

# **The West Pakistan Legislative Assembly Debates**

**From 1st August to 6th August, 1956**

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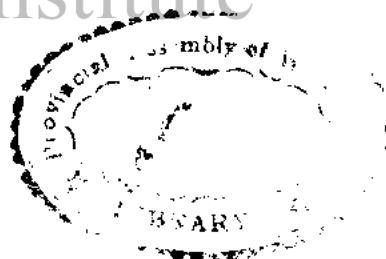
**Vol. II**

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**OFFICIAL REPORT**



Gul Hayat Institute



**Lahore**

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1956**

## **PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**

### *Speaker*

Chaudhri Fazal Elahi, M.A., L.L.B. (Alig.) (Gujrat District)

### *Deputy Speaker*

Vacant

### *Secretary*

Hakeem Ahmed Shujaa, B.A. (Alig.).

### *Deputy Secretary*

Chaudhri Muhammad Iqbal, B.A. (Alig.).

### *Assistant Secretaries*

Chaudhri Muhammad Akbar, B.A. (Hons.), LL.B. (Parliamentary Affairs).

Syed Amir Ali Shah, B.A. (Administration).

Mr. Wali Muhammad Ba'och, LL.B. (Budget and Accounts)

Gul Hayat Institute

# WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

## LIST OF MEMBERS

### *Chief Minister*

Dr. Khan Sahib (Swat State).

### *Ministers*

- Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, Minister of Revenue.  
Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti, B.A., LL.B. (Muzaffargarh District), Minister of Education.  
Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan, Minister of Finance and Information.  
Kazi Fazlullah Ubedullah, B.A., LL.B. (Larkana District), Minister of Development and Irrigation.  
Col. Syed Abid Hussain, Minister of Communication and Works.  
Syed Jamil Hussain Rizvi, B.Sc., LL.B. (Alig.) (Gujrat District), Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation.  
Makhdumzada Syed Hassan Mahmood (Rahimyar Khan District), Minister of Social Welfare and Local Government.  
Pirzada Abdus Sattar, Bar-at-Law (Sukkur District), Minister of Law and Agriculture.  
Mahr Muhammad Sadiq, B.A., LL.B. (Lyallpur District), Minister of Co-operation.  
Chaudhri Abdul Ghani Ghuman (Sialkot District), Minister of Excise and Taxation.  
Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan (Las Bela), Minister of Prisons.  
Mirza Mumtaz Hassan Qizilbash (Khairpur Mirs), Minister of Industries, Labour and Commerce.  
Haji Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur (Hyderabad District), Minister of Food and Civil Supplies.  
Haji Najam-ud-Din Leghari (Hyderabad District), Minister of Forests and Games.  
Khan Khuda Dad Khan (Hazara District), Minister of Health.

### *Deputy Ministers*

- Khan Nur Muhammad Khan (Mardan District).  
Syed Khair Shah Imam Ali Shah (Nawabshah District).  
Begum Khudeja G. A. Khan (Lyallpur District).  
Rukan-ud-Daulah Shamsheer Jang Al-Haj Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan (Gujranwala District).  
Khan Sakhi Jan Khan (Bannu District).

### *Advocate-General*

Sheikh Faiz Muhammad, B.A., LL.B.

*Members*

- Abbas Khan Seth, Malik (Jhelum District).  
 Abdul Aziz, Malik (Sialkot District).  
 Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mr. (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).  
 Abdul Ghani, Chaudhri (Bahawalnagar District).  
 Abdul Ghani Harl, B.A., LL.B., Chaudhri, (Sheikhupura District).  
 Abdul Ghani Khan Khattak, Khan (Mardan District).  
 Abdul Halim, Qazi (Tribal areas other than the Malakand Protected Area).  
 Abdul Hamid, Mr. (Lyallpur District).  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Soofi, (Sheikhupura District).  
 Abdul Hamid Kadir Bakhsh Khan Jatoi, Mr. (Dadu District).  
 Abdul Jabbar Khan, Dadukhel Tarakzai Mohmand, Malik (Tribal areas covering the Mohmand Agency).  
 Abdul Khaliq Kakar, Mr. (Areas of the District of Quetta-Pishin excluding the Municipal and Cantonment Board areas of Quetta).  
 Abdul Lateef, B.A., LL.B., Mian (Sheikhupura District).  
 Abdul Lateef Khan, Zakakhel, Malik (Khyber Agency).  
 Abdul Majid Khan Karim Bakhsh Khan Jatoi, Mr. (Dadu District).  
 Abdul Qayyum, B.A., LL.B., Mir. (Lyallpur District).  
 Abdul Rahim, Chaudhri (Sialkot District).  
 Abdul Rehman Muhammad Qureshi, Mr. (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).  
 Abdul Wahid, Al-Haj-Mian (Lyallpur District).  
 Abdullah Jan Syed (Peshawar District).  
 Abdullah Khan, Amir (Mianwali District).  
 Abdullah Khan, Haji, (Dera Ismail Khan District).  
 Abdullah Khan, Khan (Mardan District).  
 Abdur Rehman Khan, Rao (Multan District).  
 Ahmed Ali, Sardar (Lahore District).  
 Ahmed Saeed Kirmani, Mr. (Lahore District).  
 Aidan Singh Nagji Sodho, Mr. (Tharparkar District) (Caste Hindu).  
 Aisha Muhammad Abdul Aziz Arain, Begum (Sukkur District—reserved Seat for Women).  
 Ali Bakhsh Khan Mir Haji Allah Dad Khan Talpur, Mir. (Tharparkar District).  
 Ali Bilawal Khan Shah Ali Khan Dombki, Mr. (Upper Sind Frontier District).  
 Ali Gohar Khan Haji Khan Mahar, Sardar (Sukkur District).  
 Ali Gohar Shah Muhammad Khuhro, Mr. (Larkana District).  
 Ali Hussain Shah Gardezi, Syed (Multan District).  
 Ali Mardan Khan Mir Ghulam Raza Khan Talpur, M.A., LL.B. (Khairpur).  
 Ali Nawaz Khan Mir Haji Bundesh Ali Khan Talpur, Mir. (Hyderabad District).  
 Ali Sher Khan, Chaudhri (Sheikhupura District).  
 Allana G., Mr. (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).



*Members—contd.*

Allah Bachayo Khan Haji Fateh Ali Khan Talpur, Mir (Tharparkar District).

Allah Bakhsh Khan Abbasi, B.A. (Alig.), B.Sc. (Edin.), Mr. (Rahimyar Khan District).

Allah Dino Muhammad Hassan Sial, Mr. (Khairpur).

Allah Diwaya, Qazi (Rahimyar Khan District).

Allahyar Khan, Malik (Campbellpur District).

Altat Mohy-ud-Din Qadri, Syed (Sialkot District).

Amir Ali Khan, Al-Haj Nawabzada Jam (Sanghar District).

Amir Ali Khan, Subedar Raja (Rawalpindi District).

Amir-ud-Din, Mian (Lahore District).

Amir Hussain Shah, Syed (Gujrat District).

Amir Muhammad Khan, Malik (Mianwali District).

Amir Sultan Khan, Khan (Mardan District).

Ata Ullah Khan, Haji (Dera Ismail Khan District).

Ata Ullah Khan Mengal, Sardar (Kalat District).

Aziz Din, B.A., LL.B., Chaudhri (Lyallpur District).

Bagh Ali, Malik (Area covered by Cantonment Boards of Karachi, Malir, Drigh Road and Manora).

Bahadur Khan Drishak, Sardar (Dera Ghazi Khan District).

Bahadur Sultan, Mian (Bahawalpur District).

Balakh Sher Khan Mazari, Mir (Dera Ghazi Khan District).

Baloch Khan Nosherwani, Nawabzada Mir (Kharan District).

Barkhurdar, Malik (Bahawalpur District).

Bashir Ahmed Cheema, Chaudhari (Bahawalnagar District).

Baz Muhammad Khan Jogezi, Sardar (Loralai District).

Chander Singh Sodho Rajput, Rana (Tharparkar District).

Chandu Lal Sunder Dass, B.A., LL.B., Chaudhri (Lahore District—Non-Muslim Reserved Seat).

Dharamdass Motumal, Mr. (Sukkur District—Non-Muslim Reserved.)

Dost Muhammad Ali Hassan Hakro, Mr. (Larkana District).

Dost Muhammad Khan, Mian (Gujranwala District).

Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah, M.A., LL.B., Pir (Dadu District).

Faiz Ahmad, B.A., LL.B., Chaudhri (Sargodha District).

Faiz Ahmed, Mian (Montgomery District).

Faiz Hussain, Malik (Sialkot District).

Faqira Khan Jadun, Khan, (Hazara District).

Farzand Ali, B.A., LL.B., Chaudhri (Bahawalpur District).

Fateh Muhammad Khan, Khan (Swat State).

Fateh Muhammad Khan Tiwana, Malik (Sargodha District).

Fateh Muhammad Laleka, Mr. (Bahawalnagar District).

Fateh Sher Langaral, Malik (Montgomery District).

Fazl-i-Ilahi Piracha, Sheikh (Sargodha District).

*Members—contd.*

Fazl-ur-Rahman, Sheikh (Bahawalpur District).

Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani, Major Sardar (Kalat District).

Ghulam Ali Haji Abdullah Memon, Haji (Hyderabad District).

Ghulam Ali Khan Mir Haji Bundeh Ali Khan Talpur, Mir (Thatta District).

Ghulam Haider, Mr. (Jhang District).

Ghulam Hussain *alias* Haji Jan Muhammad Khan Qadir Dad Khan Mari Baloch, Haji (Sanghar District).

Ghulam Muhammad Khan Muhammad Hashim Khan Wassan, Mr. (Tharparkar District).

Ghulam Murtaza, Haji Khawaja (Dera Ghazi Khan District).

Ghulam Murtaza Shah, Syed (Dadu District).

Ghulam Mustafa Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bhurgri, Mr. (Tharparkar District).

Ghulam Mustafa Khalid Gilani, Syed (Rawalpindi District).

Ghulam Nabi Dur Muhammad Khan Pathan, Mr. (Sukkur District).

Ghulam Rasual Shah Pir Jahan Shah, Syed (Hyderabad District).

Ghulam Rasul Tarar, Chaudhri (Gujrat District).

Ghulam Sabir Khan, Rana (Montgomery District).

Ghulam Sadid-ud-Din, Najam-ul-Hind Khawaja Hafiz (Dera Ghazi Khan District).

Ghulam Shah Bukhari, Pir Syed (Kurram Agency).

Gul Muhammad Noon *alias* Abdul Aziz Noon, Rana (Multan District).

Gul Nawaz Khan, Chaudhri (Gujrat District).

Gulji Ratonji Menghwar, Mr. (Tharparkar District—Scheduled Caste).

Habibullah Khan, Khan (Tribal areas covering Malakand Protected Areas).

Habibullah Khan Torikhel, Wazir Sardar Fakhri-i-Kashmir (Tribal areas covering North Waziristan Agency and Tribal areas of Bannu District).

Hadayat Ali B.A., LL.B., Shoikh (Sialkot District).

Haji Shah Qadri Gilani, Syed (Montgomery District).

Hamid-ud-Din, Makhdom (Rahimyar Khan District).

Hamid Uallah Khan, Nawabzada Mir (Mekran District).

Hamid Hussain Muhammad Hussain Faruqi, Mr. (Sukkur District).

Hassan Ali Shah, Syed (Montgomery District).

Hassan Bakhsh, Haji Pir (Hyderabad District).

Hassan Bakhsh Shah Haji Pir Shah, Syed (Nawabshah District).

Imam Ali, son of Khan Haji Muhammad Umar, Haji (Nawabshah District).

Inayat Ullah, Chaudhri (Lahore District).

Ismail Burhani, Mr. (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).

Jaffar Ali Shah, Mr. (Chitral).

Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum (Lahore District—Women Reserved Seat).

Jamal Dar, Major-General (Tribal areas adjoining Kohat District).

Joshua Fazal-ud-Din, B.A., LL.B., Mr. (Lyallpur District).

Kadir Bakhsh Illahi Bakhsh Tunio, Mr. (Larkana District).

*Members—contd.*

- Kamran Khan, Khan (Swat State).  
 Karim Bakhsh, B.A., LL.B., Hafiz (Muzaffargarh District).  
 Khair Bakhsh Khan Mari Tumandar, Sardar (Areas of the District of Sibi).  
 Khan Muhammad Khan Bozdar, Sardar (Sukkur District).  
 Khawaja Muhammad Khan, Khan (Hazara District).  
 Kher Mehdi Khan, Raja (Jhelum District).  
 Khuda Dad Khan, Mahr (Sargodha District).  
 Khuda Dad Khan, Raja (Jhelum District).  
 Khurshid Ahmed Muhammad Yaqub, Sheikh (Hyderabad District).  
 Khurshid Ahmed Qureshi, Al-Haj Hakim Mian (Sargodha District).  
 Lal Chand Siroomal, Mr. (Sanghar District).  
 Lal Khan, Raja (Rawalpindi District).  
 Madhavji Dharsibhai, Mr. (Municipal Corporation of Karachi—Seat reserved for Non-Muslims).  
 Mahabat Ali Khan, Khan (Kohat District).  
 Mahboob Ali Khan Magsi, Sardar (Kalat District).  
 Mahboob Ali Shah *alias* Mahboob Shah Gilani, Pir Syed (Sukkur District).  
 Mahbub Ilahi, Sheikh (Lyallpur District).  
 Mahmood A. Haroon, Mr. (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).  
 Mahmud Khan Jichki, Mir (Mekran District).  
 Mahmood Shah, Syed (Hazara District).  
 Manzoor-i-Hassan, Mian (Gujranwala District).  
 Mashal Khan, Khan (Bannu District).  
 Mashal Khan, Jalalkhel Behlolzai, Khan (Tribal areas covering South Waziristan Agency and the Tribal areas of Dera Ismail Khan District).  
 Masood Sadiq, Sheikh (Rawalpindi District).  
 Meharali Shah N. Bukhari, Haji Syed (Thatta District).  
 Mehtab Khan Chaudhri (Lahore District).  
 Miangul Aurangzeb Sahib, Waliad (Swat State).  
 Mir Azam Khan, Chief of Dairs (Tribal areas covering North Waziristan Agency and the Tribal areas of Bannu District).  
 Mir Rehman, s/o Haji Abdul Rehman Bar Qambarkhel (Khyber Agency).  
 Mohsin Shah, Makhdum (Bahimyar Khan District).  
 Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Syad (Campbellpur District).  
 Muhammad Abdul Haq Khan Khattak, Khanzada Maulvi (Peshawar District).  
 Muhammad Abdullah Jat, Chaudhri (Lyallpur District).  
 Muhammad Afrin Khan, Khan (Swat State).  
 Muhammad Afzal Bajwa, B.A., LL.B., Chaudhri (Bahwalnagar District).  
 Muhammad Afzal Khan, Khan (Mianwali District).  
 Muhammad Ahsan, Chaudhri (Gujrat District).  
 Muhammad Akbar, Malik (Gujranwala District).  
 Muhammad Akbar Khan, Khan (Bannu District).  
 Muhammad Ali, Haji (Sheikhupura District).

*Members—contd.*

- Muhammad Ali Khan Afridi, Nawabzada (Khayber Agency).  
 Muhammad Altaf Hussain Chaudhri (Jhelum District).  
 Muhammad Amin Khan Shamankhel Mahsud, Khan (Tribal areas covering South Waziristan Agency and the Tribal areas of Dera Ismail Khan District).  
 Muhammad Ashraf Khan, Khan (Peshawar District).  
 Muhammad Ashraf Alam Khan, Mr. (Lyallpur District).  
 Muhammad Aslam Khan of Turbela, Khan (Hazara District).  
 Muhammad Aslam Khan of Bagan, Khan (Hazara District).  
 Muhammad Aslam Khan, Salar (Kohat District).  
 Muhammad Aslam Khan, Khan (Peshawar District).  
 Muhammad Ayyub Khan, Mr. (Rahimyar Khan District).  
 Muhammad Ayyub Khuhro, Al-Haj (Sanghar District).  
 Muhammad Bakhsh Khan Mir Haji Abdullah Khan Talpur, Mir (Tharpar-kar District).  
 Muhammad Bakhsh Lakhwera, Mr. (Bahawalnagar District).  
 Muhammad Farid Khan, Khan (Hazara District).  
 Muhammad Ghulam Jilani Gurmani, Mian (Muzaffargarh District).  
 Muhammad Habibullah, Hafiz (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).  
 Muhammad Hanif, Chaudhri (Multan District).  
 Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, Al-Haj (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).  
 Muhammad Hussain Chatha, Chaudhri (Sheikhupura District).  
 Muhammad Hussain, Sardar (Lahore District).  
 Muhammad Iqbal Ahmed, Rai (Montgomery District).  
 Muhammad Islam-ud-Din, Pirzada Maulvi (Multan District).  
 Muhammad Jaffar Khan Gul Muhammad Khan Buledi, Sardar (Upper Sind Frontier District).  
 Muhammad Khan Leghari, Sardar (Montgomery District).  
 Muhammad Khuda Yar Khan Maneka, Mian (Montgomery District).  
 Muhammad Mohsin Lali, Mahr (Jhang District).  
 Muhammad Nazif Khan, Khan (Bannu District).  
 Muhammad Qasim Mr. (Bahawalpur District).  
 Muhammad Saeed, Akhunzada Haji (Tribal areas adjoining Kohat District).  
 Muhammad Saeed Qurehsi, B.A., Nawabzada Mian (Sargodha District).  
 Muhammad Saeed, B.A. (Hons.), LL.B., Sheikh (Jhang District).  
 Muhammad Safdar, Khawaja (Sialkot District).  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Hussain Khan, Malik (Campbellpur District).  
 Muhammad Shafi, M.A., Mian (Montgomery District).  
 Muhammad Shamas Khan, Khan (Peshawar District).  
 Muhammad Umar Khan, Khan (Peshawar District).  
 Muhammad Yar Chishti, Mr. (Bahawalnagar District).  
 Muhammad Yar Khan Mr. (Multan District).  
 Muhammad Yusaf, Chaudhri (Lyallpur District).

*Members—contd.*

- Muhammad Yusaf Khan, Chandio, Mr. (Thatta District).  
 Muhammad Yusaf Khan, Khan (Mardan District).  
 Muhammad Yusaf Khan Qasamkhel Tarakzai Mohmand Lieut, Khan  
 (Tribal areas covering the Mohmand Agency).  
 Muhammad Zafrullah, B.A., LL.B., Sardar (Lahore District).  
 Muhammad Zakir, Maulana (Jhang District).  
 Mumtaz Jamal, Begum (Peshawar District).  
 Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Mian (Multan District).  
 Murid Ahmed, Qazi (Sargodha District).  
 Musa Khan Allah Bakhsh Khan Bughio, Mr. (Larkana District).  
 Mushtaq Ahmed Khan, Chaudhri (Lyallpur District).  
 Mushtaq Ahmed, B.A., LL.B., Mian (Lahore District).  
 Muzaffar Khan, Captain Malik (Mianwali District).  
 Muzaffar Khan, Mr (Campbellpur District).  
 Muzaffar-ul-Haq, Khawaja (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).  
 Nabi Bakhsh Khan Khosa, Mir (Sibi District).  
 Nabi Bakhsh Khan, Mir (Chagari District).  
 Nabi Bakhsh Naich, Malik (Rahimyar Khan District).  
 Najm-ud-Din Vallibhoy, Mr. (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).  
 Nasir Ahmed Malhi, Chaudhri (Sialkot District).  
 Nasir A. Sheikh, Mr (Sialkot District).  
 Nasrullah, B.A., LL.B., Chaudhri (Lahore District).  
 Nasrullah Khan Jatoi, Sardar (Muzaffargarh District).  
 Nasrullah Khan, Nawab (Dera Ismail Khan District).  
 Nasrullah Khan Turi Hamzakhel, Haji (Tribal areas covering the Kurram  
 Agency).  
 Naubahar Shah, Syed (Multan District).  
 Nausher Khan, Rai (Lyallpur District).  
 Nawazish Ali Khan Sial, Khan (Jhang District).  
 Nazar Hussain Shah, Syed (Muzaffargarh District).  
 Nur Muhammad Khan, Arbab (Peshawar District).  
 Nur Muhammad Khan, Khan (Tribal areas other than the Malakand Pro-  
 tected Area).  
 Nur Muhammad Khan Sher Muhammad Khan Bijarani, Sardar (Upper  
 Sind Frontier District).  
 Nur Muhammad, Malik (Montgomery District).  
 Nur Muhammad Shah Murad Ali Shah, Syed (Nawabshah District).  
 Pir Muhammad Khan, Khan (Mardan District).  
 Qurban Ali Khan, Khan (Montgomery District).  
 Qutab Khan, Captain (Multan District).  
 Qutab-ud-Din Khan, Nawab (Dera Ismail Khan District).  
 Rahim Bakhsh Khan, Sardar (Multan District).  
 Rehman-ud-Din Siddiqui, Haji (Multan District).



*Members—contd.*

- Rehmat Ullah Arshad, Allama (Bahawalpur District).  
 Rukan Zaman Khan, Raja (Hazara District).  
 Safiullah Khan, Khan (Peshawar District).  
 Sai Muhammad, Chaudhri (Gujrat District).  
 Said-ud-Din Swalleh, D. Sc. (Berlin), B.Sc. Agri. (Wales), B.A. (Alig.), Dr. (Hyderabad District).  
 Saifullah Khan Mahboob Ali Khan Magsi, Mr (Larkana District).  
 Saifullah Khan Tarar, Chaudhri (Gujranwala District).  
 Salah-ud-Din, Chaudhri (Gujranwala District).  
 Saleh Muhammad, Chaudhri (Sargodha District).  
 Saleh Muhammad Khan Mandokhel, M.A., Khan (Zhob District).  
 Salma Tassaduque Hussain, Begum (Multan District).  
 Sana Ullah Bodla, Pir (Multan District).  
 Sardar Mahmud Khan, Mr. (Bahawalpur District).  
 Sarwari Irfan Ullah, Begum (Municipal Corporation of Karachi—Seat reserved for Women).  
 Sayeed S. M., Mr. (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).  
 Shad Muhammad Khan, Khan (Hazara District).  
 Shafqat Hussain Shah Atta Husain Shah Musavi, B.A., LL.B., Mr. (Sukkur District).  
 Shah Nawaz Jamal-ud-Din, Pirzada (Nawabshah District).  
 Shah Nawaz, B.A., Syed (Montgomery District).  
 Sher Afzal Khan, Arbab (Peshawar District).  
 Sher Jang Khan, Captain (Rawalpindi District).  
 Sher Muhammad Bharwana, Mr. (Jhang District).  
 Sher Muhammad, Haji (Bahawalnagar District).  
 Shirin Khan, Khan (Mardan District).  
 Sikandar Khan Hamrani, Mr. (Dadu District).  
 Sikandar Shah, Syed (Swat State).  
 Singha, S. P., Mrs. (Sialkot District—Reserved Seat).  
 Sobharo Khan Faiz Muhammad Khan Banbhan, Mr. (Khairpur Mirs).  
 Suhail Khan Mallezai, Seth (Areas of the District of Quetta-Pishin excluding the Municipal and Cantonment Board Areas of Quetta).  
 Sultan Ahmed, Chaudhri (Bahawalpur District).  
 Sultan Ali, B.A., LL.B., Chaudhri (Lyallpur District).

*Members—concl'd.*

Sultan Khan, Chaudhri (Campbellpur District).

Tahira Aijaz Hussain Agha, Begum (Hyderabad District). (Seat reserved for Women).

Teesomal Nathiromal, Mr. (Hyderabad District --Non-Muslim Reserved Seat.)

Usmar Din Khan, Malik (Kohat District).

Wali Muhammad Khan, Khan (Hazara District).

Wattan Badshah Khan, Khan (Kohat District).

Zafar Hussain, B.A., LL.B., Sheikh (Gujranwala District).

Zaffar Ali Shah Muhammad Ali Shah, Syed (Nawabshah District).

Zahid Ali Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab (Hyderabad District).

Zahoor Hussain Shah, Pir (Multan District).

Zain Noorani, Mr. (Municipal Corporation of Karachi).

Zari Sarfraz, Begum (Mardan District).

Zeenat Fida Hassan, Begum (Rawalpindi District).

Zubeda Ihsan-ul-Haq, Begum (Bahawalpur District).



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# WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

## Second Session of the First West Pakistan Legislative Assembly

Wednesday, 1st August, 1956

*The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber, Lahore, at 8-00 a.m. of the Clock. Mr. Speaker (Chaudhry Fazal Elahi) in the Chair.*

*Recitation from the Holy Quran.*

### OATH OF OFFICE

**Mr. Speaker :** Any member who has not taken and subscribed the oath so far may do so now.

Khan Qurban Ali Khan (Montgomery District).

The following member was then sworn in:—

### STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

#### TOURING OF THE MINISTERS.

**\*233. Begum Tahira Aijaz Hussain Agha :** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state :—

(a) the number of days on which each Minister of the Provincial Government remained on tour after the 6th April, 1956 ;

(b) the number of days on which each Minister remained on tour in his former home Province after the 6th April, 1956?

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister) :**

	(a)	(b)
(1) Dr. Khan Sahib	31	14
(2) Syed Abid Hussain	8	6
(3) Kazi Fazlullah Obeidullah	20	20
(4) Syed Jamil Hussain Rizvi	4	2
(5) Makhdumzada Hassan Mahmood	16	9

No other Minister went on tour.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** May I ask the Chief Minister whether the tours of these Ministers were in connection with public duty or in connection with canvassing support for the Republican Party?

## WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY [1ST AUGUST, 1956]

**Chief Minister:** This is a new question and I want notice for it.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** May I ask the Chief Minister whether it is a fact that when these Ministers were on tour, the District Officers were instructed to collect M.L.As. in order to get support for the Republican Party?

**Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti (Minister of Education):** This is incorrect and malicious.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** It is for the Chief Minister to answer. I have put the question to the Chief Minister and not to him.

**Chief Minister:** The honourable member may be sure that this Government is not indulging in these low tactics, as was done by the previous Governments.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the Chief Minister why the names of Mr. Ghuman and Mr. Dasti are not included in the statement of the tours that they did in Hyderabad recently?

**Chief Minister:** This is a new question.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** May I ask the Chief Minister whether it is a fact that when he was himself on tour, the Political Agents were sending for M.L.As. in Baluchistan and Tribal Areas in order to ask them to support the Republican Party?

**Mr. Speaker:** Disallowed.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, may I know the reason for disallowing this supplementary question?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not bound to give any reason.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, I have asked for the elucidation of the answer given by the Chief Minister. I am entitled under the Rules to ask a supplementary question?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is not a supplementary question as it does not arise out of the answer given by the Chief Minister.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, I am prepared to accept your ruling but there are certain Rules of Procedure of this Assembly.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada:** As soon as the Speaker has given a ruling, there should be no discussion after it.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** I am not entering into a discussion. I am simply asking for elucidation of the answer given by the Chief Minister.

**Mr. Speaker:** Your question has been disallowed.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

## AGRICULTURAL LAND BELONGING TO HURS.

**\*234. Begum Tahira Aijaz Hussain Agha:** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state :—

(a) the acreage of agricultural land belonging to Hurs in Makhi Lake confiscated by the Government in the year 1942-43 ;

(b) whether the confiscated land has been restored to their owners or compensation paid in lieu thereof ;

(c) if the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, the number of acres restored ;

(d) if answer to part (b) be in negative, the reasons for not restoring the confiscated land to their owners?

**Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot** (Minister of Revenue) :

(a) 308-30 acres.

(b) & (c) So far an area of 99-35 acres only has been restored to the original Hur Khatedar by name Ghulam Muhammad Nihal Khan.

(d) The former Sind Government had decided not to restore lands which were confiscated as a result of proceedings under the Criminal Procedure Code.

2. The details in respect of lands cancelled, resumed, acquired and confiscated from the Khata of Hurs, during Martial Law regime are as under :—

The total area cancelled due to non-payment of instalments of malkano.	7235-24 Acres.	The total area regranted to the Hur grantees from that available from the original cancelled grants.	3799-36 Acres.
		The total area of Government nakabuli land re-granted in lieu of the cancelled grants of Hurs not available for disposal.	1275-4 Acres.
The total area resumed under the terms of grants.	4283-31 Acres.	The total area restored to the Hur grantees out of that resumed from the Khata of Hurs under the terms of the Grants.	Nil.
The total area acquired under the Land Acquisition Act.	4488-17 Acres.	The total area restored to the original Hur grantees from that acquired under the Land Acquisition Act.	Nil.
The total area confiscated under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.	1573-29 Acres.	The total area actually restored to the Hur grantees from that confiscated under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.	99-35 Acres.

WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, [1ST AUGUST, 1956]

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** May I ask whether the present Government is prepared to revise the decision of the former Sind Government in connection with the restoration of the land?

**Minister :** I do not think the present Government is prepared to do so, because it is an old case.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** May I ask the Revenue Minister whether Government is prepared to look into the matter in order to redress this grievance even if it is old?

**Minister :** The lands were confiscated as a result of proceedings under the Criminal Procedure Code.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** Is it a fact that the lands of the Hurs were confiscated for holding political views which were hostile to the then British Government?

**Minister :** I will have to study the case and then answer this question.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Is it a fact that the Leader of the Hurs, Pir Pagaro, was actually arrested and hanged on charges of being anti-British?

**Minister :** I do not know.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :—**Is it a fact that the followers of Pir Pagaro were punished by the then Government working under the 1935 Act, as a tool of their British masters?

**Mr. Speaker :** Disallowed.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** May I ask the Revenue Minister as to why land has been restored to some and discrimination has been shown against others? Why has not the land been restored to all those from whom land was confiscated?

**Minister :** I have just now said that only in the case of Ghulam Muhammad Nihal Khan the land was restored.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** Why?

**Minister :** Because there were no criminal proceedings against him.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** The lands of the Hurs as a class were confiscated and as far as people know there were no criminal proceedings against individuals. The land of the community as a whole was confiscated and he was one of the members of that community.

**Mr. Speaker :** The question has been answered.



## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** May I ask the Minister whether criminal proceedings were instituted against all those whose lands have been confiscated?

**Mr. Speaker:** This is a vague question.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** May I ask the Minister of Revenue whether criminal proceedings were instituted against all those people whose lands were confiscated?

**Minister:** I think so.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the Minister of Revenue whether he is aware of the case of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Hayat Junejo in which there were no criminal proceedings against him and still his land was confiscated, because of the enmity of the previous Ministry?

**Minister:** I will find out. I don't know anything about it.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** May I ask the Minister of Revenue whether he would give an assurance to the House that he will look into all those cases where lands of the Hurs have been confiscated, and in case he finds some persons against whom there were no criminal proceedings yet their lands were confiscated, will he be prepared to restore their land to them?

**Minister:** I will look into the matter.

PROMOTION TO THE POSTS OF ASSISTANT SECRETARIES AFTER THE  
INTEGRATION.

