spirit of the rules as I have already pointed out. So this objection is ruled out. This point of order is ruled out.

POINT OF ORDER *RE*: INCOMPETENCY OF THE HOUSE TO DISCUSS THE RESOLUTION FOR RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : May I, with your permission, raise a point of order ?

Mr. Speaker : You want to raise another point of order ?

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the point of order that I want to raise before this House is not competent to discus this Resolution and I start by making my submissions with reference to the Interim Constitution which is the governing document at the moment. And I draw your attention to the oath and the said Article of the Constitution which is relevant to the point is Article 71 and it says :

'no member and no Speaker can sit in this House unless he has taken the oath.' Now I draw your attention to the language of the oath—paragraph 2. I will read oath in both cases. It is on page 92 of the official book.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, I object to this. This is the question relating to the competency of this House to pass a resolution and this can be raised by the honourable Speaker at the time when the resolution is under discussion whether this resolution can or cannot be passed. He cannot . . .

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : I say it cannot be placed before this House.

Mr. Speaker : What is the point, I have not been able to follow ?

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : He is raising a question whether the House is competent to pass a resolution. How is it a point of order ?

Mr. Speaker : Just have some patience. Are you referring to the Interim Constitution ?

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : That is the one which is governing you. I am referring to the Interim Constitution, and I am saying that for the reasons which I presently elaborate. This House is not competent to discuss this Resolution constitutionally—not competent to discuss this Resolution.

Mr. Speaker : What is the basis of your arguments ?

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : I will give you the basis if I am allowed to. Now, Sir, I draw your attention and say the basis on which I say that this House is not competent to discuss this Resolution has many arguments or points in its support and I shall narrate them as briefly as I may.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Without a decision from the Chair how can he assume that he can start a debate on this matter.

Mr. Speaker : I have not been able to follow. What is the point.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Let him make his point clear. Why should majority of the House suffer ? Such submissions have no basis whatsoever.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Sir, I think, we should send Mr. Pirzada to kindergarten to learn true manners.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : You seem to have forgotten what you learnt during your early days.

Mr. Speaker : The point is that I want to know from the hounourable Member, Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri, what is your point of order. Before you elaborate you give your arguments. I have not yet studied what is your point of order.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : I will repeat that this House is not under the Constitution competent . . .

Mr. Speaker : I say what is the substance of this point ?

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : How can I do so unless I am allowed to say ?

Mr. Speaker : This House is not competent because there is something in the oath ?

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : I am pointing out that this House is not competent to deal with this matter because . . .

Mr. Speaker : Before elaborating it. . .

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : How can I ? You would not allow me to finish it.

Mr. Speaker : I want to hear you. You say it in a simple language. You do not enlighten the House on the point. This is in your own mind.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : . . bacause the preservation of the sovereignty, solidarity and integrity of Pakistan is obligatory on the Speaker and the Members of this House and if there is any matter which affects the integrity of Pakistan, which affects the soverignty of Pakistan adversely . . .

Mr. Speaker : But you draw your conclusion from which place.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : I am drawing your attention . . .

Mr. Speaker : Why don't you tell me ? You have not told me anything so far.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Look at the oath which you have taken.

It is printed on page 92.

Mr. Speaker : Yes, here it is.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Look at the oath which the Members of the National Assembly have taken and it is printed at page 93.

Mr. Speaker : Read that oath.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Ali right :

"That as a Member of the National Assembly, I will perform my functions honestly, to the best of my ability, faithfully in accordance with

the Interim Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistae and the law, and the Reles of the Assembly, and always in the interest of the sovereigenty, integrity, solidarity, well-being and prosperity of Pakistan."

I am pointing out that what are being asked to do is by this Resolution to prepare the ground for shedding more than half of our people, for shedding away . . .

Mr. Speaker : Please do not elaborate. Be precise.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : I mention it to you . . .

Mr. Speaker : Then please resume your seat. I have followed you what you mean. Please resume your seat.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : I have to support this further . . .

Mr. Speaker : Please resume your seat your point is that the form of oath given in the Interim Constitution and printed at page 93 debars the Members of this House from discussing a resolution of this sort. This is your point. That is what I say that you have said your point straightaway. Now this matter has been before the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court has decided that this House is competent to discuss this Resolution. Therefore, I will rule it out straightaway.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Let us read the opinion of the Supreme Court . . .

(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker : I have taken fifteen minutes to hear what Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri wanted to say, I was unable to follow him. Please resume y ur seat. When the Speaker is himself saying something, the Members should listen to him. I have already said that this issue which you have raised in the form of a point of order, the Supreme Court was competent to decide and the proper forum where you should have raised this issue was the Supreme Court, not here.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : You have given your ruling. He cannot speak.

Mian Mahmud Ali Krsuri : I draw the attention of the Speaker. You would be gracious enouge to point out . . .

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan : You have given your ruling and I think the discussion should continue. The decorum of the House demends that after the Speaker has given a ruling.

(Interruptions)

Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri : Frontier Khrushchev sit down !

(Interruptions)

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Let the man who is on the way out must prepare for at least merciless reception elsewhere !

(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker : Do not cast any aspersion on the members of this House. You have not say anything. The point is that you have raised a point of order. I tried to understand it. Ultimately I was able to understand it and I have given my ruling.

Now you cannot challenge my ruling. You raise another point.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri :May I just say this that if you will show me in the judgment of the Supreme court any reference to the point which I have raised . . .

Mr. Speaker : All right. The Supreme Court has definitely said that this House is competent to decide it.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : They have not considered. They did not consider it . . .

Mr. Speaker : If they did not consider it, why did you walk out ?

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Now I am to explain. You have levelled a charge against me and I say . . .

Mr. Speaker : No, no. We cannot sit over the judgement of the Supreme Court.

جناب ممتاز احمد : یہ سپریم کورٹ سے لڑ کر آئے ہیں اور یہاں بھی لڑ رہے ہیں -

Mr. Speaker : I would request the honourable Members sitting on my right not to confuse the issue. They should hear with patience. Row the point is that the Supreme Court Order is before me and your role in these proceeding is also very clear. Now you have come here to challenge what the Supreme Court was competent to decide and they have decided.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : The Supreme Court was not competent.

Mr. Speaker : It was competent . . .

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : The Supreme Court have themselves in their own judgment said that their opinion does not bind . . .

Mr. Speaker : Please listen. Do not be impatient.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : May I point out. . .

Mr. Speaker : Do you want to raise the same point of order or do you want to reopen this point of order ?

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Speaker :Why do the Members from this side speak just simultaneously. Order please. What are you doing this ?

میر صاحب کچھ آداب کچھ طور طریقہ ہوتا ہے -

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور ! سپیکر آپ کی طرف سے کام کر رہا ہے - آپ چپ رہیں -

جناب سپیکر : سپیکر کا نا خوشگوار فرض ہے کہ خواہ اس طرف کے لوگ ہوں یا اس طرف کے لوگ ہوں ان کو کبھی کبھی ناراض کرنا پڑتا ہے - میں یہ نا خوشگوار فرض ادا کر رہا ہوں - آپ کو شائد یہ بات کر کے بڑی خوشی ہوئی ہو گی - کہ سپیکر یہ فرض ادا کر رہا ہے -

If you want to reopen this ruling, I caunot allow it.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : First of all, I can always explain my own personal conduct.

Mr. Speaker : No.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : My personal conduct. You have said something about me. . .

Mr. Speaker : Then you go to the Supreme Court.

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Speaker : Why did you raise the point here ?

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Speaker : Now Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri I order you to resume your seat.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : I will resume, but not before I am heard.

Mr. Speaker : I order you to resume your seat.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Not before I had a chance.

Mr. Speaker : You are wasting the time of the House.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : No, you want the quickest road to destory Pakistan.

Mr. Speaker : Please resume your seat. Go out and say this.

(*Interruptions*)

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : You want to dostory Pakistan.

Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri : Why do you want to butcher Pakistan ?

Mr. Speaker : Please resume your seat.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : You have not allowed me....

Mr. Speaker : Please resume your seat.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : You have not allowed me to say...

Mr. Speaker : I cannot allow you.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : You have not allowed...

Mr. Speaker : Please resume your seat.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Why did you make a charge against me?

Mr. Speaker : This is just ten times that I am telling you to resume your seat but you are not resuming your seat.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : You tell me twenty times. I want to make myself clear. You have made a personal charge against me. Allow me to explain it.

Mr. Speaker : Please resume your seat. I will have to perform another unpleasent task.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Then withdraw the charge.

Mr. Mahmood Azam Farooqui : Withdraw your charge.

Mr. Speaker : I never made any charge.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : You did.

Mr. Speaker : It is a fact that you walked out of the Supreme Court.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : No. You have no right to refer to it.

Mr. Speaker : You retired from the Supreme Court. You never discussed the reference in the Supreme Court.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri :Why do you not allow me to explain [* * *]. I want to give a particular opinion.

Mr. Speaker : I will not allow you to explain. Please resume your seat.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : Has it ever happened that the Supreme Court has been asked کسی کو گھر بلا کر بھی to give opinion three days- It is unprecedented. Has it ever happened ?

Mr. Speaker : All right. Than walk out of the House. Please walk out of the House. I cannot help it now. How many times should I ask you to resume your seat. Please walk out of the House.

(*Interruptions*)

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri : یہ چمچے ہیں انہیں چپ کرائیں

Mr. Speaker : Please do not call them 'Chamchay'.

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* Expunged as ordered by the Speaker. (N.A. Deb. 2 August, 1973).

Mian Hamid Yaseen : سر یہ چمچے کیوں کہہ رہے ہیں

Mr. Speaker : Please walk out now.

POINT OF ORDER *RE* : COMPETENCY OF THE HOUSE TO DISCUSS SUPREME COURT OPINION

Mr. Mahmud Azam Farooqui : Sir, I am on a point of order.

(Interruptions)

Mr. Mahmud Azam Farooqui : I am on a point of order. Sir, my point of order is that whether this House is bound by the opinion given by the Supreme Court or not under Articel 187 of the Constitution. It has been established in your opinion which is that it is not bound.

Mr. Speaker : Do you mean to say that this House must of necessity go again what the Supreme Court has held ?

Mr. Mahmud Azam Farooqui : We can very well discuss the opinion of the Supreme Court. We are competent to take our own way. We are competent enough to throw away the opinion of the Supreme Court. We are competent. How can you force us to...

Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri : We can overrule the decision of the Supreme Court. [* * *]

Mr. Speaker : Order please. Why do not you listan to me.

Mr. Mahmud Azam Farooqui : This is my point. Rule it out.

Mr. Speaker : I have heard your point of order. Just resume your seat. The point is that you can only rise on a point of order or to make any point of view here in this House if it is relevant and if you are permitted to do so. Now you raised a point of order that the Members of this House are not competent to discuss this matter. I have given my ruling. Now you want to reopen it again and so this House can go against what the Supreme Court has decided. I am not deciding this point. What I have decided is that the proper place where you could have raised this point of order was when the Reference was made to the Supreme Court and if you failed to do so it is not here that I am going to allow you to discuss it.

POINT OF ORDER *RE* : HISTORY RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : پوائنٹ آف آرڈر ۔

جناب اسپیکر : میر صاحب پہلے بھی آپ اتنی باتیں اس ضمن میں تفریحاً یا seriously کہہ گئے ہیں ۔ پہلے تو سپیکر کے خلاف الفاظ استعمال کیے ہیں اور نہ وہ تفریحاً استعمال ہو سکتے ہیں اور نہ seriously ۔ میں آپ کی بہت باتیں ignore کر جاتا ہوں کہ شاید آپ اس سے زیادہ بلند سوچ بھی نہیں سکتے ۔

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* Expunged as ordered by the Speaker (N.A Deb. 2 August, 1973).

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : میں گذارش کرتا ہوں کہ مجھے اپنی پستی کا اقرار ہے جب آدمی جیل میں جاتا ہے تو قیدی بیچارہ اگر کوئی گذارش کرے تو اس کو حکم کرتے ہیں منہ ماری مت کرو ۔

(*Interruptions*)

جناب اسپیکر : میں نے پہلے ہی کہا ہے کہ میر صاحب زیادہ باتیں کرتے ہیں لیکن کام کی ایک بھی نہیں ہوتی ۔

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : میری گذارش ہے کہ اتنا important issue جو اس ہاؤس کے سامنے پیش ہو رہا ہے ۔ ۔ ۔

جناب اسپیکر : سال سے یہ issue سامنے ہے ۔ سارے ملک کے سامنے ہے ۔ اس میں کوئی چیز خفیہ نہیں ہے ۔

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : میں تو کہتا ہوں کہ اس کو طے کریں ۔ لیکن ٹھیک طریقہ سے ۔

(مداخلت)

صاحبزادہ احمد رضا خاں قصوری : یہ جناب قائد اعظم کی تصویر اٹھائیں اور بقیہ پاکستان کو بھی ختم کریں ۔

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : جناب ۔ ۔ ۔

جناب اسپیکر : فرمائیے ۔ میں تو ہمہ تن گوش ہوں ۔

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : بات یہ ہے کہ اتنے اہم مسئلہ کو اتنی جلد بازی میں پیش کرنا جب کہ ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Is it a point of order or the honourable Member wants to make a speech because I have not spoken on my motion ?

جناب اسپیکر : آپ کا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر صرف یہ ہے کہ یہ مسئلہ جو ہے اس کو طول دینا چاہیے اور معرض التواء میں ڈالنا چاہیے ۔

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : یہ بہت اہم مسئلہ ہے ۔

(*Interruptions*)

جناب اسپیکر : آپ کا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر یہی ہے کہ اس مسئلہ کو جتنا طول دیا جا سکے - - -

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : کیا آپ عالم الغیب ہیں کہ دلوں کے راز جانتے ہیں -

جناب اسپیکر : آپ کے ذہن کی باتیں تو مجھے بہت معلوم ہیں -

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : مجھے بھی آپ کی باتیں معلوم ہیں اور اس گورنمنٹ کی بھی - تو میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ اتنا بڑا مسئلہ جو ہے اس وقت آپ اس شملہ اکارڈ جو کہ پریذیڈنٹ - - - - تو اب میں چپ کرتا ہوں -

جناب اسپیکر : نہ اس کا کوئی پیر نکلا اور نہ کوئی سر -

(*Interruptions*)

جناب اسپیکر : یہ آپس کی جو نوک جھونک ہے اس کو تو آج چھوڑ دیں -

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POINT OF INFORMATION

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am just to find out what will be the time allocation for discussion on this resoultion. We have been in touch with the Treasury Benches and we have been informed that they want to finish the discussion on this Resolutson this evening. My submission is, Sir, that it is a very important issue of which we have just been informed. That concerns the integrity and solidarity of the State and I would very humbly submit that we should be given, the Parliament should be given time to discuss it thoroughly going into all aspects of the issues involved and I am certain that this an issue which cannot be decided in one evening session. I would request the Treasury Benches that on a matter like the Simla Accord it look the Parliament almost five days discussing it. I suppose they would agree with me that this is a matter of more vital importance to the people of this country and I would request on behalf of the Opposition that at least, if you cannot give more time to this House, allocate the same time that you give to discussing the Simla Accord. We tried to get in touch and we were told that they will not be able to extentd the time. I really cannot understand what is the great hurry. It is a matter which concerns the very future of the State. It is a matter which has to be discussed in all thoroughness and I have not been able to appreciate or understand the sentiments of

the ruling Party. If they feel that it is not for the Parliament to discuss it, if they feel that the Parliament is not competent enough to discuss this issue, then they might as well say so but if they feel that it is the property of this House then I feel that it should be given thorough discussion and we should be given time where the members could do justice to this very very vital issue which is before this House.

Mr. Speaker : Let us proceed and then can. . .

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, I just wanted to point out the rule because an observation has been made and let me inform my very honourable friend that we are more surprised that this submission should have come from him who has all along been in the last 18 months, advocating the cause of the recognition of Bangla Desh not only personally but also through his political Party, which is one of the oldest political parties of the country. Now I would refer him to rule 96.

Mr. Speaker : The point is that I want to know if Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan is prepared to move his amendment.

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Speaker : I am not going to move myself. He has to move or not to move. Please resume your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

جناب اسپیکر : آپ بیٹھتے کیوں نہیں ہیں ؟

چوہدری ظہور الٰہی : آپ نے ایک دفعہ کہہ دیا پھر کہتے ہیں کہ بیٹھتے کیوں نہیں ۔ لیکن آپ سنتے نہیں ہیں ۔ اب میں دوبارہ شروع کرتا ہوں ۔

Mr. Speaker : Please reasume your seat. Are you spoksman for Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan ?

آپ بیٹھیے ۔ بات سنیں ۔

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan : It is a different matter all right. What has happened to my submission, Sir ?

جناب اسپیکر : بات یہ ہے کہ it is a submission, not a point of order میں سردار شوکت حیات خان سے یہ پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ چلے گئے تھے باہر تو بعض ممبروں نے یہ کہا تھا کہ وہ اسے move نہیں کرنا چاہتے ہیں ۔ چونکہ اس وقت انہیں میں حال میں دیکھ رہا ہوں اس لیے میں ان سے دریافت کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ اسے موو کرنا چاہتے ہیں یا نہیں ۔

جناب محمود اعظم فاروقی : جناب والا ! یہ قاعدہ کے خلاف ہے ۔

(*Interruptions*)

جناب اسپیکر : آپ نے move کرنا ہے یا نہیں کرنا ہے ؟

Mr. Mahmud Azam Farooqui : On more than twelve occasions you have not allowed this to be moved.

جناب اسپیکر : آپ نے move کرنا ہے یا نہیں ۔

Sirdar Shaukat Hayat Khan : Not moved, Sir.

جناب محمود اعظم فاروقی : خوش ہوگئے جناب ؟ اب آپ کو اطمینان ہو گیا ؟

جناب اسپیکر : بات یہ ہے کہ آپ کو پارلیمنٹ میں بیٹھنے کے آداب اور شرافت چاہیے میں ان سے دریافت کرنا چاہتا تھا کہ move کرنا چاہتے ہیں یا نہیں اور جب انھوں نے کہہ دیا تو معاملہ ختم ہو گیا ۔ اب پتہ نہیں کہ جب معاملہ ختم ہو گیا تو آپ آوازے کیوں کس رہے ہیں !

جناب غفور احمد : جناب والا ! ایک ایک بل پاس ہو گیا ہے جب ہم ہاؤس کو چھوڑ کر گئے تھے ایک ایک بل پورا پاس ہو گیا ہے ۔ جب کہ ہم واک آؤٹ کر کے گئے تھے اور واپس آئے تو پورا پورا بل پاس ہو چکا تھا ۔ ادھر ایسا بھی ہوتا رہا ۔

جناب اسپیکر : کیا یہ موجود تھے اس وقت ؟

میاں محمود علی قصوری : جناب اسپیکر میں نے نہیں call کی تھی امنڈمنٹ ۔

جناب احمد رضا خان قصوری : جناب آپ نے آئین کے دوران ہماری کئی amendment cancel کی تھیں ۔ اب یاد آیا ہمیں ۔

جناب اسپیکر : مولانا نورانی نے کہا تھا کہ وہ باہر چلے گئے ہیں اور وہ اسے move کرنا چاہتے ہیں ۔ اب چونکہ ریزولیوشن صرف موو ہوا ہے اس کے اوپر کوئی تقریر نہیں ہوئی ہے اور point of order raise ہوا ہے اس لیے یہ موقع پوچھنے کا تھا ۔

Please resume your seat. Why do you create disorder like this.

میاں محمود علی قصوری : میرا خیال یہ ہے کہ آپ ایک تھانیدار کو بلائیں اس ہاؤس میں ۔

جناب اسپیکر : کیا ساری رات چلے گا یہ ہاؤس ۔

جناب احمد رضا خان قصوری : آج کی کارروائی سنی جا رہی ہے ساتھ والے کمرے میں ۔

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan : My submission is Mr. Speaker, Sir, are you going to sit this evening to discuss this resolution ?

Mr. Speaker : It is for them to consider.

آپ دیکھئے mover کو تقریر کرنے تو دیں ۔

چوہدری ظہور الٰہی : اگر کسی نے وقت نہیں دیا تو ہم تقریر نہیں سننا چاہتے ۔

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan : I would like to be enlightened. Are we going to see that this Resolution is wound up by this evening or are we being given a chance to discuss this. If we are not to discuss this Resolution and if you are going to wound up, then we should be told so. Are you going to allow this Parliament to discuss it.

Mr. Speaker : Why do you not dehave like a parliamentarian.