\*408. **Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state :—

(a) whether it is fact that prior to the integration instructions were issued that the quota of each unit had to the extent of personnel available of the relevant category, to be absorbed from the unit staff itself and the deficit if any had to be supplied by appointing surplus staff of the same rank with a view to avoiding unnecessary promotions and safeguarding against lowering of standards of efficiency in the West Pakistan Secretariat;

(b) if so, whether it is a fact that in spite of the above instructions about 5 Superintendents of the former Punjab Secretariat were promoted as Assistant Secretaries in the West Pakistan Civil Secretariat whereas some of the Assistant Secretaries of the former Sind Secretariat were not absorbed in the Secretariat;



(c) if replies to parts (a) and (b) above be in the affirmative, whether it is also a fact that according to the Rules on the subject that after the integration of the provinces the promotions should have been made on all West Pakistan Secretariat basis and the senior most Superintendents should have been promoted;

(d) whether it is a fact that the 5 Superintendents of the Punjab Secretariat promoted as Assistant Secretaries are junior to other Superintendents according to the gradation list of Superintendents which has been prepared on the basis of continuous length of service regardless of confirmation;

(e) if so, whether the promotion of these persons has resulted in supersession of their seniors on the gradation list and violation of the instructions referred to in part (a);

(f) whether it is a fact that representations have been addressed to Government on the subject but Government have not yet revised their previous orders reverting the above-mentioned Assistant Secretaries to their substantive ranks of Superintendents?

**Dr. Khan Sahib** (Chief Minister): (a) and (b) The instructions referred to are contained in para 4(d) of the Chief Secretary—designate's letter dated the 8th October, 1955. These instructions, however, are applicable to ministerial staff and were never intended to cover the case of Assistant Secretaries.

The case of Assistant Secretaries was in fact regulated by a separate formula. According to the respective size of each integrating Secretariat, Sind became entitled to 3, and Punjab to 7 posts of Assistant Secretaries. This was out of a total of 15 posts. Four posts of Under Secretaries were temporarily down-graded to Assistant Secretaries, in order to absorb the surplus Assistant Secretaries. Out of 19 posts thus available, 10 were given to Sind against its quota of 3.

(c) It is correct that after integration, promotions to the posts of Assistant Secretaries are to be made on an all-West Pakistan Secretariat basis. The promotion of five Superintendents of the former Punjab Secretariat, however, were made before integration according to the formula explained against (a) and (b) above.

(d) Does not arise in view of the answer to (a), (b) and (c) above.

(e) This is not correct in view of what has been explained under (a) to (d) above.

(f) Yes, but in view of the position explained above the existing orders require no revision.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

POSTS OF UNDER SECRETARIES AND ASSISTANT SECRETARIES  
IN THE WEST PAKISTAN SECRETARIAT.

**\*409. Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state :—

(a) whether it is a fact that there are about 30 posts of Under Secretaries and 15 posts of Assistant Secretaries in the West Pakistan Secretariat; if so, how many posts of the Under Secretaries are held by C. S. P. officers;

(b) whether it is a fact that C. S. P. officers can be transferred and posted to any executive jobs whereas the Assistant Secretaries cannot be posted outside the Secretariat;

(c) if the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, whether in the Central Government and the late Government of Sind 50% posts of the Under Secretaries were reserved for promotion of Assistant Secretaries; if so, whether Government are prepared to adopt similar policy of reserving 50% posts of Under Secretaries for promotion of Assistant Secretaries?

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister) :** (a) At present there are 28 Under Secretaries and 19 Assistant Secretaries. Four C. S. P. officers are holding the posts of Under Secretaries.

(b) Yes.

(c) The posts of Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries are now alternative and there is no question of promoting Assistant Secretaries as Under Secretaries. It is not true that Central Government had reserved 50% posts of Under Secretaries for promotion of Assistant Secretaries.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** May I know from the Chief Minister what ratio is reserved for the Assistant Secretaries, who are already serving in the Secretariat, for the promotion to the posts of Under Secretaries?

**Chief Minister :** There is no reservation. They are promoted according to their merits.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Formerly in Sind, I know, a ratio of I. C. S. and Provincial Services for higher promotions was fixed. Is that being continued here or not?

**Chief Minister :** There is no reservation but the Government is always very careful that competent Provincial Officers are promoted to the higher posts.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** The C.S.P. Officers who can be sent to the districts have got a greater scope but may I know if there is any scope for those people who have been serving in the Secretariat beyond their promotion in the Secretariat?

**Chief Minister :** In the Secretariat there is scope for them.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** If there is, then why there should not be some protection for them and some ratio may be fixed for them?

**Chief Minister :** Reservation is a very wrong thing. I think it interferes with the integrity of the man. Let him compete and come forward.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** If they have no chance to go outside the Secretariat, what protection is going to be given to them so that they may have their chance for promotion?

**Chief Minister :** There is. We put them in districts. But I tell him my opinion is that reservation is a very wrong thing. It is all right in a colony but for an independent country reservation is destructive.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** I may point out to the Chief Minister that the Assistant Secretaries who have been serving in the Secretariat are rarely sent out.

**Chief Minister :** If they prove themselves fit why does he want to send them out?

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** May I ask the Chief Minister whether the answer given by him regarding reservation is his own opinion or is he quoting the rules of the Government, and whether he would make sure that there are no reservations?

**Chief Minister :** I may assure the honourable member that when I say there are reservations, there are reservations. The Government intends to finish those reservations.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** May I know what is the proportion and ratio of those reservations?

**Chief Minister :** I really do not understand as to what information the honourable member requires. I have told that this Government intends to finish these reservations.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** I want to know what is the proportion and ratio at the moment, as the law stands?

**Chief Minister :** There are no reservations worth mentioning.

(Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, please.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** Well, Sir, it is a very important matter. It concerns the establishment of the services and their rights. The Honourable Chief Minister is expected to know the relevant rules?

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti (Minister of Education):** Do not shout.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** It is not for him to say; "do not shout". I will shout as much as I like.

**Chief Minister:** I want proper notice.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** The question in itself was a sufficient notice to the Honourable Chief Minister. Besides, it is the basic principle on which all the services are working in West Pakistan and it is really regrettable that the Honourable Chief Minister does not know this thing?

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** Sir, I want to rise on a point of order. According to rules questions can only be asked and answers given about actual facts, actual acts of Government and not about what a Chief Minister may have in his mind. An honourable member wants to know the proportion in which reservations have been made and the Chief Minister replies that he is mentally against reservations and one day he will abolish the system.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question was put and the answer was read by the Chief Minister. After that some supplementary questions were asked and in the course of these supplementaries, the Chief Minister made an expression of his opinion.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** On a point of order, Sir. You will recollect, Sir, that you have always ruled out of order questions which relate to matters of opinion. Even supplementary questions have been ruled out on this ground. In this particular case, supplementary questions have been asked and answers that have been given relate to matters of opinion. My humble submission, therefore, is that the Chief Minister be ruled out of order?

**Mr. Speaker:** No, The honourable member ruled out of order.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** On a point of information, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** That question is over and we are now going to the next question.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** May I know, Sir, when the Chief Minister will be in a position to give an answer to this question?

**Mr. Speaker:** Give him notice.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** I think he will be in a position to answer this question during this session.



# TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE AND SEPARATION ALLOWANCE CONCESSIONS TO EMPLOYEES OF SIND

**\*410. Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state:—

(a) whether it is a fact that Government have allowed Travelling Allowance concession and Separation Allowance to the employees of Sind who have been posted in the West Pakistan Secretariat only;

(b) if so, whether it is a fact that the former employees of the Sind Secretariat who have not been absorbed in the West Pakistan Secretariat are not being allowed similar concessions;

(c) whether it is a fact that such employees who were members of the former Sind Secretariat were recruited only for the Secretariat and were not liable to be posted elsewhere;

(d) the reasons for the differential treatment accorded to those members of the Secretariat staff who have not been appointed in the West Pakistan Secretariat;

(e) whether it is a fact that had they been posted in the West Pakistan Secretariat they would have been allowed such concessions;

(f) whether it is a fact that representations have been made from time to time but so far their demands have not been acceded to;

(g) whether it is a fact that employees have now threatened that in case their demands are not acceded to within one month they would file a suit against Government;

(h) whether it is a fact that Karachi Compensatory Allowance at half the rate has been allowed to those who are married and are posted in the Secretariat only; if so, the reasons for denying this privilege to those officials of the Sind Secretariat who are now posted in the offices of Attached Departments?

**Chief Minister:** (a) It is correct that separation allowance and T. A. (for one visit to families to staff entitled to separation allowance) have been sanctioned in favour of employees of all integrating Secretariats, including Sind Secretariat, who have been posted to the West Pakistan Secretariat.

(b) The above-mentioned two concessions have been restricted to the Secretariat staff only and have not been extended to surplus Secretariat staff of integrating units which have not been absorbed in the West Pakistan Secretariat.

(c) Employees in the integrating Secretariats were not ordinarily liable to be posted outside, but this became inevitable on integration and the necessary legal sanction was provided in Section 8(3)(b) of the Establishment of West Pakistan Act, 1955.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(d), (e) and (f) At the provincial headquarters, residential accommodation is ordinarily provided to the Secretariat staff only. At the time of integration as family accommodation (although under construction) was not ready, the Secretariat staff required to come to Lahore was granted the above concessions temporarily until residential accommodation for their families was allotted. If these concessions are extended to other staff, it will mean that Government will become liable (a) to provide residential family accommodation to all its employees wherever they may be, and (b) to pay these allowances to all of them indefinitely. In any case, the huge financial commitment involved is beyond the resources of this Government.

(g) Yes.

(h) Yes; for the same reasons as under (d), (e) and (f) above.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** May I know from Honourable the Chief Minister as to why certain people who were getting these allowances when they were in the Headquarters, have been deprived of them as they have been shifted to the District headquarters?

**Chief Minister:** I do not know anything about it.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** I have put this question very clearly. I hope the Honourable Chief Minister has read it carefully.

**Part (a) says:—**

"Whether it is a fact that Government have allowed Travelling Allowance concessions and Separation Allowance to the employees of Sind who have been posted in the West Pakistan Secretariat only".

**Part (b) says:—**

"If so, whether it is a fact that the former employees of the Sind Secretariat who have not been absorbed in the West Pakistan Secretariat are not being allowed similar concessions".

**Chief Minister:** I am very sorry to say that the relevant file was mislaid. It has just been found; I will go through the matter.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** I think it will be better if this question is answered today because this is a very important question?

**Chief Minister:** Day after tomorrow.

\*59. **Mr. G. M. Syed:** Will the Minister of Revenue be pleased to state the division-wise number of agriculturists owning:—

- (i) below 5 acres of land;
- (ii) between 5 and 10 acres of land;
- (iii) between 10 and 50 acres of land;
- (iv) between 50 and 100 acres of land;
- (v) between 100 and 200 acres of land;
- (vi) over 200 acres of land and the percentage of the total land held by each category from the entire cultivated land of the Province?

**Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot** (Minister of Revenue): As the member might know, the collection of this information involves a good deal time and labour, as all the Departments in this Province have to supply the information. However, efforts are being made to collect the data and will be put on the table of House as soon as available.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Here I understand the practice is that all the questions which have been printed and brought before the Assembly, if not answered in this session, cannot be replied in the next session of the Assembly unless a fresh notice is given. Now in this case when, on prorogation of the Assembly, the questions automatically lapse, how am I going to get the figures? Therefore I would request you that in case the Government is not ready with the answer to a question, then that question may not be answered in that particular session but when the next session takes place, it should be answered then. Therefore questions which have not been replied or of which no replies are received by the Assembly Office and are to lapse, should be carried over to the next session. The present practice is most unfair and all these questions which have not been replied to in this session, should be carried over to the next session.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Does the Honourable Minister of Revenue know that this very question pertaining to the former province of the Punjab was asked by me in 1953 and an answer was given to me. Why should it be difficult for the Government to collect information pertaining to the former provinces of Sind and Bahawalpur?

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** This very question was replied in the former province of Sind and therefore the figures are already available.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** I have got the figures even now.

**Minister:** I would ask the honourable member just to read the question and see whether it is possible for him to answer the question.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** The answer was given to me in this very House containing the statistics of the former province of the Punjab. It was given to me by Mr. Qizilbash.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** This question was answered to me in the former province of Sind when it existed.

**Minister:** But this relates to the whole of West Pakistan.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** It is not very difficult to get information for these two districts.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** May I ask the Honourable Revenue Minister whether he would give the answer regarding the former provinces of the Punjab, Bahawalpur, Sind, and North-West Frontier. If no data has been collected regarding Baluchistan and certain other States, will he give that answer during the next session?



## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Minister :** This question relates to the whole of West Pakistan. If the honourable member wants information province-wise, then he will have to give fresh notice.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** He has merely to collect the information already supplied. Surely somebody could be there to make additions and subtractions and make the answer ready. It requires only half an hour's time to do all this.

**Minister :** That is information of 1953. The figures have changed considerably by now.

**Mr. G. M. Sayed :** My question has not been replied, namely, whether the questions which have not been replied to in this session will require fresh notice or they will be automatically replied by the Government during the next session.

**Mr. Speaker :** If the question has been put on the list and the reply is not given by the Government, no fresh notice is required.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** May I ask the Minister for Revenue whether Government is feeling shy to supply these figures to the Members of this House?

(No answer).

## RESUMPTION OF LAND GRANTS COMMITTEE

**\*202. Chaudhry Ghulam Rasul Tarar :** Will the Minister of Revenue be pleased to state :—

- (a) the year in which "Resumption of land grants Committee" was formed in the former Province of Punjab and the purpose thereof ;
- (b) the number of meetings held by the said Committee upto now ;
- (c) the total amount of expenditure incurred by the Committee in respect of the Travelling Allowance of its members ;
- (d) the date when the said Committee submitted its final report to the Government and the contents thereof ;
- (e) the action taken by Government on the said report and if the Committee stopped functioning without making a report, the manner in which Government intend to recover the unlawful land grants ;
- (f) if Government do not contemplate taking any action in the matter, the reasons thereof?

خان افتخار حسین خان مرحوم (وزیر مال)۔ (الف) ۱۹۵۱ء

(ب) مجلس اعلیٰ کے سترہ اجلاس ہوئے۔ اور اس نے جو ذیلی مجلس ترتیب دی اس کے اجلاس بیس مرتبہ ہوئے۔ پس مجلس اعلیٰ اور ذیلی مجلس کے کل اجلاس ۳۷ مرتبہ ہوئے۔

(ج) ۶۹۷۳ روپیہ ۹ آنے۔

(د) ۲۳ مارچ ۱۹۵۵ء کو کارگزاری کی نقل پیش کردی گئی ہے۔

(ه) حکومت وقت نے کمیٹی کی سفارشات کلیتہً منظور کر لی ہیں۔

(ز) سوال پیدا نہیں ہوتا۔

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** I want to know whether the present Revenue Minister has read the note of dissent to that Committee's report? Did the Government also take into consideration the note of dissent?

**Minister :** I do not know anything about it. It is a fresh question.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** The recommendations of the committee were agreed to. May I bring to his notice that they note of dissent was put by me as a member of that Committee. What did the Government do with respect to the recommendation of the note of dissent?

**Minister :** The Government of the day accepted the recommendations of the Committee in toto. If Mian Muhammad Shafi considers himself as the Committee, then that recommendation would have been accepted.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Is it a fact that the Committee recommended to the Government that none of the grants of land made by the Unionist Government to their lackays should be resumed?

**Minister :** I do not know what the recommendations of the Committee were, but whatever were the recommendations, they were accepted by the then Government.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** May I ask the Honourable Minister of Revenue whether the Government would be prepared to lay a copy of the report of that Committee on the Table of the House for the honourable members to see?

**Minister :** I will do that.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Is the Honourable Minister aware that the old Unionist Government conferred upon their political supporters a total land grant of 25,000 acres of land, and the Committee which went into these issues recommended that all these grants, except the grants which have been given for military services, should be resumed?

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Minister :** I think a copy of the report of the Committee is already on the Table. If the honourable member wants to see it, he can have a look at it.

**Mir Ali Mardan :** On a point of order. In the last session of the Assembly, you decided that the person who has asked the question should be allowed to ask supplementaries first.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Is it a fact that the Committee recommended to the Government that the land grants made to the two Nawabzadas be resumed and that particular recommendation was not accepted by the Government?

**Mr. Speaker :** Disallowed.

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ - کیا یہ درست ہے کہ یہ کمیٹی جو ۱۹۵۱ء میں بنائی گئی تھی اس نے کیا رپورٹ دی تھی ؟

صاحب سپیکر - اس کا جواب دیا جا چکا ہے کہ کمیٹی کی رپورٹ ایوان کی میز پر رکھ دی گئی ہے -

قاضی مرید احمد - کیا میں وزیر مال صاحب سے پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہ یہ کمیٹی کن مقاصد کے پیش نظر بنائی گئی تھی ؟

وزیر مال - میں نے پہلے ہی عرض کیا ہے کہ اس کمیٹی کو بنانے کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ غریبوں کو زمین دی جائے -

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** The Minister has stated that he has placed the Report on the Table of the House, but I asked the Clerks of the House and they say they have not received it.

وزیر مال - میں نے یہ کہا تھا کہ کمیٹی کی رپورٹ میری فائل میں موجود ہے - اور میں نے کہ ایوان کی میز پر بھی ہو -

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** The Honourable Revenue Minister has stated categorically that the relevant file has been placed on the Table of the House?

**Mr. Speaker :** Not the file.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** I want to have that particular report because without seeing that I cannot put any supplementary question.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** Sir, may I point out to you that the Report is not on the Table?

**Mr. Speaker :** The Minister has already said that he thought that the Report must be on the Table of the House.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** It is not the question of "thought" Sir. It is a question of fact. The Report is not on the Table of the House.

**Minister:** I have placed my copy on the Table of the House. (Appendix-'A' at the end).

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, can we ask supplementary questions on this subject tomorrow?

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes, they can ask supplementary questions tomorrow.

**قاضی مرید احمد:** کیا وزیر موصوف بتا سکتے ہیں کہ اس مقرر کردہ کمیٹی کی رپورٹ میں کس قدر اراضی ناجائز قبضہ میں دھمائی گئی ہے؟ اور اس اراضی میں سے کتنی اراضی گورنمنٹ نے واپس لے لی ہے اور کتنی اراضی واپس لینے باقی ہے؟

**وزیر مال:** اگر آپ رپورٹ پڑھ لیں تو آپ کو سب کچھ معلوم ہو جائے گا۔

**قاضی مرید احمد:** حضور والا۔ ناجائز اراضی کی ایک خاص مقدار ہونی -

وزیر موصوف صرف اتنا بتا دیں کہ ایسی اراضی ایک ہزار ایکڑ تھی یا ۲۰ ہزار ایکڑ تھی۔ وزیر موصوف کو یہ تو معلوم ہونا چاہئے کہ کتنی اراضی ناجائز طور پر لوگوں نے لے رکھی تھی اور اس میں سے کتنی ان لوگوں سے حکومت نے واپس لے لی ہے اور کتنی بقیہ ہے یہ تو بالکل آسان اور سیدھا سا سوال ہے۔

**Mr. Speaker:** This question is disallowed. You should better go through the report in question.

**میاں منظور حسن:** جناب والا۔ وزیر موصوف کو جواب دینے دیں۔ ان کی جگہ

آپ کیوں جواب دینے لگے ہیں۔ آخر وہ بھی تو منہ میں زبان رکھتے ہیں۔ (قہقہہ)

**Mr. Speaker:** The Report is now on the Table of the House and the members have permission to put questions tomorrow.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, here we are not concerned with the Report of the Committee. We want to know what action Government took on the recommendations of the Committee. The Report has nothing to do with it, as it will say nothing about the confiscation of the land. Therefore, I have every right to ask supplementary questions from the Honourable Revenue Minister. My question is very simple. When the Committee submitted its Report how much land was confiscated on the recommendations of the Committee?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is disallowed because he presumes that the Committee did make some recommendation. Let him read the Report first and then put questions tomorrow.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** That has nothing to do with the Report. I ask whether any land was confiscated on the recommendations of the Committee or not?

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is disallowed.

قاضی مرید احمد۔ کیا وزیر موصوف از راہ کرم میرے ضمنی سوالات کے جوابات کل تک تیار کر کے دے سکتے ہیں ۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ بیٹھئے ۔ پہلے رپورٹ پڑھ لیں اس کے بعد آپ جو سوالات کریں گے ان کے جوابات دے دئے جائیں گے ۔

قاضی مرید احمد۔ جناب والا میرا سوال تو یہ ہے کہ حکومت نے کتنے مربع اراضی ضبط کی ہے اور کتنے مربع باقی ہیں ۔ یہ تو بڑا آسان سا سوال ہے کوئی لمبی چوڑی جمع اور تفریق کا سوال نہیں ہے ۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ جی ہاں ۔ بڑا آسان سا سوال ہے مگر اس کا جواب کل ملے گا ۔

سید نذر حسین شاہ۔ جناب والا ۔ اگر اصل سوال کو پڑھا جائے تو اس میں کہیں اس بات کا ذکر نہیں ہے کہ ----- (حزب مخالفت کی طرف سے شور)

سید نذر حسین شاہ۔ جناب والا ۔ میں اس سلسلہ میں پوائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں اور وہ یہ ہے کہ جو ضمنی سوالات اس وقت دریافت کئے جا رہے ہیں ان کا اصل سوال سے کوئی تعلق یا واسطہ نہیں ہے ۔ اس طرح ایوان کا وقت ضائع کیا جا رہا ہے ۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ یہ کوئی پوائنٹ آف آرڈر نہیں ہے ۔

### GRANT OF LAND ON KOTRI BARRAGE

**\*506. Mr. Abdul Hamid Kadir Bakhsh Khan Jatoti :** Will the Minister of Revenue be pleased to state :—

(a) the total acreage of land so far granted to non-Sindhis on the Kotri Barrage known as Ghulam Muhammad Barrage ;

(b) the names of the persons who have been granted more than 200 acres of land on this Barrage, and the total acreage of their holdings ;

(c) the rate at which the Government have sold lands to them?

**Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot (Minister of Revenue) :** The requisite information is not readily available and it is being collected from the local Officers. It will be placed on the Table of the House as soon as received.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Sir, may I know when notice of this question was given?

**Minister :** I do not know the date when notice of this question was given. But, Sir, the question that the honourable member has asked is :—

(a) the total acreage of land so far granted to non-Sindhis on the Kotri Barrage known as Ghulam Muhammad Barrage.



(b) the names of persons who have been granted more than 200 acres of land on this barrage, and the total acreage of their holdings;

(c) the rate at which the Government sold lands to them?

Sir, this is the information which the honourable member wants. It was very difficult to collect this information within the short time at our disposal.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** How long will the Minister of Revenue take to answer this question?

**Minister:** Well I think it will not be possible for me to give an answer to this question in this session. But if the honourable member wants the information privately I will let him have it as soon as possible.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know whether it will require fresh notice?

**Mr. Speaker:** No, it will not require fresh notice.

عبدالحمید قادر بخش خان جتوئی - کیا وزیر موصوف یہ بتا سکیں گے کہ انہوں نے خود کتنی زمین لی ہے؟ پھر خیال ہے کہ اس کا تو ان کو ضرور علم ہوگا۔

وزیر مال - میں معزز ممبر کی اطلاع کے لئے بتا دوں کہ میں نے سابق صوبہ سندھ میں ایک مرتبہ زمین بھی نہیں لی ہے۔ (حزب اقتدار کی طرف سے تالیاں)

قاضی مرید احمد - کیا میں وزیر موصوف سے دریافت کر سکتا ہوں کہ غلام محمد بیراج پر جو زمین واقع ہے اس کو تقسیم کرتے وقت سندھیوں - پنجابیوں - بلوچیوں اور پٹھانوں کے لئے چار علیحدہ علیحدہ رجسٹر کھولے گئے تھے۔ اگر یہ امر واقع ہے تو کیا انضمام کے بعد ایسا کرنا جائز ہے؟

وزیر مال - میں معزز ممبر کی اطلاع کے لئے بتا دوں کہ تا حال اس سلسلہ میں کوئی پالیسی مرتب نہیں کی گئی اور نہ ہی کسی کو ابھی زمین دی جا رہی ہے۔

قاضی مرید احمد - کیا وزیر موصوف اذراہ کرم بتائیں گے کہ انضمام کے بعد اس قسم کی کوئی پالیسی مرتب کرنا جائز ہوگا؟

صاحب سپیکر - میں اس سوال کے پرچھنے کی اجازت نہیں دے سکتا۔ مگر وزیر موصوف نے تو پہلے ہی کہہ دیا ہے کہ اس قسم کی کوئی سکیم یا سوال زیر غور نہیں ہے۔

قاضی مرید احمد - کیا مستقبل قریب میں اس قسم کی پالیسی مرتب کئے جانے کی توقع ہو سکتی ہے۔

صاحب سپیکر - مستقبل کے متعلق جواب بھی مستقبل میں ہی دیا جائے گا۔ اس وقت نہیں دیا جاسکتا۔

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Has any land on the Ghulam Muhammad Barrage so far been distributed or not? Any land, whether one Marla or one thousand acres?

**Minister :** There is an embargo on the sale of land in Pakistan. Unless that embargo is removed by the Central Government no land can be sold.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Has any land been distributed in the Ghulam Muhammad Barrage or not?

**Minister :** I do not think so. A member of the Board of Revenue visited the place and he has not yet submitted his report.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Is the Minister for Revenue aware that twenty-five thousand acres of land have already been distributed on the Ghulam Muhammad Barrage?

**Minister :** That must be on lease.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** I have already told the Honourable Minister that there is an embargo on the sale of land to Sindhis.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** May I ask the Minister of Revenue when was that embargo imposed, whether any land prior to the imposition of that embargo was sold in the Ghulam Muhammad Barrage or whether any exception has been made to that embargo?

**Minister :** I want fresh notice for that question.

**Mr. Speaker :** The question hour is over.

(Unstarred Question and Answer).

#### PROHIBITION

**77. Mr. Muhammad Yousaf Khan Chandio :** Will the Minister of Excise and Taxation be pleased to state :—

(a) the date on which the Government introduced prohibition in the former Province of the Punjab ;

(b) whether the prohibition was complete or partial; if partial, the details of restrictions imposed on sale, consumption and possession of liquor ;

(c) the restrictions imposed at present on possession and consumption of foreign liquor ;

(d) the sale figures of foreign liquor for three years before the introduction of prohibition and for each year during the period of prohibition ;

(e) the number of permits issued in each year during the prohibition period ;

(f) whether the former Punjab Government were and the present West Pakistan Government are manufacturing their own foreign liquor or they issue licences to private firms to manufacture liquor?

(Reply not received from Government).



**Ch. Abdul Ghani Ghuman** (Minister of Excise & Taxation): (a) Prohibition of liquor was introduced in the former Punjab Province with effect from 1st October, 1949.

(b) In the former province of Punjab, possession and consumption of country liquor is completely prohibited both for Muslims and Non-Muslims.

Foreign liquor in restricted quantities issued under a permit system can be possessed and consumed by non-Muslims. Muslims can not possess or consume foreign liquor except when permitted by Doctors in the Civil or Military employ of Government, on medical grounds, non-Muslims visitors from outside the Province staying in an approved hotel can obtain their supplies of foreign liquor from that hotel on taking out liquor permits. A non-proprietary Club, Mess, Canteen or similar institution having a reasonable number of non-Muslim members can be granted a permit to possess foreign liquor on behalf of its non-Muslim members for consumption on the premises of the Club or institution concerned.

(c) As at (b) above.

(d) The quantities of foreign liquor in the former Province of Punjab are given below:—

<i>Year.</i>				<i>Consumption.</i>	
1946-47	..	..	..	8,52,395	L. P. Gallons.
1947-48	..	..	..	3,94,404	Do.
1948-49	..	..	..	1,37,741	Do.
1949-50	..	..	..	1,29,122	Do.
1950-51	..	..	..	96,707	Do.
1951-52	..	..	..	77,476	Do.
1952-53	..	..	..	1,47,904	Do.
1953-54	..	..	..	1,33,037	Do.
1954-55	..	..	..	1,52,059	Do.

The total number of permits of all kinds issued during the years is given below:—

<i>(e) Year.</i>				<i>No. of permits.</i>
1949-50 (1-10-49 to 31-3-50)	..	..	..	6,845
1950-51	..	..	..	6,790
1951-52	..	..	..	5,799
1952-53	..	..	..	6,174
1953-54	..	..	..	5,684
1954-55	..	..	..	6,963

(f) Neither the former Punjab Government was nor the present West Pakistan Government is engaged in the manufacture of foreign liquor. The Provincial Government, however, licenses the construction and working of a distillery or Brewery by private firms subject to such restrictions or conditions as it may deem fit.

APPOINTMENT OF PRIVILEGE COMMITTEE TO ENQUIRE INTO THE DEATH  
OF MIRZA HAMIDULLAH BEG OF LAHORE.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani:** I beg to move.

**Mr. Speaker:** Are you going to move some privilege motion or an adjournment motion.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani:** A privilege motion. It is important.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** It is for them to decide whether they prefer the adjournment motion to have precedence over the privilege motion or they want the privilege motion to have precedence over an adjournment motion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Rule 37 deals with privilege motions. It reads:—

“(1) A motion on a question of privilege suddenly arising is entitled to immediate precedence over all other business.

(2) A motion on a question of privilege may be made after questions and before business of the day is entered upon, although the question does not suddenly arise, but any such motion shall be made at the earliest opportunity and does not ordinarily require notice”.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** A privilege motion takes precedence over everything else.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani:** I have been shocked, after seeing the list of business of the day, when I find that there is no item to suggest that this House do meet and pass a resolution of condolence on the death of our colleague, the late Mirza Hamidullah Beg of Lahore District, who committed suicide because of the defective policy of the Rehabilitation Department. That was the statement that he made and he put it by his side. This House should have, as a matter of courtesy, and, as a matter of procedure, passed a resolution of condolence to express words of sympathy for the members of the bereaved family. Mr. Speaker, the deceased was a patriot. He served his country and served it boldly. There was a certain unholy pressure brought to on him that made him change his side. These were the circumstances which led to his committing suicide. This House must discuss that matter.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order please. Immediately after the question hour, I was going to inform the House that an honourable member of this House had committed suicide and died when the House was not in session and today is the first day when we are meeting after his death. Before I could do that, the honourable member stood up and said that he wanted to move a privilege motion and I never knew what that privilege motion was. I would now inform the House, and it is already known to the House, that an honourable member of this House had died by committing suicide when the House was not in session. In honour of his memory, the House should observe two minutes silence by standing.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** I have an amendment to this motion.

*[All Members in the House then stood up and observed two minutes silence.]*

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** I rise on a point of order, Sir. When there is a motion before the House, has an honourable member the right to make an amendment to that motion? I want your ruling on that point.

**Mr. Speaker :** My ruling is that it was not a "motion"; it was just a "reference".

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** References are not made to this House.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have told you that it was just a "reference".

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** Sir, I would submit.....

**A Member :** On a point of information, Sir.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** A point of information cannot have precedence over a point of privilege.

Sir, I want to bring into discussion before this House the circumstances that forced Mirza Hamidullah Beg to resort to such a desperate action of committing suicide. My further request is that this Honourable House should pass a formal resolution of condolence conveying its sympathies to the bereaved family and also place on record the appreciation of services rendered by that great patriot who suffered silently and valiantly for the creation of Pakistan:

All of us know that Mirza Hamidullah Beg committed suicide for one reason only and that was that unfortunately we have created conditions in this country.....

**Mr. Speaker :** He is making a speech; it cannot be permitted.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** I am only submitting the salient points.

**Mr. Speaker :** What are those points? Please state them in brief.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** I have got two points to make:—

Firstly, this House should pass a formal resolution of condolence.

Secondly, this House should discuss the circumstances that forced him to commit that desperate action.

This House has in its possession certain facts which must be brought before the general public. (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, please. Can he refer to any rule under which this matter can be discussed?

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani:** Under Rule 37 of the Rules of Procedure.

**Mr. Speaker:** Rule 37 deals with "privilege motions". This is not a privilege motion.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani:** It is a privilege motion, inasmuch as it is a privilege of the Members of this House to discuss the relevant circumstances and also to pass a resolution of condolence.

**Mr. Speaker:** This is disallowed. (Noise). I will have to take some drastic action if you behave like this.

قاضی مرید احمد - جناب والا - ایوان ہذا کے ایک ممبر کی موت کے سلسلے میں دو منٹ خاموش کھڑے ہو کر آپ نے فرنگی دور کی یاد تازہ کر دی ہے۔ یہ کس قدر افسوس کا مقام ہے کہ ایک مسلمان ممبر فوت ہو تو اسکی فاتحہ خوانی کرنے کی بجائے ایک اسلامی جمہوریہ کے نمائندہ ایوان کے ارکان فرنگیوں کی طرح دو منٹ خاموش کھڑے رہنے کی رسم پر عمل کریں۔ یہ شرم کا مقام ہے اس سے تو متوفی کی روح تو بھی ٹھیس پہنچی ہوگی کہ اس کا سوگ فرنگیوں کی طرح بنایا گیا اور فاتحہ خوانی تک نہیں کی گئی۔ اس سے تو آج فرنگیوں کے دور حکومت کی یاد تازہ ہو گئی ہے۔

صاحب سپیکر - یہ کوئی پرائنٹ آف آرڈر نہیں ہے۔ آپ بیٹھ جائیے (شور اور قطع کلامیاں)

قاضی مرید احمد - جناب والا کسی مسلمان کی موت پر افسوس کرنے کی پہلی شرط اور پہلی صورت ہی یہ ہے کہ فاتحہ خوانی کی جائے۔

صاحب سپیکر - آپ بیٹھ جائیے - (شور و غل)

خان صفی اللہ خان - پرائنٹ آف انفارمیشن - جناب والا - میرا پرائنٹ یہ ہے کہ ہم متوفی ممبر کی یاد میں دو منٹ کے لئے خاموش کھڑے رہے تھے۔ یہی دو منٹ کی خاموشی اسکے لئے کافی ہے یہ اسلامی سٹیٹ ہے آپ کو معلوم ہونا چاہئے کہ خود کشی کرنے والے کے متعلق اسلام کا کیا حکم ہے۔ اسکو تو رحمت خداوندی میسر نہیں آئے گی (شیم شیم کے دعرے) ہمیں تو چاہئے کہ خود کشی کا ارادہ رکھنے والوں کو discourage کریں۔

سردار محمد جعفر خان گل محمد خان بلیڈی - جناب والا - یہ دو منٹ کے لئے خاموش کھڑے رہنا تو کچھ بھی نہیں ہے - ہم نے Cause بھی دیکھنا ہے - کہ ممبر نے خود کشی کی تھی - یہ دو منٹ خاموش کھڑے رہنا تو کچھ بھی نہیں ہے -

صاحب سپیکر - میں ایک دفعہ پھر واضح کردوں (شور و غل) کہ قواعد کے ماتحت جب سپیکر کسی پوائنٹ آف آرڈر یا پوائنٹ آف پریولج یا تحریک انٹرا کے متعلق اپنا رولنگ صادر کر دے تو پھر اس پوائنٹ پر دوبارہ بحث نہیں ہو سکتی - یہ ایک بنیادی اصول ہے اور آئینی طور پر بحث کرنے کا قاعدہ یہی ہے کہ جب سپیکر اس کے بارے میں اپنا رولنگ دے دے تو پھر بار بار اس پوائنٹ کو زیر بحث نہ لایا جائے لیکن اگر ممبران اس طریقے سے بار بار فیصلہ شدہ امور کو پھر سے زیر بحث لاتے رہیں گے تو ایوان کی کارروائی معطل ہو جائے گی - اور پھر میں حق بجانب ہونگا کہ میں ہاؤس کی کارروائی میں رکاوٹ ڈالنے والے آئریبل ممبر سے انسوس کے ساتھ عرض کروں کہ وہ ہاؤس سے باہر تشریف لے جائے -

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** On a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker :** One member at a time.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan :** I am on a point of privilege.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** Sir, he is on a point of privilege and may be given precedence.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan :** On a point of privilege.

حضور والا میرا پوائنٹ آف پریولج یہ ہے کہ اس مقتدر ایوان کے ایک رکن کی نسبت ایک فاضل رکن نے یہ کہا ہے کہ وہ خود کشی کر گئے ہیں لیکن اس کیس کو اس رنگ میں نہیں لینا چاہئے - حضور والا یہ خود کشی کا کیس نہیں ہے بلکہ یہ تو ایک قتل کا کیس ہے اور اس کے قاتل مل سکتے ہیں - کتنی ہی باتیں ایسی ہو سکتی ہیں جن کی وجہ سے وہ اس اقدام کے کرنے پر مجبور ہوئے ہیں - مثلاً انہیں زبردستی اپنی محبوب جماعت سے الگ ہونے پر مجبور کیا گیا حالانکہ وہ اس سے الگ ہونا نہیں چاہتے تھے - تو یہ کہنا غلط ہے کہ یہ خود کشی کا کیس ہے -

**Mr. Speaker :** It is not a point of privilege.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan :** It is a case of murder and the killers are there not the Bullet, but the mace of office was responsible for blowing out his brains.



## PRIVILEGE MOTION

صاحب سپیکر :- دیکھتے آپ نے تو ایک پوائنٹ آف پریویلج پیش کرنے کیلئے اجازت چاہی تھی لیکن آپ نے پوائنٹ آف پریویلج کے بہانے سے ایک تقریر شروع کردی - (آوازیں - ہلفائے "بہانے سے" آداب پارلیمنٹ کے خلاف ہیں) اس لئے جب آپ نے تقریر شروع کردی تو میں نے آپ کو توجہ دلائی کہ یہ پوائنٹ آف پریویلج نہیں ہے اور ہم آپ کو تقریر کرنے کی اجازت نہیں ہے - لیکن آپ میری آواز سننے بغیر اسی جوش میں لگے رہے - ان حالات میں میرے لئے سوائے اس کے کیا چارہ ہے کہ میں آپ کو کہوں کہ آپ ایوان سے باہر تشریف لے جائیں - آپ خیال فرمائیے کہ نہ تو آپ ان کی بات کو ماننا چاہتے ہیں اور نہ ہی آپ رولز کی پابندی کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو پھر میرے لئے کیا چارہ ہے سوائے اس کے کہ میں آپ سے یہ کہوں کہ آپ ایوان سے باہر تشریف لے جائیں -

This is no point of privilege. If the honourable member insists on raising such frivolous points of privilege and points of order, I shall be compelled to ask him to leave the House.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Honourable member Mr. Kirmani raised a point of privilege and you asked him to point out to you under what rules of procedure would this be admissible. I rise to reply to the question that you have raised.

Mr. Speaker, there are written rules and there are un-written rules and points of honour for every Parliament. It has been brought to your notice, and it has not been contradicted by the Government Benches, that at the time of committing suicide, the honourable member wrote an explanation as to why he was committing suicide. Therefore it stands admitted that reasons for suicide are there. Now, I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, do you think that this is such an ordinary matter that we could brush it aside on mere technicalities? Do you think that an honourable member of this House would take such a drastic and extreme step without grave provocation? Will you not come to the help of this Honourable House in solving that difficulty which is of a special technical nature? Today, no doubt, we are in a minority. I say that in a democracy, the minority has got a right of converting itself into a majority. I am sure my friends on the other side of the House will agree, and every member with a sense of dignity and responsibility will agree, that we would be failing in our duty, and we will be guilty of cowardice, if we did not appoint a Committee of Privilege of this House to enquire into the allegations made by the deceased member of this House at the time of committing suicide. I therefore make a formal motion of privilege, for the appointment of a Committee of Privileges of this House to inquire into the reasons that led to the suicide of an honourable member of this House. May I say this—and I am sure the Chief Minister, solicitous as he is for the rights of every citizen, specially in case of this grave nature—that he will also extend the courtesy of accepting our point of view. He has an honourable and clean record, he has no skeletons hidden in the cupboard which he may not like to reveal. He will afford an opportunity by accepting this motion for the appointment of a Committee of Privileges of this House and thus prove to the world that these allegations of suicide are absolutely wrong.

**Mr. Speaker:** The privileges of honourable members of this House are not so far defined by any Act of the Legislature.

**Mr. G. Allana:** These are technicalities.

**Mr. Speaker:** But I am bound by the Constitution. The Constitution provides that this House can by an Act provide for privileges of Members.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** It is within your discretion. We request you to exercise your discretion in this matter.

**Mr. Speaker:** Where privileges of Members are involved, this House can by an Act of this Legislature provide for such privileges and, so long as that Act has not been passed by this House, no privileges besides those provided in the Constitution can be guaranteed.

Now, in a matter of this kind, I really cannot understand how it is a point of privilege. If a Member has committed suicide, it is very unfortunate; it may be due to circumstances which may be deplorable; I do not deny that. But if this thing has happened, how is the House to appoint a Committee of Privileges of this House, I cannot understand.

**Mr. G. Allana:** May I point out precedents of Parliament where such Committees have been appointed?  
May I point out from May's Parliamentary Practice?

**Mr. Speaker:** Is it the intention of this House that this Committee of Privileges should go into this question and hold an inquiry; under what rule will that inquiry be permissible?

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani:** There is no bar.

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no point of privilege involved in this and no further speeches can be permitted on it.

قاضی مرید احمد - پروانٹ آف آرڈر جناب - میں جناب کی توجہ جمہوریہ اسلامیہ  
پاکستان کے آئین -----

صاحب سپیکر - یہ معاملہ ختم ہو چکا ہے -

قاضی مرید احمد - حضور سن تو لیں -

صاحب سپیکر - یہ معاملہ ختم ہو چکا ہے - آپ بیٹھ جائیں -

قاضی مرید احمد - جناب کا جو حکم ہو گا میں اسکی تعمیل کرونگا مگر آپ میری  
بات سن تو لیں -

## PRIVILEGE MOTION

جسٹریٹ اسلام آباد پاکستان کے آئین کے دیباچہ کے پیرا ۶ میں درج ہے -----

Wherein the Muslims of Pakistan should be enabled individually and collectively to order their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam, as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

حضور، والا اس پیرا کے پیش نظر مجھے آئینی طور بھی یہ حق حاصل ہے کہ میں آپنی ترجہ اپنے اس پوائنٹ آف آرڈر کی طرف مبذول کروں کہ کسی مسلمان ممبر کے فوت ہوجانے کے بعد اگر ہم نے یہاں کوئی رسم ادا کرنی ہے تو وہ قرآن اور سنت کے مطابق ہونی چاہیئے اس پیرا میں نہایت وضاحت کے ساتھ کہا گیا ہے کہ مسلمانوں کو اپنی زندگیوں انفرادی اور اجتماعی لحاظ سے قرآن اور سنت کے مطابق ڈھالنے کا موقع دیا جائیگا۔ خدرا اب اپنی قوم کی روایات کو مکہ کی راہ پر گامزن کیجئے لندن کی راہ پر گامزن نہ کیجئے۔

**Mr. Speaker :** Order please. I am very sorry to see that a senior member of this House in the person of Sheikh Mahbub Elahi is not observing the rules of this House; while the House is in session he is talking to his friends.

(Interruptions).

میں اس امر ضابطہ کو پہلے ہی مسترد کر چکا ہوں۔ اب اسے جذباتی رنگ دے کر بار بار سامنے لانے کا کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوگا۔

(اس مرحلہ پر قاضی مرید احمد نے کھڑے ہو کر دعائے فاتحہ پڑھنی شروع کر دی۔ بہت سے اور ممبر صاحبان بھی ان کے ساتھ کھڑے ہو گئے۔ دعا کے بعد اسکا شراب متوفی کی روح کو پہنچایا گیا۔)

رانا غلام صابر خان :- یہ قبرستان تو نہیں ہے۔

(شیم فیم کے نعرے)

**Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti (Minister of Education) :** Sir, I draw the attention of the House to the rules of business of this House. This is the most important point of order that I rise to bring to the notice of the House through you.

**Mian Amir-ud-din :** Sir, what is the motion before the House to which he is raising a point of order?

**Mr. Speaker :** He is raising a point of order on the conduct of certain members of this House.

**Mian Amir-ud-din :** Is that in order?

**Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti (Minister of Education) :** Of course. The dignity of the House is involved. The dignity of the House must be preserved. We all should try to observe the rules.

(Interruptions).

They do not even want to hear. They say irrelevant things and we listen to them, but they are not prepared to hear anything. They do not have the patience.

**Mr. Speaker :** What is the point of order? Let me understand it.

**Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dastj (Minister of Education) :** I thought, Sir, you understood it that when anybody is making a point of order nobody can interrupt him, under the rules. I think you knew this. I also thought that when the Speaker finally decides a particular issue then no argument can be advanced on it. It is really a shame that we should play upon the death of our colleague; it is a shame that we should make out propaganda on the death of an honourable member. This is a matter of shame that the Opposition should stoop to make the death of an honourable member the basis of a low and petty propaganda. We stood up for two minutes to offer Fateha, and pray for the soul of the deceased. The Mussalmans, when they so stand up, say Fateha. When we all were thus occupied, the Opposition were shouting "Point of Order, Sir", "Point of Order, Sir". They have now stood up without the permission of the Speaker, and started saying Fateha, in order to create a false impression that they were better Mussalmans than we are. It is really a matter of great shame to play so rhetoric with the sacred rituals and to use them as a handle for such foul propaganda.

(Interruptions).

قاضی مرید احمد - مسلم دی گل اے قاضی گولوں پچھو -

مولوی محمد اسلام اللہین - جناب والا - میرا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر یہ ہے کہ جبکہ اس مسلم کو قرآن و سنت کے روشنی میں طے کیا جا رہا ہے تو سب سے پہلے ضروری ہے کہ دیکھا جائے کہ قرآن و سنت کی روشنی میں جو شخص خودکشی کرتا ہے اسکی موت کیسی موت ہے - قرآن و سنت کی رو سے جو شخص خودکشی کرتا ہے وہ حرام کی موت مرتا ہے - اب اگر کوئی حرام کی موت مرتا ہے تو قرآن اور حدیث کا فیصلہ ہے کہ وہ قیامت تک اسی طریق سے سزا میں مبتلا رہے گا - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ حکومت کیلئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ وہ دیکھے کہ کس وجہ سے اس کی موت واقع ہوئی ہے - اس چیز کو ضرور بح نظر رکھنا چاہئے -

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** I would like to ask the honourable Maulana whether he himself has not committed suicide in breaking pledges with his Party and changing sides.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** On a point of order, Sir. Maulana Islamuddin has said that in the case of one who commits suicide he need not stand up to pay homage to him. May I know what the Holy Quran says about a person, who changes sides for getting route permits.

مولوی محمد اسلام اللہین - جناب والا میں نے کوئی روٹ پرمٹ نہیں لیا - میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ رانا گل محمد نون صاحب جن کو قرآن و حدیث کا کوئی پتہ ہی نہیں وہ میرا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر کیسے سمجھ سکتے ہیں - (فور)

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

**Mr. Speaker :** I have received notices for a large number of adjournment motions. The subject matter of all is the same. There are no rules that I should read every adjournment motion and declare that it is out of order.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** This has been the practice in the past.

**Mr. Speaker :** My predecessors may have been following those rules which were in existence at that time. The present rules do not contain the provision that an adjournment motion has to be read before the House and the ruling given in the House. The time at my disposal was very short. I received these adjournment motions at 7-30. I could not go through all the adjournment motions. Today I will merely read these adjournment motions.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** On a point of order, Sir. You yourself have said that the adjournment motions were handed over to you at about 7-30 a.m.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please sit down.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** You have said something important. My point of order arises out of it.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please sit down.

He cannot stand when the Speaker is standing. As the rules do permit that the adjournment motions may be handed over to the office of the Speaker at 7-30 a.m. only half an hour is left with the Speaker, to read them in the Chamber. In half an hour such a large number of adjournment motions cannot be gone through.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** Why should we be punished for that?

**Mr. Speaker :** As I was unable to read these adjournment motions for today in my Chamber, I am going to read them here. In future, I will take care that I read the adjournment motions before I come to the House and give my own ruling to the member there.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** On a point of order. Sir, when you sit down, you will permit me to raise a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker :** He is again raising the same point of order.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** This is different.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member should observe the rules of procedure.



**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** What has made your honour to make a departure from the old practice.

**Mr. Speaker :** I am not responsible for what has been done in the past.

(Interruptions).

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Then suppose if you admit an adjournment motion and Government has got objection to it, then it will be one-sided. Therefore, this question should be brought before the House, so that your ruling could come before the House. When you give a ruling you should give it here and not in the Chamber.

**Mr. Speaker :** If the honourable members go through Rule 43 it says :—

“Leave to make a motion for an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance must be asked for after questions and before the list of business for the day is entered upon”.

Now Rule 44 says :—

“If the Speaker is of the opinion that the matter proposed to be discussed is in order, he shall read the statement to the Assembly” and this clearly states, “when the Speaker is of the opinion that it is in order, he shall read the statement to the Assembly”.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** But he will give his opinion before the House and not in his Chamber.

Rule 44 says :—

“If the Speaker is of the opinion that the matter proposed to be discussed is in order, he shall read the statement to the Assembly and ask whether the member has the leave to move the adjournment. If objection is taken, the Speaker shall request those members who are in favour of leave being granted to rise in their places, and if not less than 63 members rise accordingly the Speaker shall intimate that leave is granted, and if less than 63 members rise, that the leave is refused”.

Now, when the adjournment motion is handed over to the Speaker, he has to go through the adjournment motion. There are so many rulings on this point, and if in his opinion the adjournment motion is in order then he has to read it before the House, otherwise he shall not read.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** He will have to give reasons for rejecting the adjournment motion before the House. He cannot deal with adjournment motion in his private capacity in his Chamber.

**Mr. Speaker :** He can withhold his consent in the Chamber.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** Not at all.

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

**Alhaj Muhammad Hashim Gazdar :** He will have to ask in the House whether the member has the leave to move the adjournment.

**Mr. Speaker :** Leave can only be asked for when the Speaker gives his consent to an adjournment motion.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** That has also to be decided.

**Mr. G. Allana :** I think the House should be enlightened as to what you propose to do on the admissibility or otherwise of an adjournment motion. You should, therefore, give us an opportunity to explain to you our point of view within the framework of the Rules of Procedure of this House.

**Mr. Speaker,** your interpretation of Rules 43 and 44, as I understood from your statement, is entirely erroneous and is not warranted by the wordings of Rules 43 and 44.

Rule 43 reads :—

“Leave to make a motion for an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance must be asked for after questions and before the list of business for the day is entered upon”.

Now the question is as to whether this leave is sought outside the floor of the House or on the floor of the House? I have a right to explain my point of view in this regard, and there is nothing which can prevent me from expressing my point of view. Let me take the House step by step as to what is my interpretation of Rules 43 and 44.

My submission is that the words in Rule 43 : “Leave to make a motion.....” obviously mean that it is a business of the House transacted on the floor of the House. Then it says “.....after questions.....”. This is in order to facilitate the setting down of priorities by the Speaker in which adjournment motions have been received by the office and the fixing of time for their discussion.

The very fact that the word “Leave.....” occurs in Rule 43, means that it is part and parcel of the business of the House.

Now I come to Rule 44. It reads :—

“If the Speaker is of the opinion that the matter proposed to be discussed is in order, he shall read the statement to the Assembly.....” The pertinent word is “statement”. If the wording of Rule 44 had been that he shall read the Resolution or the Motion to the House”, then of course you would be in order so to do. But the wording is “.....he shall read a statement to the Assembly.....”.

**Mr. Speaker :** Statement is given in the Chamber.

**Mr. G. Allana :** No, Sir. That is a motion and not a statement.

The word "statement" refers to the decision of the Speaker and not to the adjournment motion. If "adjournment motion" or "reference to the adjournment motion" had been meant, the wording would have been ..... "he shall read the motion to the Assembly". Then, of course, your interpretation would have been right. But by virtue of the fact that in Rule 44 all that you are called upon to do is to read a statement to the House, you have to give your decision as to whether the adjournment motions of Members are admissible or not. Mr. Speaker, you are the boss : You have the final word. You can give a ruling after you have heard the Members. This I submit is the interpretation of Rules 43 and 44, which is sanctified by custom, by usage and by parliamentary traditions not only in this House but in all Parliaments.

**Mr. Speaker :** A perusal of Rules 43 and 44 makes it very very clear that an adjournment motion is only to be read to the House if the Speaker is of the opinion that it is in order. If it is not in order, then it may not be read to the House. If it is considered to be in order and is allowed, then the leave of the House is sought. This is my ruling on this point.

(Pir Elahi Bakhsh rose to say something).

**Mr. Speaker :** I cannot prolong this discussion after having given my ruling.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** It is a different point altogether.

**Mr. Speaker :** If some honourable Members have any further arguments to advance, they can come to my Chamber.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** Your Chamber is not the place for arguments. This House is the place for arguments. It is the business of the House and the privilege of the House. It is not my personal property ; it is not your personal property.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, please.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Sir, Rule 44 says :—

"If the Speaker is of the opinion that the matter proposed to be discussed is in order.....".

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** "Matter" means "adjournment motion"?

**Mr. Speaker :** Who has called upon him to speak?

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** It is my conscience, Sir. I am pained to see that the privileges of this House should be violated in this manner.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** My submission is that the Speaker can form an opinion after he hears the explanation whether the motion is in order; whether it is definite, whether it is of public importance or urgent. All these three ingredients have to be established before the Speaker can give a decision.

If you give an opinion that a particular adjournment motion is in order, then you will read out the statement and ask the House whether the mover has the leave of the House. That is the duty of the Speaker and that is to be done in the House—not in the Chamber. This is the practice in most of the Assemblies. I do not know what was the practice here in the Punjab but at least in Sind and in our Central Parliament, this has been the practice. This is a very healthy practice and I think, it should be followed.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Sir, I want to point out one thing. An adjournment motion is always against the Government and in this case you are debarring Government from expressing their opinion.

This is such a procedure which though the Government may like today but tomorrow, it may be, that the Government may not like it. This is a procedure which is against the Government. I will request you to ask the Law Minister to give his opinion. This is a very important question. We would like to know the Law Minister's opinion on this subject.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** This is a very serious curtailment of the privileges of this House. In this connection, I would like to read Rule 41 of the Rules of Procedure:—

“A motion for an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance may be made with the consent of the Speaker”.

So, the motion may be moved with the consent of the Speaker. Now, read this in conjunction with rule 44. Kindly see the difference between an Executive Officer like the D.I.G., C.I.D. and the Speaker of the Assembly. The D.I.G. will give an order of arrest without giving any reasons. But here you are Speaker, not a D.I.G. or any such Officer, and you have to take the House into confidence for what you are doing. Therefore, I would urge upon you not to take a hasty step in curtailing a very important provision and a very important privilege of this House.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law and Agriculture): Sir,...

**Mir Ali Mardan Talpur:** I have to speak before him. He is to speak last so that he may be able to reply to my point also.

**Mr. Speaker:** Please sit down.



**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** It is true that in the relevant rules for adjournment motions—rules 41 to 46—there is nothing to show when you are to give your ruling. I would submit that the procedure that has hitherto been followed in all the Assemblies and the principles of justice require that when a person wants to move a motion and you want to decide abruptly, he must be given a chance to tell you whether his motion is in order or not. It is not the question of the Government or the Opposition. Sir, I had expressed this opinion on a previous occasion also and you were then pleased to follow that procedure, namely, that you came in the House and said that you were *prima facie* of a particular view and if the honourable member wanted to urge anything against that view, you would hear him and give a final ruling. I think the procedure you followed at that time was a correct one.

**Mr. Speaker :** As pointed out by an honourable member Rule 41 of the Rules of our Procedure has an important bearing on the point. No adjournment motion can be made in this House without the consent of the Speaker. According to rule 44, if the Speaker is of the opinion that the matter proposed to be discussed is in order, he shall read the statement etc. etc. Now, this has to be decided before he comes to this House.

(Voices : No).

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** He has to convey that decision to the House and hear the views of the House.

**Mr. Speaker :** So my own interpretation of the existing Rule 44 is that the Speaker is perfectly within his right to disallow an adjournment motion and declare it to be out of order before he comes to the House, and there is a reason for that. Suppose I get 50 adjournment motions on a certain matter and all those 50 adjournment motions are *prima facie* and obviously out of order, should all these be read before this House and the opinion of the Government and the Members taken on them? Certainly, I must not do that. But if there is an adjournment motion on which I have my doubts and think that there is a reasonable chance that the honourable member may convince me that it is in order, in such a case even if I am of the opinion that this particular motion is out of order, I will certainly give an opportunity to the honourable members and the Government to express their views. This is all what I can do in the circumstances.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** That has been the practice which has been followed in this House and in all the parliaments of the world.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order. Please sit down. How can he appeal to the practice of the British Parliament or quote May's Parliamentary Practice, when he does not observe even the elementary rules of this House.



**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law): May I have your ear, Sir. You have got two methods of dealing with an adjournment motion. You spoke of extraordinary number of adjournment motions coming in and therefore you said that you will deal with them in the Chamber if they are frivolous. May I remind you that you have got two ways of dealing with adjournment motions. One is by withholding your consent and the other is by deciding the legal point, holding them in order or out of order. If you find that a very cumbersome number of adjournment motions is coming which cannot be handled in a day or that they are frivolous or for any other reason, you can withhold your consent and that will be the end of the matter and nobody can question it. But if you are deciding whether the adjournment motion is in order or not—and I have submitted already that the rules may not require, I admit, but it is only fair, and prudence requires that you should hear the party against whom you are taking a decision. If the adjournment motions are in large numbers, quite undesirable and frivolous, then they can be controlled by your power of withholding your consent.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah**: Sir, you have observed that you were compelled to take this step because of the large number of adjournment motions that come in and also because majority of them you found frivolous. Now this is not our fault. I am prepared to admit for the sake of discussion that some of them may be frivolous. Sir, the reason is that we do not meet very frequently, so the Members of this House are left with no option but to use this method of moving adjournment motions to ventilate their grievances and thus bring the matters to the attention of this House and through this House to the attention of the general public.

Sir, not only do we not meet frequently, but when we do meet it is almost always for less than 15 days, and the result is that important matters cropping up during the course of the session cannot be brought to the attention of the House in the form of a questions, because 15 days notice is required for asking a question. I would thankful, submit Sir, that you should amend that rule requiring that adjournment motions be handed in half an hour before the commencement of the sitting of the Assembly; you can lay down Sir that adjournment motions be handed in two or six hours but do not curtail this privilege of ours of reading our adjournment motions in the house. It may not be laid down there in the rules, but it certainly is laid down by convention and practice grievances and bring matters to notice of the House by moving them in the form of adjournment motions.

**Mr. G. M. Sayed** (Dadu District): May I point out to you one thing, only one precedent which will help you in deciding this matter.

**Mr. Speaker**: This is a very important matter and it may have very serious consequences. If the House agrees with me, we can postpone the decision on this point for tomorrow. The Leader of the Opposition, some member trained in Law from this side (Government side) and the movers

of these adjournment motions may please come to my Chamber and we can discuss this matter and all the adjournment motions which have been given notice of today will not be thrown out and be held out of order simply because they were not moved today, which is the first day of the session.

So all these adjournment motions which have been given to the office will be reconsidered in the light of the decision on that legal point. I assure honourable members that these adjournment motions will not be thrown out simply because they were not moved on the first day.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** Sir, why make a departure from the old practice. I would request you to read out these adjournment motions and then either rule them out of order or if you think they are in order just ask the leave of the House, so that we may proceed with the business of the House.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, when you say that these adjournment motions will not be ruled out only on the ground that they were not brought before the House on the first day, I do not think it is necessary for us to insist that they should be taken up on the very first day. There is no harm in taking up the adjournment motions next day.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** Sir, an adjournment motion is an urgent matter of public importance and of recent occurrence. If they are postponed till tomorrow, I am afraid they will cease to be matters of recent occurrence.

**Mr. Speaker :** They can be taken up tomorrow.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, you know that since we met last, serious problems *e.g.* ejectment of tenants, devastation by floods throughout West Pakistan, etc. have arisen. We are anxious that this Assembly registers its point of view on these issues. This brooks no delay because the matters concern the lives and present and future of lakhs of people. If we postpone discussion of these matters, it would mean that we do not give them the importance which they deserve. I, therefore, urge upon you not to depart from the practice which has been followed in this House in the past. Sir, it is a psychological point. We want to focus the attention of the people and the representatives of the people on issues which are of great importance. If the discussion is postponed, it means that you are not attaching that great importance which we all want to attach to them. Of course, we cannot force the issue by taking votes but we want to focus the public attention and to create that psychological atmosphere which is so essential in such matters.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** Supposing the adjournment motions which have been tabled for today lose their public importance tomorrow.

**Mr. Speaker :** It is for me to decide.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** They might cease to be of public importance by tomorrow. In order to bring them within the purview of these rules they should be taken up today.

**Mr. Speaker :** I say, they will be taken up tomorrow. No rules will be infringed.

## COMMUNICATION TO THE GOVERNOR

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah (Dadu District) :** Sir, this House expresses its satisfaction over the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Colonel Nassar.

**A Member :** Sir, how can this be taken up today?

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, I want to point out that this is a motion of communication to the Governor and it cannot be disallowed. The question of an adjournment motion is different, but this motion can be taken up today. We are moving this proposal as communication to the Governor so that we may convey to the President the views of this House regarding nationalisation of the Suez Canal. This cannot be disallowed.

Rules of Procedure قاضی مرید احمد - حضور والا - میں جناب کی توجہ  
کی دفعہ ۵۱ کی طرف مبذول کرنا چاہتا ہوں -

“51. Members shall address the Assembly in the Urdu language, but any member who declare that he can express himself better in the English language or in any other recognised language of the Province may address the Assembly in that language.”

حضور والا - صبح سے اس وقت تک میں دیکھ رہا ہوں کہ جس طرف سے بھی کوئی صاحب اٹھتے ہیں خواہ وہ ٹریڈی بینچز سے ہوں یا حزب اختلاف کی طرف سے بلکہ آنریبل سپیکر بھی اس دفعہ کو نہایت بری طرح سے دفع کر رہے ہیں اور اس کی قطعی کوئی پروا نہیں کر رہے - حضور والا - Rules of Procedure کی قاپی اس لئے مہیا کی گئی ہے کہ ہم اس کا احترام کریں - حضور والا میں نہایت ادب کے ساتھ آپکی توجہ اس امر کی طرف مبذول کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ صاحب جن کا کارورہ انگریز May's کے ساتھ ملا ہوا ہے انہیں چاہئے کہ قواعد کی رو سے یہ اعلان کریں کہ وہ دیسی نہیں ہیں بلکہ بریشی ہیں اور اس دفعہ کے ماتحت اس امر کا اعلان کریں کہ وہ اردو میں تقریر نہیں کر سکتے - مجھے امید ہے کہ آنجناب خاص طور پر اس امر ضابطہ کی طرف توجہ فرمائینگے -

**Mr. Speaker :** Under Rule 51, Members shall address the Assembly in the Urdu language, but any member who declares that he can express himself better in the English language or in any other recognised language of the Province may address the Assembly in that language.