میں آپ سے یہ پوچھتا ہوں ۔

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : میں اس مسئلے پر بالکل ہی نہیں بولا ۔

جناب اسپیکر : جناب آپ یہ بتلائیں کہ آپ کسی مسئلہ پر بول بھی سکتے ہیں یا نہیں ۔

حاجی علی احمد خاں تالپور : میں بالکل اس کے اوپر بول رہا ہوں ۔

جناب اسپیکر : میں کچھ بات کر رہا ہوں اور آپ کھڑے ہو جاتے ہیں ۔ میری بات سنیں تو سہی ۔ میں خان عبدالولی خان صاحب سے کہوں گا کہ انھوں نے گورنمنٹ سے پوچھا ہے کہ وہ اس ریزولیوشن کو کتنا وقت دیں گے تو وہ بتلائیں

لیکن جس نے move کیا ہے آپ اس کو تقریر بھی نہیں کرنے دیتے ہیں ۔ debate اس کے بعد شروع ہوتی ہے ۔

جناب عبدالولی خاں : میں نے سیدھا سوال پوچھا ہے ۔ مجھے یہ بتلایا گیا ہے ان کی طرف سے کہ اس کے اوپر ہم آج بحث کریں گے لیکن زیادہ وقت اس کو نہیں دیں گے ۔ میں یہ دریافت کرنا چاہتا ہوں کیا آیا یہ فیصلہ ان کا اٹل ہے یا یہ اس پارلیمنٹ کو حق دیتے ہیں ؟ بس یہ میرا سوال ہے ۔ میں اس کی وضاحت چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر آپ ہمیں حق نہیں دیتے ہیں کہ ہم اس کو discuss کریں تو ہم اس ہاؤس میں نہیں بیٹھیں گے چاہے آپ اس کو بلڈوز کریں ۔ اگر آپ اسے قومی مسئلہ سمجھتے ہیں اگر آپ اسے ملکی مسئلہ سمجھتے ہیں جس سے اس ملک کی سالمیت و وحدت وابستہ ہے تو آپ اس پارلیمنٹ کو یہ حق دیں کہ وہ بحث کرے ۔ اس مسئلے کے سلسلے میں اگر آپ نے فیصلہ ہی کر لیا ہے کہ آپ اسے بلڈوز کرتے ہیں تو بیشک آپ اسے بلڈوز کریں ۔ تو پھر ہم اس ہاؤس میں نہیں بیٹھیں گے ۔ بس یہ ایک سیدھی سی بات ہے اس کا جواب آپ ہم کو بتلا دیں ۔ اگر آپ ہم کو اجازت دیتے ہیں کہ ہم اس پر discuss کریں تو ہم اس ایوان میں بیٹھیں گے ورنہ ہم باہر چلے جاتے ہیں ۔

جناب اسپیکر : میری بات سنیں ۔ یہ ریزولیوشن move ہوا ہے اور اس کے محرک جو ہیں انھوں نے تقریر نہیں کی ۔ اس تقریر کے بعد یہ debate جو ہے اس کے لیے موقع آئے گا اس وقت بتلا دیں گے آپ کو ۔

جناب عبدالولی خاں : حضور والا یہ بتلایا گیا ہے کہ آج اس جلسے کو شام ہی کے وقت ختم ہونا ہے اور اگر یہ صحیح ہے تو میں صرف یہ پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر یہ اجلاس شام ہی کو ختم ہو گا تو اس discussion کے لیے وقت کافی نہیں ہے ۔ اس کے لیے ہمیں کم از کم پانچ چھ دن چاہئیں ۔

جناب اسپیکر : debate کے معاملے میں جب debate چلتی ہے تو معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اس کے سارے پہلو اجاگر ہو گئے ہیں ۔

جناب خورشید حسن میر : بولنے تو دیجئے کسی کو ۔ آپ جواب تو دینے ہی نہیں دیتے ہیں ۔ آپ تو سوالات دھرا رہے ہیں دو گھنٹے سے ۔

جناب عبدالولی خان : جناب والا ! یہ ایک simple سا سوال ہے کہ کیا آپ یہ بحث آج شام ہی کو ختم کر دیں گے ۔ یا ہم کو موقع دیں گے اس میں حصہ لینے کا ۔

جناب اسپیکر : سوال ایک دفعہ نہیں بلکہ کئی دفعہ دھرایا جا چکا ہے ۔ اب یہ ان کا کام ہے کہ یہ جواب دیں تو خورشید حسن میر اس کا جواب دیں ۔ آپ کتنا وقت لینا چاہتے ہیں اپنی تقریر میں ؟

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : I have the right to speak for 30 minutes but I do not intend to take all that time. There are rules of the House and all this 'halla gulla' as to how long this House is to take is neither here nor there. There are rules and the mover of the motion has 30 minutes to speak and all other speakers have ten minutes each and no speaker can repeat the arguments advanced by other speakers. We have yet to know whether the honourable Members from the Opposition have anything cogent to say and when they get up we will find out whether one Member is repeating the arguments already advanced, or not. We will find out as to whether they really intend to participate in the discussion and then it will be up to the House to decide when to close the debate. It is becoming a fashion with the Opposition that they make pre-conditions, they want to dictate to the House, they want to dictate to the majority party. This is the same Opposition which wanted to go with folded hands, without any pre-conditions to Mujibur Rahman and they want assurances from us every time and they want us to give everything in writing beforehand

چوہدری منظور حسین دھدرا : یہ ریزولیشن پر تقریر ہو رہی ہے ۔

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan . Sir, I am still waiting for the reply.

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : For the last two hours, the honourable Member from the Opposition has been wasting the precious time of this House . . .

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Speaker : Order, order. Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer, when you are speaking about extraneous matters, why don't you come up with . . .

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Sir, how can I speak when the old Parliamentarian is standing up and interrupting me and is making a running commentary on what I say.

Mr. Speaker : No, but why don't you begin your speech on the Resolution.

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I understand from the honourable Members remarks that . . .

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Sir, I seriously object. Nobody has sought the permission of the Chair, I have been given the floor.

(Interruptions)

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan : He is very impatient to deliver his speech. My only humble submission is please give us time. He is very impatient and does not even listen to me.

کہتے ہیں بولنا نہیں چاہتے ہیں - ہم تو رونا رو رہے ہیں کہ ہم بولنا چاہتے ہیں
آپ میری تقریر کے بعد نہیں بولنا چاہتے ہیں -

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : You don't want to take your own time.

(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker : Order, Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer, you please begin speaking about the Resolution.

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Sir, the Resolution that I have . . . .

(Voices of No. No.)

Mr. Amirzada Khan : Sir, we can only ask through the Chair from the other side that answer has not been given to our query.

Mr. Speaker : I can force nobody to reply to another Member.

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan : No, Sir, we should clearly be told that we are not going to be given time or . . .

(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker : He might be able to settle you.

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan : No, you have not asked him, you have only asked him to deliver his speech.

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : I have been given the floor.

(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker : Order, please resume your seat.

جناب غلام محمد مصطفیٰ کھر : جناب والا ! میں ولی خان کا جواب دیتا ہوں
کہ ہم اپوزیشن کو پورا وقت دیں گے ، لیکن اپوزیشن کی یہ ڈیمانڈ پوری نہیں کر

سکتے ۔ کہ اس ہر بحث کے لیے پانچ یا دس دن دیئے جائیں ۔ لیکن وہ جتنا وقت چاہیں بول سکتے ہیں ۔ چاہے ساری رات لگ جائے ۔

جناب عبدالولی خان : یہی تو رونا رویا جا رہا ہوں کہ وہ بتائیں ۔ ۔ ۔ ۔

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, let us decide this matter according to the rules and you will have the reply after the debate has been initiated. You cannot demand it at this stage. The motion has been moved. Let him support that motion and you know the rules.

(*Interruptions*)

(*Voices of "Walk-out, Walk-out"*)

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : We knew you are building up to this. We knew.

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : You do not have the moral courage to take a stand on this issue. You never have taken a stand or this issue. You lack the moral courage. You lack the political courage.

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Speaker : Order, order.

(*At this stage, the opposition staged a walk-out*)

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Sir, I request that a doctor may be asked to reach because Mr. Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri appears to be getting ready to get a fit.

(*Interruptions*)

Mr. Speaker : Order, order. Please explain your Resolution, I am asking you again and again.

RESOLUTION *RE* : RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : Sir, we are not at all surprised at what has happened. They were trying to find one excuse after another to stop this House from proceeding with the business before it and they are doing this simply because they lack the moral and the political courage to take a clear stand on this issue. They are a type of disparates, what is called a بھان متی کا کنبہ . They cannot agree among themselves on what stand to take. They are used to eating words, they are used to changing their stands. They take the people of the country for fools, but they are mistaken. The people remember what stand they were taking yesterday, and what was their stand day before, and what is their behaviour today. And since they cannot face the people, since they cannot go before the people, this is the stratage they have adopted. They were given every assurance that they would get their turn to speak and

that they would get their turn to say whatever they have to say, but they wanted to walk out, we had been hearing of it already, even before we came to the House, even before the Motion was put in this House. This has been reported in the Press that they will walk out, that they will not participate and this is what has happened. Therefore, we are not surprised, nor are the people of the country surprised, because they know them for what they are. They have lost the political game, they have lost all credibility with the people and they have lost it again today in this House.

Sir, I have the privilege, on behalf of the Pakistan Peoples Party, to move this historic Resolution in this august House and I have the great advantage after putting this Motion, that the Leader of the Party, the President of the country, has already addressed the House and in his cogent speech, he has made the issues very clear. One thing that he has emphasized is that by this Resolution, we are not according recognition to Bangladesh. We are merely expressing our wish and giving the authority to the Government of Pakistan at an appropriate time to accord recognition and even that act of the Government would be subject to the considerations laid out in the Resolution itself which deals with the vital national interests of Pakistan in this matter.

Sir, it may be said as to why this Resolution is being brought before the House today. It was just now argued that this Resolution should be debated for a week. This, Sir, is a debate that has been going on in the country for 1½ years. For 1½ years, the whole country, the whole nation, has been debating this issue and isn't the issue clear enough by now? Aren't all of us quite clear in our minds? But the fact of the matter is that politically, despite the fact that the issue has been quite clear from the very beginning, the country, the nation has been playing hide and seek with the issue. We have not yet come to grips with it. We refused to recognise the reality of what has happened. Now the Government party has decided, that we must face the issue squarely. We must adopt an honest approach. Sir, apoint of order was raised and in that it was stated that the objection should be at the relevant time and I would adopt this argument. Those who object to the Government entertaining the idea of recognition of Bangladesh are objecting after the relevant time. What was the relevant time? The relevant time was when it was possible to prevent the secession of East Pakistan. Now what do we want to debate? Do we want to debate whether or not East Pakistan should secede from us or not? Is it a matter of debate? If we go ostrich like and close our eyes and burry our heads in sand, will Bangladesh disappear? Well, Bangladesh has come into existence. This is not the time. The time was when the Pakistan Peoples Party and Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were pressing upon the Government of that time and pressing upon the honourable Members of the

Opposition to do something constructive to stop the secession of East Pakistan and noboby listened to us then. They were the people who made the secession of East Pakistan possible by two ways ; one, by encouraging Mujibur Rehman in his recalcitrant attitude and non-compromise. These were the fellows who did not want to have any pre-condition, these were the fellows who did not want that there should be a principal talk and that there should be a compromise. To the issue of autonomy they wanted to give *carte blanche*. They gave *carte blanche* that he needed. On the other hand they supported Yahya Khan's Government. They supported the usurpers Government and they encouraged him in his attitude of trying that there should be no compromise between the elected majority of West Pakistan and the elected majority of East Pakistan, and they even besieged him to cancel the elections. That was the time and at that time they did everything possible, everything that naturally led to the secession of East Pakistan. Now they say that there has been Indian aggression. Of course, there has been Indian aggression. Now they say that East Pakistan has been seceded because of armed intervention of India. Of course, that is the case but who made the intervention possible, who encouraged Yahya in his mad policy. Sir, I would like to read out a statement given by Mian Tufail Mohammad who was the acting Amir of the Jamaat-i-Islami, issued a statement on the 8th December, 1969 and it was published in the Jamaat-i-Islami paper "ASIA" of 14th of December, 1969. It is on gage 8 and I will read this part of the statement.

"مجھے یعنی (میاں محمد طفیل کو) قوی امید ہے کہ اسلامی نظام حکومت کا جو سلسلہ حضرت علیؓ کی شہادت سے منقطع ہوا تھا ، اس کی بحالی کا آغاز انشاءاللہ حضرت علیؓ کے ہی عاشقوں میں سے ایک شخص کے ہاتھوں پاکستان کی سر زمین سے ہو گا میں اللہ تعالیٰ سے دعا کرتا ہوں کہ وہ یحییٰ خان کو عزم و ہمت اور خلوص کے ساتھ پاکستان میں اسلامی جمہوری نظام بحال کرنے کی توفیق عطا فرمائے" ۔

اس کا ذکر انھوں نے بار بار اپنی تقریر میں فرمایا ۔

This was their attitude taward Yahya Khan. Later on, they asked Yahya Khan to cancel the election. They asked him to continue his Martial Law. They said, you impose the 'Constitution'. After the events of 25th March in East Pakistan, it was still possible to win over the people of East Pakistan. What happened there ? This Jamaat-i-Islami formed a Government in East Pakistan which acted as the tools of Yahya Khan. They continued the civil strike there and they made it possible for the Indian Army to intervene. Now they say do not recognise Bangladesh, do not recognise Bangladesh. I would

submit, Sir, it is a lie. I may be allowed to say it is like a woman of ill-repute trying to deny the birth of a child and trying to refuse to recognise the child the woman has given birth herself. Well, Bangladesh has come into existence through the armed intervention of India. There were also parties and that party was doing this and now these parties have formed a United Front with strange fellows but since they were posed in different ways this party came into existence. They joined together and walked out from the House. How can they say, don't recognise Bangladesh. They are responsible for the birth of Bangladesh. Now, Sir, the point is what should we do since after the disaster something has happened, Bangladesh has come into existence. What should be our efforts ? Should we turn our back on it and then what is likely to happen ? Is not the natural result going to be the Bangladesh would remain in the lap of India ? What should we try to do or should not we try at least to salvage something from it, something from the Pakistan movement and it would not in fact be salvaging something it would be salvaging the idea of Pakistan movement which is the basic idea. Sir, it is true that in 1946, the All India Muslim Lergue Council, the Legislative Convention adopted a resolution calling for a United Pakistan comprising of what was East Bengal and the four provinces of West Pakistan. It is quite true and when the United Pakistan came into existence it was a happy thing. We were all happy. It was a historic event in the one hundred years of history of the struggle of the Muslims of the sub-continent, but then we destroyed that achievement. The present Government is not responsible for it. From the day Pakistan Peoples Party came into existence, the leader of the Party and the Party itself has been warning the country that if we do not do justice to East Pakistan, if we do not give them proper autonomy, if we do not look after their interest, the East Pakistan will not remain with us. This is stated in the Foundation Document of the Pakistan Peoples Party but all this nobody would listen to it and after the election also they would not allow us to come to some sort of arrangement. Now, Sir, what was achieved in 1947 by the Quaid-i-Azam is no longer there. Shall we not try to salvage from it, the basic idea of the Quaid-i-Azam ? And what was the basic idea ? The Quaid-i-Azam's basic idea was that the sub-continent should be partitioned on the basis of the Muslims majority area in the North West Frontier and in the East. The fact whether that should form one country or two countries is a different matter. Later in 1947 it became possible to form one country but originally the basic idea of the Pakistan Movement, as I said earlier, Sir, was that the two Muslim majority areas of the sub-continent should separate from the non-Muslim majority areas and this was clearly stated in 1947 Resolution. Now that we have lost what we achieved in 1947. Shall we not fall back at least of 1940 Resolution so that we can, sitting in the House facing the portrait of the Quaid-i-Azam, at least we owe to ourselves, we owe to the country, we owe to the Quaid to leave it for the

history to say so that we have salvaged from this disaster at least two muslim majority communities. And, Sir, for that reason I will read the operative part of the 1947 Resolution. It says : Resolved that it is the considered view of the Session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles that geographically contiguous units are demarcated in the regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustment as may be necessary that the areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North Western and Eastern zone of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and so on". Now, Sir, who was the first after the nationl disaster to talk of Muslim Bengal ? It was the leader of this country, President Bhutto who gave the idea again to revive the idea of Muslim Bengal and now the movement of Muslim Bengal that has sprung up, we are told, in Bangladesh and we are also told that Maulana Bhashani is leading that movement and we are further told that the movement is gathering momentum. If you will remember these are the people who said that we should have nothing to do with men like Maulana Bhashani. Then again they said that we should start and encourage the movement of Muslim Bengal in Bangladesh and now they say that we should not accord recognition to the Government of Bangladesh. This is a fallacy. This is an obvious contradiction. If you do not at all accord recognition ; if we do not permit Government of Pakistan to contemplate at a suitable time in the future after the requisite conditions have been met about the prisoners of war, about the trial to accord recognition of Bangla ; if you do not permit our Government to do that, then are we encouraging the emergence of Muslim Bengal in Bangladesh or that we are turning our back to the vast majority of Muslims and thus forcing us to remain away from them and forcing them to remain in the Indian lap. Let us see what the leaders of the movement of Muslim Bengal say in Bangladesh. Do they say 'let us go and join Pakistan again as a province ? No. Let us maintain the Muslim character of what is now Bangladesh. They are saying that they should not remain subservient to India. Let us throw away the hegemony of India. But none of them are saying that they should join here and now Pakistan as a province. I ask the honourable Members from the Opposition, who have walked out of the House, to say from their heart that, is it possible now or in the future for Bangladesh to come back into the Federation of Pakistan as a fifth province of Pakistan ? What is possible is that we should try to forge new links with Bangladesh and we should allow time for that. Patiently, we should try to heal the wounds of separation and try that hatred should be replaced once again by trust and faith and step by step strengthen those bonds. How are we to achieve this ? It can only be done when we are permitted to go and meet each other as brothers, friends and Muslims. We cannot meet

that unless we meet ; and unless and until the Government of Pakistan is permitted at a suitable time to accord recognition of Bangladesh, we cannot start building those bonds, unless we have been able to establish cordial and in due course friendly, relations with Bangladesh—that ultimately we never know. It is possible things can happen like that, that we may again form some sort of constitutional link with them —that is in the realm of possibility. If we do not do that, we shall at least be great friends. Look at the example of UAR which formed the union of UAR with Syria and after the cessation of Syria had Egypt continued without recognition of Syria. They would have remained enemiess, but President Naser, like a wise man, was the first Arab country to accord recognition of Syria, with what result ? The result was that in due course, with master minded approach, the Government that was resposible for the breakaway of Syria was overthrown in Syria and in due course a Government friendly to Egypt emerged they kept on meeting each other as friends and they kept one contemplating a new federation. That sort of a things can happen in our case but it will require wisdom and sagacity and not blind hatred, and the blind hatred is what the honourable Members of the Opposition have in this matter because their minds are clouded, their judgment is clouded with hatred ; and hatred of what ? Basically, it is the hatred of the present day history. They hate us. Why do they hate us ? They hate us because we stand for progress ; we stand for a new era ; because we want social justice in this country and we want to better the lot of the common people. How do we better the lot of the common people unless and until we replace antagonism and strife that bedevil our history in this sub-continent with some sort of rapproachment ? This is the age of detente. This is the age of reconciliation. It is not an age of strife and the age of war. I refer the House to what the President has just said and none could say better than him, and that is, it is difficult to build peace and easy to make war'. I would like to add to that, that it is very easy to continue quarreling, but it takes great moral courage to bury the hatchet and to extend one's hand of friendship, and the Pakistan Peoples Party under the leadhrshlp of President Bhutto have that great moral courage.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable Member has taken about 25 minutes.

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer : I will wind up. With your permission I would like to quote from para 2 of the opinion of the Supreme Court in response to the reference made by the Government of Pakistan. Sir, the Supreme Court said "while recapitulating the arguments advanced by Mr. Manzoor Qader with approval :—

> "The recognition of a state, it is contended, is purely executive act within the exclusive competence of the Executive Government. As pointed out by willoughby in his book "On the Constitution of the

United States Vol 1, 2nd edition, P. sovereignty and independence of a foreign Government are political acts, not subject to judicial review and are performed by the President. At times the claim has been made that this power of recognition is one to be exercised at the dictation of congress, but precedents are against the claim."