اس رول کے تحت اقر کوئی رکن یہ کہہ کہ وہ اردو میں تقریر نہیں کر سکتے تو وہ کسی دوسری زبان میں تقریر کر سکتے ہیں۔ ایک دفعہ یہ کہہ دینا کافی ہوتا ہے کہ وہ انگریزی میں تقریر کرینگے۔

قاضی مرید احمد:- صبح سے ایک دفعہ بھی یہ نہیں کہا گیا۔

صاحب سپیکر:- اس امر کا اظہار پہلے کیا جا چکا ہے۔

ان تحریکات التوا کے متعلق میرا فیصلہ یہ ہے کہ چونکہ یہ ایک قانونی نقطہ ہے اس لئے ہمیں اس پر کافی غور و خوض کرنا چاہئے۔ لہذا یہ تحریکات التوا کل تک ملتوی رہیں گی۔

مسٹر محمد ہاشم غزدر:- ممبر صاحب نے کہا ہے کہ جو اردو نہیں بول سکتے وہ

برہمنی ہیں۔ (قطع کلامیاں)

**Mr. Muhammad Hashim Gazdar:** May I ask you, Sir that those of us who do not speak in Urdu are "Badeshis" (foreigners). Does it mean that those of us who speak Sindhi, Baluchi and Pushtu are not Pakistanis. I would, therefore, ask him to withdraw his words.

**Mr. Speaker:** I think what he meant was that those who could speak in Urdu and did not speak in that language they were "Badeshis".

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Why are they "Badeshis"?

(Interruptions).

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Tomorrow he will say that if anybody has no beard he is not a Muslim. We are not going to tolerate this nonsense.

صاحب سپیکر:- آپ نے کارورہ اور برہمنی کے جو الفاظ ارشاد فرمائے ہیں یہ مناسب

نہیں۔ آپ واپس لے لیں۔

Gul Hayat Institute

قاضی مرید احمد:- میں واپس لیتا ہوں۔

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** I move that this House expresses.....

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** I object to his reading the motion. He cannot read it if anything is not on the agenda.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** He has already delivered a copy of this to the Speaker, yesterday.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** This House expresses its satisfaction over the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Colonel Nassar, the Egyptian President, who has served his country by this bold stand. This

House requests the Governor of West Pakistan to convey to the President of Egypt, through the President of Pakistan, the wishes and the sentiments of the people of West Pakistan who fully support and justify the action taken by the President of Egypt.

**Mr. Speaker :** No speech can be permitted. This motion is clearly out of order at this stage because seven days clear notice has not been given for this motion, it being a substantive motion. Rule 41-A applies to all such motions.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Before you give your ruling you must hear us.

**Mr. Speaker :** I will give him an opportunity.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** If you give a ruling before listening.

**Mr. Speaker :** This motion is not before the House because no proper notice has been given.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** You will have to listen to us.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** It is within your discretion to allow this motion to be moved. Since it is such an important matter we would request you to use your discretion and allow this motion.

**Mr. Speaker :** I cannot allow it because under Rule 41-A, the consent of the Governor is also required.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** I would like to bring to your notice one thing.

Sir, Rule 142, under which this motion is moved says :—

"Communications from the Assembly to the Governor shall be made by formal address after motion made and carried in the Assembly and submitted through the Speaker".

What I want to point out is this that motions like this have come before the Assembly in the last session. Motion about Chitral came up for discussion. There was no notice given. It was allowed by you and it was brought up in the Assembly for discussion. The Governor's sanction was not found necessary. This is a communication and does not come under "resolutions". This is definitely a communication. Therefore, Sir, it will be a wrong thing if this is treated as an ordinary motion. This is a special subject.

**Mr. Speaker :** My ruling on this point is that under Rule 114-A a matter of this nature has got to be referred to the Governor and before his consent is obtained, this motion cannot be allowed to be moved. Moreover, seven days clear notice has not been given and if the consent of the Governor is received, after seven days it will be put on the agenda.



**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** There are precedents here when on the very day when notice of a question was given, it was discussed.

**Mr. Speaker :** After consent of the Governor is obtained. So long as this condition is not waived it is not possible.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** That is for the Chair.

**Mr. Speaker :** The consent of the Governor is necessary.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Last time in the case of a motion about statement made by Pandit Nehru regarding Chitral forming part of Kashmir you pointed out that the Governor's consent was required. But when that motion was again brought up as a communication you allowed that motion to be moved and the Treasury Benches also did not raise any objection. I don't think it will be honourable on the part of the Treasury Benches to raise objection at this moment on this very important question, which is a question of life and death for the entire Muslim World.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law) :** The honourable member has referred to the Kashmir question. It is true that at that time I was of the view, and correctly of the view, that question did not require the previous consent of the Governor. But there is a difference between the present question and the question we discussed at that time. Kashmir is our internal problem. We are of the view that Kashmir and Chitral are part of Pakistan. Therefore, if any foreign State makes a statement on Kashmir we are entitled to discuss it. This motion relates to a foreign matter, a matter connected with the relations between the Head of State and a foreign state. How is it an internal matter?

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** It is not a foreign matter. I would like to point out to the Minister of Law that this is not a foreign question. The imperialist countries have always maintained the Suez Canal as their gateway to come and dominate us. The nationalisation of the Suez Canal therefore directly concerns us. I say it is for us to decide that we cannot allow the imperialist nations to keep their hold on the Suez Canal.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** We are now an Islamic Jamhauria.

**Mr. Speaker :** We are still at the stage of admitting or not admitting it or referring it to the Governor. Under the rules I have got to refer it to the Governor and unless the Governor's consent is obtained, it cannot be moved. Last time when the House discussed Chitral my opinion was that that matter could not be discussed unless the consent of the Governor was obtained. From both sides it was suggested that the rule should be suspended. But I feel that neither the Assembly nor the Speaker have got any power to suspend the rule.

## COMMUNICATION TO THE GOVERNOR

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** The House has got the power to suspend the rules. But if the rules are to be suspended in an ad-hoc manner, that will not at all be justified. So, under the rules, this matter will be referred to the Governor, and after his consent is obtained, the Assembly will have an opportunity to discuss this matter.

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, I proceed to the next motion on the agenda.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** On a point of privilege, Sir. This House has got the power to suspend any rules and you have the discretion to suspend any rules. But if you find, Sir, that under Rule 114-A you cannot allow us to move this very important motion which is a question of life and death to the Musalmans of this country.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani:** We will walk out.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** First of all, we would request you to allow us to move this motion and take the House into confidence and get the permission of the House to suspend the particular rule, but if you do not decide that, then, Sir, the proper thing would be that we will walk out.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** This is a very important question. It is an international question. We would again request you that you should immediately consider this question. You should not throw it on to the Governor. He may refuse us the permission. But if you are determined to follow this policy, then we have got no other way left but to walk out of the House as a protest.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have given my ruling.

*(Some Members walked out and returned to the Chamber after a few minutes).*

## SUSPENSION OF RULE 13

GOVERNMENT BUSINESS ON THURSDAY (2ND AUGUST, 1956.)

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** I beg to move:—

That this Assembly resolves that Rule 13 of the Rules of Procedure of West Pakistan Legislative Assembly may be suspended and the Assembly may transact Government business on Thursday, the 2nd of August, 1956.

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved is:—

That this Assembly resolves that Rule 13 of the Rules of Procedure of West Pakistan Legislative Assembly may be suspended and the Assembly may transact Government business on Thursday, the 2nd of August, 1956.

**Mr. G. Allana:** On a point of order, Sir.

From the papers that I have in my hands, it appears that this motion had been circulated on the 31st of July, that is yesterday.

I now refer to Rule 17 because that is the only rule which sets the time limit for all notices to be given to Members. There is no specific rule for this particular purpose. Rule 17 has an indirect bearing on the point of order that I am referring.

Now, I submit, Mr. Speaker, that it is not fair on the part of the Government to circulate notice of a motion of this type without even giving to the House one day's notice.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law): I have given notice long ago.

**Mr. G. Allana**: I am only concerned with the authenticated documents circulated by the Secretary of the Assembly.

(Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker**: Order, please.

**Mr. G. Allana**: I have not finished, Mr. Speaker. I want to explain why I want one day's notice.

**Mr. Speaker**: Don't explain but merely state the point of order.

**Mr. G. Allana**: Shall I repeat.

**Mr. Speaker**: He has only to state his contention.

**Mr. G. Allana**: As I have said, Rule 17 has an indirect bearing on the admissibility of this motion for which one day's notice has not been given to the House. Now why one day's notice is necessary? For instance, this motion has not been discussed by the Republican or the Muslim League party. How is it possible for us to give on the spur of the moment our views on a matter of this kind.

How are we to know whether the Muslim League Party as a party will support or oppose it. Therefore it becomes necessary that for all motions of this type we must be given one day's notice.

I may refer you, Mr. Speaker, to the document which bears the date 31st July. I say one day's notice is not given; therefore the motion is out of order.

**Mr. Speaker**: This motion was given notice of by the Honourable Minister and circulated to Members and Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan tabled an amendment to this motion on 31st July. How can he say that one day's notice was not given? After all a member of his Party moved an amendment to the motion on 31st July and he says that this motion was placed on the agenda on 31st July. So this point of order is over-ruled.

## SUSPENSION OF RULE

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** On a point of order. Does it conclusively prove, because one member received the notice paper on the 30th July, that all other members received it on 30th July and therefore these papers were circulated in time?

**Mr. Speaker:** Notices were circulated when the summons were issued.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** But the motion was amended and it should be made available to Members. This very resolution is dated 31st July.

**Mr. Speaker:** No, it is dated 26th July.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** Sir, I have no desire to go against the wishes of this House. I want to tell you the reason why I move this resolution. The reason was this, that we will be moving immediately after this the electorate resolution. I wanted to give a continuity to the discussion about general or separate electorates and tomorrow is intervening for non-official day and therefore we will have to resume the discussion on this subject day after tomorrow. Another day in lieu thereof will be given. If Members do not want this continuity but prefer the discontinuity, I do not insist but leave it to the House to decide as they like.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Last time, the session sat for 20 days and we were not given an opportunity for private resolutions even for one day. This time we do not know how long we will sit. Therefore, in the whole of the year, if we are not given even one day for private resolutions, when are we going to get an opportunity? Therefore it is immaterial if there is a break or discontinuity in the discussion. We want that we should have this privilege to move our private resolutions.

**Mian Amir-ud-Din:** Because he is going to discuss the resolution on the electorates, the discussion must go on without interruptions.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Are you going to put it to vote. We do not want to agree.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** My friend Mr. Syed said that there shall not be postponement of tomorrow's non-official day and we must not surrender our right to have the non-official day tomorrow and thus make room for the Government to continue today's debate.

**Mr. Speaker:** Is Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan moving his amendment or withdrawing it?

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan:** I am not moving it.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** I do not know why the Leader of the Opposition has suddenly and dramatically decided to agree to the Government point of view that there shall be no non-official day tomorrow. Since this Ministry has come into office, we have had no occasion to have any discussion on a non-official day. We want to make full use of our right to put points of view of private members in the form of a resolution or in the form of a private Bill. If you want to postpone the non-official business, it means that if the Government are not in a position to finalise their draft, we may have no day at all and therefore we may not have any opportunity to take up the non-official resolutions, Bills etc. Sir, the Opposition this time has tabled important resolutions. I therefore expect that the Government will not infringe upon the right of the Opposition and the private members to move their Bills and resolutions.

With these few words I support Mr. Syed's point of view that there should be no adjournment of the non-official day.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:—

"This Assembly resolves that Rule 13 of the Rules of Procedure of the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly may be suspended and the Assembly may transact Government business on Thursday, the 2nd August, 1956."

*on count of the House the motion was carried.*

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Sir, the purpose of our asking for division was that names should be recorded.

**Mr. Speaker:** Under the proviso to sub-rule (3) of Rule 63 of Rules of Procedure, if the Speaker feels that the division is unnecessarily claimed, he can ask the honourable members to rise in their seats.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** It does not mean that there should be no division in the lobbies at all.

**Mr. Speaker:** If the scales are evenly balanced, then there can be voting by regular division.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Division does not necessarily mean that majority of votes should be determined. It means also that names of Members who are in favour of or against a certain proposal should be recorded. For example, the question of joint or separate electorate will come up before the House. Some Members may support joint electorates and others separate electorates. We want that in division the names should be recorded. It will be unfair if we are not given this privilege.



## SUSPENSION OF RULE

**Mr. Speaker :** If there is a very important matter and I consider that a division should take place and names may be recorded then even if on one side the number of members is very small, I will order a division but this is just a formal motion.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** This is a very important matter. Government is depriving us of our right and they do not want to let the public know who want to support Government in this highhandedness.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** He has brought these people into power.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** If they want to go wrong, we want to bring them right.

**Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani :** Now they are feeling their mistake.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** There is no question of a mistake. We act according to our conscience.

## PRINCIPLE OF ELECTORATE RESOLUTION

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law) :** Whereas Article 145 of the Constitution lays down that the Parliament may after ascertaining the views of the Provincial Assemblies and taking them into consideration, by Act, provide whether elections to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies shall be held on the principle of joint electorate or separate electorate ;

And whereas the Government of Pakistan in a communication addressed to the Government of West Pakistan have requested that the views of the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly on the principle of the electorate may be obtained, so that the actual delimitation of constituencies may begin and the electoral rolls are finalised after the required law has been passed by the Parliament ;

I hereby move that this Assembly do now proceed to discuss and decide the question whether elections to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies shall be held on the principle of joint electorate or separate electorate.

Now you may put the motion and then I will speak.

**Mr. Speaker :** The Rules are that when you make a motion and have spoken on it then I put it.

**Mr. Muhammad Hashim Gazdar :** Sir, I rise on a point of order. This is what Article 145 of the Constitution says :—

“The Parliament may, after ascertaining the views of the Provincial Assemblies and taking them into consideration, by Act provide whether elections to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies shall be held on the principle of joint electorate or separate electorate.....”.

Sir, this Article lays down that it should be the, 'Parliament' which would ascertain views of this House. The Honourable Minister has just now said that the 'Pakistan Government' has asked us to express our opinion, while Article 145 lays down that 'Parliament' shall ask our opinion. I therefore want to know whether it is in order for Pakistan Government to ask us to express our opinion in spite of the Article in the Constitution which definitely says that it is the Parliament who should ask us to give our views.

**Mr. Speaker:** This motion is perfectly in order. The objection is overruled. The Parliament has to decide the principle of electorate after ascertaining the views of the Provincial Assemblies. They may ascertain the views of the Provincial Assemblies through Government agency or otherwise. This objection is overruled and I hold the motion to be in order.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, the point is that it is clearly said in the Constitution that the Parliament will ascertain the views of the Provincial Assemblies.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order please. We have got to transact business of the House. I have given my ruling. Please sit down.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** I am prepared to assist you, Sir, in the transaction of the business of the House, but where there are material irregularities of procedure, it is also my privilege to bring them to your notice.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is true. I would always welcome it, but so far my experience has been that the points of order raised have no force.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, you may not agree with my point of view, but I have the right to express my point of view and I accept your decision. In this matter, Sir, you have given your ruling that the Parliament may ask the Government to ascertain the views of the Provincial Assemblies, but the Constitution has laid down that it is the Parliament which has to ascertain the views of the Provincial Assemblies. We want to know whether the Parliament has communicated to the Government to ascertain the views of the Provincial Assembly or there has been any direct communication to the Provincial Assembly from the Parliament.

**Mr. Speaker:** He is repeating. This is also overruled.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Rule 18 (2) states:—

“A notice or other paper shall be deemed to have been made available for the use of a member:—

- (i) “When the Assembly is in session and for two days before the commencement of the session unless otherwise requested by the member, if it is delivered by hand at the local address given by the member.....”.

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION

This notice has been circulated only today, because yesterday we did not meet. So this cannot come today. Since sufficient notice has not been given it cannot come.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law): I have sent my notice on the 22nd. The Assembly Office has received it.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon**: We have not received it. We are not concerned with the Assembly Office.

**Mr. Speaker**: The first notice was addressed to honourable members on the 26th of last month at their permanent residences and there are postal receipts in the office. So, if a notice is despatched by post to the original address of the members on the 26th it shall be deemed to have been made available whether they receive it or not.

**Mr. G. M. Syed**: There is no date mentioned.

**Mr. G. Allana**: May I say that Mr. Syed's interpretation of the rule is wrong. Rule 18 (2) says:—

"A notice or other paper shall be deemed to have been made available for the use of a member:—

- (i) "when the Assembly is in session and for two days before the commencement of the session, unless otherwise requested by the member.....".

Two days have been referred to. It means either during the session or two days before the session, if it is delivered by hand at local address, etc. it is in order. Now the two days referred to in sub-rule (2) of Rule 18 do not lay down the period of two days notice at all. But that only refers to the continuity of the duration of the session and two days preceding the Assembly session. Therefore I am sorry to say that Mr. Syed's point of order is entirely irrelevant.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law): While moving this resolution I realised the gravity of it, and it was for that reason alone that I did not move the resolution in any definite form. My purpose was to leave it to the Assembly, and to honourable members, to express their opinion one way or the other. And then from the discussion would have emerged a resolution which would have reflected the wishes of this Honourable House.

Sir, in brief, I would say a few words. In my final speech I shall be making a definite reply to all the points raised. I would like to know from you, Sir, what procedure should be adopted in this case because my motion does not recommend any of electorate but a mere discussion about it. Will it be discussed generally first and then let amendments be moved and discussed. I would like to know it.

**Mr. Speaker :** In the present case, I would adopt the following procedure. Pir Elahi Bakhsh's substantive motion does not contain any recommendation. Then there is an amendment moved by the Chief Minister in which definite recommendation has been made. Similarly, another amendment has been moved by Mr. G. M. Syed in which recommendation to the Assembly is sought to be made on joint electorates. Another amendment has been moved by Mr. G. Allana to the effect that electorates must be separate. There are amendments by the Chief Minister, Mr. G. M. Syed and Mr. G. Allana.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** There should be joint electorates for the first ten years.

**Mr. Speaker :** I will permit the movers of these amendments to move their respective amendments simultaneously and then the House can discuss these amendments and the original motion threadbare. After the discussion, the movers of these amendments will also be given some small opportunity to explain any point they like as a matter of explanation. Lastly, Mr. Pirzada Abdus Sattar will address the House on the overall situation and then voting will take place. I think in this way, as the issue is very clear cut, whether there should be joint or separate electorate, all motions should be discussed together, and I propose to do so.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** There is an amendment standing in my name. It seeks to find a *via media*, namely providing joint electorate on the basis of the demand of minorities.

**Mr. Speaker :** He will be given an opportunity to move his amendment and that also will be discussed along with the three amendments and he will be given an opportunity to make an explanation.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** The question is not of you or me. The question is that when you mentioned the names of Members who had given notices of amendments you did not mention my name.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have not seen his amendment.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, I want to raise a point of order.

Sir, the first amendment regarding the system of electorate was made by me. I find here in the order of precedence that the Chief Minister has been given precedence over me. Actually, their Party decided in the evening, and I gave my amendment in the morning. I should have been given precedence over the Chief Minister because my amendment was given first.

**Mr. G. Allana :** I rise to support the point of view of Mr. G. M. Syed. I once again refer you to Rule 17. I will read out some portion of Rule 17 for the benefit of the House.



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It says :—

"Every notice required by the rules shall be given in writing addressed to the Secretary and shall be delivered at the Assembly Office. If it is delivered between 9-00 a.m. and 3-00 p.m. on a day when the office is open it shall be treated as delivered on that day. If it is delivered at any later time or on any holiday, it shall be treated as delivered on the day on which the office next opens.....".

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will recall that I received a telephone call from you round about 2 O'clock and I was in your Chamber about 10 minutes past 3. You were good enough to discuss with me the technicalities and the admissibility and the method of presentation before the House of Mr. Syed's resolution and mine. You and the Deputy Secretary definitely told me that you have received only two amendments up to that time, i.e. 3-10 p.m., one from Mr. G. M. Syed and the other from me, which means that the Chief Minister's amendment has definitely come after 3-10 p.m. It is a matter of speculation that it definitely came after the Republican Party took the decision. That meeting was scheduled to take place at 6-30 p.m. I do not understand, when there is a rule, why the Office have printed wrongly on the order of the list of business to show that the Chief Minister's amendment was received on the 31st of July. That is certainly not true. The Chief Minister's amendment according to the Rules has been received by the Office on the day following, i.e. the 1st of August. And I will submit, Mr. Speaker that there is a grave irregularity committed by the Secretariat of the Assembly. And, therefore, arising out of the observation I have made, I entirely support Mr. G. M. Syed regarding the order of precedence.

Mr. G. M. Syed is entirely within his rights. His amendment in order of precedence is "2" and that of the Chief Minister "3".

صاحب سپیکر - جہاں تک اس اعتراض کا تعلق ہے اگر یہ ترمیم گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے نہ ہوتی تو یہ اعتراض درست تھا - مسٹر جی الانہ نے بارہ بجے کے قریب اصل ریزولیشن دیا اور پھر کوئی تین بجے کے قریب انہیں اس بات سے آگاہ کر دیا گیا کہ اس ریزولیشن کو بعض ترامیم کے ساتھ پیش کیا جائیگا - چنانچہ اگر ان دونوں حضرات ہی کی ترامیم ہوتیں تو انہیں اسی ترتیب سے رکھا جاتا - اسکے بعد چیف مسٹر صاحب نے اپنی ترمیم دی اور یہ درست ہے کہ انہوں نے پارٹی میٹنگ میں یہ ریزولیشن پاس کیا ہوگا - اور دفتر چونکہ صبح سے شام تک کھلا رہتا ہے اسلئے دفتر کسی کو کسی وقت ترمیم دینے سے روک نہیں سکتا - اور نہ دفتر والے اس پر غلط تاریخ ڈال سکتے ہیں - تاریخ وہی ہوگی -

The amendment was handed over on the 31st. The office cannot falsify it.

پھر چونکہ آج کا دن سرکاری کارروائی کے لئے ہے اور قاعدہ ۱۴ کے ماتحت سرکاری نے قائد ایران کے مشورے سے فہرست کارروائی کو ترتیب دینا ہوتا ہے - اور سرکاری دن میں اس وقت تک کوئی اور کارروائی نہیں ہو سکتی جب تک حکومت اپنا حق نہ چھوڑے اسلئے چیف مسٹر صاحب کی ترمیم سب سے پہلے رکھی گئی ہے - اس بنا پر میں اس اعتراض کو مسترد کرتا ہوں -



**Mr. G. Allana :** I accept your ruling on the first point of order and I rise on another point of order. I understood you to say that the amendment of the Chief Minister is a Government motion. Now I very humbly beg to differ, Mr. Speaker, from you. There is one Government motion before us and that is the original resolution of the Law Minister. That alone can be termed as a Government motion.

I will now read out my amendment :—

“That for the third paragraph of the motion beginning with the words “I hereby move” and ending with the words “or separate electorate”, the following be substituted” :—

“And whereas this House has given this matter its most earnest and serious consideration, and having taken into account all the aspects the electorate issue, both from the point of view of the Muslims and the minorities of Pakistan, and keeping in view the ideological basis as advocated by Qaid-i-Azam, for the establishment of Pakistan, which inspired our Nation to struggle for its achievement, this Assembly recommends to the National Assembly that Muslims and minorities should be given the right in the constitution to elect their representatives by separate electorates and further that joint electorates are not the best interest of Pakistan, and it is further resolved that this resolution, alongwith the records of proceedings and debate on the subject, be forwarded to the Central Government”.

Now when the Chief Minister himself moves an amendment to a Government Resolution already circulated to us, he has the same right as I, as an ordinary member, have. Your contention, Mr. Speaker, that the Chief Minister will have precedence over all of us is entirely wrong.

Your other objection that the amendment moved to the original motion, which is a Government motion, cannot be termed as one from the Government side, is not correct. Whenever there is a bill or a motion made by the Government, any other member of the Government can move any amendment and that amendment is also on behalf of the Government.

**Mr. Speaker :** This amendment moved by the Government is Government business and not private business.

**Mr. G. Allana :** I see a maze before me.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** I shall explain the “Motion”. The motion is only that you proceed to discuss whether you want to express your opinion or not and the attitude that you want to take. All these things you have got to consider. A substantial motion is before you and it is being placed before you and you can move any amendment you like.

**Mr. Speaker :** Motion moved is :—

“Whereas Article 145 of the Constitution lays down that the Parliament may after ascertaining the views of the Provincial Assemblies and taking them into consideration, by Act, provide whether elections to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies shall be held on the principle of joint electorate or separate electorate ;

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And whereas the Government of Pakistan in a communication addressed to the Government of West Pakistan have requested that the views of the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly on the principle of electorate may be obtained, so that the actual delimitation of constituencies may begin and the electoral rolls are finalised after the required law has been passed by the Parliament ;

I hereby move that this Assembly do now proceed to discuss and decide the question whether elections to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies shall be held on the principle of joint electorate or separate electorate”.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, you have to move my amendment. This is a slipshod way of moving amendments and doing things. It is unprecedented. Who has been directed? Has this House been directed by the Central Government to take a decision on an all important issue of electorates? And we are given no substantive motion or resolution which the Leader of the House or the ruling party want to be passed.

**Mr. Speaker:** He will get it just now.

**Chief Minister (Dr. Khan Sahib):** Sir, I beg to move :—

That for the third paragraph of the motion beginning with the words “I hereby move” and ending with the words “or separate electorate”, the following be substituted:—

“This Assembly therefore do now proceed to discuss and recommend to the Parliament that in the view of the demand of the minorities in West Pakistan to have separate electorates, the election to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies should be on the principle of separate electorate”.

**Mr. Speaker:** You do not want to make a speech at this stage?

**Chief Minister:** No.

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion under discussion, amendment moved is:—

That for the third paragraph of the motion beginning with the words “I hereby move” and ending with the words “or separate electorate”, the following be substituted:—

“This Assembly therefore do now proceed to discuss and recommend to the Parliament that in view of the demand of the minorities in West Pakistan to have separate electorates, the election to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies should be held on the principle of separate electorate”.

This is an amendment to the original substantive motion which has already been moved.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan:** Sir, mine was also an amendment to the amendment of the Chief Minister, which was submitted earlier and therefore must have precedence over the later amendments.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am very sorry. Yes, Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan to move his amendment to the amendment of the Chief Minister.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan:** Sir, I beg to move the following amendment to the amendment of the Chief Minister:—

That in the proposed amendment of the Chief Minister in line 2, the following words be deleted:—

“in view of the demand of the minorities in West Pakistan to have separate electorates”.

**Mr. Speaker:** Does he want to make a speech?

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** The proper procedure will be that when you put the amendment to amend before the House, then he should make a speech.

**Mr. Speaker:** Our rules are that when a member moves his amendment, he should make a speech.

میاں منظور حسن: حضور والا - چیف منسٹر صاحب نے اپنی ترمیم میں یہ کہا ہے کہ وہ جرائد انتخابات کی حمایت اس لئے کر رہے ہیں کہ اقلیتیں مغربی پاکستان میں ایسا چاہتی ہیں - جناب والا میں آج اس امر کی مخالفت کے لئے اس مقرر ایران کے سامنے اٹھا ہوں - پاکستان کے قیام کیلئے جو جدوجہد ہوئی تھی بڑی قسمتی سے اس میں چیف منسٹر صاحب شامل نہیں تھے - بلکہ وہ اسوقت مخالفین کے گرو میں تھے - اسلئے انہیں قطعاً علم نہیں ہے کہ یہ ملک کن وجوہ کی بنا پر معرض وجود میں آیا - ہمیں یہ علم ضرور ہے کہ وہ متحدہ قومیت کے حامی تھے - اور ہم دو قوموں کی تھپوری کے حامی تھے - حضور والا - آپ اگر اس بنا پر اس ملک میں جرائد انتخابات نافذ کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ یہاں اقلیتیں ایسا چاہتی ہیں تو میں کہوں گا کہ آپ پاکستان کے بنیادی پتھروں کو اکھیڑنا چاہتے ہیں - اور اس ملک کی جڑوں پر ضرب لگانا چاہتے ہیں -

حضور والا - اس ملک کو اس لئے تخلیق کیا گیا تھا کہ ہندوستان اور پاکستان کے خط، ارض میں دو قومیں بستی تھیں - اور دونوں کو اپنے نظریات کے مطابق اپنی زندگی بسر کرنا تھیں اور اپنی حکومتیں چلانا تھیں - اور اپنے اپنے تمدن کو فروغ دینا تھا - انہی واقعات کو دیکھتے ہوئے حکومت برطانیہ کانگریس اور مسلم لیگ کے مابین ایک معاہدہ ہوا اور

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یہ تقسیم عمل میں آئی - اگر ہم آج یہ نظریہ مان لیں تو اس کی وجہ سے ہمارا وہ تخیل تباہ و برباد ہو جاتا ہے جو ایک اسلامی دستور اور اسلامی ریاست کو قائم کرنے کا تھا - اور ہم اس یورپی سازش کو کامیاب ہونے کا موجب بنینگے جس کے بانی ہمیشہ سے اسلام کو ضعف پہنچانے کے لئے کھٹے چلے آئے ہیں کہ جو نظریہ اسلام میں قومیت کا بیان کیا گیا ہے وہ غلط ہے وہ ہمیشہ وطنیت پر زور دیتے رہے ہیں - پاکستان ایک نسل رنگ اور زبان کی بنا پر معرض وجود میں نہیں آیا یہ محض اس لئے معرض وجود میں آیا کہ ہم مسلمانوں کے اعتقادات دوسروں سے جداگانہ ہیں اور ہم اپنی پسند کی طریقوں سے زندگی بسر کرنا چاہتے ہیں لیکن چیف جسٹس صاحب کی باتوں سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ انہوں نے قائداعظم کی مخالفت کے وقت جو موقف اختیار کیا تھا وہ اسی پر بدستور قائم ہیں - اور مجھے شبہ ہے کہ وہ ایک ٹروجن ہاوس میں جسے دشمنوں نے لٹائے میں بھیج دیا ہے اور وہ ان کی تباہی کا موجب ہوا میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ یہ اس بنیادی نظریہ کے خلاف ہے جس کی بنا پر ہم نے قربانیاں دیں سرخ پرشوں کے پتھر کھائے گولیاں اپنے سینے پر کھائیں اور اس ملک کو قائم کیا -

جناب والا - اگر آپ آج اس خاص نظریہ کے حامی بن جاتے ہیں تو اس کا مطلب یہ ہوگا کہ کل آپ مسگم کشمیر سے بھی دستبردار ہونا پڑیگا - کیونکہ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس اہم مسئلے کے حل اور استصواب رائے کا مطالبہ بھی ہم جداگانہ قومیت کی بنا پر کر رہے ہیں - اگر آپ آج قومیت کو ایک خاص خطہ ارض پر مبنی تسلیم کرتے ہیں تو آپ یقیناً اپنے موقف سے ہٹ جاتے ہیں - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ترمیم زیر غور کے سلسلے میں ہمارے وزیر اعلیٰ صاحب کی حکومت ہند پر خاص حمایت معلوم ہوتی ہے کیونکہ اس ترمیم کے ذریعے انہوں نے ان لوگوں کو جو مقبوضہ کشمیر میں اپنی آزادی کی خاطر غلامی - دھم اور تکلیف میں گرفتار ہیں اور اللہ تعالیٰ سے اپنے استخلاص کے لئے دعائیں مانگ رہے ہیں اندھے کرپس میں دھکیل دیا ہے - وزیر اعلیٰ نے اس قرار داد کے ذریعے اسلامی قومیت کے بنیادی پتھر کو نکال پھینکا ہے - اور پاکستان کے نظریہ کو ڈانٹا لیٹ کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے -

حضور والا - میں اس بنا پر بھی اس قرارداد کی مخالفت کرتا ہوں جس کے ذریعے جناب وزیر اعلیٰ صاحب نے امریکہ کے اس موقف اور منشا کو پورا کیا ہے کہ اس ملک کے دو قطعات ہیں جن میں ہزاروں میل کا فاصلہ ہے جس کے مشرقی حصے میں بنگالی اور برمی نسل کے لوگ بستے ہیں اور اس کے برعکس مغربی پاکستان میں بالکل جدا نسل کے لوگ آباد ہیں - میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ کل اگر مشرقی پاکستان کی اقلیتی متحد ہو کر یہ مطالبہ کرتی ہیں کہ ہم جداگانہ انتخابات نہیں چاہتے - ہم تو مخلوط انتخابات چاہتے ہیں تو پھر ڈاکٹر خان صاحب کی رائے کے مطابق یہ مطالبہ تسلیم کرنا پڑے گا اور پھر وہاں قومیت کا ایک علیحدہ نظریہ قائم ہو جائیگا جو آپ کے نظریہ کے بالکل خلاف ہو گا - میں محسوس کرتا ہوں کہ آپ کا طریق کار محض گاندھیانہ اور

نہرو واہ ہے جس کے ذریعے آپ دراصل اپنی قوم اور اپنے مذہب کی جڑوں کو کاٹ رہے ہیں۔ اگر یہ قرارداد منظور ہوگئی جس کے پس پردہ خدا جانے کس کس قسم نیتیں مصلحتیں اور ارادے پنہاں ہیں تو میں وثوق سے کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ یہ ہمارے دو قوموں کے نظریے کو بالکل ختم کردے گی۔

حضور والا۔ میں اس قرارداد کی مخالفت اس لئے کرتا ہوں کہ اس کے منظور ہونے کے بعد اقلیتوں کے ذہن میں یہ بات جاگزیں ہو جائیگی کہ اگر یہاں کسی وقت مخلوط انتخابات کا طریقہ رائج ہو گیا تو اس وقت وہ یہ محسوس کریں گی کہ مسلمان ہماری صحیح معنوں میں نمائندگی نہیں کر سکتے۔ جس کا لازمی نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ ہمارے دشمنوں اور بدخواہوں کی سرگرمیوں کیلئے ہمارے ملک میں سازگار فضا پیدا ہو جائیگی۔ دوسرے ملکوں سے کمیونسٹوں اور بھارت سے ہندو آئین کے اور ان لوگوں کو اپنے ایجنٹ بنا کر ہمارے ملک کی تباہی اور بربادی کا باعث ہونگے۔

حضور والا۔ میں آپ کی توجہ اس امر کی طرف بھی منعطف کرانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر آپ اس ملک میں اس قسم کی ذہنیت پیدا کر دیں جس کا مظاہرہ ہمارے سابق رفیق کار مسٹر سہروردی نے دستور ساز اسمبلی میں کیا کہ چند غیر مسلم اراکین کی رضا جوئی کے اسلام کا مضحکہ اڑانے کی کوشش کی تو اس صورت میں ملک کی حفاظت ناممکن ہو جائیگی۔ آج پاکستان کی حفاظت کیلئے اسلام کی حفاظت لازمی ہے۔ اس لئے حالات حاضرہ کا تقاضا ہمارے نظریے اور جدوجہد کے عین مطابق ہے اور وہ یہ کہ ہم اس ملک میں جداگانہ انتخابات کا طریقہ رائج کریں۔

حضور والا۔ اس کے علاوہ یہ خطرہ بھی بڑی شدت سے محسوس کیا جا رہا ہے کہ اس ملک کی موجودہ حکومت علاقائی عصبیت پیدا کرنے کی انتہائی کوشش کر رہی ہے تاکہ ہم مسلمانوں کی حیثیت سے سوچنا ہی چھوڑ دیں اور علاقائی بنا پر اتنے مستقبل کی تعمیر کریں تاکہ ہندو اور انگریز کی مرضی کے مطابق ملک نہایت ہی کمزور اور چھوٹی چھوٹی ریاستوں میں منقسم ہو جائے۔ دراصل ہماری موجودہ حکومت جس راستے پر گامزن ہے اس کا رجحان Secular حکومت کی طرف رہنمائی کرتا ہے جس کا لازمی نتیجہ اتحاد اور زندقہ ہے۔

حضور والا۔ ان کا منشا یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ملک کے دونوں حصوں میں اسلام اور قومیت کی بنا پر یک جہتی اور یگانگت کے بڑھنے کا امکان ہے۔ اس کے پچھلے کیلئے سازگار فضا پیدا ہی نہ ہونے دی جائے۔ آپ چاہتے ہیں کہ آپ لفظ قوم کے ان ولولہ انگیز معانی اور محب الوطن سرگرمیوں کو ختم کردیں جن کے ذریعہ نہتے مفلس اور بے سرمایہ مسلمانوں نے متحد ہو کر انگریز اور ہندو کی مشترکہ سامراج سے ٹکرانے کی طاقت بخش دی تھی۔ اس حیل امتین کو جسے مضبوطی سے پکڑ لینے کے بعد مسلمانوں نے ان سامراجی قوتوں سے چھٹکارا حاصل کیا تھا۔ اب آپ اس حیل امتین کو ہی ختم کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اس سے میں یہ نتیجہ اخذ کرنے پر مجبور ہوں کہ وہ اتنی قوم سے اپنی شرمناک ہزیت پرانی دشمنی۔ مناقشت اور ناقردہ گناہوں کا بزلہ لینا چاہتے



## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION

ہیں - مگر میں انہیں متنبہ کر دوں کہ ان کا یہ اقدام ان بڑے ہوئے حالات میں ہرگز مستحسن نہیں - انہیں اس سے پرہیز کرنا چاہیئے - آپ جانتے ہیں کہ ہمارے وزیر اعلیٰ ہمیشہ مخلوط انتخابات کے حامیوں میں پیش پیش رہے ہیں - ان کو چاہیئے تھا کہ وہ اپنے پرانے نظریے کو صریح دلی سے پوری طرح ترک کر کے آج اس کے متعلق قرارداد پیش کرتے - مگر آج ان کا رات رات اپنا عقیدہ بدل کر بلا وجہ جدگانہ انتخابات کی حمایت کرنا خطرے سے خالی نہیں - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ درحقیقت ایک زہر میں بچھا ہوا نشتر ہمارے سینوں میں پیوست کرنا چاہتے ہیں جس کی وجہ سے ہمارے وطن کی اساس ہی ملیامیٹ ہو جائے گی - ان کا یہ اقدام ہرگز عقلمندانہ اور دیانتدارانہ نہیں کہلا سکتا -

حضور والا - میں آپ کو یہ بھی یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ پاکستان اس لئے حاصل کیا گیا تھا کہ یہ مسلمانوں کا وطن ہوگا - اس کے رہنے والے ایک علیحدہ قوم کے افراد ہونگے جو ہر لحاظ سے آزاد ہونگے - اس کے حصول میں ان مسلمانوں نے بھی قربانیاں پیش کیں جو پاکستان بننے کے بعد نہرو کے ملک میں رہ گئے - جنہوں نے پاکستان کے قیام کی خاطر ہندو کے ہاتھوں گرفتار رکھ کر طرح طرح کی مصیبتیں جھیلنا منظور کیا اور اسوقت کانگریس کے طالبانہ گروہوں میں پیہسے جارہے ہیں - وہ اس امر کے طے کرنے کے مستحق ہیں کہ دو قوموں کے نظریہ کو ختم کیا جائے نہ کہ آپ اور ہم - یہ ان لوگوں کی قربانیوں کا اعتراف نہ ہوگا جنہوں نے قیام پاکستان کے بعد بھی بڑی جوانمردی سے دشمنان پاکستان کا ٹٹ کر مقابلہ کیا - آپ ان سے پوچھے بغیر جدگانہ قومیت کی اساس ختم کر دی لیکن اگر آج کوئی شخص اس سارے ڈھانچے کو سرے سے بدلنے کی سازش کر لے تو اس کے متعلق آپ کیسا خیال کریں گے - لہذا ڈاکٹر خان صاحب کی خدمت میں میری یہ مودبانہ گزارش ہے کہ وہ اس خطرناک اور پاکستان دشمن فقرے کو اس ریفرولوشن سے حذف کر دیں اور اپنی پرانی مناقشت کا بدلہ لینے کے خیال کو ترک کر دیں - وہ کبھی بھی ملت اسلامیہ کی آنکھوں میں دھول ڈالنے میں کامیاب نہ ہو سکیں گے ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اپنی ترمیم اس ایوان کے سامنے پیش کرتا ہوں -

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion under consideration, amendment moved is:—

That in the proposed amendment of the Chief Minister in line 2, the following words be deleted:—

“in view of the demand of the minorities in West Pakistan to have separate electorates.

There is another amendment of Major General Jamal Dar. I think it is a similar amendment and may be moved at this stage.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, I want to speak in support of the amendment moved by Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes, I will permit him to speak. Let Major General Jamal Dar Khan move his amendment which is to the same effect as the amendment of Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan.

**Major General Jamal Dar (Tribal Area adjoining Kohat District):** Sir, I beg to move:—

That in the amendment proposed by the Chief Minister the following words be omitted:—

“in view of the demand of the minorities in West Pakistan to have separate electorate”.

## WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY [1ST AUGUST, 1956]

**Mr. Speaker :** Motion under consideration, amendment moved is:—

That in the amendment proposed by the Chief Minister the following words be omitted:—

“In view of the demand of the minorities in West Pakistan to have separate electorate”.

**Mr. Joshua Fazl-ud-Din :** May I make my verbal amendment to the Chief Minister's amendment.

**Mr. Speaker :** At this stage?

**Mr. Joshua Fazl-ud-Din :** If possible.

**Mr. Speaker :** Is there any other amendment to the Chief Minister's amendment of which notice has already been given?

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** I rise to support.....

**Mr. Speaker :** We will be given an opportunity to do it.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** I would like to speak on this amendment the amendment of the Chief Minister.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please sit down. I have already said that in the discussion on this motion and the different amendments, the procedure I am going to adopt is that all amendments will be moved by the respective movers. The movers will be given an opportunity to speak. After all the amendments have been moved, then everybody can speak in favour of or against any amendment. He will have an opportunity to speak on any amendment.

**Mr. G. M. Syed (Dadu District :** Sir, I rise to move:—

“That for the third paragraph of the motion beginning with the words “I hereby move” and ending with the words “or separate electorate”, the following be substituted:—

“Now therefore in view of the Qaid-i-Azam's inaugural speech on the 11th August, 1947, on the floor of the Constituent Assembly advocating the principle of one Pakistani nation for integration of different communities and sections of the people; and

“in order to minimize the religious and communal differences and to bring understanding and harmony among the various sections of the people of Pakistan; and

“in order to provide rational and national outlook on the politics of Pakistan which is so necessary for the general reconstruction, internal peace, economic progress and international prestige of the country; and

“in order to create consciousness for the common citizenship in the interest of State and the happiness of its people; and

“further in order to give sufficient guarantee to the minorities to feel secure and live an honourable life free from all discrimination and thus to enable them to feel interested in the welfare of the country as a whole; this House recommends to the National Assembly to adopt the system of joint electorates for election to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies”.

Sir, while supporting the system of joint electorate I oppose the system of separate electorate because the amendment has already been moved. Sir, separate electorate is anti-national, and it divides the people of Pakistan into several artificial nationalities. Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Buddhists, Parsis, so on and so forth. Joint electorate is a system which will intergrate and unite the people of Pakistan into one homogenous Pakistani nation. Sir, this has been supported by the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah from whose speech I want to read out some passages.

Sir, on the 11th of August, 1947 when he was elected President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, members congratulated him. While making a policy statement, he made a historical speech, a declaration. He says :—

"Any idea of a united India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster".

Continuing on he says :—

"Now if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relation he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of the State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make".

Then, Sir, he goes on further to say :—

"I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalese, Madrasis and so on will vanish. Indeed if you ask me this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain its freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free peoples long long ago. No power can hold another nation, and especially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in the State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State".

And then, Sir, he cites instances of England. He says:—

"As you know, history shows that in England conditions some time ago were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations, made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed or another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the Government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist: what exists now is that every man is a citizen an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the nation".

Then, Sir, he says further:—

"Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State".

Sir, this was stated by no less a person than the Qaid-i-Azam, the founder of the State.

Then, Sir, I would like to read to you certain passages from the report of the Committee of Enquiry of which no less a person than Justice Munir was the Chairman, who is now the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. In the Punjab Disturbances Enquiry Committee Justice Munir says:—

"The Quad-i-Azam was the founder of Pakistan and the occasion on which he thus spoke was the first landmark in the history of Pakistan. The speech was intended both for his own people including non-Muslims and the World, and its object was to define as clearly as possible the ideal to the attainment of which the new State was to devote all its energies. There are repeated references in this speech to the bitterness of the past and an appeal to forget and change the past and to bury the hatchet. The future subject of the State is to be a citizen with equal rights, privileges and obligations, irrespective of colour, caste, creed or community. The word 'nation' is used more than once and religion is stated to have nothing to do with the business of the State and to be merely a matter of personal faith for the individual".

Then he further says:—

"But it has been freely admitted that this Resolution though grandiloquent in words, phrases and clauses is nothing but a hoax and that not only does it not contain even a

sembalance of the embryo of an Islamic state but its provisions, particularly those relating to fundamental rights are directly opposed to the principles of an Islamic state".

Then, Sir, I want to point out to you another thing. It is said that Muslims are a separate nation and Hindus are a separate nation. Therefore they should have separate electorate. Here I want to point out what the learned judges of the Inquiry Committee have said in regard to this issue :—

".....If the Ulemas of the various sects believe Ahmadis to be Kafirs, they must have been quite clear in their minds not only about the grounds of such a belief but also about the definition of a Muslim. The claim of a certain person or community employs on the part of the claimant an exact conception of what a Muslim is.....".

Then, Sir, it is further said that according to the "Shias" all the Sunnis are Kafirs and Ahle-Quran, namely persons who consider "Hadis" to be unreliable and, therefore, not binding are unanimously Kafirs and so are all independent thinkers.

I will now give the questions of a learned person of the day.

Allama Madudi says about Muslims that we Muslims are a separate nation.

"یہ انبوء عظیم جس کو مسلمان کہا جاتا ہے اس کا حال یہ ہے کہ اس کے ۹۹۹ فی ہزار افراد نہ اسلام کا علم رکھتے ہیں نہ حق اور باطل کی تیز سے آگاہ ہیں نہ ان کا اخلاقی نقطہ نظر اور ذہنی رویہ اسلام کے مطابق تبدیل ہوا ہے" -

This means that they are a separate nation on account of their conceptions, on account of their ideologies. The same great learned person says at another place that the Muslims are a mob. Nobody understands real Islam. This is what one of the Ulemas says.

Separate electorate is undemocratic. It does not give equal rights to all citizens. The fact that according to the principles of Islam as they have been advocating the Islamic State will not be democratic is conceded by the Ulemas. This means that if we accept those principles, ours will not be a democratic State at all. It will be a sort of dictatorship.

Now I will give you quotations from members of the Hindu community what they have said in the National Assembly at the time of discussing this question :—

"Explaining the dangers inherent in communal electorates, Sris Babu emphasised that these separate electorates (1) opposed the teachings of history, (2) manufactured communal divisions, (3) perpetuated the existing critical situation, (4) blocked the way of the growth of a sense of common citizenship, and (5) constituted a very serious hindrance to the development of self-governing principles".



**Further on, Sris Babu says :—**

"My submission always has been that Pakistanis belong to one nation, not to as many as six nations—Muslim Nation Hindu Nation, Scheduled Nation, Christian Nation, Buddhist Nation, Parsi Nation. So let us first decide whether we are one nation or two nations? From the very beginning, I have been saying that we are one nation. I say: 'Do not divide Pakistan into several nations according to their religions, because that way lies danger'. Nation, should be on the basis of territory. Otherwise remember Sudetan Germany. There were two or three nations in Czechoslovakia. They did not become Czechs, and Czechoslovakia was destroyed by Hitler".

**I now quote a passage from the Speech of another Hindu Member Bhupendra Kumar Dutta. He says :—**

"Why should the 86 per cent of our people be in such mortal dread of the remaining 14 per cent that they would not have them represented except by mere show-boys to function in an eternal mockery of a parliamentary opposition? We do not want to remain a protected community, a tolerated community as people were in the Middle East twelve or thirteen hundred years ago. You are making an Islamic constitution; you will have the State laws transformed by Shariat Laws; you expressly prescribe that the religion of the Head of the State shall be Islam. In the atmosphere you thus create, what is going to be our lot under separate electorates in which the ruling community will, by the very nature of things, feel little concerned even if we are wiped out"?

**Further on, he says :—**

"If separate electorates under the Britishers led to the partition of India, let history repeat itself and the country be further sub-divided. Let the regions west of the Padma be assigned to the non-Muslims of East Pakistan and the Thar Parkar district of Sind to those of West Pakistan. The Islamic provisions of the Constitution shall be void in those regions, where the non-Muslim minorities of Pakistan may live without at least being harassed and opposed by the State organisation for proselytisation and where their personal laws shall remain free from the repugnancy of the Quran and the Sunnah".

**Then, Sir, Prem Hari Barman, says :—**

"With a view to achieve intergration of the different national elements into one organic whole, to minimise the religious and communal differences, to promote outlook of secular commonsense, to deeply implant the universal ideas of human rights in the mind of the people, and to awaken in the Pakistanis, irrespective of caste, creed, religion and community, a consciousness of common citizenship and common national tie, and in the interests of the State and also for the welfare of the minorities living in the State, the Conference of the Minorities of East Bengal demanded that there should be Joint Electorate without any reservation of seats for any community".

**Then, in the end, he says :—**

"We may not be here; it may be my last speech here, but if the Government introduce joint electorate system, let me tell the House that our generations, our children's children will feel a sense of nationality, oneness, unity which would be a tower of strength to Pakistan".

Now, Sir, after quoting these things, I go to the nature of separate electorate. Sir, the separate electorate is a reactionary move. It increases the religious and communal tension.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Landlords of the world, unite.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** It creates an inferiority complex in the Muslims and diverts the attention of the people from the real and permanent issues to temporary and imaginary things, and it encourages the vested interests. These are the few things which I wanted to place before the House. I say this is a most derogatory and reactionary step and if this Assembly is going to pass this resolution I know that the Republican Party which was formed only a few days back, proclaimed that they are going to be the custodians of the rights of all the people they have decided to support the Leaguers, for the sake of power, and they do not care for the principles. Let me point out that this is a thing on which the future historian alone can say whether this step which they are taking was in the interest of the country or was against the interest of the country; that those persons who want to talk in the name of Islam and religion, whether they are the true supporters of democracy, whether they are the well wishers of Pakistan State, whether they want to unite the people of this country or they want to divide them. If they want to divide the people on religious basis, why do they put those persons into jail who say they are Pathans, they are Sindhis, are Baluchis. When you divide on religious grounds, on the same principles they have no right to restrict the people to be divided on the basis of language and culture. Sir, I know what will be the fate of my amendment to which the Party in power are opposed. But I would be failing in my duty if I did not place before the House the things which the future historian has to face, things which are going to disintegrate Pakistan, which is going to be the greatest blunder of this age which they are going to commit. India was divided on account of these separate electorates. Now they want to divide Pakistan on account of these two divisions. Do they want to continue these divisions, do they want to go against the wishes and the very declaration of the Quaid-i-Azam who was the founder of the State? If they want to do so, the responsibility will be entirely theirs and not ours. We have come here to record our opinion, further I want to point out that it is for the minorities to say that they want separate electorate. It has been correctly pointed out that the portion stating that it is the "demand of the minorities", should be deleted from the text of the Resolution. It is for them, the minorities to say whether they accept separate electorate and not the majority. The Hindus, as a matter of fact not a single Hindu is for separate electorates. It does not lie in the mouth of the Leader of the House to say that it is "in accordance with the wishes of the minorities" that they have decided to support separate electorate. If they want to perpetuate divisions, they can do it, as of course they are in majority, but they have no right to say that minorities want separate electorate and therefore they are having it.

In the end, I would like to hear from the Leader of the House who has the strength of character and who has stood like a rock against all

opposition and who has behind him long record of service, why he has changed his principles. Is it because he wants to retain office by pleasing Muslim Leaguers. If so, he is sadly mistaken.

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion under consideration, amendment moved is:—

That for the third paragraph of the motion beginning with the words "I hereby move" and ending with the words "or separate electorate", the following be substituted:—

"Now therefore—

in view of the Quaid-i-Azam's inaugural speech on the 11th August, 1947 on the floor of the Constituent Assembly advocating the principle of one Pakistani Nation for integration of different communities and sections of the people; and

in order to minimise the religious and communal differences and to bring understanding and harmony among the various sections of the people of Pakistan; and

in order to provide rational and national outlook on the politics of Pakistan which is so necessary for the general reconstruction, internal peace, economic progress and international prestige of the country; and

in order to create consciousness for the common citizenship in the interest of State and the happiness of its people; and

further in order to give sufficient guarantee to the minorities to feel secure and live an honourable life free from all discrimination and thus to enable them feel interested in the welfare of the country as a whole;

this House recommends to the National Assembly to adopt the system of joint electorates for election to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies".

**Mr. G. Allana** (Municipal Corporation of Karachi): Sir, I listened with an open mind, most earnestly, most attentively and most respectfully the thesis expounded by the honourable member Mr. G. M. Syed, the Leader of Awami Mahaz Party, advocating that we do recommend to the National Assembly the system of joint electorate.

I have no hesitation in saying that, with the best effort on my part, he left me completely cold at the end of his speech. There was not an argument of any substance or weight that would make me change my mind even by a fraction of a millimeter on the stand that I rise to advocate, namely, that we do recommend to the National Assembly the system of separate electorate.

I shall deal with his arguments later on. During the course of my own observations I would have wished to reply to the arguments of the original mover of the amendment, the Leader of the House, Honourable Dr. Khan Saheb. But he has given us no opportunity to have an insight into his mind or into the mind of his Party. He has taken shelter by merely moving an amendment to the original motion of the Law Minister. I wish he had been good enough to explain—not to us—but to his erstwhile colleague, Mr. G. M. Syed, that he changed his mind from joint electorate to separate electorate, and that Mr. G. M. Syed must follow suit. So, I have nothing to say in reply to the arguments that the Chief Minister may have given. But I shall certainly deal with his resolution later on and make my own observations thereon.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to divide my speech into three parts. To begin with, I shall try to explain why I stand to advocate the principle of separate electorates. Secondly, I shall deal with the case for joint electorate, as generally explained by the protagonists of joint electorates, and try to meet their arguments by counter-arguments as to why joint electorates cannot be and are not in the best interest of Pakistan. In my third part, I shall deal with the arguments advanced by Mr. G. M. Syed and then I will make certain concluding observations.

Mr. Speaker, it is a well known political axiom that every Parliament in every country reflects in the ultimate analysis the genius of political parties that prevail and exist in the country concerned. Now, Sir, my submission is that the genesis, genius, and composition of political parties in Pakistan is such that to arrive at the conclusion that separate electorates are absolutely necessary becomes inescapable.

Broadly speaking, political parties in Pakistan can be divided into two categories. There are political parties whose membership is open only to the members of a particular community, be it a majority or minority community. In the second category of political parties membership is open to all citizens of Pakistan, irrespective of their caste or creed. My humble experience of membership and working of the political parties in Pakistan has made me to come irresistably to the conclusion that the biggest and most organised parties in the country have the membership confined only to the members of a particular community. And here I refer to that great national organisation that mass organisation, namely, the All Pakistan Muslim League. Then I also refer to the political organisation of caste Hindus in East Pakistan. Their membership is open only to the members of the caste Hindu community. There are other similar parties in the sense of membership, like Jamaat-i-Islami and Nizam-i-Islam Party in East Pakistan, and some others whose membership is also open only to the members of one community. There are other minor parties among minorities whose membership is open only to members of that particular community, e.g., the party of Christians in West and East Pakistan, the political party of the Scheduled Castes in East Pakistan, etc. Then, there are other political parties whose membership *ostensibly* and I



advisedly underline the word '*ostensibly*' is open to the citizens of Pakistan, irrespective of their religion and community. I will refer to the Republican Party—the so-called Republican Party—which is supposed to run the Government of West Pakistan. Their membership is open to the non-Muslims. But what is the proportion of non-Muslims in the total membership of the Republican Party? It would come to an infinitesimal figure. I see the Secretary General of the Republican Party there—and I would like to be corrected if I make a mistake. I make bold to say that in all the committee that they have set up all over West Pakistan for organisation purposes, not a single non-Muslim is there on the organisation committees of the Republican Party. Therefore, it stands to reason that although there are parties open to non-Muslims, they do not join them because overwhelming majority of the members of the party are Muslims.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** It is because you do not trust them.

**Mr. G. Allana :** I now come to party of the gentleman who interrupts me, namely, the Awami Mahaz Party. Mr. Syed has waxed eloquent on going away with communal distinction. He has formed a party which is supposed to be open to non-Muslims. But may I ask him, Mr. Speaker, how many non-Muslims have joined his Party, in spite of the fact that Mr. G. M. Syed is the Leader of that party? And then I ask my friends on the right, membership of whose parties is also open to non-Muslims, what is the composition of the membership of their own parties which are open to non-Muslims?

I would not like to name all the Parties. I would not like to go into details, for I have made out a broad case to show that this fact has to be faced. The fact remains, the fact is irrefutable, that political parties in our country refuse to assimilate membership jointly of Muslims and non-Muslims. Now that being the position what will happen if we adopted the system of joint electorates? The net result of it would be that membership of all political parties being predominantly Muslim—and after all they are Muslims and not angels—whatever party they may belong to, it is only natural that at the time of general elections, when we are going to allot tickets to our party men, we will completely steamroll the members of the non-Muslim community in the general elections. And, therefore, I advocate that this is a very important point of the political life of our country. Believe me, Sir, that minorities would be completely steamrolled and crushed, if you are going to give them joint electorate.

The whole world knows that Pakistan is an Islamic State. We are not ashamed to admit it. As a matter of fact, we are proud to say that Pakistan is an Islamic State. There is no getting away from that fact, and that is the fundamental fact of the Constitution of the Republic of Pakistan. The question then arises that, since we admit that ours is an Islamic State, then that is the touch-stone on which you have to take decision on all political issues. Therefore the question arises, what are rights of the minorities in an Islamic State? It is a difficult subject to deal with, but I do not want to shirk it. I would like to face it and place it before you so that when House ultimately decides and the members cast their votes, they must know what they are doing. The question of the rights of minorities



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in an Islamic State is too technical a subject. It is a subject on which only scholars of Islamic history or the Ulema are competent to express an expert opinion. I am neither the one nor the other. I am neither here nor there. So I shall not say anything from myself, because the House would be justified, Mr. Speaker, in rejecting whatever I might say on such a difficult and such a technical subject.

From where shall I quote? I had four or five alternatives. But I have decided from where I shall quote after having heard the honourable member, Mr. G. M. Syed. He has relied on the report of the Punjab Disturbances Committee, over which two of the highest gentlemen in the land, gentlemen of sterling character and calibre presided, namely Justice Munir and Justice Kayani. Mr. Speaker, the question of the rights of minorities in an Islamic State was one of the most important issues which this particular Committee was called upon to decide. A great volume of evidence was placed before them on this question, and they examined extensively and exhaustively and thoroughly the views of leading Ulema and scholars of Islamic History that were placed before them. On Page 212 of the Report of the Punjab Disturbances Enquiry Committee this is what they say :—

“According to the leading ulemas the position of non-Muslims in the Islamic State of Pakistan will be that of “Zimmis” and they will not be full citizens of Pakistan because they will not have same, rights as Muslims. They will have no voice in the making of law; no right to administer the law and no right to hold public offices”.

Now this is a quotation from the report which merely says what the Ulemas have said on the question of the rights of minorities in an Islamic State. But presently, Mr. Speaker, I will read out to you what these two learned men have said themselves of their own accord after having examined the question of the rights of minorities.

I shall now quote from page 211 of the same report. Mr. Syed will please look into it :

“It is wholly incorrect as has been suggested from certain quarters that in a country like Pakistan which consists of different communities—Muslims and non-Muslims—and where representation is allowed to non-Muslims with a right to vote on every subject that comes up the Legislature is a form of “Ijma” or “Ijtihad”: the reason being that “Ijtihad” is not collective but only individual and though “Ijma” is collective, there is no place in it for those who are not experts in the knowledge of the law. This principle at once rules out the infidels “Kuffar” whether they be the people of the scriptures (“ahl-e-kitab”) or idolators (“mushrikeen”)”.

Now, I do not want to make my own observations on this. I was compelled to quote from this report these passages because Mr. G. M. Syed, the greatest propagandist of joint electorate in this House, has quoted and relied on the authority of that report. I would beg of him to read the report in the light in which I have read out, and I am sure the conclusions he will come to will be quite different from those that he has come to before. In spite of all these facts which I have pointed out, namely the right of the minorities in an Islamic State and the quotations from this report, we have not said that the minorities shall have no political rights. We are giving them absolutely equal rights as to Muslims ; and when I say this, I mean it.

What are the rights of the minorities? Those rights are, the right to vote, the right to get elected into the House, into the Parliament, the right to become a Minister, the right to become a Chief Minister, the right to become a Prime Minister. None of these rights, namely the right to vote, the right to get elected, the right to become a Minister, the right to become a Chief Minister, the right to become a Prime Minister is denied to the minorities by advocating separate electorates.

This shows that the religion of Islam, its teachings and its principles are adaptable to changing conditions and to changing society. It demonstrates the catholicity of Islam. I do not want you to take my word for it. I will quote to you an authority much higher than myself. You know, Mr. Speaker, that recently the report of the Marriage and Family Laws Commission has been published. I would like you to refer to that report and I shall take the opportunity of quoting from it. It says: "This attitude of the Holy Prophet towards freedom of legislation in large undefined spheres is the basis of the accepted principle of Muslim jurisprudence, that what is not definitely prohibited is permissible in the interest of public and private welfare, and is a charter for the freedom of legislation in matters wherein there are no categorical injunctions". Further on, the report says that the Commission "accepts the principle of Ijtihad and does not consider the laws and injunctions of Islam to be inflexible and unchangeable like the proverbial codes of Index and Persians. It is by virtue of this adaptability of the religion, Islam, that the minorities, inspite of the fact that it is an Islamic State, have been given absolutely equal rights as citizens.

We all know that the Constitution of Pakistan has been framed with the willing consent of the minorities. It has been completed, except in one particular respect, which we are now discussing on the floor of this Honourable House. I would like to point out that in the Constitution of Pakistan itself there are enough provisions to warrant and to justify our recommending separate electorates.

I would now quote those passages of the Constitution in which the Hindu Members of Parliament have themselves advocated these principles. Firstly I would refer you to the Preamble of the Constitution.

This is quotation from the Preamble of the Constitution. It says :—

"Wherein adequate provision should be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religion and develop their culture".

Now, from this passage there are certain things which become very clear. It must be remembered that this part of the Constitution has been accepted and admitted by the non-Muslim members of the Parliament.

No. 1 is that there is no one single minority in Pakistan. But that there are minorities, more than one sub-group in the country. It is an admitted fact in the Constitution.