Nevertheless, we have brought this matter before this august House because of the democratic precedence laid by this Government under the guidence of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Sir, the Supreme Court has also with approval quoted from the argument of Mr. Manzoor Qader and while doing so has quoted with approval the earlier judgment of the Supreme Court in the case of the Superintendent, Land Customs—Thorkhan Zawar Khan and two others. In that judgment it was laid down: "It is important to remember that in such matters of a political nature namely: Accession or cession of territory it is not for the courts to take a different view. The executive authority of the state has in exercise of its sovereign power the right to say as to which territory it has recognised as a part of its state and the courts are bound to accept this position."

"In the same judgment this court further pointed out that the expression 'Act of State' in its wider sense denotes 'those acts of the Crown which are done in the exercise of its prerogative powers in the sphere of foreign affairs such as the making of war or peace, the accession or cession of territory, the recognition on a new state or the new Government of an old state". Sir, whereas the authority mentioned is the Crown, obviously this ruling would apply in the sense that it would seem that the authority be the Cabinet of a democratic country like ours. It is again stated in the opinion: If the act of recognition is exclusively the executive act and the true legal position of a resolution of the House is that it is a mere expression of wish then the next question that arises is whether there is any legal impediment to the House passing such a resolution? "The Supreme Court has held there is no legal impediment as you yourself have so rightly given in your ruling. Sir, I will . . .

Mr. Speaker: Try to wind up.

Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer: Yes, Sir, I will wind up. Sir, it could be argued now that India has delinked the question of recognition of Bangladesh from the question of repatriation of our prisoners of war, so why are we now taking up Bangladesh recognition. Sir, the fact that India has delinked this question is our great success. That is exactly why the Government of Pakistan has delayed this matter so long because we were not prepared to accept the Indian condition of linking the two matters. Having achieved this great success by the sagacity and the wise leadership of President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

it is now opportune and right time that we should debate this matter and come to a conclusion and authorise Governmet in clear terms to contemplate recognition. I might finish and conclude by saying that this hue and cry in the press which says that we are trying to submit to India, that we are weakling and we are accepting hegemony of India is totally wrong. I would like to say that they should realize that in its heart of hearts India does not want us to recognise Bangladesh. It is not in the interest of India. India would very much prefer that we should remain estranged to Muslims of India and that Pakistan and Muslim Bengal should not be on good terms. That would suit their purpose despite what they say. History will show that according recognition to Bangladesh by the Government of Pakistan will be in the interests of Pakistan and of Muslim Bengal. It will be in furtherance, although after a great set back, of the resurgence of the Muslim movement of the sub-continent initiated by Syed Ahmad Khan, brought to culmination by Quaid-i-Azam and dreamt by Allama Iqbal. It is in furtherance of that and whatever success was achieved by India through its armed intervention in bringing about a cession of East Pakistan, this is the only and one way to deal positively and to frustrate the designs of India by according recognition to the state of Bangladesh, after the pre-requisites mentioned in the Resolution have been met.

Mr. Speaker : I give floor to Maulana Kausar Niazi and adjourn the sitting to re-assemble at 10.30 after dinner.

The Assembly adjourned till 10.30 P. M. in the night.

(The House re-assembled after break for dinner at 10.30 P. M. Mr. Speaker in the Chair).

Mr. Speaker : Maulana Kausar Niazi.

POINT OF ORDER *RE:* CALLING ANOTHER MEMBER TO TAKE FLOOR

Malik Muhammad Jafar : Sir, there is a point of order. When the honourable Minister, Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer concluded his speech, I, and I think Mr. Hakim Ali Zardari stood up and according to the Rules of Procedure, you were supposed to call upon either of us to take the floor to make a speech. And I object to your decision.

Mr. Speaker : My decision ?

Malik Muhammad Jafar : Yes, that you called upon another Member to take the floor and make a speech. That was before the interval for the meals. I do not want to make a very serious point of order on this, but I want to record my objection.

Mr. Speaker : Rather protest.

Malik Muhammad Jafar : Yes, protest and, well, you are to decide, but I think this was a wrong decision.

Mr. Speaker : The point is that I am not bound to call every honourable Member who rises in his seat. The only thing is that if some Member catches my eye, I call upon him. So when Maulana Kausar Niazi caught my eye, I called upon him.

Malik Muhammad Jafar : How can a Member who is sitting in his seat catch your eye and two Members who are standing in their seats fail to catch your eye ?

Mr. Speaker : No, I was watching him and he was just trying to stand when he caught my eye and I called upon him.

POINT OF ORDER *RE*: OBJECTIONABLE WORDS AGAINST SPEAKER'S RULING

Mr. Mohammad Haneef Khan : Point of order, Sir. I have got no objection to the point raised by the honourable Member, but certainly I have got objection to the manner in which he has presented his point of order and questioned the ruling of the Speaker and lodging a protest and declaring the Speaker's decision as a wrong decision. Sir, I will request the honourable Member to withdraw the word "wrong" while challenging the Speaker's discretion or powers.

Mr. Speaker : No, it is all right, leave it. I think he is in a happy mood.

LEAVE APPLICATION

There is a cable received from Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, who is a Member of this Assembly and at the moment he is Ambassador to Britain. He says :

> "Very serious and fateful developments in Britain fundamentally affecting the interests of our community in this country have kept me inevitably and inescapably occupied. I pray and execpt that the upshot will be beneficial consequently. I deeply regret and apologise that I have been unable to attend the Budget and present Session of the National Assembly. I shall be deeply grateful if my unavoidable absence from the Assembly is graciously condoned and leave of absence granted".

So is the House prepared to grant him leave for the whole session ?

Members : Yes.

Mr. Speaker : Leave is granted.

RESOLUTION *RE*: RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH

مولانا کوثر نیازی : جناب اسپیکر ! آج اس ایوان میں جو مسئلہ زیر بحث ہے اس میں کوئی شبہ نہیں کہ یہ ایک انتہائی اہم مسئلہ ہے ، مگر یہ ہماری بد قسمتی ہے کہ بہت سے لوگوں نے جذباتیت کو اس طرح اپنا شعار بنا لیا ہے کہ وہ ٹھوس حقائق کو بھی جذباتی انداز سے لیتے ہیں اور ٹھنڈے دل اور دماغ کے ساتھ ان مسائل کو بھی سوچنے کی صلاحیت سے محروم ہیں ۔ بنگلہ دیش کا مسئلہ ہماری خارجہ پالیسی کے دائرہ میں شامل ہو چکا ہے اور یہ بات سیاست کا ایک مبتدی طالب علم بھی جانتا ہے کہ خارجہ پالیسی جذبات سے طے نہیں ہوتی ہے بلکہ یہ وہ مسائل ہیں ۔ جو کسی قوم کی ضروریات ۔ اس کی مصلحتوں اور ان حقیقتوں سے حل ہوتے ہیں جو انھیں در پیش ہیں یحییٰ regime حکومت نے اپنی آمرانہ اور غلط روش کے ساتھ مسلم بنگال کے ساتھ جو سلوک کیا اور جس کے نتیجے میں ہم تباہی سے دو چار ہوئے وہ ایک بڑی حماقت تھی لیکن اب مزید حماقت یہ ہو گی کہ ہم حماقت پر حماقت کرتے چلے جائیں اور مسلم بنگال سے مزید کوئی رابطہ استوار کرنے کے راستے میں رکاوٹیں کھڑی کریں اور وہ ایک نفرت جس کے بیج پچھلے سالوں میں بنگالی مسلمانوں کے دماغوں میں ، ذہنوں میں بوئے گئے ان کی فصل جو ہے وہ ہم کاٹتے چلے جائیں اور نفرت کے جہنم کو ہم بھڑکاتے رہیں اور صورت حال کو تبدیل کرنے کی کوشش نہ کریں ۔ صورت یہ نہیں ہے کہ مغربی پاکستان نے مشرقی پاکستان پر قبضہ کر لیا تھا یا اسے بزور شمشیر فتح کر لیا تھا بلکہ صورت یہ تھی کہ مشرقی پاکستان کے لوگوں نے مسلمانوں نے پاکستان کے لیے جد و جہد کی تھی اور اس کے حق میں رائے تھی ۔ بعد میں صحیح یا غلط ۔ غلط فہمیوں کے تحت یا کسی کے بھڑکاوے میں آ کر دھوکے میں آ کر جو آپ کہہ لیجئے مشرقی پاکستان کے لوگوں نے اپنے لیے علیحدہ ایک اسٹیٹ کا مطالبہ کیا اور بنگلہ دیش کے حق میں انھوں نے رائے دی ۔ اب یہ کیسے ہو سکتا ہے کہ وہ لوگ جو اکثریت میں ہیں ان پر ہم اپنے فیصلے ٹھونسیں جو ان کے مقابلے میں اقلیت میں ہیں جمہوریت کو اگر ہم تسلیم کرتے ہیں تو کبھی اقلیت dictate نہیں کر سکتی ۔ اور اکثریت پر اپنا فیصلہ نہیں ٹھونس سکی۔

ہو سکتا ہے کہ یہ دلیل دی جائے کہ مشرقی پاکستان کے لوگ بنگلہ دیش کے لوگ تو پاکستان سے علیحدگی نہیں چاہتے ہیں ۔ یہ پھر ایک دن کے بہلاوے کی بات ہے ۔ اور یہ پھر اپنے دل کو غلط فہمی یا خوش فہمی میں مبتلا کرنے کی بات ہے ۔ یہ غیر ضروری جذباتیت یہ احمقوں کی جنت میں رہنے والی بات ہے ۔ اس لیے کہ مشرقی پاکستان کے لوگوں نے اور بنگلہ دیش کے لوگوں نے یہ خواہش مختلف ذرائع سے پوری کر دی ہے اور واضح کر دی ہے کہ وہ اب ہمارے ساتھ مل کر نہیں رہنا چاہتے ۔

سب سے پہلے میں اس الیکشن کی طرف آپ کی توجہ مبذول کراؤں گا جو شیخ مجیب نے برسر اقتدار آنے کے بعد کرائے اور ظاہر ہے کہ وہ بنگلہ دیش کے issue پر ہوئے ، ظاہر ہے کہ وہ پاکستان سے علیحدہ ایک سٹیٹ کے سوال پر ہوئے اور اس میں وہ ایک عظیم ترین اکثریت کے ساتھ جیت گیا وہ margin ذہن میں ملحوظ رکھتے ہوئے کہ وہ کسی بھی برسر اقتدار پارٹی کے بارے میں دیا جا سکتا ہے کہ اس میں دھاندلی کی ہو گی ، اس نے ووٹوں کے اندر غلط اور جعلی ووٹ ڈالے ہوں گے اور اس طرح اس نے اپنا اثر استعمال کیا ہو گا ۔ تب بھی جتنا percentage آپ اس margin کو دینا چاہیں دیں ، اس کے باوجود وہ ایک عظیم ترین اکثریت سے جو عوامی لیگ کو اس الیکشن میں حاصل ہوئی یہ ثابت کرنے کے لیے کافی ہے کہ بنگالی مسلمان بہر حال اب ہمارے ساتھ رہنے کے لیے تیار نہیں ہیں ۔ اس کے بعد جناب عالی ! آپ یہ دیکھیں کہ مولانا بھاشانی جیسے لیڈر جو مجیب کے مخالف اس کے سیاسی طور پر رقیب ہیں اور پاکستان میں جن کے بارے میں ترقی پسند حلقے اچھی رائے رکھتے ہیں ، ان کی بھی خواہش اور ان کی بھی رائے واضح ہو چکی ہے ۔ مولانا بھاشانی نے جنھوں نے سب سے پہلے اسلام علیکم کے الفاظ کہے تھے وہ آج پھر یہ بیان دے رہے ہیں اور مطالبہ کر رہے ہیں کہ پاکستان کو بنگلہ دیش کی حقیقت تسلیم کر لینا چاہیے ۔ اس سے ان کے ہاتھ مضبوط ہوں گے ، *Pro* Pakistan عنصر کے ہاتھ مضبوط ہوں گے ۔ اس کے بعد یہ بات توجہ طلب ہے کہ خود اپوزیشن اس بات کو تسلیم کرتی ہے کہ مشرقی پاکستان یا بنگلہ دیش میں لوگوں کے ذہن اس طرح بدل چکے

ہیں اور وہاں کی فضا یکسر اس طرح تبدیل ہو چکی ہے کہ اب وہاں پاکستان دوست یا پاکستانی عنصر کا زندہ رہنا یا زندگی کے دن گذارنا مشکل ہو گیا ہے اور یہ مطالبہ جو اکثر ان حضرات کی طرف سے ہوا وہ یہ ہے کہ بہاریوں کو واپس پاکستان میں آنے دیا جائے ۔ یہاں ان کو بسایا جائے ۔ یہ مطالبہ اکثر یہاں کیوں ہوتا ہے ؟ یہ اس لیے ہوتا ہے کیونکہ ان کے نزدیک بہاری اب مشرقی پاکستان میں نہیں رہ سکتے ہیں ۔ اب وہاں فضا ان کو قبول کرنے کو تیار نہیں ہے ۔ اب وہاں کی زمین ان کے لیے بدل چکی ہے اور اب اس حقیقت کو تسلیم کر لینا چاہیے کہ وہاں پاکستان کے ساتھ ان پرانے سالوں کی سیاست کے نتیجے میں ان کے ذہنوں پر وہ اثرات طاری ہو چکے ہیں جن کے نتیجے میں وہاں ایک خلیج حائل ہو چکی ہے اور بنگلہ دیش کا ایک علیحدہ وجود اب حقیقت بن چکا ہے ۔ پھر نیپال کے راستے سے جتنے قافلے یہاں آ رہے ہیں اور آتے رہتے ہیں ان کے بیانات پر نظر رکھیں آپ کو معلوم ہو گا کہ بنگالی کس حد تک پاکستان دوست عناصر پر اور پاکستانی ذہن رکھنے والے لوگوں پر مظالم ڈھا رہے ہیں یا ان افراد کے خلاف تلخ جذبات رکھتے ہیں ۔ اس لیے ان حقائق کو پیش نظر رکھتے ہوئے یہ سمجھنا کہ بنگالی ہمارے ساتھ ہیں اور وہ ہم سے علیحدہ نہیں ہوئے بلکہ ان کو زبردستی ہم سے علیحدہ کر دیا ہے یہ بالکل ایک ایسی منطق ہے جس پر کوئی حقیقت پسند آدمی ایمان نہیں لا سکتا ہے ۔ اگر ایک ملک سے اس کا کوئی حصہ بہ زور شمشیر یا بہ رضا و رغبت علیحدگی اختیار کرے تو کیا ایسا نہیں ہوتا کہ اس کے بعد وہ ملک اس کو تسلیم کر لے ۔ تاریخ میں کیا ایسے شواہد نہیں ہیں کہ جب ایک ملک سے اس کا ایک حصہ علیحدہ ہوا تو اس ملک نے اس کو تسلیم کر لیا ہو ابھی جو میرے فاضل دوست خورشید حسن میر صاحب نے شام اور مصر کی مثال دی تھی کہ کس طرح شام اور مصر نے عرب republic کی داغ بیل ڈالی تھی ۔ لیکن بعد میں وہ علیحدہ ہو گئے اس کے باوجود اس کے تعلقات میں فرق نہیں آیا ۔ دونوں نے ایک دوسرے کو تسلیم کیا ۔ حالانکہ میں اس سے بھی آگے چل کر بات کروں گا اس لیے کہ یہ ایک ملک نہ تھے ۔ یہ دونوں آزاد ملک تھے اس لیے ان کو تسلیم کرنا کیوں غلط بحث قرار دیں ۔ لیکن

آپ یہ دیکھیں کہ پہلی عالمی جنگ سے قبل یہ تمام عرب ممالک عراق ، شام ، تیونس الجزائر ، مصر ، سعودی عرب یہ سب کے سب ترکی کا حصہ تھے جو ایک ہی خلافت کی لڑی میں پروئے ہوئے تھے ۔ لیکن بعد میں یہ سب ملک بیرونی طاقتوں کی مدد سے آہستہ آہستہ خلافت ترکیہ سے علیحدہ ہوتے چلے گئے لیکن کیا ترکوں نے ان ممالک کے علیحدہ وجود کو تسلیم نہیں کیا ؟ اگر انھوں نے اس حقیقت کو تسلیم کیا تو پھر ہم کب تک جذبات کے انداز کو اپنائے رکھیں گے اور حقائق سے غفلت برتیں گے ؟ اس کے بعد ۱۹۵۰ع میں سب جانتے ہیں کہ سوڈان مصر کی سلطنت کا حصہ تھا ۔ لیکن جب یہ علیحدہ ہو گیا ، جب اس نے اپنی علیحدہ مملکت بنا لی تو صدر ناصر نے اس کو تسلیم کیا ۔ وہ جذباتیت میں نہیں رہا کہ ہم سوڈان کو تسلیم نہیں کریں گے ، ہم کٹ مریں گے ، گردن کٹوا دیں گے ، بلکہ انھوں نے حقیقت کو تسلیم کیا ۔ کیونکہ یہ مسئلے جذبات سے حل نہیں ہوا کرتے ۔ اس کے بعد افریقہ کی ریاستیں تھیں جو کسی نہ کسی یورپی ملک کے زیر اثر تھیں ، اس کی غلامی میں تھیں لیکن آہستہ آہستہ تمام افریقہ کی ریاستیں آزادی اختیار کرتی گئیں اور علیحدہ ملک بناتی چلی گئیں ۔ اور تمام یورپی ممالک جن کے اقتدار میں یہ ریاستیں تھیں ۔ ان کا علیحدہ وجود تسلیم کیا ۔ تو پھر یہ بتائیں کہ یہ ایسی انہونی بات نہیں ، یہ کوئی ایسی عدیم النظیر چیز نہیں ہے جس کی کوئی مثال نہیں کہ جب ملک کا کوئی حصہ اس سے علیحدہ ہو تو بعد میں اس کو تسلیم نہ کیا جائے جناب والا ! اس کے بعد میں یہ عرض کرتا ہوں کہ سوال پیدا ہوتا ہے ۔ کہ اگر بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم نہ کریں ۔ تو کیا ہو گا ؟ کیا اس کی حقیقت تبدیل ہو جائے گی کیا اس کا علیحدہ وجود ختم ہو جائے گا ؟ کیا یہ حقیقت نہیں کہ آج ایک سو ممالک تسلیم کر چکے ہیں ؟ کیا یہ حقیقت نہیں ہے کہ وہ بعض بین الاقوامی اداروں کا ممبر بن چکا ہے ؟ اور پھر ہم اس کو تسلیم نہیں کرتے تو اس میں نقصان کس کا ہو گا ؟ ہو سکتا ہے ۔ کچھ تھوڑا بہت وقتی طور پر ایک خاص محدود وقت تک اس کا بھی نقصان ہو ۔ اگر آپ دور رس انداز سے سوچیں تو آپ کو نظر آئے گا کہ آخر کار ہمارا نقصان ہو گا ۔ اگر ہم وہاں نہیں جائیں گے اور ہمارے تعلقات بحال نہیں ہوں گے

اگر ہمارا کوئی سفارتی رشتہ قائم نہیں ہو گا ۔ تو ہم پاکستان دوست عنصر کو ، جس کا قتل عام ہو رہا ہے ، اس کو نہ بچا سکیں گے ۔ ہم ان کو مظالم کے پنجے سے نہیں چھڑا سکیں گے اور نہ ہی کوئی دباؤ ڈال سکیں گے ۔

اس کے بعد جناب والا ! ہمارا چین کے ساتھ تعلقات کا معاملہ ہے ۔ وہ ہمارا دوست ہے اور اس نے اس وقت تک بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کرنے سے انکار کر رکھا ہے ۔ جب تک ہم اس کو تسلیم نہ کریں ۔ وہ بھی ہمارے تسلیم نہ کرنے کی صورت میں بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم نہ کرے گا ۔ اس کا بھی وہاں کوئی سفارت خانہ نہیں ہو گا اور نہ ہی اس کے وہاں روابط استوار ہوں گے ۔ اگر چین بنگلہ دیش کے ساتھ اپنے تعلقات استوار نہیں کرے گا تو نتیجہ یہ نکلے گا کہ وہ بڑی طاقتیں جن کے اثرات پاکستان کو نقصان پہنچا سکتے ہیں ۔ یا بنگلہ دیش کے مسلمانوں کو نقصان پہنچا سکتے ہیں ۔ چین وہاں جا کر ان اثرات کو زائل کر سکتا ہے اور اس طرح بنگلہ دیش کے مستقبل کی درخشاں راہیں بھی روشن ہو سکتی ہیں ۔ اس کے بعد جناب والا ! میں یہ عرض کرتا ہوں کہ ہمارے نہ تسلیم کرنے کی وجہ سے بہت سے ہمارے دوست ملک تسلیم نہیں کر رہے ہیں ۔ نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ مسلمان ملک کے زیر اثر بنگلہ دیش نہیں ہے ۔ مسلمان ملک اپنے اثرات وہاں پھیلانے میں کوئی موقع حاصل نہیں کر رہے ہیں ۔ اگر مسلمان ملکوں کے روابط وہاں قائم ہوتے ۔ تو زیادہ اثر ڈال سکتے ۔ ہم ان روابط کو زیادہ سے زیادہ مستحکم کر سکیں گے جو اس حصہ میں پیدا کیے جا سکتے ہیں اور پیدا کیے جانے چاہئیں ۔ اور پھر میں یہ عرض کرتا ہوں کہ اقتصادی نقصان کو پیش نظر رکھنا چاہیے ۔ یہ حقیقت ہے کہ پچیس سال مشرقی پاکستان اور مغربی پاکستان اس انداز میں کام کرتے رہے ہیں ۔ کہ دونوں کی اقتصادی ترقی ایک دوسرے پر منحصر رہی ہے ۔ اور یہ کھلی حقیقت ہے کہ ہماری بہت سی مصنوعات اور ہماری بہت سی چیزوں کی مارکیٹ مشرقی پاکستان میں ہے ۔ اور یہ بھی حقیقت ہے کہ بنگلہ دیش بھی آزاد ہے ۔ بہت سی چیزیں تیسرے ذرائع سے آج بھی وہ پاکستان سے حاصل کر رہا ہے مثلاً کپڑا اور دوسری چیزیں وغیرہ ۔ ٹھیک ہے ہم خوش ہو لیتے ہیں کہ مشرقی پاکستان اقتصادی گرداب میں گھرا ہوا ہے ۔ لیکن اس سے ہمیں فائدہ نہیں پہنچ سکتا ۔ اس سے فائدہ دوسری طاقتوں کو پہنچے

گا ۔ جو ان کی مشکلات کو exploit کر دیں گے جو ہم سے دور کرے گا ۔ جو اس نظریہ سے دور کر دیں گے کہ جو نظریہ ہم مسلمانوں کی انفرادی اور اجتماعی زندگی کا اساس ہے ۔ اس قرضے پر بھی نگاہ رکھیں جو تیرہ چودہ ارب روپیہ ہے ۔ اور جس کا کروڑوں روپیہ سالانہ سود دینا پڑتا ہے ۔ کیا ہم یہ سود دیتے چلیں گے اور ہم زیر بار ہوتے چلے جائیں گے ؟ کیا ہم نے اپنے غریب عوام کے معاشی مسائل کو حل نہیں کرنا ۔ اور یہ لوگ محض نعرہ لگاتے رہیں ، اس لیے کہ عوامی حکومت مشکلات میں پھنسی رہے اور یہ ان کے قرضے ادا کرتی رہے اور اس پر اس کا بار پڑے اور ساتھ ہی ساتھ مطالبہ کریں کہ مہنگائی بڑھ گئی ہے ، گرانی بڑھ گئی ہیں ۔ جب ان مشکلات کا حل کرنا چاہتے ہیں اور ان کا تدارک کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ پاکستان کے غریب عوام کے کندھوں پر سے یہ بوجھ اُتارا جائے جو پہلی حکومت نے غلط طور پر اس کے اوپر ڈال رکھا تھا تو پھر یہ ہمارے راستے میں رکاوٹ بن جاتے ہیں۔ جناب والا ! یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ اگر بنگلہ دیش تسلیم کر لیا تو نظریۂ پاکستان ختم ہو جائے گا لیکن جناب والا ! میں ان سے پوچھتا ہوں کہ علامہ اقبال نے پاکستان کا جو نظریہ پیش کیا تھا ؟ کیا اس میں مشرقی پاکستان کا نام تھا ؟ مسلم بنگال کا نام تھا ؟ اگر نہیں تھا ۔ اس میں کشمیر کا نام تھا ؟ تو اگر کشمیر ہمیں نہ ملا تو اس کے باوجود نظریۂ پاکستان زندہ رہ سکتا ہے ۔ تو وہ حصہ جو علامہ اقبال کے نظریۂ پاکستان میں شامل نہیں تھا بنیادی طور پر اگر وہ ہمارے پاس نہیں ہے اور ہمیں افسوس ہے کہ وہ ہمارے ساتھ نہیں ہے۔ اس کا مطلب یہ نہیں ہے کہ نظریۂ پاکستان قائم نہیں ۔ جناب والا ! کون نہیں جانتا کہ نظریۂ پاکستان محض حدود کا نام نہیں ہے محض ایک جغرافیائی نام نہیں ہے ۔ محض عمارتوں اور سنگ و خشت کا نام نہیں نظریہ پاکستان ایک سچائی ہے ۔ نظریۂ پاکستان ایک اصول ہے ۔ یہ ایک عقیدہ ہے اور عقیدہ کبھی جغرافیائی حدود میں تغیر و تبدل سے ختم نہیں ہوا کرتا ، کبھی سچائی ختم نہیں ہوا کرتی کبھی اصول ختم نہیں ہوا کرتے ۔ اس لیے جو لوگ یہ کہتے ہیں کہ اگر ہم نے مسلم بنگال کو تسلیم کر لیا ، اگر ہم نے بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کر لیا تو نظریۂ پاکستان ختم ہو جائے گا وہ حقیقت میں لوگوں کے ذہن کو مغالطہ

میں مبتلا کرنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں اور جناب والا ! بڑے افسوس کی بات ہے کہ یہ لوگ جو رات دن اسلام اسلام پکارتے ہیں ، جو رات دن مذہب کا نام لیتے ہیں اور اس ملک کے اندر برسر اقتدار آنے کے خواب دیکھتے ہیں۔ اور مذہب کی تجارت کرتے ہیں ۔ اور مذہب کے ذریعہ سے دنیاوی خوش حالی حاصل کرنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں ، یہ لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ بنگلہ دیش تسلیم کرنا ایسا ہی ہے جیسا کہ اسرائیل عرب کو تسلیم کرے ۔ یہ کہتے ہیں ۔ کہ ہم بنگلہ دیش کو کیسے تسلیم کر سکتے ہیں ۔ مجھے افسوس ہے ۔ کہ انھوں نے کلمہ گو مسلمانوں کو یہودی سے تشبیہہ دیتے ہوئے بھی کچھ خدا کا خوف نہیں کیا ۔ کیا یہ حقیقت نہیں ہے کہ کتنا ہی گیا گزرا مسلمان کیوں نہ ہو ۔ کتنا ہی کلمہ گو کیوں نہ ہو لیکن وہ ہزار درجہ پھر ہمارے عقائد کی رو سے ۔ ہمارے ایمان کی رو سے ۔ یہودیوں سے بہتر ہے اور پھر اگر بنگالی مسلمانوں سے غلطیاں بھی ہوئی ہیں اگر وہ بڑے سے بڑے جرم کے مرتکب بھی ہوئے ۔ لیکن ان کو یہودی کہنا ان کو اسرائیل سے تشبیہہ دینا ۔ جناب والا ! ایک سنگدلی نہیں ہے تو اور کیا ہے ؟ آخر بنگلہ دیش بنے گا تو پھر بھی وہ ایک مسلمانوں کا ملک ہے ۔ اسے ہم اسرائیل سے کس طرح تشبیہہ دے سکتے ہیں ؟ یہودی ریاست سے کیسے تشبیہہ دے سکتے ہیں ؟ یہ عوام کے مذہبی جذبات کا استحصال کرنے کے مترادف ہے اور لوگوں کے ذہنوں کے اندر غلط شکوک و شبہات پیدا کرنے کی مہم ہے اور جناب والا ! آخر یہ کیوں ہے ؟ ان سارے حقوق کے ہوتے ہوئے قومی اسمبلی آج یہ منظور نہیں کر رہی ہے کہ بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کر لیا جائے ۔ ہم اس لیے یہاں نہیں بیٹھے ہیں اور اس لیے بحث نہیں یہاں کر رہے ہیں کہ آج ہم بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کر کے اٹھیں گے ، بلکہ ہم اپنے لیڈر کو اس لیڈر کو جس کو اس ملک کے ۸۰ فیصد عوام نے اپنا قائد چنا ہے ۔ اس لیڈر کو جس کے ہاتھ وقت کی نبضوں پر ہیں ۔ اس لیڈر کو جس سے زیادہ عوام کی خواہشات اور امنگوں کو اور کوئی نہیں جانتا ، جو عوام کے لیے بڑی سے بڑی قربانیاں دیتا چلا آیا ہے اس کو ہم یہ اختیار دیں کہ وہ جب چاہے ، جب بھی مناسب وقت پائے ، جب ملک اور قوم کی مصلحت ہو ۔ فائدے میں ہو ، جب وہ دیکھے کہ بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کرنا

ملک کے فائدے اور مفاد میں ہے ، ان شرائط کے ساتھ اگر یہ شرائط پوری ہوتی ہیں ، بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کر سکتا ہے ۔ اس قدر سنجیدہ ، اس قدر معقول ، اس قدر افادیت پسند ، اور استقلال پر مبنی بر حقیقت قرار داد کی مخالفت کرنا جناب والا ! میری سمجھ میں نہیں آتا ۔ بجز اس کے کہ میں یہ کہوں گا کہ ان لوگوں کا کام ہی یہ ہے کہ یہ ہمارے راستے میں رکاوٹ ڈالیں اور برسر اقتدار پارٹی کی ٹانگ کھینچیں ۔ یہ عوام کے فیصلے کے آگے سر تسلیم خم کرنے سے انکار کریں اور عوام کے ووٹوں کی بھاری اکثریت جو فیصلہ دے چکی ہے عجیب بات یہ ہے کہ وہ لوگ بھی بنگلہ دیش کے مخالفوں میں شامل ہو گئے جنھوں نے کل اپنی سیاست کا آغاز ہی بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کرنے کے نعرے سے کیا تھا ۔ اس وقت ان کا خیال یہ تھا کہ شاید ہم بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کرنے کی بات جو ہے اسے قبول نہیں کریں گے ۔ لیکن جب انھوں نے دیکھا کہ ہم حقائق پر غور کرنے لگے ہیں جب انھوں نے دیکھا کہ شاید اب ہمارے مطالبات اور شرائط تسلیم ہو جائیں اور بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کر لیا جائے تو یک لخت بدل گئے ہیں ۔ اتنی ڈھٹائی سے بدل گئے کہ سیاست کی تاریخ میں اس کا جواب نہیں ملتا ۔ اب وہ کہنے لگے ہیں کہ بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کر لینا ملک و قوم اور اسلام میں ہر چیز کے منافی ہے ۔ تو جناب والا ! میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ کسی لحاظ سے ، دینی لحاظ سے ، سیاسی لحاظ سے ، بین الاقوامی قوانین کے لحاظ سے ، تاریخی لحاظ سے ، کسی لحاظ سے بھی ان لوگوں کے دلائل میں کوئی وزن نہیں ہے اور میں قومی اسمبلی کے معزز اراکین سے یہ عرض کروں گا کہ وہ دل کھول کر انشاء صدر کے ساتھ اس قرار داد کو منظور کریں ۔ ان لوگوں کی باتوں پر نہ جائیں جو آج بھکے ہوئے ہیں یا بھکائے جا رہے ہیں ۔ ہم لوگوں کا کام یہ بھی ہے کہ ہم lead دیں ۔ اگر کچھ غلط فہمی بھی ہو تو ہمارے مسلسل عمل سے کل ان کی آنکھیں کھل جائیں گی ۔ انھیں نظر آ جائے گا کہ جو ہم فیصلہ کر رہے ہیں وہ ملک کے مفاد میں تھا ۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اس قرار داد کی پر زور تائید کرتا ہوں ۔

مولانا غلام غوث : جناب اسپیکر صاحب ! اس وقت ہاؤس کے سامنے ، ایوان

کے سامنے جو مسئلہ در پیش ہے وہ بڑی اہمیت کا حامل ہے اور مجھے افسوس ہے کہ یہ مسئلہ جس اتحاد اور یگانگت کے ساتھ طے ہونا چاہیے تھا۔ اس کی قدر نہیں کی گئی، اس کا احساس نہیں کیا گیا۔

جناب والا! بنگال پاکستان کا ایک جز تھا۔ مشرقی پاکستان جس کو کہا جاتا تھا۔ وہاں ایک تحریک چلی۔ اس میں شک نہیں ہے کہ اس تحریک کے نتیجے میں وہ ٹکڑا ہم سے الگ ہو گیا۔ اس علیحدگی سے ہر مسلمان کو دلی رنج اور دکھ ہے سب کے دلوں میں اس سے زخم پڑ گئے ہیں۔ لیکن قدرت کا ایک طریقہ ہے کہ زخم دو چار دن میں اچھے نہیں ہوتے۔ کچھ وقت لیتے ہیں۔ ایک دو مہینوں میں زخم اچھے ہوتے ہیں۔ آہستہ آہستہ اندمال ہوتا ہے۔ اب تقریباً ڈیڑھ سال گزر گیا ہے۔ ابھی وہ زخم تازہ تھے۔ شریعت نے بھی اجازت دی تھی کہ تین دن تک گفتگو نہ کرنے کی اجازت ہے لیکن تین دن سے زیادہ کسی مسلمان کو چھوڑ دینا، ترک کر دینا ناجائز ہے۔ تین دن انسانی فطرت کی رعایت کی گئی۔ اسی طرح مسلم بنگال کا ہم سے کٹ جانا کوئی معمولی سی بات نہیں تھی۔ اندمال کے لیے کچھ عرصہ چاہیے۔ ان حالات میں جذباتیت میں ہم کوئی بات نہیں کر سکتے تھے، نہ مان سکتے تھے۔ لیکن آج سنجیدگی کے ساتھ غور کرنے کا وقت آ گیا ہے۔ ہم کو یہ دیکھنا ہے کہ آیا ہمارے ان سے تعلقات مفید ہیں یا مضر ہیں۔ اسلام کے لیے، پاکستان کے لیے، عالم اسلام کے لیے، ہم کو یہ چیز دیکھنی ہے کہ مخالفت برائے مخالفت نہیں کرنی چاہیے۔ مجھے اس بات کا بڑا افسوس ہے کہ جن لیڈروں سے مجھے یہ توقع تھی کہ وہ آتے ہی اس بل میں ترمیم پیش کریں گے کہ حکومت کو اختیار دیا جاتا ہے، کہ وہ کہیں گے اس مسئلے کو ختم کرو اور اس کو پاس کرو، منظور کرو بنگلہ دیش، کیونکہ مجھے علم ہے۔ کہ وہ ڈیڑھ سال سے اس کو مان رہے ہیں۔ اس کی منظوری پر زور دے رہے تھے۔ مجھے علم ہے کل پرسوں میں نے اخبار میں پڑھا کہ ایک جماعت کہتی ہے، ان کا لیڈر کہتا ہے کہ ہم بنگلہ دیش کے قطعی حامی نہیں لیکن چونکہ حکومت بلوچستان میں جمہوریت کے خلاف کر رہی ہے لہذا ہم حکومت کے اس بل کی مخالفت کریں گے۔ میں نہیں سمجھتا کہ ہم کسی غلطی کی

وجہ سے ایک دوسری غلطی برداشت کریں ۔ میں بلوچستان کے واقعات پر تبصرہ نہیں کرتا ۔ میں وہاں کے حالات سے پوری طرح واقف ہوں اور میں وہاں کے مالہ و مالہ کا تبصرہ کر سکتا ہوں لیکن سوال یہ ہے کہ آپ وہاں ناراض ہیں یہ چیز جس کی آپ ڈیڑھ سال تک حمایت کرتے رہے ہیں جس کو آپ حقیقت سمجھتے رہے ہیں بلکہ بہت سے ذمہ دار لیڈروں نے تقریریں کیں کہ مجیب کو قوم نے پہچان لیا ہے لیکن اب تک یہاں کسی قوم نے اپنے لیڈروں کو نہیں پہچانا ہے ۔ ان کو مجیب کی باتوں کی تحسین نظر آتی ہے ۔ زبانوں سے بھی کہتے تھے ، اعلان بھی ہوتے تھے ، پریس کانفرنسوں میں تقریریں ہوتی تھیں ۔ کہ ہم اس کو مانتے ہیں ۔ تو مجھے یہ توقع تھی کہ یہ بل پیش کریں گے ۔ حالانکہ اس بل میں یہ بات نہیں ہے ۔ بنگلہ دیش کو ہم تسلیم کر لیں جس طرح محترم وزیر مولانا کوثر نیازی صاحب نے اشارہ فرمایا اس بل میں یہ ہے کہ اگر حکومت مناسب سمجھے مناسب وقت میں جب پاکستان کے مفادات اور حق میں ہو اس وقت چاہے وہ اس کو تسلیم کرے ۔ یہ تو اختیار اس کو دیا جاتا ہے ۔ میں حیران ہوں کہ کیا اگر ہم یہ اختیار حکومت کو نہ دیں تو کسی "ایرے وغیرے نتھو خیرے" کو دیں ! میری تو سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ جب صدر نکسن جاتا ہے چین کو تو یک دم چلا جاتا ہے ۔ کوئی اجلاس نہیں بلاتا ، کسی پارلیمنٹ سے کوئی مشورہ نہیں کرتا ، یہاں تو شملہ جاؤ تو بھی مصیبت ہے ۔ اور واپس آؤ تو بھی مصیبت ہے ۔ شملہ کی کارروائی کو اجلاس میں پیش کیا گیا ۔ میں معافی چاہ کر عرض کروں گا کہ یہاں بہت سی تقریریں ایسی ہوئیں جو اس اجتماع میں نہیں ہونی چاہئیں تھیں ۔ وہ تقریریں بے معنی ہم کو سننا پڑیں جو ہم نہیں چاہتے ۔ وہ باتیں جو حکومت نہیں کہنا چاہتی ۔ اگر ہمیں مجبور کر کے وہ کہلوائیں جو ملک کے لیے مفید نہ ہو تو ہم ملک پر ظلم کریں گے ۔

جناب والا ! اس وقت ہمیں ٹھنڈے دل سے اس مسئلہ پر غور کرنا چاہیے ۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ مشرقی پاکستان سے ہمارے تجارتی تعلقات تھے ۔ کروڑوں روپے کی درآمد و برآمد پر اس کا اثر پڑا ہے ۔ اس آئین کے اندر اخوت اسلامی کا لفظ بڑا پیارا لفظ ہے ۔ مجھے وہ الفاظ استعمال کرنے پر بعض لوگ مجبور کر رہے ہیں کہ جو

مجھے نہیں کہنے چاہئیں تھے ۔ سات کروڑ مسلمانوں کو مجبور کر دیا گیا ہے کہ وہ بھارت کا دم چھلا بن جائیں ! یہ بات نہیں کہنی چاہیے تھی ۔ میں اسے سیاستاً غلطی سمجھتا ہوں لیکن مجبور ہو کر میں یہ کہہ رہا ہوں ! میں نے بعض نوجوان طالب علم دوستوں سے بھی عرض کیا ہے اور حقیقت میں اس مسئلہ کو اس نگاہ سے دیکھنا چاہیے کہ مشرقی بنگال کا مسلم دنیا سے اور بیرونی ممالک سے تعلق پسندیدگی کا ہے یا نہیں ۔ ہماری کروڑوں روپے کی درآمد و برآمد پر بھی اثر پڑا ہے لیکن ہم اس منزل کے قریب کیوں نہ جائیں ۔ میں یہ عرض کروں کہ ہم اس وقت مجیب کو کافر قرار دیں اور سات کروڑ بنگالیوں کو کافر قرار دیں اس سے بہتر یہ ہے کہ ہم ان کے بارے میں اچھا گمان کریں ۔ میں نے کل پرسوں اخبار میں دیکھا تھا کہ بنگلہ دیش کے وزیر خارجہ کمال حسین نے بیان دیا ہے کہ بنگلہ دیش جنگی قیدیوں پر مقدمہ چلائے گا ۔ میں یہ جانتا ہوں کہ اس کے پیچھے کون سا ہاتھ ہے ۔ اس کے پیچھے وہ ہاتھ ہے جو بنگلہ دیش کو ہم سے نہیں ملانا چاہتا ۔ میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ جس طرح اس ریزولیوشن کے تحت ہم نے صلح پسندی کا اچھا ہاتھ بڑھایا ہے ۔ اس پر مشرقی بنگال کو بھی اچھا ہاتھ بڑھانا چاہیے ۔ میں یہ نہیں کہتا کہ مشرقی بنگال بھی ہمارا صوبہ بنے گا میں اس کو نا ممکن تو نہیں کہتا لیکن یہ عرض کروں گا کہ جب وہ جزو تھا تو ہم اس کو باقی نہیں رکھ سکے ۔ بھاشانی پہلا شخص ہے جس نے کہا ہے کہ مغربی پاکستان کو سلام ۔ لیکن وہ ہمارا صوبہ بن کر رہنے کے لیے تیار نہیں ۔ جب میں اور مفتی محمود بنگلہ دیش گئے تو ہر بنگالی کا یہ سوال تھا کہ تم بنگلہ دیش کو خود مختار مانتے ہو یا نہیں ؟ غرض یہ ہے کہ وہاں بعض لوگ یہ بھی کہتے ہیں کہ اگر بنگلہ دیش کو مان لیا جائے گا ۔ تو پاکستان ٹکڑے ٹکڑے ہو جائے گا ۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ یہ قطعاً غلط ہے قطعاً غلط ہے اور قطعاً غلط ہے ۔ پاکستان کبھی ٹکڑے ٹکڑے نہیں ہو سکتا اس کا کوئی حصہ جدا نہیں کیا جا سکتا انشاءاللہ مسلم بنگال کے سات کروڑ انسان چپڑاسی سے لے کر ہائیکورٹ کے جج تک مجیب کے ساتھ وہاں ہم اپنا ایک سپاہی نہیں دیکھتے ۔ آج ہمارے ایک لاکھ فوجی قید ہیں دنیا کہہ رہی ہے کہ پاپڑ بیل رہے ہیں اور اب تک کامیاب نہیں ہوئے ۔ ہمیں