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No. 2 is this. It is admitted that these minorities should be enabled to develop their own culture. This means that the culture of Muslims of Pakistan is something quite different from the culture of the non-Muslims of Pakistan. As a matter of fact, the culture of the Hindus would be different from the culture of the Christians.

These are the basic facts present in the Constitution and they have to be borne in mind when we are discussing the question of electorate system.

Again, I would quote another para from the Preamble. It says:—

“Wherein adequate provision should be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes.”

Here again—while admitting that there is no such thing as one minority in Pakistan, but there are many minorities—it is further agreed that there is a sub-group among the minorities known as the “depressed classes”, who have to be particularly protected. Now, how can we protect the depressed classes, I ask? Supposing you ask them to compete in an electoral college where you have the very rich Muslim Industrialists, who have very fat bank balances; or you ask them to contest in an electoral college where there are caste Hindus, who own crores of rupees in the Jute trade in East Pakistan. Is it possible that in an electoral college of that nature, the real representatives of the depressed classes would ever be elected? I go further than that. It seems to me that not only the real representatives of the depressed classes will not be elected, but I make bold to say that—and believe me, I shall be very happy if my forecast be wrong—I think not one member of the depressed classes will ever be able to come to a Parliament or to the Provincial Assembly, if you ask them to fight jointly with the Muslims and with the caste Hindus. How can you then advocate the system of joint electorates? I submit that we will not be considered as their friends. We would rather be considered as their enemies.

My last argument for advocating separate electorates is the ideological basis of Pakistan itself. That is very important.

Mr. Speaker, ideology is a very great motivating force in human nature. Millions of people are always ready to lay down their lives for the sake of an ideal or for the sake of waging war for their own ideology. Therefore, we have to analyse what has been the ideological basis of Pakistan.

Mr. Speaker, the Muslim nation of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent had to wage a two-pronged war at the time of our struggle for independence. On the one hand we had to fight against foreign domination and against entrenched and established British imperialism. On the other hand we had to fight against the rising tide of Hindu imperialism of this sub-continent. Our struggle for independence went through many vicissitudes. The struggle was long. It was bitter. It was hard. But our Leader kept on plodding on the difficult path. He carried on the national struggle and welded the Muslims into one nation. Our struggle for independence enabled us to come under one political banner. Our struggle for independence enabled

us to come on one political platform—namely that of the All India Muslim League. Our struggle for independence enabled us to owe allegiance only to one Leader, namely, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in spite of the fact that some of the Muslims of this sub-continent did not see eye to eye with him and fought against him. Prior to this struggle of independence, there were poets and writers who sang and foresaw the day when the Muslims of this sub-continent would have their own homeland, namely, Pakistan. Now that renaissance brought up the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam who asked us to fight on the basis of the two-nation theory.

Now that has been the back-ground of our ideology. That has been the ideological basis behind the setting up and the accomplishment of an Independent Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It would be difficult it would be impossible, for those of our generation who have fought a long drawn out bitter struggle against the British and against the Hindus of India to give up this theory and to say that now because we are independent, we give up our ideology and we accept joint electorates.

That was the last argument that I wanted to submit before you in support of separate electorates.

**Mr. Speaker:** He has taken sufficient time; he must bear in mind that other members would also like to speak on this issue.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I did not know, Mr. Speaker, that there was going to be a time-limit.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not stopping him. I am only asking him to consider that other members have also to speak.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I am prepared to sit down if you think my time is over. There is no time-limit prescribed and I do not think I have exceeded the time taken by Syed.

Mr. Speaker, one of the main stock arguments for joint electorates has always been that separate electorates divide the nation into two water-tight compartments, namely, Muslims and non-Muslims; and therefore separate electorates are anti-national. That is one of the arguments advanced by Mr. Syed in support of joint electorates. I beg to differ. And when I say that, I shall try to quote some authorities, as he has himself done. He has read out an extract from the speech of Quaid-i-Azam which he delivered in the Constituent Assembly on 11th August 1947. Fortunately, I have that speech with me in my documents. I am sorry, Mr. Speaker, that Mr. Syed has read out from Quaid-i-Azam's speech in a manner which would seek to make the House interpret what the Quaid-i-Azam said in a light quite different from what he actually intended. I shall therefore quote more or less the same which Mr. Syed has quoted. As I quote, I will give a sort of running commentary to show that at no stage in the mind of Quaid-i-Azam, when he made this speech in the Constituent Assembly, was there ever a thought of having joint electorates in Pakistan.



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I quote :—

"All the same in this division, it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do.....If you will work in cooperation forgetting the past", mind you, "if you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past", and these are the conditions, "burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed".

Sir, these are significant words. We all know that the Quaid-i-Azam never used one word out of place, and he never used one word which did not have its own significance.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** Please read all the words.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Yes, I will read all of them, do not worry.

Then I will quote further. This is what the Quaid-i-Azam said :—

"If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make".

Sir, all along he has said, if you do this, if you forget the past, if you bury the hatchet, if you work in co-operation. These are the conditions laid down and then he goes on to say :—

"I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time.....".

Mind you, he does not say *today*; he says '*in course of time*' :—

"all these angularities of the majority and minority communities—the Hindu community and the Muslim community—because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalese, Madrasis and so on will Vanish".

Sir, here I would like to emphasise that he has used the words '*in course of time*'. We have to take into consideration and keep in view the conditions that have been laid down by Quaid-i-Azam in his original inaugural speech. The question is whether we consider the time is opportune to revise our opinion and give up our ideology and say that we want joint electorates. My answer is no, it cannot be advocated.

Again, the Quaid-i-Azam goes on to say :—

"Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time".

Again, he has used the words "*in course of time*".

"Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State".

The Quaid-i-Azam has said that if you do this, if you do that, "*in course of time*", this will happen.



**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** That is an ideal.

**Mr. G. Allana :** As my friend says, it is an ideal. Sir, Mr. G. M. Syed is an honourable member of this House. But when he was quoting Quaid-i-Azam, I was reminded of an English proverb, which I would not like to quote fully : that somebody is quoting the scripture. However, Sir, I was very much amused that Mr. G. M. Syed should quote the Quaid-i-Azam in support of his own political ideology.

It has been said that separate electorates are anti-national. I beg to differ. The reason I will just explain. One of the greatest authorities of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent on the question of joint and separate electorate is Dr. Ambedkar, who has been the greatest champion of the Scheduled Castes and the depressed classes of India. He is a great authority on Constitution making and whatever he says on the subject is always listened to with utmost respect, bordering on reverence.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to quote him. There is a book by Dr. Ambedkar "Status of minorities ; what are their rights and how to secure them in the Constitution of free India". He says :—

"To insist that separate electorates create anti-National spirit is contrary to experience".

No greater authority is wanted than Dr. Ambedkar on this point. Again he goes on :—

"That was one of the arguments that was made from the other side. But no one can say that the Sikhs are anti-National. The Sikhs had separate electorate; the Muslims had had separate electorate right from 1909. Mr. Jinnah had been elected by separate electorate, yet Mr. Jinnah was the apostle of Indian Nationalism upto 1935. The Indian Christians had separate electorate and a good lot of them have shown their partiality to the Congress, if they have not been actually returned on the Congress ticket. Obviously, nationalism and anti-nationalism have nothing to do with the electoral system".

Sir, Dr. Ambedkar says "obviously, nationalism and anti-nationalism have nothing to do with the electoral system. They are the result of extra-electoral forces.....This argument has no force. It is nothing but escapism. Be that as it may, in free India any objection to separate electorate on such ground must vanish". He further says that "there is greater force and greater necessity for separate electorate after independence of India". Sir, these are the views of Dr. Ambedkar.

The reason why the arguments advanced by the opponents of separate electorate do not stand the scrutiny of logic and experience is due entirely to the fact that they fail to realise that separate electorates enable a minority to return its true representatives to the Legislature. Therefore, I tried to show by quoting Dr. Ambedkar that the method of separate electorate is not anti-national nor is it against the interest of the minorities themselves.

Another argument for joint electorate and against separate electorate has been that separate electorate means inequality of rights of citizens. I have already briefly said during the course of my speech that in separate electorate there is no inequality to the minority community. Actually inequality, if any, is mutual. Just as a member of the minority community cannot contest for a Muslim constituency, similarly a Muslim cannot contest for a constituency reserved for non-Muslims.

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION

There is no inequality at all. The right to vote is there. The right to get elected to the Legislature is there. The right to become Minister, Chief Minister and Prime Minister is there. The only distinction in the Constitution is that the Head of the State of Pakistan shall be a Muslim. That is the only distinction.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** The only distinction is that they will be kept in perpetual minority.

**Mr. G. Allana:** So far as the President's post is concerned that has nothing to do with the system of election.

*The Assembly then adjourned till 8 a.m. on Thursday, the 2nd August, 1956.*

## APPENDIX A.

## PAPERS LAID ON THE ASSEMBLY TABLE.

(The following Report was placed on the Table of the house in answer to Q. No. 202 of Ch. Ghulam Rasul Tarar, at P. ante).

**The report of the Main Committee for the resumption of grants of crown land held in the room of Revenue Secretary of the Financial Commissioners, Punjab, on the 23rd March, 1955.**

We need not give the long history of this case. The report dated the 18th September, 1954, submitted by Ch. Mushtaq Ahmad Khan, (2) Ch. Aziz Din, (3) Ch. Ali Sher Khan (Members of the sub-Committee) may be read as a part of our final report.

The sub-Committee went fully into this question, after giving proper notice to each grantee. It may be mentioned here that the sub-Committee could not scrutinize the cases of 395 evacuee non-Muslim grantees as the requisite permission to do so was not given by the Central Government, who was the proper authority to do so under the terms of the Inter Dominion Agreement.

2. After a thorough scrutiny of the claims of each Muslim grantee the sub-Committee has submitted its report (attached herewith). The following is the gist of their recommendations.

## WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY [1ST AUGUST, 1956]

## Hereditary landed Gentry.

*Grants.                  Muslim.*

<i>Total No. of squares.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	31
(a) Recommended by the sub-committee for retention	..					17
(b) Recommended by the sub-committee for resumption	..					1
(c) Recommended by the sub-committee for the consideration of the main committee.						11
(d) S. No. 4 K.S. Muhammad Yasin of Gurgooan case not decided being in India upto now.						2
						<hr/> 31

## CIVIL NON OFFICIAL GRANTS (MUSLIMS).

<i>Total No. of squares</i>	..	..	..	..	..	—114
(a) Recommended by the sub-committee for retention	..					188
(b) Recommended by the sub-committee for resumption	..					17
(c) Recommended by the sub-committee for the consideration of the main Committee.						9
						<hr/> —114

## SPECIAL RECRUITING GRANTS (MUSLIMS).

<i>Total No. of squares</i>	..	..	..	..	..	106
(a) Recommended by the sub-committee for retention	..					104
(b) Recommended by the sub-committee for resumption	..					2
						<hr/> 106

## SPECIAL LANDED GENTRY GRANT (MUSLIMS).

<i>Total No. of squares</i>	..	..	..	..	..	101
(a) Recommended by the sub-committee for retention	..					88
(b) Recommended by the sub-committee for consideration of the main committee.						1
(c) Recommended by the sub-committee	..					12
						<hr/> 101

## IMMIGRANT PEASANT GRANTS (MUSLIMS).

<i>Total No. of squares</i>	..	..	..	..	..	—95
(a) Recommended by the sub-committee for retention	..					87
(b) Recommended by the sub-committee for resumption	..					3
(c) Recommended by the sub-committee for consideration of main committee						5
						<hr/> —95
Grant total of the squares	..	..	..	..	..	—447

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR RESUMPTION OF GRANTS

3. It is thus clear from the foregoing table that out of a total of 447 grants, referred to it for investigation the sub-Committee has found no irregularity with regard to 384 grants. As regards 24 grants the sub-Committee has not been able to make up its mind one way or the other. As such we do not consider it feasible and proper to withhold the benefit of doubt from these grantees. We have come to the conclusion that there has been some irregularity in making these grants. But the fact cannot be overlooked that these persons have broken this land, built houses thereon and otherwise spent a lot on its development. They must have paid the requisite amount to the Government for acquiring proprietary rights, as well. If a decision is taken to resume these grants, Government will have to pay adequate compensation to these persons. Moreover the policy with regard to grants of land has not been uniform since partition. At the time when the issue under discussion was agitating the public mind Government had made a categorical declaration that hence forth no one will be the recipient of a land grant. But this policy could not be adhered to, as a large number of grants were made to various persons under the tubewell scheme, in 1951-52 in the shape of long leases. Similarly more leases are being granted under various conditions nowadays. It may be true that some persons may have been favoured by Government in 1945-47, but the same charge can be brought with equal justification against subsequent Governments.

The Committee's recommendations for resumption of only 35 grants out of a total No. of 842 will rather sound ridiculous. We are therefore constrained to report that in our opinion no action is called for on these grants within the terms of S. 3 of. THE PUNJAB CROWN LAND (RESUMPTION OF GRANTS AND EXTINGUISHMENT OF RIGHTS) ACT, 1950.

(Sd.) MUSHTAQ AHMAD KHAN,  
M.L.A.

(Sd.) ALI SHER KHAN.

(Sd.) AZIZ DIN.

(Sd.) FAZAL ELAHI.

**Report of the Sub-Committee constituted by the Committee appointed to advise Government regarding resumption of grants of land in terms of the Punjab Crown land (Resumption of grants and Extinguishment of Rights) Act, 1950.**

The grants of land made by the prepartition Government during the year 1945-47 provoked much criticism on the grounds that they were made with the object of strengthening the Party in power to the detriment of such persons who deserved grants on the basis of their services and record. It was demanded by the press that these grants may be resumed in toto and this demand acquired greater intensity and significance after partition. In

1950, His Excellency the Governor promulgated an Act called "The Punjab Land (Resumption of Grant and Extinguishment of Rights) Act, 1950. In this Act provision was made for the resumption of grants of Crown land which were sanctioned by Government during the years 1945-47 in disregard of public interest or Government policy or the procedure required to be followed in such cases whether the grantee has taken possession of the land or not and irrespective of the acquisition of proprietary rights in the land by the grantee. It was also provided under the Act that the grantee whose grant is resumed by Government under the provisions of this Act cannot claim any compensation except for any building, erected or trees planted by him on the land which in the opinion of Government were necessary for the enjoyment of the grant. Moreover the money paid by him, if any, for the acquisition of proprietary rights in the whole or any part of the land covered by the grant was also required to be refunded in the event of resumption of the grant.

2. Government set up a Committee of the following Members under Punjab Notification No. 3655-C, dated the 15th August, 1951, to advise about the cases in which grants of land can be resumed in terms of the Punjab Crown land (Resumption of Grants and Extinguishment of Rights) Act, 1950:—

- (1) Ch. Fazal Elahi, MLA, Chairman.
- (2) Ch. Aziz Din, MLA.
- (3) Ch. Ali Sher Khan, MLA.
- (4) Ch. Ali Akbar Khan, MLA.
- (5) Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Khan, MLA.
- (6) Mian Muhammad Shafi, MLA.
- (7) Additional Legal Remembrancer to Government, Punjab.
- (8) Revenue Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, Punjab.

The Committee so framed was to consider each individual case falling within the compass of the said Act in the light of the circumstances, the eligibility of the grant and the claims of the grantee thereto and advise in which of these cases appropriate action in respect of resumption should be taken and on what terms in the compensation if any, payable to the grantees.

3. The Committee decided that the grants made under categories of the Schedule Caste Grants, Indian Christian Grants, Gallantry Grants and Jagir Grants, should be left along and should not be considered for resumption. It was also decided that in case of Immigrant Peasant Grant, any grantee who had given three or more sons should be allowed to retain the grant.

4. The Committee eventually decided to set up a sub-Committee consisting of the following persons to consider and examine each grantee's case



## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR RESUMPTION OF GRANTS

separately in respect of Hereditary Landed Gentry Grants, Special landed Gentry Grant, Non-official Reward Grant, Special Recruiting Grant, and Immigrant Peasant Grant, and make their recommendations to the main Committee.

- (1) Ch. Ali Sher Khan.
- (2) Ch. Mushtaq Ahmad Khan.
- (3) Ch. Aziz Din.
- (4) Legal Remembrancer to Government, Punjab.
- (5) Revenue Secretary to the Financial Commissioners, Punjab.

5. In compliance with the direction the sub-Committee examined the case of each individual grantee under the Immigrant Peasant Grant and has already submitted a report to Government, suggesting that the grants of 84 grantees may be allowed to stand. The second report about some of the remaining grantees is being submitted separately to Government.

6. The total number of rectangles granted under Hereditary landed Gentry Grants, Special Landed Gentry Grants, Non-official Reward Grants and Special Recruiting Grants was 842. Out of these 395 rectangles had been granted to non-Muslims:—

- (i) Their cases could not be finally examined as the very validity of the Act under which these grants could be resumed was challenged by the non-Muslim grantees and the Indian Government. The Government of Pakistan also took exception to the resumption of the grants. In view of these circumstances the sub-Committee is making no proposal in regard to the non-Muslim grantees as the issue involved can only be settled after the formulation of a definite policy in this behalf;

7. In regard to the remaining grants of 447 rectangles the sub-committee had to undergo considerable work in examination of their cases. The sub-committee heard almost each grantee separately. The Committee had completed the bulk of this laborious task before the present Revenue Secretary joined office. The result of the proceedings recorded in regard to each grantee is given in the statement placed below. A perusal of this statement would indicate the circumstances and reasons that have lead the sub-committee to make the recommendations in case of each grant. As a result of the examination of the records available in office and produced by the grantees and careful deliberation of the circumstances of each grantee the sub-committee has prepared the following lists:—

- (a) List of grantees in the case of which, in the opinion of the sub-committee, the grants should continue;
- (b) List of grantees which in the opinion of the committee deserved consideration from the Main Committee; and
- (c) List of grantees in the case of which in the opinion of the sub-committee grants of land should be resumed.

## APPENDIX

8. The sub-Committee would conclude their report by making the following observations:—

- (i) As already observed the case of Immigrant Peasant Grantees have been completed and a separate report about the remaining grantees is being submitted simultaneously;
- (ii) The enclosed synopsis of the recommendation of the sub-committee would show that out of the total grants of 447 rectangles in favour of Muslims 35 rectangles have to be resumed and the cases of 24 other grantees would deserve consideration of the main Committee. It would appear that out of 447 rectangles only about 62 rectangles could be resumed, if the recommendations of the sub-committee are accepted by the Government;
- (iii) The cases of refugee grantees and small holders deserve exceptional treatment and the main committee should decide on what lines this treatment should work out;
- (iv) The sub-committee have not gone into the question of compensation for grantees whose grants are proposed for resumption on the grounds that it would be better to undertake this enquiry after the decision of the main Committee and the Government.

9. The report is submitted to the Chairman who may call the meeting of the main Committee by a very early date.

(Sd.) AZIZ DIN, MLA.

18th September 1954.

(Sd.) ALI SHER KHAN, MLA.

18th September 1954.

(Sd.) MUSHTAQ AHMAD, MLA.

18th September 1954.

## WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

### SECOND SESSION OF THE FIRST WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, the 2nd August, 1956.

*The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber, Lahore, on Thursday, the 2nd August, 1956, at 8-00 a.m. of the Clock. Mr. Speaker (Chaudhri Fazal Elahi) in the Chair.*

*Recitation from the Holy Quran.*

### STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(\*Supplementaries to Q. No. 202.)

صاحب سپیکر :- کل میں دس سوال نمبر ۲۰۲ پر ضمنی سوالات پوچھنے کی اجازت دی تھی۔ لیکن اس کے متعلق جو رپورٹ ایوان کے میز پر رکھی گئی ہے چونکہ وہ نامکمل ہے اس لئے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس کے بارے میں ضمنی سوالات پوچھنے سے چنداں فائدہ نہ ہوگا۔ لہذا میرے خیال میں مکمل رپورٹ موصول ہونے پر ضمنی سوالات پوچھنے اور ان کے جوابات دینے کا صحیح موقع ہوگا۔

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, you had promised to allow us to ask supplementaries to Q. No. 202 today. I have gone through the report placed on the Table yesterday by the Revenue Minister. I think there is scope for supplementaries.

**Mr. Speaker:** If you read the report of the main Committee it shows that the report of the sub-committee will be a part of this report. In the report of the sub-committee, a list of those persons is given who were grantees under the various schemes and about whom the sub-committee made certain recommendations. Without that sub-committee's report it cannot be a complete report.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** My submission is that the report which gave the names of persons was a bulky one and was provided to the members of the Committee. I think the report which is in my hand can form a subject matter for supplementaries.

**Mr. Speaker:** In this very report it is mentioned that this report will be a part of the sub-committee's report.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, the point is that this report has mentioned how much land was given during that regime and what action the Committee suggested in respect of these areas and I think, Sir, enough data is available for me, at any rate, to ask supplementary questions.

\*See Q. No. 202 in Vol. II, No. I, P. 13.

**Mr. Speaker:** This may be enough data for you because you were also a member of that Committee. But for other honourable members, it is necessary that they should see the complete report before they can put their supplementary questions.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, the part of the question relating to the purpose of the formation of the "Resumption of Land Grants Committee" has not been answered by the Revenue Minister. I think there is ample scope for asking supplementaries as the question stands. As the incomplete report is placed on the Table of the House, the members have ample scope for asking supplementaries. We will be careful not to ask supplementaries regarding those portions in which the report is incomplete.

**Mr. Speaker:** That may be your attitude, and I appreciate that point of view, but there may be other members in the House who would like to have the complete report before asking supplementary questions.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** You can disallow those supplementaries which do not refer to the report placed on the Table of the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** How can I disallow those supplementaries? The member has asked for the full report and it is not on the Table of the House. I think it will be better to wait for the full report which will be supplied within one or two days.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Has the sub-committee submitted its full report? Then why is it not available? Is it the mistake of the Secretariat of the Assembly or is it a mistake on the part of the Government in not supplying the complete report?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is not the mistake of the Assembly Secretariat, but the nature of the report, as you will see, is such that even an honest mistake can be made by officers of Government. I think we can wait for the full report before any supplementaries are put.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** May I know how long the Honourable Minister of Revenue will take to make this report available? Will it be made available during this session?

**Mr. Speaker:** It will be made available shortly.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Today is Thursday. Will it be available next Monday?

**Mr. Speaker:** No definite date can be given.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, we must know when it will be made available.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I order you to sit down. It may be made available within one or two days.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** On a point of order. Sir, my point of order is that you are the custodian of the privileges of this House and its members. Kindly say 'resume your seat' instead of saying "I order you to sit down".

**Mr. Speaker:** This point was raised during the last session also. I want to stick to this: "Please sit down".

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, it is derogatory to the dignity of the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** You can withdraw from the House, if you cannot obey the ruling of the Chair.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** I have as much right to be here as any one else. If you use unparliamentary language, I have every right to protest.

**Mr. Speaker:** Please sit down. It is not unparliamentary.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** Sir, if you want to maintain the dignity of the House.....

**Mr. Speaker:** I bring to the notice of the House that the conduct of the honourable member Rana Gul Muhammad Noon is grossly disorderly and I order him to withdraw from the House. Please withdraw.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** I will withdraw, Sir, but you are speaking in the most unparliamentary way.

**Mr. Speaker:** Please withdraw from the House, otherwise I will have to call the Sergeant-at-Arms.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** You may call anybody, but if you want "or withdraw from the House?"

**Mr. Speaker:** Please withdraw from the House.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, do you want him to withdraw the words "or withdraw from the House?"

**Mr. Speaker:** I want him to withdraw from the House.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, you may .....

**Mr. Speaker:** I have given my ruling. If you persist in this I may ask you also to withdraw.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon:** I will be too glad to withdraw from the House in which you are the Speaker.

**Mr. Speaker:** Then never come back.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** On a point of order. What is the meaning of this? You are asking an honourable member not to come again. I want to understand the meaning of the words "never come back". This means that you are forbidding a member from his right of being a member of the Assembly.



**Mr. Speaker:** When he says, he would like to withdraw from this House because of the Speaker that means that he does not want to sit in this House.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Sir, when you ask a member to withdraw then there should be a time limit.

**Mr. Speaker:** The time limit is for the day. If you read the rules you will find that if a member is asked to withdraw he withdraws from the House for that day. If any member is ordered to withdraw a second time in the same session the Speaker may ask him to withdraw for the whole session.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Under what rules of procedure did you ask him to withdraw?

**Mr. Speaker:** I cannot enter into this discussion. If you go through the rules you will find it out. His conduct was grossly disorderly.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Will you please quote the rule?

**Mr. Speaker:** Rule 77.

**Mr. G. Allana:** May I bring to your notice the rule which you have just quoted? And may I ask you to consider it dispassionately in spite of the fact that you have taken a decision? I shall read the rule.

**Mr. Speaker:** Don't read it.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I want the House to know.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House knows the rules.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I want the public to know.

**Mr. Speaker:** You can go and address the public. I am not going to permit all this here.

#### PEASANTS IN KHAIRPUR AND HYDERABAD DIVISIONS

**\*507. Mr. Abdul Hamid Kadir Bakhsh Khan Jatol:** Will the Minister of Revenue be pleased to state :—

(a) the number of landless peasants in Khairpur and Hyderabad Divisions;

(b) the total number of the families of such landless peasants in each district of the said Divisions;

(c) the measures that Government intend to take to provide land to the above said landless peasants.

**Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot** (Minister of Revenue): As the member might know the collection of this information involves a good deal

of time and labour and as such could not be so readily collected. However, efforts are being made to collect dates and will be put on the Table of the House when received.

### ART GALLERY AT BHIT SHAH.

**197. Syed Zaffar Ali Shah Muhammad Ali Shah:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state :—

(a) the amount sanctioned by the former Government of Sind for the proposed Art Gallery at Bhit Shah ;

(b) the amount sanctioned by the Government of West Pakistan for the Scheme ;

(c) whether any amount has been spent on the proposed Art Gallery ?

**Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti:** (Minister of Education: (a) The former Sind Government did not make any provision in the Budget for the proposed Art Gallery at Bhit Shah, though it was contemplated to earmark a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs for the purpose.

(b) The Bhit Shah Cultural Centre Scheme is now under the active consideration of the West Pakistan Government in the Education Department. The proposal for the Art Gallery is a part of the whole scheme, and as soon as the project is ready, the Government will provide necessary funds. I have myself visited the place in the company of Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada, Mr. G. M. Syed and the officers of the Education Department, and instructions have been given for expeditious planning of the project.

(c) The question does not yet arise.

**Mian G. M. Syed:** May I know from the Minister of Education whether it is a fact that about fifty lakhs of bricks are lying there on the spot and if orders are not given in time they may be utilised by the Public Works Department?

**Minister:** I learnt this when I visited the place, that some bricks were supplied for the purpose. When I looked up the records of the case, I found that the Finance Department had not provided the funds. I also noticed that due to the change of the regime, that proposal had not been finalised. I am trying to ascertain full facts about these bricks lying. When I looked up the records the position was, that final provision could not be made in the Budget nor final sanction could be had from the then Sind Government. May be, the bricks are being utilised elsewhere, but I am not certain, and I am waiting for a further report from the Public Works Department.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** In the meantime the P.W.D. may utilise all the bricks. Is the Minister prepared to stop the movement of bricks till the question is finally settled?

**Minister:** I was also of the same opinion when I returned from the spot. But the Education Department cannot take any step in this direction.

I approached the Public Works Department and enquired why the bricks were assembled at that spot and why they were now being taken away. But until I get a report from the Department, I am not in a position to explain the matter.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** In the meantime the P.W.D. may utilise all the bricks.

**Minister:** Nothing could be done.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** May I draw the attention of the Minister of Education to a report published in a local daily that 12½ lakhs of rupees had been sanctioned for the promotion of Art Galleries in West Pakistan. May I ask him whether a sum of rupees two lakhs has been provided for the construction of this Art Gallery?

**Minister:** How does it arise from this question?

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** You have said that the amount has not yet been sanctioned for the Art Gallery.

**Minister:** For this particular Art Gallery.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** It has appeared in the Press that your Department has sanctioned twelve lakhs of rupees for distribution among various institutions for cultural development and in that report it is mentioned that Rupees two lakhs have been earmarked for the construction of an Art Gallery at Bhit Shah.

**Minister:** not only two lakhs, we are thinking of even more than two lakhs. We are looking into the project as a whole, and the honourable members from Sind know the exact position.

#### DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES.

**\*198. Syed Zaffar Ali Shah Muhammad Ali Shah:** Will the Minister of Development and Irrigation be pleased to state the number of development Schemes, if any, proposed by the former Sind Government which have now been dropped altogether by the West Pakistan Government?

**Kazi Fazalullah Ubedullah** (Minister for Development and Irrigation): No development schemes proposed by the former Sind Government have been dropped altogether by the West Pakistan Government.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the Honourable Minister whether it is a fact that in Kohistan taluqa the construction of Dao Bund, which was nearly half finished, has been abandoned?

**Minister:** I could not follow.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the Honourable Minister whether that scheme was suspended or it was abandoned. As far as I know, it is a fact

that this project was suspended because of certain technicalities and it was to be restarted. Mr. Pirzada was Chief Minister at that time. I think he will be able to throw light on it.

**Minister:** As far as I know, the West Pakistan Government has not abandoned the scheme. I had a talk with the Chief Engineer. I, in fact, am very anxious to renew the working on that scheme.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Will the Honourable Minister please state how long will it take to implement all those development schemes?

**Minister:** Well, we are doing our best.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Sir, I want to know from the Honourable Minister whether he is prepared to ascertain whether the scheme was suspended or abandoned? I think it will be proper for him to enquire about it from Mr. Muhammad Moosa, who was then the Chief Engineer and was also the author of this whole scheme.

**Minister:** I will certainly make enquiries. As I told my honourable friend, I was very anxious that the scheme should be revised.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** We are revising it.

**Minister:** All that I am anxious to say at present is this, that it is not lost.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the Honourable Minister what has happened to the remaining two schemes of pumping for which were sanctioned and the amount provided in the Budget; even the Central Development Department had provided the funds?

**Minister:** Three schemes were sanctioned for Kotri and Thal. Two of them are working and the third also works but it is not the West Pakistan Government's responsibility.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the Honourable Minister whether the Darvat scheme, which was sanctioned before One Unit, has been abandoned after the establishment of One Unit?

**Minister:** I am not aware of it. I will look into it.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from Honourable Minister whether Karunbhar scheme in the Tharparkar District, which was sanctioned before One Unit and whose survey was carried out and money provided, has been abandoned after the establishment of One Unit?

**Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti** (Minister of Education) : How can he say that offhand?

**Minister** : I will certainly look into it.

**Mr. G. M. Syed** : My question was definite. It was this. How many schemes have been abandoned? The Honourable Minister said that excepting one, no other scheme has been abandoned. According to my information, there are fifteen schemes which have been abandoned after the establishment of One Unit. If they so want it, I am going to prove this before the Chief Engineer.

**Minister** : I shall be very glad to know them and I shall certainly look into the matter. My information is that the West Pakistan Government has not abandoned any other scheme.

**Mr. G. M. Syed** : That is absolutely incorrect.

**Minister** : If I am wrong, I apologize for it. I shall certainly see that the things are rectified.

#### HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER SCHEMES ON THE ROHRI CANAL REGULATORS.

**\*198. Syed Zaffar Ali Shah Muhammad Ali Shah** : Will the Minister of Development and Irrigation be pleased to state :—

(a) whether any Hydro-Electric Power Schemes on the Rohri Canal Regulators were chalked out by the former Government of Sind; if so, the action so far taken or intended to be taken by the Government with regard to implementation of these Schemes;

(b) if there were no such schemes whether the Government intend to chalk out one now?