مایوسی نہیں ہونی چاہیے - ہمیں مجیب سے یہ توقع رکھنی چاہیے کہ وہ قیدیوں کو جلد رہا کر دے -

اس کے علاوہ جو شخص اس حصے کو اپنا صوبہ کہتا ہے میں ایک حقیقت کو بیان کرنے پر مجبور ہوں - جب آئینی بل پیش ہوا تو اس میں ترامیم پیش ہوئیں - آئینی ترمیم میں یہ بات تھی کہ آئین مندرجہ ذیل صوبوں پر لاگو ہو گا - ان میں پنجاب سرحد - بلوچستان اور سندھ کے صوبے تھے - ترمیم یہ تھی کہ مندرجہ ذیل صوبوں پر لاگو ہوگا - مشرقی پاکستان - پنجاب - سندھ - سرحد اور بلوچستان وہ لوگ جن لوگوں نے مجیب کو ووٹ دیئے اور جن پر ہم قابو نہ رکھ سکے ان کو ہم اپنا صوبہ بتاتے ہیں ؟ لوگوں نے کہا کہ ہم تو مشرقی پاکستان کو ملانا چاہتے ہیں لیکن حکومت نہیں ملانا چاہتی - میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ مخالفت برائے مخالفت نہیں کرنی چاہیے - آج نہیں تو کل مشرقی پاکستان کے لیڈروں کی سمجھ میں یہ بات آئے گی - امریکہ نے بنگلہ دیش کو ایک ارب سے زیادہ روپیہ دینا کیا ہے - ہم اس کے مضمرات کو سمجھتے ہیں ہم اردن عراق اور دوسرے ممالک کو مانتے ہیں تو سات کروڑ عوام کو کیسے نظر انداز کر سکتے ہیں ؟ اگر ہمارے اور ان کے تعلقات قائم ہوں گے تو بدگمانی کیسے دور ہو گی ؟ صدر مملکت کی بلوچستان کے دورہ پر کی گئی تقریر پر بڑی خوشی ہوئی کہ ہماری خارجہ پالیسی بڑی کامیاب ہے اور ہمارا دفاع بڑا مضبوط ہے - مجھے یقین ہے کہ اس وقت ہمارا دفاع بڑا مضبوط ہے - اس بل میں یہ بات نہیں آئی کہ بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کر لیا جائے - اس بل کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ حکومت جب مناسب سمجھے کہ پاکستان کے لیے اس کو تسلیم کرنا مناسب ہے تو وہ اس کو تسلیم کرے - اگر حکومت کو یہ اختیار نہ دیں گے تو پھر کس کو یہ اختیار دیں گے ؟ آخر ہم عوام کے ووٹوں سے منتخب ہو کر آئے - ہم کل یہاں وزیر اعظم اپنے اختیار سے بنائیں گے وہ وزیراعظم مختار ہو گا ، وہ سب کا نمائندہ ہو گا اسی طرح ہم صدر بنائیں گے ، وہ سب کا نمائندہ ہو گا - یہ تو حکومت کا کام ہے - اس کو چلانا ہے تو جناب والا ! میں عرض کروں گا کہ اس میں جو کل پرسوں میں نے پڑھا ڈاکٹر احمد حسین کمال وزیر خارجہ کا بیان مجھے اس سے ضرور دکھ ہوا لیکن میں محترمہ اندرا گاندھی سے عرض کروں گا کہ آپ

جواہر لال نہرو کی لڑکی ہیں جو آزاد خیال انسان تھا اس میں شک نہیں اس لیے یہ بھی نہیں ہو سکتا ۔ میں نہیں جانتا کہ ان کا کوئی اثر مجیب پر نہیں ۔ میں یہ بات نہیں مانتا ۔ بہر حال بھارت ہو یا مجیب ہمارے قیدیوں کو بھی چھوڑیں یہ بین الاقوامی قانون کا تقاضا ہے اور رکھ بھی نہیں سکیں گے ساری عمر ان کو اور ساتھ یہ بھی ہے کہ مقدمہ نہ چلائیں ۔ مقدمہ چلائیں گے تو ہمارے اور ان کے تعلقات کیسے مفید ہو سکیں گے ۔ ہم کس طرح بنگلہ دیش کو مانیں گے ۔ لازماً گفتگو کے نتیجے کو دیکھا جائے ۔ گفتگو بڑی ضروری ہے ۔ اس گفتگو کو میں خوش آمدید کہتا ہوں جو دونوں حکومتوں یا تینوں کے ساتھ مل کر گفتگو ہو گی ۔ اس گفتگو کے نتیجے میں خدا کرے کہ ہمارے فوجی بھی رہا ہو جائیں اور ساتھ مقدمات چلانے والی بات بھی نہ ہو ۔ مقدمات چلائیں گے تو ہمارے تعلقات کیسے بہتر ہو سکیں گے لیکن یہ جو بل ہے اس میں جو شرط ہے کہ پاکستان اپنے مفادات کے مطابق جب وقت آئے تو اس وقت صدر یا حکومت جیسے چاہے ویسے منظور کرے ۔ اس کو اختیار دیا جاتا ہے ۔ اختیار دینا تو معمولی بات ہے ۔ حکومت تو خود اس کی خود مختیار ہے کہ وہ ملکی مفادات کے لیے کام کرے ، معاہدات کرے ، اقدام کرے جو چاہے ملک کے مفاد کے لیے اور اسلام کے مفاد کے لیے وہ کام کرے ۔ تو میں ان مختصر الفاظ کے ساتھ اس بل کی تائید کرتا ہوں ۔

جناب اسپیکر : مولانا صاحب یہ قرار داد ہے بل نہیں ہے ۔

مولانا غلام غوث : یہ بل ہے یا قرار داد ؟

جناب اسپیکر : یہ قرار داد ہے ۔

مولانا غلام غوث : میں اس قرار داد کی تائید کرتا ہوں !

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have no desire to make a speech. I support this Resolution. I support every argument which has been advanced in favour of the Resolution. In fact everything that can be said in respect of the Resolution has been said and I think in the circumstances in which we are placed, this is the right thing to do. There are pre-requisites which if fulfilled, then the President has been authorised to take the final steps for the recognition. With these words, Sir, I support this Resolution and I do not wish to take any more time of the House.

میجر جنرل جمالدار : جناب اسپیکر ! جو کچھ کہنا چاہتا تھا وہ کہا جا چکا ہے ۔ میں نہیں چاہتا کہ ان چیزوں کو دھرایا جائے ۔ میں نے صرف اتنا کہنا ہے کہ یہ ریزولیشن بہت اہم ہے اور اس پر جتنی جلدی سے عمل کیا جائے اتنا ہی بہتر ہے کیونکہ جب تک ہم اس کو پاس نہ کریں گے اُس وقت تک ہم اپنے بھائیوں کے ساتھ مشرقی بھائیوں کے ساتھ تعلقات بہتر نہیں کر سکتے تو یہ پھر جو معاملہ ہے یہ ٹھیک کیسے ہو سکتا ہے اس کا طریقہ یہ ہے کہ جتنی جلدی ہو سکے تعلقات شروع کریں اور اپنے جو پرانی بھائی بندی تھی اس کو اس سے زیادہ بہتر کریں جو کہ پہلی تھی اور جتنی جلدی یہ ہو سکے اتنا بہتر ہے ۔

ملک معراج خالد : جناب والا ! میں ان دلائل کو دھرانا نہیں چاہتا جو کہ معزز دوستوں کی طرف سے دیئے گئے ہیں ۔ میں ان تمام باتوں کی تائید کرتا ہوں لیکن صرف ایک بات کا اضافہ کرنا چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ ہے کہ یہ قرار داد اس معزز ایوان کے سامنے لانا نہایت ہی ضروری تھا اس لیے کہ اندرون ملک اور بیرون ملک یہ تاثر پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کی جا رہی تھی ، کی جا چکی تھی اندرون عناصر کی طرف سے اور بیرونی دشمنوں کی طرف سے ذوالفقار علی بھٹو اور اس کی پارٹی کو عوام کی جو تائید حاصل ہوئی تھی تو اب انکی پالیسیوں کو عوام کی تائید حاصل نہیں ہے ۔ اس لیے وہ بنگلہ دیش کے مسئلہ پر کوئی قدم اگر اُٹھائیں تو عوام ان کے ساتھ نہیں ہیں ۔ یہ تاثر دینے کی کوشش کی جا رہی تھی سازشیں ہو رہی تھیں ۔ پارٹی نے ، جناب ذوالفقار علی بھٹو نے سپریم کورٹ سے رائے طلب کی کہ آیا یہ ایوان اس قرار داد کو منظور کرنے کا حق رکھتا ہے یا نہیں ۔ سپریم کورٹ نے رائے دے دی اور یہ قرار داد محض اتنی ہے کہ حکومت کو یہ اختیار حاصل ہے کہ وہ بنگلہ دیش سے اپنے معاملات کے بارے میں گفتگو کرے اور قوم کے بہترین مفادات میں جو قدم مناسب ہیں وہ اُٹھائے ۔ یہ اختیار حکومت کو پہلے ہی حاصل ہے وہ ایسا کرنے کی مجاز ہے لیکن تمام دنیا پر یہ ثابت کرنے کے لیے کہ یہ ایوان جو کہ تمام قوم کی نمائندگی کرتا ہے اور ہم پر بحیثیت اکثریتی پارٹی اپنے معاونین کے ساتھ یہ حق رکھتے ہیں کہ اس قوم کے لیے جو بہترین چیز ہے جو بہترین قدم ہے وہ اٹھائیں

اس لیے اس قرار داد کا پیش کیا جانا بالکل ضروری اور منطقی طور پر صحیح تھا اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ آج جب کہ وہ گفتگو جاری تھی ، جاری رہی ہے اور ہمیں جاری رکھنا پڑے گی ۔ اس قرار داد کے منظور ہونے کے بعد جناب ذوالفقار علی بھٹو کو اخلاقی طور پر سیاسی طور پر آئینی لحاظ سے اور زیادہ اختیار حاصل ہو جائے گا ۔ اور یہی وہ چیز ہے جس سے ہمارے دوست گھبراتے تھے کہ جو تاثر وہ دے رہے تھے اندرون ملک یا بیرون ملک دینا چاہتے تھے وہ اس طریقے سے زائل ہو رہا تھا اور جیسا کہ محترم ہزاروی صاحب نے فرمایا ہے کہ ان کا یہ فرض تھا کہ اپنے پرانے اقوال کے مطابق اپنے بیانات کے مطابق بلکہ خود یہاں یہ چیز پیش کرتے ہیں کہ بنگلہ دیش کے ساتھ ہمیں فوری طور پر اپنے تعلقات کو کسی نہ کسی صورت میں بحال کرنا چاہیے لیکن انھوں نے ایسا نہیں کیا اب جیسا کہ یہاں یہ تاثر دینے کی کوشش کی ہے کہ وہ سارے مل کر واک آوٹ کر گئے وہ خود تضادات کا شکار ہیں ۔ ان کی اپنی رائے ایک دوسرے سے نہیں ملتی تھی ۔ نظریاتی تضادات موجود ہیں اس مسئلہ میں تضادات موجود ہیں ۔ اور مختلف بیانات دیے ہیں۔ وہ محض حکومت کے لیے مشکلات پیدا کرنے کے لیے یہ قدم اٹھا رہے ہیں لیکن ایسی مشکلات پیدا کرنے سے کس کا نقصان ہے اور کس کا فائدہ ہے ۔ پاکستانی ملت کا نقصان ہے عالم اسلام کے لیے نقصان ہے ۔ پاکستان کے دوستوں کے لیے نقصان ہے اور خود سات کروڑ انسانوں کےلئے ہر قسم کے جو ہمارے بھائی ہیں جو ہم سے اس صورت میں جدا ہو چکے ہیں ان کا نقصان ہے ۔ ہمیں یاد رکھنا چاہیے کہ شاید یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ہمارے مسلمان بھائی دوسرے ملک اس وقت بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم نہیں کر رہے اس لیے کہ انھیں ہمارا مفاد عزیز ہے لیکن اس کو ہم قطعی طور پر نظر انداز نہیں کر سکتے اور سب جانتے ہیں کہ وہ مختلف اوقات پر جب ملتے ہیں وہ کہتے ہیں ٹھیک ہے ۔ مغربی پاکستان میں چھ کروڑ مسلمان ہیں ۔ پاکستان کا نام ہے ۔ ہمیں عزیز ہے ۔ ہم آپ کے دکھ درد میں شریک ہیں لیکن وہ سات کروڑ مسلمان ہیں ۔ ان مسلمانوں کا مفاد کس طرح ترک کریں ۔ یہ ان کی دلیل ہے لیکن محض اس لیے کہ کس طریقے سے مسلم بنگال کے ساتھ ہمارے تعلقات استوار ہوں ۔ مضبوط تر ہوں ۔ اور

ہمارے دینی رشتے اور انسانی رشتے پھر سے بحال ہو جائیں ۔ وہ ہماری مدد کر رہے ہیں ۔ انتظار کر رہے ہیں اور مدد کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ کسی نہ کسی طرح ہم قریب تر ہوں ۔

اب جناب والا ! دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ ہمارا مفاد کیا ہے اور پھر ایک صورت حال کا جائزہ لینے کے لیے اس میں ہمارا موقف کیا ہونا چاہیے ۔ دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ دشمن کیا چاہتا ہے جس تلخی کی بنا پر ہمارے دشمن نے فائدہ اٹھایا اور مسلم بنگال کو اس طریقہ سے ہم سے جدا کر دیا ہے اور اب وہ کیا کر رہا ہے اور کیا کرنا چاہتا ہے اس کو سمجھنے کی ضرورت ہے ۔ اس لیے جب تک ان حقائق کو ٹھنڈے دل سے قبول نہیں کریں گے ہم قطعی طور پر ان تعلقات کو بحال نہیں کر سکتے ۔ جناب والا میں ان دلائل کو دہرانا نہیں چاہتا اور صدق دل سے تائید کرتا ہوں اور پھر سارے دوستوں کی تائید میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ یہ قرار داد محض اس لیے ہے کہ حکومت کو یہ جمہوری آئینی اختیار دیا جاتا ہے کہ وہ مسلم بنگال سے اپنے تعلقات کی بحالی کے لیے اور اس کے ساتھ ساتھ جو تنازعات ہیں اور مسلم بنگال سے جو اختلافات ہیں ان کے تصفیے کے لیے گفتگو کرے ۔ اس لیے میں اس قرار داد کی پر زور تائید کرتا ہوں ۔

Mr. Speaker : Now, I call upon Raja Tridiv Roy to take the floor.

Raja Tridiv Roy : Sir, this Resolution seeks to strengthen the hands of the Government and lays down certain conditions for the recognition of Bangladesh. The main condition being the question of timing. It is for the Government to determine the timing and that too on the fulfilment of certain conditions. The world at large sympathises with Pakistan on the issue of the POWs and the United Nations too last year supported our stand which is reiteration of Resolution 307 of the Security Council. World opinion has continued to exert pressure on the detaining powers. It is our right that the POWs should come back to us. This morning I was reading in the newspaper that there were about 2,000 infants who have been born in prisons, who have not been born while breathing the fresh air of freedom. It is, therefore, necessary for us not only to take cognizance of the realities but also after heart searching to come to terms with ourselves to learn to face truth. If we accept the realities, if we at the right time recognise Bangladesh we will vindicate

not only the cause of truth and justice but we will also help overcome the estrangement and the bitterness and the unhappiness that arise now between Pakistan and the people of Bangladesh. They, Sir, and the thousands of people who because of their adherance to principles now lie in jails in Bangladesh. The plight of the ethnic minorities that they have nobody to help them, still they are in Bangladesh. These people suffered because they believed in an ideal, because they believed in principles, because they believed in reality. If Pakistan continues to isolate itself from realities, if it does not open the doors of negotiations with Bangladesh, if we continue to live in fools paradise, we will not only be able to fulfil our obligations to those unfortunate people in Bangladesh, but we shall be helping those forces within and outside this country, those forces who realise that the deeper the root grows between the Muslims of Pakistan and the Muslims of Bangladesh the greater advantage to their benefit and the greater the harm to the people of Bangladesh and Pakistan. In concluding, I hope that people in our country will understand that if we repair the damages, if we continue to have links with the people of Muslim Bengal there is no reason why the two peoples should not come closer and closer in bonds of affection because these bonds can be forged only in affection, love and amity and never by force. I thank you, Sir.

ملک محمد جعفر : تو جناب اب مجھے اجازت ہے ۔

جناب اسپیکر : مجھے تو اجازت دیے ہوئے دس منٹ ہو گئے ہیں ۔

ملک محمد جعفر : اگر آپ کے وقت کا یہی اندازہ ہے تو پھر جناب میں تقریر نہیں کرتا ۔

جناب اسپیکر : اچھا دو منٹ صحیح آپ تقریر فرمائیں ۔

ملک محمد جعفر : جناب والا ! میں ان مقررین سے متفق ہوں جنھوں نے سب سے پہلے تقریریں فرمائی ہیں جن میں خورشید حسن میر ، مولانا کوثر نیازی اور مولانا غلام غوث شامل ہیں ۔ لیکن میں تقریر کرنے کے لیے کھڑا نہیں ہوا اور نہ ہی مجھے ان سے اتفاق ہے ۔ اگر اتفاق ہو تو یہیں ختم ہو جاتا ہے ۔ لیکن میں اپنے چند ذاتی خیالات بیان کرنا چاہتا ہوں ۔ معزز اراکین کے لیے جن کی صورت یہ ہے کہ جو کچھ ریزولیوشن کے متعلق کہا جا چکا ہے اس میں کوئی قابل اعتراض بات نہیں ہے ۔ کیونکہ بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم نہیں کیا جا رہا ہے ۔ جب یہ بات اپنے ملک کے لیے مفید ہوگی ۔ تب تسلیم کیا جائے گا ۔ اس کے فوائد اور سارے حالات وغیرہ بیان

کر دیے گئے ہیں ۔ میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ قانونی طور پر تسلیم کرنے کی ایک بات ہے ۔ ہمارے ملک کے لیے میرے خیال میں اس سے بھی زیادہ ضروری بات یہ ہے کہ اگر مقصد یہ ہے کہ بنگلہ دیش کے ساتھ دوستانہ تعلقات قائم کیے جائیں اور ہم مغربی پاکستان جو اس وقت پاکستان ہے ۔ یہاں کے عوام یہاں کے مفکر ، یہاں کے دانشور ، سیاستدان اور اصل میں یہ جو طبقہ دانشوروں اور سیاستدانوں کا ہے ۔ یہ عوام کی رہنمائی کرتا ہے ۔ ان کے لیے ضروری یہ ہے اور قانونی بات ہے کہ وہ اپنے اوپر مقدمہ نہیں چلائیں گے ۔ اور ہمارے ملک کے لیے مفید ہوگا تو گورنمنٹ تسلیم کرے گی کہ یہ لوگ ذہنی طور پر بنگلہ دیش کی آزادی کو تسلیم کریں اور اپنے ذہنوں کو dis-educate کریں ۔ بہت سی غلط مفروضات سے اور وہ غلط مفروضات کیا ہیں مثلاً ایک یہ ہے کہ پاکستان کی بنیاد کیا ہے ؟ نظریۂ پاکستان کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ ان لوگوں نے غلط خیال اپنے ذہن میں کیا ہوا ہے کہ نظریۂ پاکستان سے مراد صرف یہ تھی کہ مسلمان اس براعظم میں آزادی ہندوؤں اور انگریزوں سے حاصل کرنا چاہتے تھے ۔ وہ مقصد مکمل طور پر حاصل ہو جاتا تھا ۔ اگر دو مملکتیں قائم ہوتیں ایک مشرقی حصے میں اور ایک مغربی حصے ہیں ۔ اس لیے مسلم لیگ کے قائدین جنھوں نے قرارداد پاس کی تھی ، وہ حقیقت پسند تھے ۔ انھوں نے اپنی قرارداد میں جیساکہ میر صاحب نے فرمایا ہے ، اس میں یہ کہا تھا ۔ دو مملکتیں قائم ہوں ۔ ایک مشرق میں اور ایک مغرب میں ۔ اور ان دونوں میں ایک ہزار میل کا فاصلہ ہے اور یہ ایک ملک کیسے بن سکتا ہے ۔ بنگلہ دیش تقسیم ہوا ۔ پنجاب کی تقسیم ہوئی غیر مسلم آبادی ادھر بھی ہوتی تھی ادھر بھی ہوتی تھی ۔ مقصد کیا تھا ۔ مقصد براعظم میں توازن قائم کرنا تھا ۔ نظریۂ پاکستان کا قطعاً یہ مقصد نہیں تھا کہ جو جنگ و جدل اور محاذ آرائی ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں کے درمیان ہوئی ۔ اس کی وجہ سے یہ مطالبہ پیش کیا گیا تھا ۔ یہ تو مقصد نہیں ۔ مقصد یہ تھا کہ ایسا توازن قائم ہو کہ اس براعظم میں صلح اور آشتی قائم کریں کہ مسلمان اور ہندو برادری کے تعلقات قائم ہوں ۔ وہ اس طرح ہوں گے جس طرح کہ قائداعظم کی تقریر جو انھوں نے constituent اسمبلی میں فرمائی تھی ۔ اور یہ افسوس ناک صورت ہے کہ اس

براعظم کی تقسیم ہندوؤں میں محض تنازع کی وجہ سے بھی ہوئی ۔ ہمیں ایسی پالیسی اختیار کرنی چاہیے کہ پاکستان میں سیاستدان مذہب سے بالکل علیحدہ ہو جائیں اور یہاں ایسی پالیسی اختیار کی جائے کہ سیاسی معاملات اور شہری حقوق ۔ ۔

جناب شفاعت علی چوہان : پوائنٹ آف آرڈر جناب والا ! ہم نے تو آج تک پانچ براعظم پڑھے ہیں ۔ لیکن میرے دوست ایک اور براعظم کا ذکر کر رہے ہیں ۔ وہ چھٹا ہو جاتا ہے تو اس کی تشریح کر دیں ۔

ملک محمد جعفر : میں ان کا ممنون ہوں ۔ برصغیر ہند و پاک ہے تو جناب نظریۂ پاکستان کا بنیادی مقصد یہ تھا ۔ اس کے بعد وہ نظریہ ، وہ مقصد جس میں ہندو نے رکاوٹ ڈالی بنگال تقسیم ہوگیا ۔ پنجاب تقسیم ہوگیا ۔ پاکستان وہ نہ بنا جو پہلے مقصد کے مطابق تھا تو ان حالات میں ایک مملکت ، ایک State کا قائم ہونا مشرقی پاکستان اور مغربی پاکستان کے درمیان جو جغرافیائی بُعد تھا ۔ جو ثقافت میں اختلاف ، زبان میں اختلاف ، رہنے سہنے کے طریقے مختلف موجود تھے ۔ اس کے باوجود یہ ملک کیسے ایک رہ سکتا تھا ۔ اگر ہمارے سیاستدان کوئی ایسی basic ideology پیش کرتے جو ان دونوں حصوں کو متحد رکھ سکتی ۔ basic ideology مذہب نہیں ہو سکتی تھی ۔ اگر مذہب کی بنیاد پر ہی ہوتا تو افغانستان ، ترکی ، ایران وغیرہ سب متحد ہوتے ۔ وہ اقتصادی حالت کی بنیاد پر اور ideology پر قائم ہے اور جمہوریت کا تقاضا یہ تھا کہ مشرقی پاکستان کے لوگوں کی اکثریت ہے ۔ ۔ ۔

مولانا غلام غوث : جناب اسپیکر ۔ محترم متحرک صاحب کو حکم دیا جائے کہ وہ موضوع پر تقریر فرمائیں ۔ یہ تو ادھر اُدھر کی باتیں کر رہے ہیں جس سے کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہے ۔

ملک محمد جعفر : نہیں میں موضوع پر تقریر کر رہا ہوں ۔ میں اس کا پس منظر بیان کر رہا ہوں کہ یہ اختلافات تھے ۔ لیکن پالیسی وہ چلائی گئی جس کا نتیجہ لازماً یہ ہوتا تھا کہ استحصال کی پالیسی ان کی اکثریت کو قبول نہ کرنے کی پالیسی

اس میں سارے پہلے مسئلے جب یہ Constituent اسمبلی dissolve ۔ ۔ ۔

جناب اسپیکر : یہ ساری تاریخ بیان کرنے کی کیا ضرورت ہے ۔

ملک محمد جعفر : میں یہ تاریخ بیان نہیں کرتا ۔ جناب میں مختصر عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ بہت سے لوگوں کا خیال ہے کہ ۱۹۷۱ع کے واقعات سے ملک تقسیم ہوگیا ۔ میرا مطلب یہ تھا ۔ ۱۹۷۱ع کے واقعات سے یہ ملک تقسیم نہیں ہو سکتا تھا ۔ لیکن یہ تمام پالیسوں کی اجتماعی صورت تھی جو اس ملک میں پچیس سال سے چلائی گئی ۔ اس کا لازمی یہ نتیجہ تھا کہ ایک انقلابی پالیسی قائم نہیں رہ سکتی تھی ۔ میں تفصیل میں نہیں جاتا ۔ اب جناب گزارش یہ ہے کہ ہمیں ذہنی طور پر قبول کرنا چاہیے ۔ ہم ان لوگوں کے وارث نہیں ہیں ۔ سیاسی لحاظ سے جنھوں نے وہ پالیسی اس ملک میں چلائی جس کے نتیجے میں ملک تقسیم ہوگیا ۔ ملک کے جغرافیائی لحاظ سے دو حصے تھے ان میں اختلافات تھے یہ قائم نہیں رہ سکتا تھا جب تک انقلابی صورت میں عوام کی بھلائی کے لیے ایسی پالیسی نہ چلائی جاتی ۔ وہ نہ کی گئی تھی ۔ ہم ان کے وارث نہیں ہیں ۔ ہم کیوں یہ کہتے ہیں کہ یہ اب علیحدہ ہوگیا ۔ ہم ان کو کیوں نہیں تحسین پیش کرتے ۔ میں واضح طور پر کہتا ہوں کہ جن لوگوں نے مشرقی پاکستان میں کارروائی کی ہے ۔ میں ان کے ساتھ نہیں ہوں ۔ میں ان کا ذمہ دار نہیں ہوں ۔ مشرقی پاکستان کے عوام نے تین چار جنگیں لڑی ہیں ۔ سب سے پہلے یہ ہے کہ جنگ لڑنے والے ۔ ۔ ۔

جناب اسپیکر : چلیے چھوڑیں ان کو آپ اپنی بات کریں ۔

ملک محمد جعفر : یہ نہ کہوں ؟

جناب محمد افضل رندھاوا : جناب ! پلاسی کی جنگ بھی ہوئی ۔

ملک محمد جعفر : وہ آزادی حاصل کرنے میں ہر دور میں پیش پیش رہے ہیں ۔ انگریزوں کے خلاف پاکستان تحریک میں ۔ ۔ ۔

جناب اسپیکر : ملک صاحب ! بس کریں ۔ کافی ہے ۔

سردار عنایت الرحمان خان عباسی : جناب والا ! یہ جنگ آزادی جو انھوں نے پاکستان کے خلاف لڑی ہے ۔ یہ اس کو جنگ آزادی کہہ رہے ہیں ۔

جناب اسپیکر : نہیں وہ پلاسی کی جنگ کی بات کر رہے ہیں ۔

جناب محمد افضل رندھاوا : جناب ! وہ جنگ پلاسی کی بات کر رہے تھے ۔

جناب اسپیکر : ملک صاحب اب بس کریں کافی ہے ۔ دیکھیں رات کے بارہ بجنے والے ہیں ۔

ملک محمد جعفر : مجھے علم تھا کہ میری تقریر پر بہت لوگ protest کریں گے ۔ میں یہ عرض کرتا ہوں کہ ذہنی طور پر ہمیں آپ کی آزادی کو تسلیم کرنا چاہیے اور اس کی مثال جناب یہ ہے کہ جو ملک کسی دوسرے ملک کی آزادی کو ذہنی طور پر تسلیم نہیں کرتا ۔ دوسرے ملک کی اقلیتوں پر انحصار کرتا ہے جیسے یہاں یہ کہا جا رہا ہے کہ مشرقی پاکستان میں ایسے عناصر ہیں جو "ایک پاکستان" کے حق میں ہیں ۔ ہمیں انتظار کرنا چاہیے کہ وہ اقتدار میں آ جائیں گے تو جناب ہمارے ملک میں اقلیتیں ہیں جو ہماری عوامی تحریک ہے ۔ گورنمنٹ جس کے حق میں عوام ہیں ۔ اس کے خلاف ہیں ۔ ہم کیا پسند کریں گے کہ باہر کے ملک ان قوتوں پر انحصار کریں جو پاکستان کی عوامی تحریک کے خلاف ہیں ۔ اقلیتوں میں ہیں اور تھوڑے سے ہیں ۔ ان سے معاملہ کریں ہم قطعاً پسند نہیں کریں گے ۔ اس لیے اگر ہم نے مشرقی پاکستان جو اب بنگلہ دیش ہے ۔ اس کے ساتھ برادری قائم کرنی ہے تو سب سے پہلے ہمیں اس کی آزادی ، اس کی سالمیت ، اس کی خود مختاری کو تسلیم کرنا ہوگا اور ان عناصر کو جو وہاں کے عوام کی منتخب حکومت جو اکثریت میں ہے ۔ اس کے خلاف کارروائی کر رہے ہیں ۔ ان پر انحصار نہیں کرنا ہوگا ۔ اور یہاں شعر پڑھے جاتے ہیں ۔ اس ضمن میں بھی ایک شعر پڑھ دیتا ہوں :

ہر کہ نہ محنت از گزشت روزگار
ہیچ نہ آں معزز از ہیچ کار

اپنی تاریخ سے ہمیں سیکھنا چاہیے ۔ ۱۹۴۷ع کے بعد سے اب تک جو واقعات ہوئے ہیں اگر ہم ان سے سبق حاصل نہیں کرتے اور اس کا مطالعہ نہیں کرتے

اس کو رد کر دیا ہے تو ملک کی بہتری نہیں ہوگی ۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں ختم کرتا ہوں ۔

Mr. Speaker : Mr. J.A. Rahim, would you like to say something ?

Mr. J. A. Rahim : Mr. Speaker Sir, in our present state of the country, we can say we are only half a nation, but let us accept the fact that a break has taken place which has divided what was Pakistan. One part, smaller in area, more populous, has declared itself a separate nation. One hundred countries have accepted this fact. For us, the acceptance of this fact caused great pain. We should shed tears of blood for what has happened to our country. But those people who have left the fold, they were after all, and are still, our brethren. They are Muslims, they were a major part of Pakistan. Sir, to harbour any rancour, any desire to be better than them, to say they do not exist, they have no right now, they exist in one Pakistan, is absuridity. I read out just a passage from here :—

> " The Assembly is confident that mutual forgiveness and understanding will eventually prevail."

Let us emphasize mutual forgiveness. Why do we as Muslims always emphasize the negative aspects of our relations : always prohibitions, always orders ; no word of love for other Muslims. This is what has lost us East Pakistan. For God sake, today think of your own people with affection. You will not win them back by hatred, by anger. They will come nearer to us, they may not come within the fold again, but that does not matter. We want amity, friendship ; no, real Muslim love of brethren. There are many difficulties in the way. We know that. This Resolution is enabling Resolution, fundamentally it is a very moral Resolution. It insists upon forgiveness. It finds the way towards a rapprochement. It builds up a bridge and I am confident and we ought to have trust in the future. We can once again come together. The part that has left us and the part that remains, which are we.

Sir, we should endeavour in all our relations with all countries, and particularly Muslim countries, not to think in negative terms. We have gained nothing by flourishing assault. Let us construct ourselves, our own lives here, and we will win the respect of the whole world. This is one step towards a new direction in our relations within the Sub-Continent. Sir, this Resolution is a landmark in diplomatic history for Pakistan. I support it wholeheartedley.

Mr. Speaker : Thank you very much.

Pir Syed Safi-ud-Din : I just want to say a few words. I think enough has been said on this Resolution and the longer you keep these people, these

Members of the National Assembly now at this time of the night, they have all supported and it is so important a matter that I fully support the Resolution. I find that some Members are dwindling and some have already left the House. I think this Resolution should be put to vote and no more discussion should be allowed on it. In this respect I just want to say a few things which I saw in Dacca when I was sent there on the 11th of March, 1971. I was in Dacca on the 11th of March, 1971 and I came back from Dacca on the 24th March of the same month. And what I saw there I was fully convinced, I was convinced beyond iota of doubt, beyond atom of doubt that our brethren of East Pakistan wanted to leave us. I met two or three leaders. I had discussions with all of them including Mujibur Rehman, not once but ten or twenty times, Professor Kamal and all the rest of them and also with Tajuddin. I was there in Dacca, as I said, from 11th of March, 1971 till the 24th of March and when I came back on the 24th March I was convinced that they did not want to stay with us any longer and that as Malik Jafar said I support him fully. It was not because of the events of 1971 alone, it was cumulative, it was the collection, it was the result of all our sins, omission and commission which we people since the last twenty-five years have been committing here in Pakistan and the result was that East Pakistan had to say good-bye to us and it was not only the events of 1971. So as far as I am concerned I not only support this Resolution but I feel that Bangladesh should be recognised as soon as possible, It is a reality. We have got to be pragmatic, we have to be practical. Bangladesh has come to stay. It is a reality which you will have to accept. Lastly, Sir, before I finish there are some people who have made a lot of sacrifices for Pakistan ; people like Raja Tridev Roy, Mr. Mahmud Ali, Mr. Nurul Amin, I feel that they have lost everything for the sake of Pakistan and I think we greatly owe a debt to them. I hope that your Government would compensate them for what they have lost in East Pakistan for your sake and for the sake of Pakistan. Thank you.

Mr. Speaker : Would you like to speak or I should call upon Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada ?

جناب اسپیکر : میرا اپنا یہ خیال ہے کہ آپ تقریر کریں ۔ میرے خیال میں بحث کا اختتام صدر صاحب کی تقریر سے ہوگا ۔

شیخ محمد رشید : میں اس قرارداد کی تائید کرتا ہوں ۔

I have privilege to support this Resolution.

میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ میں انتہائی دل خراش اور خون کے آنسو رو کر اس قرارداد کی تائید کرتا ہوں ۔ یہ قرارداد نہایت مجبوری کی حالت میں پیش کی گئی ہے ۔

ہمیں یہ قدم اٹھانا پڑا ۔ میں تحریک پاکستان کا ایک ادنیٰ سپاہی تھا ۔ مجھے یہ علم ہے کہ کس طرح لاہور میں قرارداد شیر بنگال فضل الحق نے پیش کی تھی ۔ اس وقت میں موجود تھا ۔ سلہٹ کے ریفرنڈم میں جس طرح عوام نے کام کیا وہ بھی ایک تاریخی حقیقت ہے ۔ اس لیے ان حالات کے بعد ان سے جدائی ایک ایسا المیہ ہے جو بیان نہیں کیا جا سکتا ۔ مجھے اپنے عزیز دوست خورشید حسن میر صاحب سے اختلاف ہے کہ ۱۹۴۰ کا ریزولیوشن غلط ہے ۔ ۱۹۴۰ع کے ریزولیوشن کو ۱۹۴۶ع کے ریزولیوشن کی شکل جب دی گئی تو وہ بالکل مختلف تھا ۔ اسی طرح مجھے کوثر نیازی صاحب سے اختلاف ہے ۔ شام اور مصر اور دوسری سلطنتوں میں کیا حالات ہوئے ۔ وہ ہم سے بالکل مختلف تھے ۔ اس ملک کے دو ٹکڑے ہو رہے ہیں یہ مسئلہ وہاں صادق نہیں آتا ۔ قرارداد یہ ہے کہ اگر مناسب حالات میں اس کو منظور کر لیا جائے تو بہتر ہے ۔ ایسے حالات جو پاکستان کے مفاد میں ہوں ۔ ہم حکومت کو یہ اختیار دیتے ہیں کہ وہ بنگلہ دیش کو مناسب حالات میں منظور کرے ۔ ہمارے جنگی قیدی اور مشرقی پاکستان میں غیر بنگالی اور یہاں کے بنگالی جنھوں نے پاکستان کو متحد کرنے کی کوشش کی تمام مصائب سے چھٹکارا حاصل کر لیں گے ۔ آج میں صرف اس بات کا ذکر کروں گا کہ وہ کون سے حالات تھے جن کی وجہ سے مشرقی پاکستان ہم سے علیحدہ ہوا ۔ میرے خیال میں یہ جاگیر داری اور سرمایہ داری نظام کی وجہ سے علیحدہ ہوا ہے ۔ ۲۵ سال سے سرمایہ داروں اور جاگیر داروں کی حکومت تھی ۔ ایسے حالات نہیں پیدا کیے گئے کہ ہم مشرقی پاکستان کے بھائیوں کو اپنے قریب لا سکتے ۔ ہم آپس میں بھائی ہیں جب تک دونوں ممالک میں سوشلسٹ نظام رائج نہیں ہو جاتا ۔ اس وقت تک ہم نزدیک نہیں آ سکتے ۔ ہمارے جو بھائی واک آوٹ کر گئے ہیں ۔ متعدد بار بزنجو صاحب نے فرمایا ہے کہ آپ بنگلہ دیش کو کیوں تسلیم نہیں کر لیتے ۔ آج وہی لوگ اس بات کی مخالفت کرتے ہیں اور یہاں سے اٹھ کر چلے گئے ہیں ۔ سردار شوکت حیات صاحب نے جو قرارداد پیش کی ہے ۔ اس میں بھی وہی باتیں موجود ہیں جو یہاں اس قرارداد میں موجود ہیں ۔

جو یہاں خورشید حسن میر نے پیش کی ہے ۔ صرف اس میں ایک مسئلہ تھا کہ

اس کے negotiation کے نتیجہ کو پھر یہاں لایا جائے ۔ اور ان لوگوں کا بھی تحفظ کیا جائے جو غیر بنگالی ہیں یا جو بنگالی ہیں ۔ جنھوں نے متحدہ پاکستان کے لیے جد و جہد کی تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ لا منسٹر صاحب کے اس حصہ کو وہ لانے کے لیے تیار تھے کہ وہ ٹھیک ہے کہ جن لوگوں نے جب ہم یہ ان سے assurance لیں گے کہ وہاں کوئی مقدمات نہ چلائے جائیں وہاں یہ assurance بھی دینے کی کوشش کی جائے کہ محب وطن شہریوں کو خواہ وہ بنگالی ہوں یا غیر بنگالی ان پر مقدمے نہ چلائے جائیں کیونکہ انھوں نے بھی پاکستانی حیثیت سے یہ جد و جہد کی یہ حصہ وہ لانے کے لیے وہ تیار تھے ۔ یہ assurance حاصل کر لینے کے بعد اسمبلی میں پیش کریں ۔ تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس سے قانون کی جو power ہے وہ بالکل ختم ہو جاتی ہے ۔ وہ سردار صاحب اس کی تائید میں قرار داد پیش کرتے تھے وہ بھی واک آوٹ کر جاتے ہیں ۔ اور نیشنل عوامی پارٹی کے سربراہ جو بنگلہ دیش کو کہتے تھے کہ تسلیم کیا جائے وہ بھی واک آوٹ کر جاتے ہیں ۔ اور جو پاکستان بننے کے خلاف تھے وہ بھی واک آوٹ کر جاتے ہیں ۔ اس سے ان کی حب الوطنی کا پتہ چل جاتا ہے ۔ یہ قرار داد انتہائی ضروری ہے کیونکہ اس کے بغیر کوئی اور چارہ نہیں ہے جس سے ہم اپنے ان قیدیوں کو بھی واپس لا سکیں ۔ مقدموں سے بچا سکیں ۔ اپنے غیر بنگالیوں اور بنگالی دوستوں کو وہاں تحفظ دے سکیں ۔ اور پھر ایک دوسرے کے نزدیک آ سکیں ۔ اس لیے ان ناگزیر حالات میں اور سود مند صورت حال کو پیدا کرنے کے لئے میں اس قرار داد کی تائید کرتا ہوں ۔