**Kazi Fazlullah Ubedullah** (Minister of Irrigation and Development) : (a) and (b) Yes, a Scheme for remodelling of Rohri Canal with provision for hydro-electric power generation was prepared with a view to relieving water-logging in former Khairpur State area. The Central Government, on the recommendations of an Expert Committee, however, advised instead the adoption of usual drainage and reclamation measures to relieve water-logging and to proceed with the remodelling scheme only if these measure fail to achieve results. The stated measures are still in operation. It is not possible therefore to take up the power generation scheme.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan** : May I know from the Honourable Minister whether it is a fact that some scheme near Kalara Canal was also sanctioned?

**Minister** : I would like to have notice for that.



## MOGAS OF 15/R CANAL.

\*203. **Chaudhri Ghulam Rasul Tarar:** Will the Minister of Development and Irrigation be pleased to state :—

(a) the total area of land irrigation separately by Mogas No. 67500/L, 68500/L, 70000/L, 78000/R, 79000/L, 95000/L, 95000/R, 98000/L, 101900/L, 101900/R, 105000/R, 109600/L, 115800/L, 5800/R of 15/R Canal of the Phalia tehsil in the Gujrat district during the year 1954;

(b) the total area of land irrigated by the said 'mogas separately in the year 1955;

(c) whether it is a fact that as a result of "Kucha Dhāps" erected in-front of the said mogas increased irrigation was effected in the year 1954 than in 1955;

(d) whether it is a fact that 'Shoots' were fixed on many of the said mogas in 1955 yet the area of irrigated land was less than in 1954;

(e) whether it is a fact that the canal water level at the moga sites is lower than the level of the lands intended to be irrigated by them;

(f) if answer to (a) above be in the affirmative, whether the Department concerned had submitted a proposal to the Superintending Engineer for the construction of 'Pucca Dhap' on these mogas for the elevation of water level;

(g) if answer to (f) above be in the affirmative, whether in view of the loss to the cultivators and the 'Grow More Food Scheme', Government intend to order construction of 'Pacca Dhaps'; if not, the reasons therefor?

فاضل فضل اللہ عبید اللہ (وزیر ترقیات و اشہار)۔

(الف) رقبہ جوہم ان موگن مے ۱۹۵۴ میں الگ سیراب کیا گیا حسب ذیل ہے ۔

ایگز	۱۲۲	آر - ڈی	۶۲۱۵۰	موگہ نمبر بایاں
ایگز	۸۱	آر - ڈی	۶۸۶۰۰	موگہ نمبر دایاں
ایگز	۳۰	آر - ڈی	۷۰۸۳۵	موگہ نمبر بایاں
ایگز	۳۶	آر - ڈی	۷۸۵۰۰	موگہ نمبر دایاں
ایگز	۵۵	آر - ڈی	۷۹۹۰۰	موگہ نمبر بایاں
ایگز	۳۷	آر - ڈی	۱۱۵۸۰۰	موگہ نمبر دایاں
ایگز	۷۱	آر - ڈی	۱۱۵۸۰۰	موگہ نمبر بایاں
ایگز	۲۲۲	میزان		

موگن مے آر - ڈی نمبر جوہم اس سوال میں دیئے گئے ہیں - غلط ہیں -

(ب) سال ۱۹۵۵ مے سیرابی حسب ذیل ہے ۔

ایگز	۲۶۱	آر - ڈی	۶۲۱۵۰	موگہ نمبر بایاں
ایگز	۱۵	آر - ڈی	۶۸۶۰۰	موگہ نمبر دایاں

ایکڑ	۸	آر - ڈی	۷۰۸۳۵	موقع نمبر باپاں
ایکڑ	۴۰	آر - ڈی	۷۸۵۰۰	موقع نمبر دایاں
ایکڑ	۶۳	آر - ڈی	۷۹۹۰۰	موقع نمبر باپاں
ایکڑ	۲۹	آر - ڈی	۱۱۵۸۰۰	موقع نمبر دایاں
ایکڑ	۹۳	آر - ڈی	۱۱۵۸۰۰	موقع نمبر باپاں
ایکڑ	۵۲۹	میزان		

(س) صرف موقع جات نمبر دایاں ۶۸۹۰۰ آر - ڈی اور باپاں ۷۰۸۳۵ کے ذریعہ سے سیرابی میں اضافہ ہوا ہے - مجموعی طور پر ۱۹۵۵ میں بمقابلہ ۱۹۵۳ کے سیرابی میں اضافہ ہوا ہے -

(د) ہاں - مگر صرف موقع نمبر باپاں ۱۱۵۸۰۰ آر - ڈی میں -

(ی) نہیں - ضرورت کے مطابق نہر میں پانی کی سطح کو کچے دھبوں سے اونچا کیا گیا - ان موٹوں میں جو کہ بہاؤ کی طرف ہیں -

(ف) نہیں -

(ج) نہیں - بکے دھب ضروری نہیں ہیں - کیونکہ ندی کی ریت آخر کار اسکی تہ کو حسب منشاء بنا دیگی -

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the Honourable Minister, because we are new to this wing, as to what is the meaning of "Moga".

**Voices:** "Moga" is an outlet.

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ - کیا آنریبل وزیر ترقیات یہ فرمائیں گے کہ پانی کی سطح کو اونچا کرنے کے لئے حکومت بکے دھب بنانے کو تیار ہے یا نہیں ؟

وزیر بکے دھب ضروری نہیں ہیں کیونکہ ضرورت کے مطابق پانی کی سطح کو کچے دھبوں سے اونچا کیا گیا ہے اور ندی کی ریت آخر کار اسے ضرورت کے مطابق اونچا بنا دیگی -

#### EVACUEE LANDS.

**\*58. Mr. G. M. Syed:** Will the Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation be pleased to state:—

(a) the total acreage of agricultural land so far declared evacuee property in each district of Khairpur and Hyderabad Divisions;

(b) the acreage of the evacuee land so far allotted to Sindhi Haris in each district of the said Divisions;

(c) the acreage of evacuee land so far allotted to non-Sindhi refugees in the afore mentioned Divisions;

(d) the acreage of the evacuee land allotted to self-cultivating refugees in the said Divisions;

(e) whether the Government have framed any policy or rules regarding allotment of evacuee land; if so, whether Government are prepared to lay a copy of the same on the Table of the House?

**Minister:** I have already supplied a copy of the tabular statement to the honourable member. These are lengthy figures. I will read them if only he wants me to read them.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Of course, I have received a copy today. A question which is asked in the Assembly is not meant only for the Minister and the person who has asked. It is meant for the entire House. Therefore, it is advisable that the answer be read out or else the answer be in the printed form so that everybody can have it.

**Sayed Jamil Hussain Rizvi:** (Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation): I will read out for the information of the Member.

The information so far received is as under:—

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Khairpur ...	32247	1067	29395	3760
Jacobabad ...	—	—	—	—
Sukkur ...	173542	52407	54332	27160
Larkana ...	168994	46616	47572	1000
Nawabshah ...	253777	111701	109789	56512
Shikarpur ...	—	—	—	—
Hyderabad ...	242144	104383	109454	—
Thatta ...	115243	27601	21847	20493
Dadu ...	231227	47050	54196	5171
Mirpur Khas ...	—	—	—	—
Sanghar ...	205127	79574	102966	54733

(e) A scheme for allotment of land to refugees on verified claims on quasi-permanent basis in the former Province of Sind and Khairpur State has been finalised and is being enforced shortly.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the Minister in charge whether the figures which he has supplied to me are correct; whether

he has ascertained these figures and found them to be correct because, as far as the figures, which are in my possession, supplied by the same officers from the same Department for Sind with their own handwriting, are concerned, they are quite different from the figures supplied by him. Is he prepared to ascertain whether his figures are correct or the figures supplied to me by the same officers for Sind are correct?

**Minister:** The honourable member will kindly give me a copy of the figures which are with him and I shall get them compared and find out the position.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** In reply to part (d) of the question, the Minister has shown that hardly one or two lakhs out of twenty to twenty-five lakhs of acres of land are given to those refugees who are cultivating themselves. This means that the remaining land is not being cultivated by the refugees. What is the reason for this and who are the persons who have got the remaining land? As I said, out of the 25 lakhs, only one or two lakhs of acres of land has been given to those refugees who cultivate the land themselves, the remaining are absentee landlords.

**Minister:** That is being cultivated by the tenants under them. They are not absentee landlords.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Is the Minister aware that a large proportion of evacuees belong either to Hyderabad or Karachi? Is this correct?

**Minister:** May be.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Then how does the Honourable Minister say that they are not absentee landlords. When the land given to the evacuee refugees in the Hyderabad Division belongs to persons residing in Karachi—and they are in Government service—how are they not absentee landlords?

**Minister:** If a person is a refugee and has abandoned land in Bharat and has a verified claim, he can get land allotted in Thatta. It does not matter where the allottees are living. He may be living elsewhere and the land may be allotted to him in another place.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Is the Honourable Minister aware that refugees in the same area are residing without land and the refugees living in big cities, like Karachi, have been allotted land? They have never settled themselves in the areas where they have been given the land.

**Minister:** I know this thing was happening during the regime of Mr. Khuhro when land was given to some specified and influential persons and that is why we have at once sent in a scheme under which all those persons who are entitled to land are getting it and not the local landlords or haris who are not entitled to it, thus eradicating the evil.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** What is the method which the Honourable Minister wants to employ for eradicating this evil?

**Minister:** The method is mentioned in the scheme, a copy of which I will send to you. Suppose land has been allotted to a hari or any other person, say local landlord, and there is an allottee who has a verified claim, that allottee can say I want to have land in my name and the Officer can allot it to him unless that local hari or landlord has got a verified claim.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Which will be the authority to carry out the order? The same persons who are generally known for corruption? The same subordinates who have done these corrupt things?

**Minister:** We are sending some other Officer. We have selected Mr. Kazi for the Sind area; the instructions contained in the scheme will be carried out.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Will the people from the former province of the Punjab with verified claims be entitled to compensation of land at Hyderabad?

**Minister:** According to the scheme, if the person has not been allotted land here, he can certainly apply for transfer of his claim to any other part of West Pakistan.

**Pir Ellahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** The Honourable Minister has stated now that if an allottee with a verified claim says that he wants a particular land, that land will be given to him. It means that the same problem of ejectment of tenants is going to be created again in the Province of Sind. Is that not so?

**Minister:** It is not a matter of ejectment; it is a matter of allotment of land.

**Pir Ellahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** In Sind it was the policy of the Government that landless haris were given 50 per cent of the land which was being cultivated by them even before the Partition and then those haris have been in possession of the land since then. If this new proposal of yours is accepted, it means that you are going to create the same trouble in the Province of Sind as you have created here.

**Minister:** There was no trouble here. It was only the doing of some interested persons.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Question.

**Minister:** He happens to be one of them. That trouble has been completely controlled, not by force but by allotting proper land to proper tenants.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Question.

**Minister:** I am not aware whether the land that has been given to haris in Sind was given to them as owners or as cultivators. If it was given to them as cultivators, naturally they will be cultivators under the allottees who will become landlords. But if the Sind Government had taken a decision to give the land to them as owners, then certainly it will remain with them.



**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Sir, I had asked the question—

(a) the total acreage of agricultural land so far declared evacuee property in each district of Khairpur and Hyderabad Divisions; and

(b) the acreage of the evacuee land so far allotted to Sind haris in each district of the said division, etc.

Sir, I had asked this question because in Sind the Hindus who had migrated were non-agriculturists and all the land was cultivated by local tenants. It was considered advisable that half of the evacuee land may be given to the tenants and 50 per cent was to be given to the refugees who had come from outside. This was the agreement arrived at between Sind Government and the Central Government. After that, Sir, as pointed out by the Minister nearly 15 lakh acres were allotted to Sindhi haris. Are these haris, holding 15 lakh acres of land, going to be affected by the policy framed by the Government?

**Minister:** This discussion will not carry us anywhere. We have to see whether the land was allotted to them temporarily or on permanent basis. If it has been allotted on permanent basis, then they will not be disturbed.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Even refugees were not given land on permanent basis. The land was given till the matter is decided between the Government of Pakistan and the Indian Government. The land to the refugees as well as to the local haris was allotted on the same basis.

**Minister:** I think the question can only be answered after being in possession of the order passed by the Sind Government.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question hour is over. You can resume supplementaries tomorrow. The honourable members should ask definite questions because today I found that the supplementaries were rather very lengthy. They were in the nature of speeches.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** The nature of the question was such that the Minister would not understand unless we explained to him.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, on a point of order. A pamphlet issued by the West Pakistan Government has been placed upon our tables. Is it with a view to raising discussion on this?

(Mian Muhammad Shafi handed over the pamphlet to Mr. Speaker).

#### PROCEDURE REGARDING ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS.

**Mr. Speaker:** Honourable members are aware that yesterday I had deferred the decision about procedure regarding adjournment motions. After consultation and further consideration of the matter, I intend to adopt and lay down the following procedure. The honourable members should please clearly understand that I shall not permit any departure from the procedure that I am now going to propose.

I have studied all the rules and previous rulings on the subject and the procedure that I am now going to propose will be in the interest of the members because they will be given an opportunity to read their adjournment motions in the House. Previously, the Speaker used to read these adjournment motions and, as I pointed out, that was not strictly in accordance with the rules.

The procedure that I am going to lay down is that every adjournment motion which is tabled will be given to me before 7-30 a.m. on each day and as soon as the question hour is over, I will call upon the member concerned to read his adjournment motion. If in my view the adjournment motion is clearly out of order, it will be disallowed at that stage and no honourable member will be permitted to make a speech or discuss it any further. But if I am in doubt or I want some elucidation, I will put some questions to the honourable member and, may be, I will have to refer the matter to the Government to explain any points with regard to the adjournment motion. If after the consideration of all these points, I come to the conclusion that the adjournment motion is in order, the leave of the House will be sought. If 63 members support the motion, it will be fixed for discussion at the proper time; but if the leave is refused, the matter will be dropped. In future, therefore this will be the procedure.

I hope the honourable members will use some discrimination in bringing their adjournment motions, because if the adjournment motions are not framed in accordance with the rules, I will have to summarily declare them out of order, and that would be a mere waste of time of the House.

Now I will call upon the honourable members who had given notice of adjournment motions yesterday to read their respective motions.

**Some Members:** Sir, we have no copies of the adjournment motions with us.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is for you to have copies of your adjournment motions with you. Office will supply copies if they are admitted and put on the agenda.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** Sir, you can give us the original copy that we submitted.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have got only one copy and that I require for my reference.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** Sir, I asked one of the Secretaries and he said that I would get a copy for me.

**Mr. Speaker:** If you have no copy, the adjournment motions can be taken up tomorrow.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** Sir, they may be discussed today.

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr. Jatoi, you may read your adjournment motion.

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS.

## FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE RELIEF FOR FLOOD VICTIMS IN MEHAR AND KAKAR TALUKAS.

**Mr. Abdul Hamid Jatoi:** I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, namely, the failure of the Government to provide sufficient relief to the residents of Mehar and Kakar talukas in Dadu district who have suffered on account of heavy floods caused by hilly torrents owing to heavy rains.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have received a very large number of adjournment motions on this subject—failure of the Government to take proper steps in areas where people have suffered on account of floods. These adjournment motions relate to areas in Sind, Dera Ghazi Khan and other places. Even from press reports honourable members are aware that there has been widespread damage on account of floods and people must be suffering. I would suggest to the Government to fix some time for general discussion about the flood situation. Because, strictly speaking, according to rules, if an adjournment motion with regard to damage caused by floods in one particular area is taken up for discussion, no discussion can take place with regard to the damage caused in other areas. The best course would be for the Government to fix a date for discussion of this matter so that honourable members may have an opportunity to discuss the flood situation as a whole. Government will also have an opportunity to explain what steps have been taken or are being taken to render help to the flood victims. If this suggestion is accepted, I think all these adjournment motions may be declared out of order, if not withdrawn and a day for discussion of the flood situation be fixed by the Government.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** They may be withdrawn, but it should not form as a precedent for the future, that if the Government want to avoid adjournment motions, they should be declared out of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** My view is that if I take an adjournment motion with regard to a particular area I will deprive the House of discussing this matter with regard to other areas where people have equally suffered. The best course in these circumstances would be for the Government to fix a date for discussion of flood situation as a whole.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** I have just received a communication from two members of this Honourable House Hafiz Sadiduddin and Mr. Murtaza from Dera Ghazi Khan who have been marooned. They are the people whose entire areas have been inundated and they do not know how to reach Lahore in order to be able to attend the House. Won't you like, as Speaker, to make special arrangements for their conduct to this place?

**Mr. Speaker:** What arrangements?

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Helicopters. (Laughter).

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** There are three or four motions regarding flood situation which may be read out.

**Mr. Speaker:** They will be read out as they are on the list. But if the Government fixes a date, I think the honourable members would withdraw their adjournment motions.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** That will be done later on.

**Mian Muhammad Shaif:** On a point of order, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** What is the point of order?

**Mian Muhammad Shaif:** It is a privilege motion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Your privilege motion has no meaning because the House and the Speaker have no helicopters at their disposal. The honourable member who has moved this privilege motion, may visit the place where these honourable members are marooned to rescue them.

**Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti** (Minister of Education): For the information of the House. Mr. Speaker, I may state that the Commissioner did go personally to Dera Ghazi Khan and he found that every place is connected with the main road either by ferries or boats and whatever communication could possibly be provided. His report has been received stating that he has supplied and provided for the means of communications to the marooned areas except those which are absolutely small cut off places.

#### FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE RELIEF FOR FLOOD VICTIMS IN KALAT AND QUETTA DIVISIONS, ETC.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Sir, I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, namely, the failure of the Government to give immediate relief to the people of Kalat and Quetta divisions and the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Dadu, Larkana and Jacobabad who have suffered heavily due to the recent rains and the floods.

**Mr. M. H. Gazdar:** I would suggest that when the Minister is going to fix a date, then all these movers of the adjournment motions may be requested to withdraw their adjournment motions.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law): Without committing myself to the admissibility of the adjournment motions, Government is prepared to allot a special day for this discussion.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** One day will not be sufficient.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada:** You can take as long as you like. We will give you every opportunity to discuss the whole situation. I think that



should be immediately after the resolution which is now being discussed is finished.

**Mr. Speaker:** Is this arrangement acceptable?

**Voices:** Yes.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Sir, I withdraw my adjournment motion.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, my adjournment motion is different. It calls upon the Government to take preventive steps and warn the people before the floods come, so that they would save their lives and property in time.

**Mian Amir-ud-Din:** Sir, I want to draw your attention to Rule 77 of the Rules of Procedure. You have turned out an honourable member from the House. May I know if his conduct was "grossly disorderly"?

**Mr. Speaker:** Undoubtedly.

**Mian Amir-ud-Din:** He only asked you to address him: "Will you please sit down". Courtesy does not cost you or anybody else anything.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is not the question? I am always very reluctant to take any coercive measure. But when things go out of control and I order an honourable member to sit down or not to disturb the proceedings of the House and if the honourable member persists there is no other course open to me except to ask him to withdraw. However unpleasant this duty may be I have to perform it. And nobody would be happier than myself if all honourable members conduct themselves in accordance with the rules. I will give the fullest opportunity to every member, whether he is from the Opposition or the Government side or from the Independent block, in a legitimate way.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** We are five in this House.

**Mr. Speaker:** Whenever there is a point of order, I will attend to it. But once the ruling of the Speaker is given, then it does not look proper that honourable members should persist. Although this step is really very unpleasant, I am very sorry to say that there was no other choice except to enforce the rules and it is my duty to see that the rules are observed.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Heckling, what you call grossly disorderly conduct, for forty-five second i.e.  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a minute is not too much. Sir, for an honourable Speaker of the House to take such a drastic action against an honourable member because he stopped the proceedings of the House for 45 seconds is in my humble opinion.....

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not prepared to reconsider my decision.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** You are a dictator, Sir.



## COMPLAINT ABOUT NON-PAYMENT OF ALLOWANCES TO MEMBERS.

**Mr. M. H. Gazdar:** Sir, this is the second session of this Assembly and we have not yet received compensatory allowance or daily allowance. We have not received any allowance, not even for our journeys. Will you please ask the Office to pay our Bills?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada:** It is not our fault.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Then whose fault is it? (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I have made enquiries about this matter. The position is this. The Bill with regard to allowances of members was passed in the last session. It received the assent of the Governor after some days. In that Act provision is made that Government should frame rules to carry out the purposes of the Act. Those rules have not yet been framed by Government and that is why an advance of rupees one thousand to each honourable member was given last time. Even now the same amount, or, less a similar amount will be given to each honourable member. But if and when the rules are framed by Government and received by the Assembly Office, all the dues and balances will be paid.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** I want to bring to your notice one thing. One thousand rupees were paid to each and every member. There are certain members who come from far off places like Karachi or the tribal area and there are certain local members who belong to this place. So it does not seem to be proper that the same amount should be paid to each member irrespective of the place he comes from. Those members who come from outside Punjab, spend about three to four hundred rupees alone on their travelling expenses and so much money is spent on their boarding, lodging and other expenses. Therefore, all those members, who come from outside, from far-off places, should be given more and those who come from those places which are near should be given less money. Persons coming from Tribal Areas should be given more, say, fifteen hundred rupees.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Seven months have passed and the Government have not been able to frame the rules which could be done within two or three days. It seems to be very unfair.

(Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, please.

**Sardar Abdus Rashid Khan (Minister of Finance):** Until the rules are framed, the Finance Department will be prepared to give another advance of one thousand rupees in the case of members from the Punjab and fifteen hundred rupees for those members who come from far-off places. I hope the rules will be framed soon.

**Mr. M. H. Gazdar:** There are certain members who have not received payment for the last so many months. They should be paid all the arrears.

**Mr. Speaker:** Honourable members are quite aware of the method of payment adopted during the last session. As the rules are not yet ready, therefore the Honourable the Finance Minister has just announced that members coming from areas outside the former Punjab, will be paid a sum of Rs. 1,500/-/- each and those residing in the Punjab will be paid Rs. 1,000/-/-. This is in accordance with the suggestion of Mr. G. M. Syed. As soon as the rules are ready, arrears will be paid.

**Mr. M. H. Gazdar:** What I am saying, Sir, is that there are some honourable members of this House who have not drawn the previous payment of one thousand rupees. They should be paid that in addition to any further payment. What I want is that you should see to it that the payment is made. The Finance Minister has, no doubt, agreed to give payment but his office may not send orders to your office for another six months.

**Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan** (Minister of Finance) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this will not happen.

## RESOLUTION

### RE-PRINCIPLE OF ELECTORATE

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, the House will proceed to discuss the motions moved by Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada, and Mr. Allana, who was on his legs when the House adjourned yesterday, may resume his speech.

Adjournment Motions of other Honourable Members will be taken up tomorrow.

**Mr. G. Allana** (Municipal Corporation of Karachi) : Mr. Speaker, yesterday when we adjourned for the day, I was trying to explain to the Honourable House some of the arguments that were advanced in support of joint electorates, and I have replied to them to the best of my humble lights.

One more argument which, in my opinion, is very frequently advanced in respect of joint electorates is that we, the majority community, are trying to impose separate electorates upon the minorities against their will and against their wishes. This is another argument in favour of joint electorates. I was trying to explain that it is not true to say that the minority communities demand joint electorates. I shall go into the details of this assertion a little later, but there is one important fact which needs to be brought to light.

Yesterday I was saying, Mr. Speaker, that we have before us in this Honourable House two amendments to the motion for discussion moved by the Honourable Minister for Law. Now, if we study these two amendments, we find a complete contradiction, namely, whether the minorities want joint electorates or whether the minorities want separate electorates. If we read the amendment moved by Honourable the Chief Minister, we find that he says "in view of the demand of the minorities in Pakistan to have

separate electorates''. The opinion of Honourable the Chief Minister should carry weight on this subject, because I am prepared to admit, Mr. Speaker, that he is better informed than myself and better informed than even the whole House collectively on this subject.....

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Question.

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, the honourable member is commenting on the amendments moved by other members. He should better stick to the amendment he has moved.

**Dr. Khan Sahab (Chief Minister):** My motion mentions the demand of the minorities. We were of the opinion that they believe in separate electorates because they were not prepared to agree to joint electorates. I do not know whether they had a meeting, but they have sent me their resolution with the exception of one man,—I do not know whether he is a Christian or Hindu. But now they say that they are against separate electorates so I withdraw my mention of it made in my motion.

**Mr. G. Allana:** You see, Sir, which way the wind is blowing. My friends near-about tell me that my previous assertion should be corrected when I said that the Chief Minister is better informed than the whole House collectively. They say that my statement is not true. I have just repeated what they have said without my own comment.

Now, Sir, it is said that the recommendation for separate electorates is an imposition against the will of the minorities. This is what they say. It presupposes that the will of the minorities has been determined on this issue and that the minorities are willing and unanimous in demanding joint electorates. But that is far from the truth. I shall explain how and why.

Now, in so far as East Pakistan is concerned, undoubtedly the caste Hindus demand joint electorates with reservation of seats....

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Question. All, not only caste Hindus.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Question or no question, the schedule castes of East Pakistan want joint electorates with reservation of seats.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** That does not mean that they do not want it.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Then, again, the Budhists and the Christians are divided. Majority of them want separate electorates, only some of them want joint electorates.

So you see, Sir, that in so far as the will and wish of the minorities is concerned, it is not determined, it is not unanimous even in East Pakistan.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** You can always create any rift when you want to do so specially when you are in office.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Now let us come to West Pakistan. The problem here is also of the same nature. There is no unanimity among the minorities of West Pakistan that they want joint electorates.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Divide and rule, the same imperialist argument.

**Mr. G. Allana:** It is said that it is an imperialist argument. An imperialist argument cannot come from the Opposition Benches. It can come only from the Government Benches.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** There is no difference between Government and the Opposition now.

**Mr. G. Allana:** But yesterday Mr. Syed said that the Opposition Party, the Muslim League, is far better than the Republican Party.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** He has never said so.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** You see what is said in today's 'Pakistan Times'. The non-Muslim M.L.As. of West Pakistan are in favour of joint electorates.

**Mr. Speaker:** You are speaking in advance.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Some have the power of prophesy and forecast. I was explaining that so far as the minorities in West Pakistan are concerned, there is no unanimity on the question that they do demand joint electorates. Of course it is another matter that the majority of the non-Muslim M.L.As. of this Honourable House want joint electorates. I am not denying that, I am not contradicting that statement, but I am contradicting a wider statement that we are trying to have separate electorates in spite of the will of the minorities to have joint electorates. We know that the Christians of West Pakistan almost unanimously to a man are for separate electorates.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** They have decided yesterday to the contrary.

**Mr. G. Allana:** It is an absolutely established fact. Therefore to accuse us that we are advocating separate electorates against the will of the minority communities is not true.

Now, Sir, the question of principle is very vague. I shall answer it as follows. Is it an issue that concerns only the minority communities or is it an issue that also concerns the majority community. Now let me give you a practical demonstration of the fact. There are some honourable members from the minority communities in this Honourable House. I ask them what would have happened if the elections to this particular House had been on the system of joint electorates without reservations. Which of the non-Muslim M.L.As. would ever have been elected to this Honourable House, I ask? I would not go far. I will try to search in my own constituency. Here is an honourable member, Mr. Madhavji, coming from the same constituency as I come from, Karachi. There were 100 voters—members of the Karachi



Corporation. Twelve seats were reserved for Muslims and one for the non-Muslims. Supposing, there had been joint electorates without reservation and thirteen seats had been there and electoral college was of those hundred councillors, I am positive—not only I am positive but I am prepared to bet my last shirt—that none else except 13 Muslims would have been returned to this Honourable House.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** I question this. There are instances where Hindus have been returned by Muslim votes alone.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Mr. Syed is a dreamer and he is dreaming of Utopia.

Sir, I am more than positive that Mr. Madhavji, who is championing the cause of minorities in this House, would never have been returned from the constituency from which he comes if there had been joint electorates without reservations.

Then, Sir, another important aspect arises in so far as the details of joint electorates are concerned. The advocates of joint electorates are divided on detail. Some of the minorities that advocate joint electorates say joint electorates but with reservation of seats for the minorities; others say joint electorates without reservation. Even amongst minorities there is division on important details. How are we to determine what is the wish of the minorities? This particular issue of joint versus separate electorates was a big and important issue on the political platform of the minorities in East Pakistan, but that has never been done in West Pakistan. No general elections have been fought in West Pakistan in that sense after 1947. Unless and until there are general elections in West Pakistan fought on the issue of joint and separate electorates, it will not be correct to say that the minorities want joint electorates. And mind you, Mr. Speaker, the demand of the minorities is one of the causes that would make us determine whether there shall be joint electorates or separate electorates. There are other factors too which have to be taken into account. This is only one factor. And even in this particular factor there will have to be general elections. People will have to vote whether they want joint electorates or separate electorates and then it will be possible to say whether minorities want joint or separate electorates.

Now, I would like to ask the honourable mover of the second amendment, Mr. G. M. Syed, who has advocated joint electorates: why has he not expressed whether there is to be joint electorates with reservations of seats or without reservations of seats?

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Why should you be against reservations?

**Mr. G. Allana:** I am coming to that. You have now given me insight into your mind. Sir, Mr. Syed has shirked the issue in so far as the resolution is concerned. He did not say whether he is in favour of joint electorates with reservations or without reservations. During the course of his speech, he completely evaded that particular and important detail of joint electorates. He never said whether he is for reservations or not for reserva-



tion. But just now, off his guard, he has said,—he has asked me a question, which is probably not in the record of the proceeding,—why be against reservation of seats? That shows that he is for joint electorates but with reservation of seats. Now he has accused us, those who advocate separate electorates, that by separate electorates we are dividing the nation. I want to ask him, Mr. Speaker, through you, what for Heaven's sake is the difference between separate electorates and joint electorates with reservation of seats? If the demand had been for undiluted joint electorates, without reservation of seats, then there would be some force in Mr. G. M. Syed's argument. But when he says that there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats, then I turn round and tell him there is no difference between separate electorates and 'joint electorates with reservation of seats'.

Mr. Speaker, I will now try to analyse the resolution of Mr. G. M. Syed. In the first paragraph of his resolution he demands joint electorates because he says, the Quaid-i-Azam on 11th August 1947, addressing the Constituent Assembly, is supposed to have said a particular thing, which I have already refuted. That was never the intention of the Quaid-i-Azam. I now quote from another speech of Quaid-i-Azam, dated 28th March, 1948, which was a broadcast from Dacca. He said :

"Pakistan is the embodiment of unity of the Muslim Nation and so it must remain. That unity you as true Muslims must jealously guard and preserve. If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, etc".

and this I would particularly commend to the attention of Mr. G. M. Syed :

"if we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, etc., first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate and we do not want Pakistan to disintegrate."