Mr. Abbul Hafeez Pirzada : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President of Pakistan is going to wind up the debates on this resolution and before that I venture to steal a few minutes. After such learned speeches before this House, particularly by my colleagues on my left Maulana Kausar Niazi, I do not think I would have been competent to address this august House at this late hour, but I consider that I shall be failing in my duty and my responsibility to the House if I do not say a few words, particularly in view of this dramatic walk-out staged by the Opposition of which we knew at least three or four days before today's sitting. I in the last 12 or 13 months since we have been sitting we have seen a pattern emerging out of the behaviour of the Opposition. We have seen that the Opposition is not based on principles ; opposition is for the sake of opposition and you would recall in one of my ealier speeches

during the constitution making I have said that there is no principle on which the Opposition wants to oppose the Government, it is the person of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto that they want to oppose and today we have seen once again fullest domonstration of that sentiment that some of the Members of Opposition have always entertained. I do not have any thing to add as far as the Resolution is concerned. The Government's stand has been absolutely clear. And here today from a person no less than the leader of the National Awamy Party, the demand came that the Government should give an assurance with regard to the time that it will allocate to the Members of Opposition. When did we deny them time ? Did we ever get up and say that the debates will com ᴗ to an end this evening ? We never said it. On the contrary the Government Benches — Mr. Ghulam Mohammed Mustafa Khar got up and said you shall be given exactly as much time as the Treasury Benches get on discussing and debating on this Resolution. I think this is more than a generous proposition because today once again after such a long time we have seen the demonstration of the strength of the Treasury Benches. You have seen that there were more than 98 votes in favour of the Treasury Benches and just absolutely about 25/26 of the Opposition. But, what I want to put across is this — that we have taken the Opposition by surprise. The question of recognition of Bangladesh has been agitating the minds of the National Assembly of Pakistan and particularly the President of Pakistan, who has taken this issue from cities to towns, to every nook and corner of the country. For the last 18 months this country has been debating the position of the objective realities in the sub-continent and the President of Pakistan has been advocating the cause of recognition of Bangladesh. The Chief of the National Awami Party wanted time to debate and discuss this Resolution. Debate and discuss — I would venture to ask — what has been their stand ? Only a few days ago they were criticising the Government's Resolution and saying that it is too mild. One of the members of the NAP came to me — Mir Ghous Bakhsh Khan Bazanjo, the former Governor came and said that this Resolution is far too mild. You should ask on the floor of the House for the recognition of Bangladesh because an authority has to be given to the President of Pakistan. It is not enough, what you should do is to recognise the objective reality of the sub-continent and the objective reality is that Bangladesh has come into existence about 18 months back and that it should be recognised immediately. I tell you, Sir, that this walk out was pre-planned. We have seen a lot of somersaults on the part of the National Awami Party in the last 18 months. We have see how for the sake of opposition of the President they would go to any extreme and even sacrifice their principle. It is not the first time that they sacrificed their principle. They have done it before. They have come out with commitment in accordance with their thinking and belief of their party—so called party—which claim itself a revolutionary and progressive party, then

they have gone back and we have seen the darkest and the worst possible demonstration of that political jugglery—somersault before this august House. I know why they staged this walk out because they wanted to get out but they did not want to annoy the so-called United Democratic Front. We saw this coming about 15 days back. Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, one of the members of the negligible component on the so called United Democratic Front—got up and made a speech—here and outside this House—he threatened the National Awami Party with expulsion from the United Democratic Front if they supported Bangladesh. Now, they did not want to be exposed in this House. So, the best way to get out is stage a walk out. We were informed that they were going to walk out and they found a pretext on which they could stage a walk out. The National Awami Party had made speeches before this House that immediate recognition must be afforded to Bangladesh. Why the leader of the Party Khan Wali Khan got up and asked for assurance with regard to the time limit and the extension of time should be afforded to them ? Sir, if the Awami Party has all along been of the view that Bangladesh must be recognised forthwith they should have come forward and supported the Resolution of the Government. On the contrary they should have got up and said that the Resolution is mild, and we should straightaway accord recognition to Bangladesh. This should have been strictly in accordance with the stand they have taken but what they do here. In the past 18 months they have been of the view that Bangladesh must be recognised but in the last two three weeks they have changed because they want to create impediments in the path of democratically elected Government towards achievement of normalisation of the situation in the sub-continent. Who can today dispute the fact that without normalisation of the situation in the sub-continent progress and prosperity cannot come to the downtrodden people of Pakistan. It is not only in the interest of downtrodden people of Pakistan for whom the peoples Party is fighting but also for the downtrodden Muslim brethren in that part which chooses to call itself Bangladesh. Let us recognise realities ; Do you want to create permanent situation of confrontation between our brethren in that wing and this wing, between the brethren of Muslim Bengal and people of Pakistan ? Let us recognise the realities. I do not want to say more on this. In any case I tell you, as earlier I got up and said a few words, as to why this drama was staged in this House. This is a pre-planned drama which was staged by the opposition and they got up and walked out. We knew of this three days earlier. We know about their somersaults and the political jugglary of Awami Party which is a people's organization but it has forsaken all principles that it ever claimed to adhere to. I, therefore, say that this is a Resolution which will bring prosperity, happiness and progress to the people of Pakistan and to the downtrodden people in the other wing which is called Bangladesh. There is no alternative to recognition, so

it has to be recognised at the appropriate time. This is a reality and we must recognise it. Thank you very much.

Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (*Leader of the House*): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not intend to enter into this debate after I had spoken earlier this evening. However, circumstances compelled to join in this debate at this late hour. In the first place I would like to thank the people of Pakistan and when I say people of Pakistan I mean the downtrodden people of this country for having seen what lies in their interest. I know that much has been said on the subject and I am glad that a great deal has been said about it. I am sure you will agree with me that we have never prohibited debate and discussion on this vital issue. This is undoubtedly an extremely important emotional issue that goes deep into the hearts of our people but we have to take a positive and realistic position. The trouble with us is that we rarely accept the reality. The trouble with us is that we get intertwined by emotional sentiments. I do not depricate emotional sentiments. I believe that emotional sentiments are extremely important factors in the vitality of a nation. On the contrary I am happy that we have clashed that we have had differences, that we have taken this problem so seriously because it is a serious problem. It is a problem that affects our state, it is a problem which affects our sovereignty, it is a problem which affects our self-respect, it is a problem which some people call a gut issue. If it were a gut issue then this is a gut issue because it is such a serious problem that I would have much rather preferred the Members of the National Assembly from the Opposition, who are an assorted conglomeration of individuals who have gathered together, to have been here to express their point of view, to express their opinions, to state their truths, and half truths, to have stated the truth and exaggerated truth. This is a forum for them to express their views, for them to articulate their thoughts, but they chose not only to boycott the Assembly, their own house, their own home, but to run away from it. I would not say that they left the Assembly, they ran away from the Assembly. There is no cause or justification for them to have run away from the Assembly in this dramatic fashion. I will tell you why they ran away from the Assembly. They ran away from the Assembly not because they could not make speeches. If I were sitting with them or I was sitting with them I could have made speeches, I could have made inflamatory speeches, volatile speeches, convincing speeches because there is much to be said on both sides of the issue. This is what democracy means. That way we express our opinion that way we express our point of view, whether we are right or wrong, whether we think just of today, whether we think of tomorrow, whether we think of our own selfish narrow individual interest or we think of national interest. But a great deal could have been said either way but they made a deliberate attempt first to frustrate a discussion on this matter, on this national issue of fundamental import and finally

they put their tails under their feet and ran out. Why did they run out ? Mr. Speaker, you did not tell them that there was a limitation on debate. On the contrary the Governor of Punjab, the Member from Muzaffargarh got up and assured the Assembly that we would be prepared to discuss this problem till doom's day, till the end of time, but they were not prepared to listen : they preferred to run out. I will tell you now why they ran out. They ran out for a number of reasons. In the first place they ran out because of the contradictions, because of their own conscience, because of their own inability to face the truth, to face the reality. They are a conglomeration of individuals who have got together to frustrate the progress of this country. They have many contradictions amongst themselves but they have a common denominator. If you dissect their political moarings you will find that the one common denominator they have amongst themselves is hatred for me alone. I am only an individual. I am only a person. I am only a passing factor in the scheme of things. Their unity lies in the hatred for the Quaid-e-Azam, in the hatred for the concept of Pakistan, in the hatred for the struggle of Pakistan ; and this is the common thread that binds them together. How can you imagine the Parties who were opposed to the creation of Pakistan, who opposed Pakistan tooth and nail, who stood in the rank of Gandhi, Nehru, Subhash Bose, Bhuola Bhai Desai and said that the creation of Pakistan would be a curse today they are saying that any relationship or any contemplated relationship with Muslim Bengal is an unsalutary development. They did not want Muslim Bengal. They did not want Pakistan, that is what unites them. They are a people who have been unscrupulous and they have profited by the unscrupulousness because of the innocence of our people ; and they foolishly think that they continue to profit by the ignorance and innocence of our people. But our people are no longer innocent or ignorant. Times have changed, times have overwhelmed them ; times have passed them. But they are in their own old grooves. They do not see the march of the time. They think that they still cajole and manipulate and bring about a state of affairs which will be ruinous for Pakistan or what is left of Pakistan and will not bring about their shattered dreams which they dream much before the creation of Pakistan. The members of the Opposition, a segment of the members of the Opposition did not walk out because this Resolution was brought before the House. They walked out because they feared that they will be exposed. They walked out because they thought that this Resolution did not go far enough. They walked out because they wanted the immediate recognition of Bangladesh. But this Resolution does not call for the immediate recognition of Bangladesh. That is why they walked out. They walked out in anger. They walked out because we were not ready to go as far as they were ready to go. They walked out because we did not capitulate. These are the gentlemen who have surrendered long ago. These are the gentlemen who had never

reconciled themselves to the creation of a Muslim homeland either in East Pakistan or in West Pakistan. These are the people who in December, 1971, raised slogans of "Indra Gandhi Zindabad" and "Arora Zindabad". These. are the gentlemen who called for a confederation between India and Pakistan These are the gentlemen who said to us after the debacle of 1971 that they were always right, their point of view has been vindicated and that the creation of Pakistan was an absurdity. They have said that in their private meetings. They have said in their caucuses and they have said to us when they have discussed and debated the question of the future of the sub-continent. These people are more Gandhi than Gandhi himself. These people want to subvert the aspirations of Muslim homelands or a Muslim homeland. They find now that they cannot do this. They have seen that we have secured the frontiers of what remains of Pakistan. They have seen that neither their internal intrigues nor their external intrigues have brought about doom of Pakistan. They have sent emissaries abroad, not to one country but many countries, to destroy what is left of Pakistan. Those who have remained outside of Pakistan for seven to eight years have been brought back to Pakistan to subvert Pakistan from inside. They have left no stone unturned. Their machi nations and minipulations have had no parallel. They have intrigued, intrigued and intrigued. They have indulged in multiplicity of activities against this State. And they know that Pakistan's foundation, Pakistan's base, Pakistan's citadel, Pakistan's strength lies in this part of the country. They are not interested so much in East Pakistan or Bangladesh. They think that part has already gone. That part of the country they regarded to be soft belly of Pakistan. They are not concerned with the soft belly of Pakistan. They are concerned with the hard belly of Pakistan. They want to destroy, confuse, confound this part of Pakistan. It is this part of Pakistan which we have to make strong and impregnable. It is this part of Pakistan which must live again. It is this part of Pakistan which must flourish again. It is this part of Pakistan which must blosson again, because the destiny of the sub-continent has always come from the North-West, and those who disagree or pretend to disagree the forces of the North-West state do so at their peril.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have not lost our self-respect or our national honour. We have never said that we would not indicate our national honour and our objectives, our national aim remain unswerving. It remains uncompromising. Our objectives are clear. Those people know our objectives, and therefore they want to frustrate them. They know what we are doing is a step for the attainment of our objective. They know that we are determined to put things right. They do not want things to be put right. They know that if we are strong, if we are oniour legs then we will follow the foot-steps of our forefathers and our progenitors. They do not want to follow the foot-steps of our

proginitors. They do not want this part of Pakistan to be strong. They do not want this part of Pakistan to be a sheet-anchor for the interests of the Muslims in the whole of the Sub-continent which includes not only Bangladesh or East Pakistan but also the Muslim minority of India. They know that if there is peace, an honourable peace, it will lead to terrible problems in India. They know that the only way that India has managed to remain together is hatred for Pakistan. They know that once India stops looking inwardly, then India will be in the state of disarray. In 1971 India pretended to be victorious. India felt that it had achieved the culmination of its dreams. That is only in December, 1971. We are now in 1973 and half the season of 1973 is not yet over. But we all know the problems that India already faces. She has the terrible food problem. She has the terrible internal problems. India is obsessed with the nightmare of multitude of Bangladeshis within her own polity. These Bangladeshes, these fissiparous tendencies, these divisive tendencies will not dis-appear as long as we are pitted against each other in an unnatural state of affair. Recently, there were some police strikes in a major province of India and that was entirely an internal affair, not of our making, not of our inspiration. But two of the principal Ministers of the Indian Cabinet immediately thought they must divert the attention of the Indian people to Pakistan and they again raised the bogey of the Pakistan's threat. This was done to unite the people of India. This was done to bring about a sense of unity among their people. For 25 years India has united or tried to unite un-Indian thoughts and un-Indian mentality by creating the hatred towards Pakistan and they have had an easy way out, firstly, because they have had their agents operating within Pakistan and, secondly, because there are agent provocateurs in Pakistan. I have told you of these people who were with the Congress, who remained with the Congress and who are still with the Indian Congress and will always remain with the Indian Congress. They take one line. But there are also agent provocateurs, chauvinists, so-called Galahads, who pretend to be the great defenders of Quaid-i-Azam's ideals, of Quaid-i-Azam's thoughts. They are even bigger enemies of Quaid-i-Azam. These people, they are Charlatans ; they are unscrupulous individuals who take an extreme position from the other side and the Congressites take an extreme position from one side and they converge together to destroy the concept of Pakistan, to destroy the fabric of Pakistan. We will not permit the fabric of Pakistan to be destroyed by these sinister, diabolical elements, these professionals who take politics not as an art of conscience, who take politics not as an art of ethics and of morality. Mr. Speaker, Sir, politics is a great art. But it is an art of morality, of ethics. Where is the ethics in their politics? Where is the morality in their thoughts? Long ago, soon after Simla, these very gentlemen who sat in the Opposition, they derided and more than derided, they abused the Government for not having immediately

recognised Bangladesh. They said that you should have immediately recognised Bangladesh. They said that you should not have taken this problem to the people. Today, these people have said that we are not giving enough time for debate and discussion. These were the very people who said that you are committing a cardinal sin by taking the problem of Bangladesh to the people. They said : why must you take this problem to the people ? Decide it in the confines of the National Assembly ; we are with you ; we want recognition of Bangladesh forthright, straightaway. Please do not take it to the people. Please confine it to the National Assembly. These very gentlemen today have walked out. This was the theme of their song. This was their thesis that we were making a mistake by taking this issue to every nook and corner of the country. When I went last November to the North West Frontier Province to carry the people with us on this delicate and complicated matter, they derided it. They said that they would never have done that. They said that they would have taken this immediately to the National Assembly or got a resolution or a bill made into law for the recognition of Bangladesh. They said that by taking it to the people, we were really trying to defeat the acceptance of the reality. They said that we were trying to be too smart. How does it lie in their mouth to get up today and say that we will walk out if you do not give us enough time to discuss this problem.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, no problem in Pakistan from 1947 to 1973 has been discussed so much as this problem has been discussed and we are the culprits who have allowed this to happen. We have taken it to the people when they did not want the people to be associated. We have deliberately allowed this matter to go on for a year and a half and who knows it might go on for a year and a half after this. This is not the final decision. Everyone knows that this Resolution is not the authentic final answer to Pakistan's position. This is only a resolution and a resolution has a recommendatory value. But apart from having a recommendatory value, what does the Resolution say. It is full of caveats. This has limited the scope of the Government. The sovereign Assembly has directed the Government on what lines to proceed and how to go forward. We have made it sufficiently clear that a number of cogent and relevant issues are involved before we can take the final step and when and how we take the final step, that will also be subject to the people's approval. We do not take any decision without the people's approval. We are a product of the people. We can never by-pass the people. We can never flout the people. We can never do something which is against the interests of the people. That would be not only our suicide, it will be the destruction of Pakistan and we have come here to uphold the ramparts of Pakistan and not to destroy and decompose what remains of Pakistan, and these gentlemen, these unscrupulous individuals who live by profitable absence of scruples, they are fully aware of it. They know that each step that we have taken is in the highest interest of the people of Pakistan, and that we will never take any step,

we will never contemplate any measure that will be inimical or detrimental to the greater glory of Pakistan and to the final interest of Pakistan. That is why they bolted out. These are boycotters. These are runaway people. These are the people who do not want to face the truth. These are the people who would like to operate by night and under cover of darkness. These are the people who would like to missuide the youth of this country. These are the people who would like to make the people of this country into lay things. They would like to see the blood of the people shed for their own selfish sinterets. Today when they walked out, they walked out with a purpose. One of the purposes I have mentioned. The other purpose is that they want to create bloodshed. They want the warm blood of this warm country to be shed on streets not for a national purpose, but for their own selfish interests. They want now to provocate the people, but I can assure you, the Government of this country both at the Centre and in all the four Provinces is fully charged with meeting the situation. We will not allow bloodshed to take place in Pakistan. We will not allow the youth of this country to be decimated for the greatest and selfish aims of political charlatan. We will maintain law and order, but we will see to it that life and property of the people is protected and is safe, because we have done nothing wrong. We have committed no sin. We have committed no wrong but conscience is clear. We can answer the people today, and we can answer the people five years from today that what we do is in their interest. We can never contemplate any measure which is anti-people and against national interest. We have served and supported the cause of Pakistan from its inception and at every stage and in every crisis. We shall hold with the flag of Pakistan. We shall never permit Pakistan to see an ignominious day. It is our duty and our responsibility to vindicate national honours, to wipe out the stigma that we have inherited. I do not want to belabour on their contradictions, on their compromises, but Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is an hour of reckoning, this is a moment of truth and at this moment of truth let me tell you that the National Assembly of Pakistan representing the people of Pakistan has given no mandate to the Government of Pakistan other than the mandate given by the people of Pakistan which is to safeguard national interest and to promote the national zeal. They have asked for a debate and a discussion. On what? What is the decision ? There is no decision being taken today. It has not been said that we shall recognise Bangladesh today, and I can tell you authoritatively that we are not recognising Bangladesh and that we will not recognise Bangladesh till full justice and equity have been done and then also we will consider whether it is necessary to recognise Bangladesh or not. This has thrown the ball back into their court, but that is a heckneyed expression that we have thrown the ball back into their court. We have thrown not only a ball into their court, we have thrown a football into their court and now this football is in the lap of

these people who claim that they wanted justice and equity in the Sub-continent. It is we who want equity and justice in the Sub-continent. It is our prisoners of war who are held in bondage. It is our citizens who are in captivity against every norm of international law. It is our people who have been black-mailed. It is our people who have been held in hostage. Do we not owe it to these 93,000 people 70,000 of them who were in the armed forces and more than 20,000 of them who were civilians who were doing their duty to Pakistan right or wrong according to their own light that they should not vanish and they should not be destroyed as guinea pigs and as animals. Is it our national self-respect that we should hold our valiant people in cages in Indian concentration camps for no rhyme or reason ? Eighteen months have passed. What are we to benefit from it ? How is this stalemate advantageous to Pakistan ? These 90,000 they have their families, their mothers and sisters, they have sons and daughters. They are human beings. They have human feelings. For nineteen months they have remained in concentration camps wondering why they are remaining in concentration camps, remaining there without a purpose, without a cause. For a cause Mr. Speaker, Sir, a whole nation can be decimated, a whole nation can sacrifice, but there must be a cause. I ask them what is the cause for permitting our nationals, 90,000 of them to be bound in chains. If there were a cause I would be the last person to say that they should be released and returned to Pakistan. East Pakistan has separated for good or bad reason. We had cautioned against the separation, not this year, not in the year following the elections, but in 1967 when the Pakistan Peoples Party was founded in the city of Lahore. We made speeches that it appears that if trends and developments continue in the manner in which they are continuing then the separation of East Pakistan will be inevitable, I spoke on that occasion, the Secretary-General of the Party spoke on that occasion, many other speakers said that we warn you that with this attitude and with this policy East Pakistan will be run asunder. At that time we were laughed at, we were ridiculed, but that was not all. We wrote it in our party's foundation papers that if we pursue a colonialistic attitude towards the people of East Pakistan, it is inevitable, it is inescapable that they will separate, and at that time I will make bold to say that these chauvinistic individuals who today are talking about the integrity of Pakistan without knowing what the meaning of the word 'integrity' is because they have no integrity in their own souls, damaged the integrity. A person who has some integrity in his mind and in his body will know the meaning of the word 'integrity'. These people are cheats. They are fraudulant people who have always tried to manipulate and who have always capitalised on their own narrow interests. I can tell you today, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that we are accused, other are accused for the separation of East Pakistan. It is not such a simple matter. East Pakistan could not have separated from West Pakistan by one

decision, a right decision. The process of separation of East Pakistan is a long and a painful process which began soon after the decision that was taken to make one language, the language of bilingual people and the majority of which was living on the other side. That was the first initial mistake and many mistakes followed. After that exploitation, ruthless exploitation, inhuman exploitation took place of East Pakistan ; we sucked them dry. Their bossoms do not have much milk as the Indians have seen after trying to sap them since 1971. They are a poor people ; disaster, unfortunately, seems to be their stars ; they are the people who see floods and cyclones, they are the people who are short of food, today the people of East Pakistan or the Muslim Bengal are going about in rags and tatters, the very jute bag is their cloth ; they are Muslims ; they say—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

They are the followers of our Prophet (peace be on him), they do not want Hindu influence to re-assert itself on their culture and on their life. We are helping them in the process of re-assertation of Hindu influence over Muslim Bengal. Muslim Bengal is Muslim Bengal and if we are foolish and stupid and blind we will make it into a Hindu Bengal and I have no intention to make Muslim Bengal into a Hindu Bengal. That is why I want to recognise Muslim Bengal, the Bengal of the Prophet (peace be on him), the Bengal of the Quran. This is why we are anxious this is why we want to have relationship with them, this is why we want to have association with them, this is why we want to have links with them so that we can meet one another, so that we can embrace one another, so that we can shed our tears over each other's shoulder and say that we have wronged one another out of ignorance, out of vanity. It is about time that we become humble, it is about time that we recognise each other's mistakes, it is about time that we acknowledge the fact that we are human beings and that as human beings we are fallible individuals and not infallible individuals.

I tell you, Sir, that those who are crying hoarse today for East Pakistan to be part of Pakistan, they are principally responsible for the separation of East Pakistan from Pakistan. Do I not know these individuals ? I know each of these individuals who has spoken today and shed the crocodile tears. One of them raised the point of order ; people are famous for many things, some people are famous for having won elections from the time that elections came into being and some people are famous for having lost elections from the time the elections came into being. This is the individual who has lost each and every election—from a municipal election to a local body election—till he was carried on the shoulder of the Pakistan Peoples Party, till I had to go to

the Lahore Constituency No. 3, till I was exhausted and I fainted in Mr. Mubashir Hasan's house for having campaigned for him and got him elected. It should come in the Encyclopaedia Britanica but the Encyclopaedia Britanica would not mention it because the British are not happy with us and he has today the guts to say that East Pakistan is being severed from Pakistan. This gentleman, this individual, when we went to East Pakistan in March, 1971, brought to me Mr. Mahmud Ali sitting here in this House, with another East Pakistani and said that he has only brought Mr. Mahmud Ali to convince me that we should bridge the hell out of Mujibur Rahman and bridge the hell out of East Pakistan. He said that the only answer is in the use of force, he said only answer lay into making them black and blue, and I said to him that I cannot be a party to this ignominious arrangement, I cannot be a party to having East Pakistan blood being shed and he knows that I went to Yahya Khan and I protested that if there is a single drop of blood, East Pkistan blood going into the Ganga, if the Ganga river has one drop of shed blood of an East Pakistani, we shall never be a party to it. But he went on to say that the only answer lies in the use of force, in the use of brute and naked force. He went and clapped the 'Jawans' and said —

شاباش ۔ اور مارو اور پیٹو ۔ انہیں اور مارو اور پیٹو ۔ اور مارو

At the airport I told him that you have used barbarous terms, you have taken us to the point of no return and he said that this is the only language that the Bengalis understand.

یہی طریقہ ہے بنگالیوں کے ساتھ اور کوئی طریقہ ہی نہیں ہے بنگالیوں کے ساتھ ۔ اب جناب یہاں آ کر تقریر کرتے ہیں ، یہاں آ کر کہتے ہیں کہ جی بنگالی ہمارے بھائی ہیں ۔ ارے ۔ تم نے بنگالیوں کو مارا ، پیٹا ، تباہ کیا ۔ تم نے بنگالیوں کا خون پیا ، تم نے بنگالیوں کا استحصال کیا ، تم نے بنگالیوں کی کھال اتاری اور پھر اب آ کر کہتے ہیں کہ یہ کارنامے آپ کے ، یہ تباہی آپ کی ، یہ کردار آپ کے ! ارے منافقی کی بھی کوئی حد ہوتی ہے جناب اسپیکر صاحب ! ہمارے مذہب میں کہا جاتا ہے کہ منافقی سے بڑا جرم کوئی نہیں ہو سکتا اور ہم مسلمان ہیں منافقی کی کوئی حد ہوتی ہے ۔ کس قسم کے منافق ہیں ؟ ایک طرف سے آپ مارتے ، پیٹتے ہیں اور ان کی جدائی کے لیے آپ کے ہاتھ بڑھے رہتے ہیں اور بڑھتے رہتے ہیں اور بعد میں یہاں آ کر تقریریں کرتے ہیں ، نیشنل اسمبلی میں ! لوگ ان کو نہیں پہچانتے ہیں ؟ لوگ

ان کو اچھی طرح سے پہچانتے ہیں - غریب لوگ ان کو بہت اچھی طرح سے پہچانتے ہیں -

and the other gentleman I do not want to mention their names, they say the only way to deal with East Pakistan is to deal with it like a Colony.

میں نے کہا تم انگریز کے بچے ہو ؟ تمھارے ایکشن تو انگریزی ہیں تم انگریزی accent میں بات کرتے ہو لیکن تم انگریز ہو ؟ لیکن جناب یہ طریقہ ہے . ان کو مارو ، پیٹو ، ان کو پیس دو - ہم نہیں چاہتے ، ان کو مارنا ، پیٹنا اور پیسنا کیونکہ یہ ہمارے مسلمان بھائی ہیں ، ہمارے ساتھی ہیں ، انھوں نے ہمارے ساتھ جد و جہد کی ہے ، انھوں نے پاکستان کے لیے قربانیاں کی ہیں ، ہم ان کی قربانیوں کا احساس کرتے ہیں - ہم ان کی قربانیوں کو جانتے ہیں - ان کا مقام ہے ہمارے پاس ان کی قربانیوں کے لیے ہم کس صورت میں کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ بنگالیوں کو ہم بھول جائیں اور بنگالی اب ہندوستان کے قبضہ میں آ جائیں - ہندوستان کا جال بچھا ہوا ہے - بنگال میں ہندوستان نے پورا قبضہ کر لیا ہے - ہم تو de-jure کی بات کریں گے - de-jure بنگال کو تسلیم کریں گے - نہیں - انھوں نے de-facto کنٹرول کیا ہے بنگالیوں کا - ہم تو de-jure باتیں کریں گے کہ بنگال کو تسلیم کریں یا نہ - انھوں نے de-facto بنگال کو اپنی colony بنا رکھا ہے - تو جناب صدر - یہی ہمارا مقام اور ہمارا ایمان رہنا چاہیے - یہی ہماری منزل ہے - یہ مجھے بات سمجھ میں نہیں آتی کہ ہم آپ کے دشمن ہیں ، کیا اتنی دشمنی ہم آپ کے ساتھ کر سکتے ہیں ؟ دشمنی کی حد ہوتی ہے ! ہم خود کشی کرنا چاہتے ہیں ؟ ارے خود کشی کتنی کریں گے اور کتنے لوگوں کو ماریں گے ! we must look to the future ہمیں مستقبل کو دیکھنا چاہیے -

We must look to the future. We must go ahead, we must go with the time. I am prepared to wage my whole political career on this Resolution, because this Resolution does not empower me or my governmet to recognise Bangladesh, and I can tell you today as the President of Pakistan that I will not recognise Bangladesh, I will not recognise Bangladesh until and unless we have had a full and equitable settlement, unless and until it is in the interests of Muslim Bengal and Pakistan, unless and until we can find some ways and means of getting together, unless and until we have driven the Indians out of Bangladesh. The Indians do not want us to recognise Bangladesh. Now it is quite evident. Indians never wanted us to recognise Bangladesh. They thought :

کہ یہ مسلمان عجیب لوگ ہیں ۔ ان میں تمکنت ہے ۔ یہ اندھے ہیں ۔ تو ہم کہیں گے جی تسلیم کر لو ، منظور کر لو اور یہ کہیں گے ہم نہیں کریں گے ۔ تو ہم کہیں گے کرو یہ کہیں گے نہ کرو اور ہماری جڑیں بڑھتی جائیں گی ۔

but they had to yield with this Government, with the Peoples Government, with an intelligent Government, with a Government of intellectuals, with a Government which has faculties and thinks with its faculties and they knew that we had seen through their macabre scheme, and today when we are moving in that process, they said we have delinked the question of recognition. At one time they linked it when they thought that we are not going to recognise. Now, when we are taking steps, only steps, to recognise, they delink it. When we tell them to come and talk to us, now they are evasive, because they are frightened. They do not want us to recognise Muslim Bengal, because they know that these two Muslims will get together again. These two ramparts, these two pillars in the Sub-continent representing the mighty strength and inspiration of Islam will again re-activate their forces : in what form or shape, that is not important. They do not want that to happen. That is why they are procastinating the discussion. That is why they are delinking the question of recognition. At one time they made it a condition precedent that there must be recognition before there can be any further developments. Today they say there can be further developments without recognition. Why ? In the name of reason I ask you why ? The reason is obvious to any child who is prepared to think. The reason is obvious that they do not want us to have any links. They do not want the two Muslim communities to get together again. How they get together is different, we are not proposing anything. We leave it to Muslim Bengal to determine how they want to get back with us. We leave it to them. If they want links, we welcome them, if they do not want links, we will accept their verdict. But this is what our enemies do not want. This is what those who are opposed to any form of union or any form of dialogue of fraternity between the two parts of the Sub-continent which have Muslim majority to get together, they are opposed to that. This is so obvious. And must we fall into the trap every time ? Must we fall into the quagmire every time ? Must we go blind-folded on each and every occasion ? Must we not keep our eyes open ? Must we not keep our faculties open ? Must we not think ? Must the world think of us that we are the only unthinking animals in the world ? Must we not take cognizance of realities ? They say, what are realities ? Realities change. I know realities change. That is why I say, recognise them, because realities can change. The realities of today may not be the realities of tomorrow. So accept the realities of today to make them unreal tomorrow. Even without that, there will be full and calculating and mathematical negotiations. I do not think that my people,

our people, your people, will ever accuse me of being a bad negotiation. I have negotiated with many countries. I have negotiated with many States. I do not think that ever in my life till today I have negotiated badly for Pakistan, and if I have not negotiated badly for Pakistan with other countries, how do you, Mr. Speaker Sir, expect me as the chosen representative of the people of Pakistan to negotiate to the detriment of Pakistan and of the ideology of Pakistan when we enter into negotiations with Muslim Bengal or with India ? We are mindful of our responsibilities. We are mindful of the lessons of history. We are mindful of our destiny, and I can assure you that at no stage will national interests and national rights be compromised. Why should national interest and national rights be compromised ? Whom do we owe it to compromise our national interests and national rights ? Who has saddled us into power ? Have the Russians saddled us into power ? Have the Americans saddled us into power ? Have the Chinese saddled us into power ? Have the French saddled us into power ? Have the British saddled us into power that we should think of what they say ? We have been put into this position of pre-eminence by the people of Pakistan, by the toiling masses of Pakistan. We owe this respect and this "izzat" to them and to them alone we are beholden. It is inconceivable in our remotest thoughts that we should ever compromise the interests of the down-trodden and the poor people of Pakistan and the common people of Pakistan, It is to them alone that we owe allegiance. It is their interests alone which we shall safeguard. But I know the dreams of my poor people, the dreams of my down-trodden people can never come true so long as tension and enmity and bitterness and hatred envelopes the Sub-continent. Generation after generation we have seen the deprivations of our poor people. They have lived in rags. They have never had a roof to live under, They do not know from where tomorrow's meal is going to come. They are not interested in metaphysics. They are not interested in philosophies. They are not interested in abstract thoughts. They are interested in bread and butter, they are interested in "roti, kapra aur makan". We cannot give them their "roti, kapra aur makan" in this state of futile confrontation. We want to end this futile confrontation at least among brothers so that we can open a new era,a new chapter of hope and expediency for our people. If our fore-fathers and our progenitors have failed, we must not be defeated in our attitude, and for that, the future of our people. It is not the law of God that we should alone live in misery and in torment and in torture. We are determined, Mr. Speaker Sir, to bring a new life to our people full of meaning and full of hope, and all our energies are directed to this end and I believe that we can fulfil this high purpose, we can translate our mission into reality provided we accept the realities of the Sub-continent. And the realities of the Sub-continent are not against our interests. Realities of the Sub-continent are unhesitatingly in our interests. So this is only a resolution. This is not a constitutional act where you need the consensus of

all parties and all provinces. This is not a Bill of the Assembly. This is not a law. This is only a recommendatory resolution, a recommendatory resolution that has come after one and a half years of protracted debate. What issue is left which has unearthed, what problem is left which has not been debated before ? What is the hidden factor upon which a Member of the Opposition has said that he would permit us to speak till all the POWs come home. We do not know when the last POW comes home and that is what you said, start debate, discuss, hear everyone and if it is necessary to continue tomorrow and day after, We will continue now, we are sitting here and it is 1-50 or 1-20. We would have broken and met again yesterday but they wanted to stage a drama. They are dramatists. They have no point of view to take to the people because they reason with contradiction, because they do not have a national objective and that is why they are an assorted bunch of individuals, have consorted together to be negative, to halt to put a full-stop. When the whole world is moving and moving in different directions and even towards the moon, they do not want to leave the moon. They do not want anything to move. They want to make everything to be stagnant. We are virile people but they want us to become immobile. Life is full of mobility, life is full of vitality and virility but they wanted us to get into a quagmire, they wanted us to sink and sink and sink deeper till we destroy ourselves. This is their instrument and this is what they harp upon. They talk about public morality, they talk of political morality. Does it really become of them to talk about public morality and political morality ? Where have they shown any morality ? It was their sheet-anchor ; some of them wanted us to recognise Bangladesh, the moment it became into being. It was their Qibla and Kalma, it was the theme-song that recognise Bangladesh. There is no harm to recognise Bangladesh. Why are you stopping, why are you hesitating to recognise Bangladesh ? You must do it straightaway even before the POWs come back, even before there are other settlements, do it now here, do not wait for tomorrow. One of the principal parties, all their leaders told us publicly and they told us privately that, the one mistake that you are making was not to recognise Bangladesh, It was their 'takya kalam' "Recognise Bangladesh". "منظور کرو فوراً کرو" When I came back from Simla. What a mistake you have made not to recognise Bangladesh. You should have recognised Bangladesh the moment you came from Simla", and in every meeting, at every place, it is in their manifesto, it is in their speech that we must give immediate, immediate recognition to Bangladesh. Today they get up and say that we do not have enough time to discuss and debate. They say that limitation was placed for making their speeches. Who have put restrictions on their speeches ? I said this is only a resolution, this is not a constitutional enactment. This is not a law of the Assembly. Another resolution which we have discussed for one and a half years in public meetings, in Rawalpindi, in

Karachi, in every corner of the North West Frontier province in which we have discussed in each mohalla, in each village, in each basti we have taken this problem to the people. What is hidden about this problem ? What is concealed about this problem ? This Resolution is only a culmination of a long and protracted debate. Not one single aspect of the Bangladesh matter is not known to the people. It has been dissected, it has been thrown open bare before the people and it is only a resolution and not a decision. It is not a decision to recognise Bangladesh. Then what is the cause for this debate ? I can accept non-political beings to say stupid things. I can accept people who do not know the art of politics to say silly things, to be absolutely unwise, about the political realities because politics does not come by merely going from one profession to another. Politics does not come the easy way. You have to have political instinct, you have to have a political mind, you have to have political training, you have to have political education and you have to have political philosophy but those stupid people who say stupid things who one day say that we should recognise Bangladesh the other day they say its reverse. We give no importance to their utterances. However, to those people who are political beings, it is a painful thing to know that they want to take small gains, petty advantages ; at what cost, at the cost of the nation, at the cost of our relations with Muslim Bengal, at the cost of peace and tranquillity in the sub-continent. It is these people whom I am addressing myself today that they are clever by half and nobody can be clever by half. They are better than us because they are better liers. They are better at deception, they are better at manipulation, they are better at chicanery. We salute their chicanery, we salute their manipulation. We go directly to the people and tell the people what is their interest and I can tell you Mr. Speaker, Sir, that with a clear conscience I will go to the people. Whenever we have clear conscience. I will go to the people in every nook and corner of Pakistan and seek their consent for the recognition of Mnslim Bengal before I call to Muslim Bengal. What you have to enable me is to strengthen my hands to negotiate. I am beholding you and I am thank full to you because National Assembly of Pakistan has place me in a better and stronger position to negotiate with the 'banya' and to negotiate with the Muslim Bengal. I am armed now with your authority, I am armed now with the support of the people of Pakistan to negotiate and I can assure the people of Pakistan and you the chosen representatives of Pakistan that you have not falsely reposed your confidence in me and that I shall negotiate with them till the milk is dry. And that will be till Pakistan's finest and magnificant interests are served. I thank you very much.

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

" that the National Assembly, believing that the spirit of Muslim brotherhood should govern the relationship between the people of

Pakistan and those of the area which now calls itself Bangladesh, acclaims all efforts directed towards the healing of the wounds suffered by both communities in the tragic events of 1971. The Assembly is confident that mutual forgiveness and understanding will eventually prevail over the rancour and hate which democratic and progressive elements in both communities equally deplore.

In this context, the National Assembly endorses the stand taken by the Government with respect to the immediate issues which need to be resolved for the normalisation of the situation in the sub-continent. The Assembly is convinced that a pre-requisite of such normalisation is the full implementation of the provisions of Security Council Resolution 307 and the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the release and repatriation of the prisoners of war and civilian internees without any further delay.

The Assembly strongly supports the Government's position on the issue of the holding of trials of some among the prisoners of war and civilian internees on alleged criminal charges and urges all concerned to respond to the needs of reconciliation by refraining from holding any such trials which would cause a grave setback to the efforts being made towards the normalisation of the situation in the sub-continent.

In accordance with these principles, the Assembly is of the opinion that the Government of Pakistan may accord formal recognition to Bangladesh and initiate such Constitutional measures as may be necessary therefore, at a time when, in the judgment of the Government, such recognition is in the best national interest of Pakistan and will promote a fraternal relationship between the two communities".

The Resolution was adopted.

PROROGATION

Mr. Speaker : Now, I read an order of the President : In exrcise of the powers conferred by clause 2 of Article 68 of the Interim Constieution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, I hereby prorogue the National tAssembly of Pakistan on the conclusion of its sitting of the 9th July, 1973.

Signed : *Zulfikar Ali Bhuttho.*

The House stands prorogued.

The Assembly adjourned sine die.