Sir, in para. 2 of Mr. G. M. Syed's resolution, another reason has been put forth by him in support of joint electorates, namely, that joint electorates would minimise religious and communal differences. I beg most humbly to differ. On the contrary, joint electorates would accentuate religious differences. Just imagine, Mr. Speaker, at the time, of high election frenzy, when every body is running high political temperature, and there is one constituency where there are two candidates—a Hindu and a Muslim—what would happen? We would never be converted into angels overnight. We would continue to be, at the time of elections, what we are today. The appeal in that constituency would be to religious sentiment of the votes. The Muslims would appeal to the Muslim voters on religious sentiment and so would the Hindu candidate ask for the votes of the Hindus on the plea that he is a Hindu and they are his brothers. I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, if we adopt joint electorates, the religious differences will be accentuated probably to such a pitch, that, God forbid, there may even be communal riots which we would never like to tolerate in Pakistan after our independence. In my opinion, therefore, this very reasoning that joint electorates would minimise religious and communal differences is unsound.

Then, Sir, the third para of his resolution says, that joint electorates would provide a rational and national outlook to the citizens of Pakistan. I

do not want to dilate on this point. I have already dealt with it yesterday and I have quoted an excellent authority—Dr. Ambedkar. I have quoted from his book "Minorities in India" to show that separate electorates are not anti-national in any sense of the term

In Para. 4 of Mr. G. M. Syed's resolution he says that joint electorates would help in the creation of common citizenship. Honourable member Mr. Syed merely no talks and others try to implement that ideology into practice in the national life of Pakistan. What, may I ask, Mr. Speaker, is the real basis or should be the real basis and real ideology of unification of the various Provinces and units of West Pakistan into one Unit? As far as I have been able to see it, the real basis should be to evolve a common concept of Pakistani nationalism and Pakistani citizenship. This experiment of One Unit is a step in that direction. Honourable member Mr. G. M. Syed has opposed One Unit and his opposition to One Unit does not stop even now. What does he say, not only outside but even on the floor of this House? He has said, Sindhis are a nation, Punjabis are a nation, Pathans are a nation, Baluchis are a nation. This is the conception of a common national citizenship as advocated by Mr. G. M. Syed!

**Mr. Speaker:** The issue before us is with regard to communal electorates and you are discussing Sindhis and Punjabis.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Yes, Mr. Speaker, will you please read the amendment of Mr. Syed? One of the arguments which he has given is that joint electorates will help us to evolve a concept of common nationalism. I ask, is it so? Mr. G. M. Syed advocates that there is not one nation. There are various nations, there are various nationalities. He says that Pathans are a separate nation, Punjabis are a separate nation, Sindhi are a separate nation or national groups, as he calls them. This is his confession on the one hand, and, on the other hand, he advocates common nationalism and the concept of common citizenship of Pakistan. I ask him which of these two of his contradictory statements, according to him, is true? Is his previous conviction true or is his present advocacy true? His contradictory statements leave us in a state of confusion.

Then he says that joint electorates would give a guarantee to the minorities to feel secure. Now, as I have already stated, joint electorates or separate electorates—and I have quoted an authority no less than Dr. Ambedkar—have nothing to do with the security of the minority communities. If by security he means political security, I have said yesterday that there is absolutely adequate security for the minorities in the system of separate electorates. If there is any political insecurity to the minorities, well that insecurity, that inequality, is mutual, as far as the Muslims are concerned. Because the Muslims under this system of separate electorate cannot contest in the constituency reserved for the non-Muslims. If by security Mr. G. M. Syed means the security of the life and property of the non-Muslims, then I would like to assure him that the Muslims of Pakistan, every one of them would be ready to lay down their lives for the security of the life and property of the non-Muslims of Pakistan. (Cheers). When we discuss the issue of joint or separate electorates, we are treating it entirely on the political plane and not from the point of view of security on the physical plane.

Then he says that joint electorates will enable the minorities to live free from all discrimination. That again is a point with which I have dealt with yesterday and may I say again on this very point whether in separate electorates there is discrimination or not, I have quoted the authority of Dr. Ambedkar.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** What an authority!

**Mr. G. Allana:** Now I come to the amendment moved by the Honourable the Chief Minister.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is similar to your own.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Not at all, there is a lot of difference.

**Mr. Speaker:** You want separate electorates, he also wants separate electorates.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I hope, Sir, that you will agree with me that every member, although he may not be a member of the Government party, has a right to express his views.

**Mr. Speaker:** I do not stop you.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I am entitled to express my views.

**Mr. Speaker:** You said you will take half an hour.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** He has taken three quarters of an hour.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** He wants to take the credit for his own Party.

**Mr. G. Allana:** There is one aspect of the amendment which I would like to approach in all humility and not in a pedantic spirit. Believe me, I am not made that way. It is quite likely that the resolution, as it stands, because it is moved by the Chief Minister and because he has majority now, might be carried. And therefore with all humility I beg the members of the Republican Party to kindly listen to what I say with patience and open mind.

To begin with, Mr. Speaker, the drafting of the amendment of the Chief Minister needs to be drastically amended. The amendment, as it stands, is full of flaws and full of defects, both from the point of view of language and in so far as form of presentation of an informal resolution from this House is concerned. Whoever may have drafted it, is capable of making mistakes as I and you can be.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** You can move an amendment to the Chief Minister's amendment. By all means you can.

**Mr. G. Allana:** To begin with, the amendment says, "This Assembly therefore do now proceed to discuss...". No, Mr. Speaker, this resolution would be adopted by the House after the matter has been discussed and decision taken by the House. Therefore for any resolution which is taken at the

decision stage and which is to be forwarded to a higher authority, to say, "that the House do now proceed to discuss" is in my opinion entirely irrelevant and out of place.

Secondly, the resolution in referring to one common authority uses two different words. The two words used are: Parliament and the National Assembly. Now according to Article 43 of the Constitution, the Parliament of Pakistan shall be called the National Assembly of Pakistan. Therefore to make the resolution in consonance with the Constitution, the word wherever it occurs, in my amendment or in any other amendment, should be only the National Assembly.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law) : Read Article 145.

**Mr. G. Allana** : Read Article 43.

Then, Sir, the amendment further says :—

"in view of the demands of the minorities in West Pakistan to have separate electorates.....". Now, in so far as the operative part of the resolution is concerned, there is no difference in the ultimate decision on this issue between the Republican Party and the Muslim League. They advocate separate electorates and we also advocate separate electorates. What I want to say is that if we recommend to the National Assembly separate electorates in the form in which the Republican Party wants this House to accept the amendment, I am afraid we would thereby overlook many important aspects of the problem in our recommendation to the National Assembly. Article 145 asks us to express our views on the problem. It is not to be merely a decision. If we were to communicate to the National Assembly our decision only, then we can say "We recommend separate electorates". The wording in Article 145 is : "The Parliament after having ascertained the views of the Provincial Assembly whether elections to the National Assembly or Provincial Assemblies shall be by joint or separate electorates...".

(At this stage Mr. Speaker wanted to say something).

Mr. Speaker, why do you interrupt me? I think the Honourable the Law Minister is quite competent to defend his own position.

For the benefit of this Honourable House in general and the members of the Republican Party, in particular, who really and sincerely believe that separate electorates should be advocated by this Honourable House, I very humbly bring to their notice and commend to them my resolution which is a resolution of the Muslim League Party. Please let us forget whether it is Republican Party resolution or whether it is Muslim League Party resolution. What we have to serve on this occasion is the cause which is the cause of Pakistan, the cause of the people of Pakistan. For Heaven's sake let us rise above party feeling and forget whether it is a Muslim League Party resolution or a Republican Party resolution. My resolution in the first part says that we have considered this question dispassionately and thoroughly. The second part says that in arriving at this decision, we have taken into account the point of view of the Muslims as well as the non-Muslims. It is very important to say this in this resolution.



Then in the third part, I refer to the ideological basis of Pakistan, the ideological basis of Pakistan in which the Republicans believe, in which we also believe. So, why shall we not incorporate the question of ideological basis of Pakistan into the Resolution. Then I go on to say that my resolution is in the best interests of Pakistan. That again is necessary to give an indication to the National Assembly that we sincerely believe the joint electorates are not in the best interests of Pakistan. Further on I say that the entire proceedings of the debate of this House be forwarded to the National Assembly.

Mr. Speaker, I am really very sorry and through you I express my very sincere apology to the Honourable House as I have taken almost one hour and forty-five minutes on explaining to this Honourable House the point of view of the Muslim League Party on the question of separate electorates. (Loud applause).

**Mr. Speaker:** Resolution under consideration, amendment moved is:—

That for the third paragraph of the motion beginning with the words "I hereby move" and ending with the words "or separate electorate", the following be substituted:—

"And whereas this House has given this matter its most earnest and serious consideration;

And having taken into account all the aspects of the electoral issue, both from the point of view of the Muslims and the minorities of Pakistan;

And keeping in view the ideological basis as advocated by Quaid-i-Azam, for the establishment of Pakistan, which inspired our Nation to struggle for its achievement;

This Assembly recommends to the National Assembly that Muslims and minorities should be given the right in the Constitution to elect their representatives by separate electorates and further that joint electorates are not in the best interest of Pakistan;

And it is further resolved that this resolution, along with the records of proceedings and debate on the subject, be forwarded to the Central Government."

**\*Mian Muhammad Shafi** (Montgomery District): Sir, I beg to move an amendment to the Resolution moved by the Honourable Minister to the following effect:—

That for the third paragraph of the motion beginning with the words "I hereby move" and ending with the words "or separate electorate", the following be substituted:—

"This Assembly do now proceed to discuss and recommend to the Parliament that in view of the genuine demand of the minorities in West Pakistan the election to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies should be held, in the first instance for ten years on the principle of joint electorates."

The implication is that after the lapse of ten years we should see the functioning of the joint electorates, and, then, after consultations with representatives of the majority and minority communities, we should consider the whole question *de novo*.

Sir, in the first instance, I fail to understand why the National Assembly has entrusted the fundamental task of giving an opinion on the issue of electorates to the Provincial Assemblies. I am afraid, Sir, the present Assembly of



West Pakistan is the least competent to express an opinion on this fundamental issue. When originally we were returned to the former Punjab Assembly five years back—people representing Sind and Frontier Provinces were also elected to their respective legislatures—the issue of Constitution was never before our electorates. Our electorates were expected to give their verdict on issues that were not connected with the question of framing of a Constitution. I am, Sir, conscious of this inability that I cannot speak on this issue as a representative of public. I am only expressing a personal opinion, because I have got no chance or occasion to judge or get the public opinion on this issue except that what is expressed in the Press or by any interested political or judicial party.

Sir, after, this, I want to express the opinion that we must not ride rough shod over the sentiments of minorities. We have before this House the famous Resolution which is the bed-rock of the structure of Pakistan, which was passed by the All-India Muslim League in 1940.

Sir, Mr. Allana, who claims to represent in this House the ideology of Pakistan, has given exposition of what he thinks are the ideals and ideologies which inspired the Muslim League movement for the establishment of Pakistan. I would now quote before him and, through you, to the whole House some extracts from that Resolution in order to show the Muslim League in its struggle for the establishment of Pakistan did take into account the sentiments of the minorities. This is what is said there. "Adequate and mandatory safeguards shall be specially provided in the Constitution for minorities in the Units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where Muslims are in minority, adequate and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them."

Sir, this part of the famous resolution passed in Lahore for the establishment of Pakistan leaves no room for doubt as to what procedure would be accepted to be adopted at the time of framing the constitution for the country. Sir, it clearly says that minorities will be consulted and their point of view shall be accepted in providing mandatory constitutional safeguards for the protection of their political, administrative, cultural and religious rights.

What do the minorities want today? Sir, since the establishment of Pakistan, since the coming into being of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, I have been very regularly reading the debates of the Constituent Assembly and, after its dissolution, of the present National Assembly, which was formerly Constituent Assembly. The non-Muslim Members from East Bengal have been emphasising time and again that they wanted to be as good Pakistani nationalists as any Muslim and that they did not want separate electorates for safeguarding their interests. There has been no dissenting voice as far as East Bengal is concerned, as the honourable member Mr. G. M. Sayed in his speech yesterday made it clear and in support he gave lengthy extracts from the speeches of various representatives of the non-Muslim mino-

rities in East Bengal. Sir, here I read today in the Press report that the non-Muslim members of the West Pakistan Legislature have decided that they were not in any way demanding separate electorates. Sir, all of them have unanimously decided that they want unadulterated nationalism and that they do not want to be considered as sub-groups.

Sir, if this House today with its present complex and unrepresentative character decides for separate electorate for the minorities and forward that opinion to the National Assembly, I say they shall be doing so against the expressed views of the Quaid-i-Azam and his party men who in 1940 gave unequivocal assurance to the minorities that the Constitution shall be framed in consultation with them and that the safeguards for political and other rights would be provided in consultation with them.

Sir, it has greatly amused me to see that the landlords of this side and the landlords of that side of the House have joined hands together in demanding separate electorate for their own respective interests. Why, Sir? For that I have to trace the history of communal representation in the undivided India.

Sir, I must, before I proceed to do so, declare that I do believe that Muslims are an Ummat as defined in the holy Quran, and the biggest exponent of that was that great philosopher Alama Iqbal.

Sir, to trace the origin of separate electorate, it is very well known that His Royal Highness the Agha Khan, when there were Minto-Morley reforms, took deputation to the then Viceroy of India to urge upon him to have separate electorates for the Muslims. The idea was to preserve the landed Muslim aristocracy, the big bosses. From 1919 to 1942 and 1946 when Muslims were nurtured, they were represented in the Legislatures by those people whose economic and other interests clashed with the masses. Separate electorates was a device by the Muslim landed aristocracy and the British in order to keep the Muslims tied down to the British chariot-wheel. What was the result of separate electorates? The Punjab was ruled for a long time by the most dictatorial feudal class represented by the Unionists and so was the case with the former province of Sind which was ruled by Sir Hidayatullah and his Party of reactionaries. Similar was the case in the Frontier Province. These reactionary nationalist crooks talked in the name of Islam, but all the time they were serving the interests of the big landlords. Separate electorates did not achieve anything, but it was the political consciousness which was brought about by the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League among the Muslims which saved our Muslim masses from the clutches of the landed aristocracy.

Sir, may I ask the Honourable the Leader of the House, who, today has appeared before us as an apostle of separate electorates, whether he really believes that the Muslims, constituted as they are today, are really an Ummat in fact. Can we say that as Muslims we are an idealist society, because we profess one religion and that would constitute Ummat. Why are we suffering from social and economic ills? Was it not a Muslim Government in this province, which on an Islamic issue used the Army against Muslim agitators

and shot them dead? Is it not a fact that even today it is the Muslim tenants who are fighting for their rights against the Muslim landlords.

Sir, Mr. Allana has said that if there are joint electorates and people go to seek vote in the name of religion, there is bound to be accentuation of religious feelings. I do not agree with him. Do they look at present from this angle? Do they look from the angle of Shias and Sunnis? Why would they not fight for their economic rights? Who can stop them from joining hands together against their common enemies. A Muslim in East Pakistan and a Hindu in East Pakistan may have identity of interest among themselves to give a fight to the Muslim landlord or the Hindu landlord as the case may be.

Sir, our Constitution has been framed. It is an Islamic Constitution. There are mandatory provision against which there can be no violation. I say the Hindus and the non-Muslims deserve credit that, knowing that the Constitution has been framed, they come forward and make a demand that they want to be treated as part and parcel of the Pakistan Nation. They, I think, are quite clear in their mind that they are asking for joint electorate within the framework of the Constitution which has been framed. It is not left to the vague future that it may be converted into a secular democracy or secular constitution. The Hindus in East Pakistan and the non-Muslims in West Pakistan all know that it is an Islamic Constitution in which the Head of the State shall be a Muslim, in which there shall be no laws against the Quran and the Sunnah and where efforts will be made to safeguard Islamic culture and the rest of it. In spite of this if they come forward to demand joint electorate, Sir, I have not the slightest doubt about their patriotism. I have not to judge the people's motive. I remember the Prophet of Islam (Peace be upon him) said in answer to a question 'Have you seen what is in his heart?' why attribute motives? Why the rulers of this country doubt the motives of the non-Muslims when they demand joint electorates? Sir, it will go down in history that a minority of 16 per cent in East Pakistan and 1 or 2 per cent in West Pakistan said that they want to be treated as part and parcel of the Pakistani nation and they do not demand or advocate any separate representation and here we are, the majority community, with all the glorious traditions of the past and confident of the future and in power, denying them that basic demand. Sir, they say that the non-Muslims have some motives, some plans. What are those plans? What can a microscopic minority do? They cannot do anything. Sir, if there is a non-Muslim, a Hindu or a Christian, who can win the confidence of the Muslim majority electorates, well, Sir, I salute him. He must be a person who must have served his people in the constituency without paying any attention whether they are Muslims or Hindus or Christians. I know of Muslims before partition who had confidence of non-Muslims and *vice versa*. I want to invite the attention of the House to the fact that in East Pakistan there are joint electorates in respect of District Boards election. If you peruse the result of election in the District Boards there, you will find that even in areas where Hindus are in majority, Muslims have been returned to the District Board. Sir, this clearly shows that it will be the service to the public which will entitle a person to be elected in future if we have joint electorates. That will be the only measure with which people will judge their future representatives.



Sir, I have read some of the writings of the Jamait-i-Islami. I have great respect for some of their leaders, but may I ask them, Sir, through you,—because they evince keen interest in this campaign against joint electorate, that if there had been no Pakistan, what would happen to their advocacy of separate electorate? One can visualise that if there had been no Quaid-i-Azam, if there had been no enthusiastic support from the Muslim masses for the ideal of Pakistan, it is difficult to imagine that India would have emerged an undivided country. Sir, what would have happened to the preaching of these people about separate electorates? Would they have gathered courage in the united India to say 'No, Muslims are a separate nation and, therefore entitled to separate representation in the Assemblies or in the local bodies? Sir, I think they are making a virtue of necessity. People who are opposed to the movement for the establishment of Pakistan have appeared on the scene to advocate separate electorates. They are making a virtue of necessity. Perhaps they think in their sub-conscious mind that when general elections are held, they will be able to rouse Muslim masses in the name of religion. I am not one of those who decry religion? I am one who believes that Islam is a complete code; I am not one of those who believe that Pathans, Sindhi or Punjabis are separate nationalities. I believe that Muslims who believe in one God and in the finality of the prophethood are all one. But I am also conscious that in this country there are persons, self-seekers, who always exploit the name of Islam for their self-interest. Sir, Islamic, economic, social, cultural and other ideas have never been interpreted in their proper light, the ideals for which Islam stands. We have seen what has happened is that the masses have been ruled in this country and class interest has been promoted. Is it not a fact that lakhs and lakhs of Muslim tenants have been thrown out of their land by Muslim landlords? I do not object to the right of the small holders to get the land under cultivation but is it not a fact that the present Ministry gave the right of ejectment to the landlords not because they had any regard for the underdog but because they wanted to have identity of class interests?

Sir, Islam as embodied in the Holy Quran and as practised in the life of the Holy Prophet, represents universal truth. I cannot believe, I cannot think of a Muslim, to whatever sect he may belong, who can question the universal message of Islam and its day-to-day importance in the life of the Muslims. I do not want to confuse the ideals at present. But it is really a pity that these people come forward with proposals which are calculated to protect only their class interests.

Sir, before I conclude I do not want to bring to the notice of the House the resolution of the All India Muslim League to the effect that the minorities' administrative, religious, cultural, economic and political interests are to be safeguarded *in consultation with them*. If the leaders of the minorities in this House or outside it demand joint electorates, without reservations or with reservation of seats, you should not say that we won't listen to any one of you, it is a question of majority. Will it not be tyranny on the part of the majority if it imposed on the people of the minority communities their will against their pleasure and expressed wish? I know it is very easy; it will be easy for some time more for you to be elected by separate electorates, because you can go and threaten those under you; you can bring pressure upon them to

vote for you. But, Sir, I am sure it will not take very long when you will be disillusioned, when you will face your electorates and the masses. They have understood what you have stood for the last so many years. They have seen you through. They understand fully what you have been doing with them. And then you will say we wished we had not forced or pressed for separate electorates. How long are you going to perpetuate this communalism? In undivided India I was a Muslim, Ahal-e-Sunnat Waal Jamaat. I belong to a tribe that if I wanted I could stay in Julludhar. Why did the people fight for the establishment of a country? I suppose the idea underlying was that the people belonging to a particular point of view, on a democratic basis, will come close together and constitute themselves into a nation.

Sir, if you carefully read the Lahore Resolution you will find that the demand for the establishment of Pakistan is based upon the Muslim majority contiguous areas. You did not demand Pakistan for the Muslims of Bihar, Assam or Orissa although they might have been in majority in some districts. You demanded the right of secession for the people of the Muslim contiguous majority areas. You never contemplated the elimination of non-Muslims from your national life or from the other walks of your life. And if there had been no exodus of Hindus from this side of the borders, we would have been in a situation in which Quaid-i-Azam's words would have been quoted time and again, I will quote them here for your benefit. Quaid-i-Azam said, after the establishment of Pakistan: "You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in the State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. That has nothing to do with the fundamental principle that all citizens are equal citizens of one State."

Now, Sir, is it for Mr. G. Allana today to tell us what Quaid-i-Azam's ideology was and what the Muslim League's ideology was? Is it for the honourable Leader of the House to tell us today, in 1956, that separate electorates are the best guarantee for protecting the rights of the minorities? The words which I have quoted above are the words of the Quaid-i-Azam who was the Quaid-i-Azam of one hundred-million Muslims. They are very clear, they are unequivocal. He said that the Muslims and non-Muslims were the free citizens of this country, and these words are also reflected in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Why should we today discriminate against our own people. A non-Muslim who stays in this country, after the framing of the Constitution, deserves to be listened to with respect, unless you may have telescopes, unless you may have got some instruments to look into their hearts and find out sordid motives.

With these words I say: let us give a trial to joint electorates for ten years and watch its working. If we find that non-Muslims are really wicked, that they have reduced our majority into a minority, that they have usurped our rights to become Prime Ministers, Presidents and Ministers, only in that case it should be open to us to revise the whole issue. In this way we shall be telling the World that Pakistan is a solid type of nation, and it is not divided and sub-divided by provincial, communal tribal or any other affiliations.



With these words I resume my seat.

**Mr. Speaker:** Resolution consideration, amendment moved is—

That in the third paragraph of the motion beginning with the words "I hereby move" and ending with the words "or separate electorate", the following be substituted :

"This Assembly do now proceed to discuss and recommend to the Parliament, that in view of the genuine demand of the minorities in West Pakistan, the election to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies should be held, in the first instance, for ten years on the principle of joint electorate."

**Mr. Speaker:** All the amendments are now open for discussion. I would now call upon Syed Amir Hussain Shah to speak.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah** (Gujrat District): Sir, it is interesting to note that separate electorates are being supported by the Republican party, a party which is supposed to be non-communal, a party, Sir, whose membership is open to all irrespective of caste and creed and, a party, Sir, which is led by no less a nationalist than the great Dr. Khan Sahib himself. In fact, Sir, it would make a most illuminating study in political history to know how Dr. Khan Sahib's lust for power compromised his principles in old age. (Hear, hear).

It is not difficult, Sir, to explain this contradiction. Any party, any political party—it may be a communal party like the Muslim League or it may be non-communal like the Republican party—which is devoid of ideology and programme, can thrive on only catchy slogans and cheap appeals to religious sentiments.

Sir, had Dr. Khan Sahib, during the time he has been in office, done anything for the amelioration of the people, he would have been in a more secure position today. It would have been, Sir, unnecessary for him to resort to such publicity and popularity stunts. Unfortunately, Sir, that has not been the case. Dr. Khan Sahib, during the short time that he has been the Chief Minister, has done little apart from shaking hands and telling people

"میں کام کرتا ہوں بولتا نہیں ہوں"

The result Sir, is that today he is compelled to eat up all that he has been saying about the joint electorates. He is now attempting to beat the Muslim League at their own game of exploiting religious feeling of the people.

Now, Sir, the main argument of those who support separate electorates is, Sir, that this system of electoral law constitutes the very foundation of which the super-structure of Pakistan has been built. And if you take away separate electorates, you destroy the very foundation of Pakistan. And that, therefore, as has been argued by Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan in order to build up a strong and united nation, you must keep its people permanently divided into two or more sections.

Now, Sir, I want to say that there is no interpretation of our struggle for Pakistan, of our aspirations, which can be more absurd than the interpreta-

tion which has been given in this House. This interpretation, Sir, is patently illogical and stupid. Sir, let us look at the history. Before Partition, Sir, when we asked for a homeland, we did not at any time ask for exclusively Muslim areas. We, Sir, asked for Muslim majority areas which were to be the home of Muslims as well as the Non-Muslims living in these areas and where, Sir, the Muslims and Non-Muslims were to possess equal rights of citizenship—not only just possess equal rights of citizenship but also enjoy a complete sense of equality with the majority community. Sir, in this behalf I will refer to the Quaid-i-Azam's speech because, Sir, it was the Quaid-i-Azam who, as the architect of Pakistan, was very much in the struggle for freedom and it was he who made that history. Therefore, his interpretation of it should certainly be more correct than that of Mr. G. Allana, or Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan. Now, Sir, this is what he said. I will quote from the famous speech he made in the opening session of the Constituent Assembly. This is what he says:—

"That a division had to take place and that it was not possible or practicable to do otherwise than to partition the sub-constituent : whether you belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. We are starting with this fundamental principal that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. We should keep that before us our ideal and you will find that in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims not in the religious sense, personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State".

Now, Sir, I would ask you to mark the words "that a division had to take place and that it was not possible or practicable to do otherwise than to partition the country"; in other words, Sir, the country was partitioned because there was no other course. The hatred between the two communities which had been created by the British made it impracticable and impossible to find any other solution of the problem.

Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan and the Muslim Leaguers would like to build the foundations of Pakistan on this communalism, on the hatred that existed between the two communities which ruled out any other course that the Quaid-i-Azam might have taken to solve the problem of our struggle for freedom. Now, Sir, hatred and communalism are very negative factors and no nation which builds its super-structure on foundations made of such negative stuff can last very long. Negative forces go to make very shaky foundations. Sir, the foundation of a nation is always made of the more positive stuff of ideals and ideology. Let me now, Sir, repeat to you the ideals and ideology of Pakistan as enunciated by the Quaid-i-Azam in the same speech. The ideal is: "that in the course of time, Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims not in the religious sense, but in the political sense as citizens of the State". This is the ideal, the ideal of welding all the communities of Pakistan into one solid nation and this, Sir, was admitted even by Mr. G. Allana. He said: "Yes, yes, this is the ideal alright but it will come 'in the course of time'." I am not surprised, Sir, because it took the Muslim League eight years to frame the Constitution of this country and if we leave it to them to achieve the ideals of Pakistan, I am sure, Sir, it will take another century. Mr. Speaker, granted that the ideals can be achieved only in course of time, but, Sir, our endeavour should be to go near those ideals and not away from them. Now, Sir, by having joint electorates you go near these ideals—this is very obvious and I need not make a

speech on this little point because it has been explained at length by Mian Shafi and Mr. Syed—joint electorates help welding communities together. On the other hand, by having separate electorates, you go away from your ideals because you encourage separatist tendencies amongst the non-Muslims of Pakistan just as separate electorates encourage separatist tendencies amongst the Muslim of India.

Further, Sir, in the same speech, Quaid-i-Azam also observed "if you forget your past and forget your differences and bury the hatchet, there is going to be no end to progress". Now, Sir, Mr. Allana for all his jugglery of words could not get over this part of the Quaid's speech, and tried to read a funny interpretation into it by emphasising the word "if". He kept on repeating "Mark" Sir, the Quaid-i-Azam said 'if you forget your past' and tried to convey the impression that the Quaid-i-Azam left us the option of either forgetting our past and making progress or of not forgetting the past letting the country go to dogs. The fact is, Sir, that this speech of Quaid-i-Azam is too clear for any distortion, for any distortion even by an eloquent sophist as Mr. G. Allana.

Then, Mr. Allana advances a fresh point in favour of separate electorates. He says separate electorates are good for the minority community. By having joint electorates he says we would steamroll the minorities and their cultures. Out of sheer generosity, therefore Mr. Allana and the Muslim Leaguers and now Dr. Khan Sahib also, out of sheer generosity would like to force separate electorates down the reluctant throats of Hindus and Christians. Now, Sir, force and culture are two incompatible things, just as you cannot force people to give up their culture you cannot force them to stick to it. If the non-Muslims want to merge with us, this is how they want their culture to develop and we need have no qualms of conscience on this point. I would advise the Muslim League, and now the Republican Party also, to give up this white man's burden attitude, of trying to do for other people what we think is best for them. Let us now for the sake of argument say that Pakistan was really built on communalism and hatred; let us for the sake of argument concede that Pakistan owes its existence more to the bigotry and intolerance of men like Patel and Shyam Parsad Mukerji than to the positive acts of the Muslim people and the Quaid-i-Azam, even then I would maintain that we should have joint electorates, because, Sir, political values are not permanent; politics is not an exact science like mathematics where two and two is always four. What may have been good for a people in the past need not be good for them today. If separate electorates were good for us in the past, they are certainly not good for us today, because they would encourage separate tendencies among the non-Muslims in Pakistan. Sir, our object is to build up a strong and united nation. How are you to build up a strong and united nation if you divide the people into several sections. How can you build up a common nationhood, if you give the minorities the permanent feeling that they are inferior citizens of the State. By inculcating this inferiority complex in them, you will deliberately undermine their loyalty.

Then there are those who come out with the argument that if we have joint electorates, it would result in Hindu domination. Sir, these honourable gentlemen are pathological cases; they are suffering from a persecution mania.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Who said that?

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** You have not said that. I am not at present referring to you.

Sir, if 85 per cent. of the population cannot protect itself from 15 per cent. and is always afraid of that minority, then I can assure you that no amount of tricks or devices incorporated in the electoral system can save that majority. Sir, we should have confidence in our masses, in their sturdy common sense. If the Muslim masses felt that no sacrifice was too great for them to create a homeland, then they can be safely trusted to look after that homeland. The fact is that it is not to save Pakistan and the Muslim masses that separate electorates are being pressed, but to save particular brand of politicians, a brand which is politically bankrupt, which maintains itself by exploiting religion, by raising the bogey "Islam is in danger". Unfortunately, Sir, it is this brand of politicians, whether in the garb of Muslim League or in the garb of Republican Party which has been in power since the inception of Pakistan.

Sir, in the end I would like to make an observation. Dr. Khan Sahib assumed power with all sorts of promises. His very first promise was: Look here, I am going to see that elections are freely and fairly held. His second; I am going to clean to administration. The great Dr. Khan Sahib made a hash of both these promises. The elections to the Municipal Committee of Lyallpur are a foretaste of the fair elections promised. And the using of permanent officials for political purposes is an example of how he is cleaning up the administration!

**Mr. Speaker:** Please speak to the point.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** I am sorry.

Now he is going to make hash of another thing. By proposing separate electorates he is going to make a hash of his much trumpeted nationalism.

غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالد گیلانی (راولپنڈی ڈسٹرکٹ) - صدار محترم - میری تقریر تین

حصوں پر مشتمل ہوگی - پہلے حصہ میں تمہیں بیان کروں گا کہ اس طے شدہ مسئلہ سے متعلق آج پھر دوبارہ بحث کرنے کے لئے حالات کیسے پیدا ہو گئے - تقریر کے دوسرے حصہ میں میں حضرت قائد اعظم کے پاکیزہ دامن سے وہ پرانا چھینٹے دھونے کی کوشش کروں گا جو ان کے اللہ کو پیارا ہو جانے کے بعد بھی ان کے سیاسی مخالفین نے مرحوم کے دامن پر پھینکے اور تیسرے حصہ میں ان تمام اعتراضات کا جواب دوں گا جو جرگانہ انتخاب کے سلسلہ میں مخالفین سے کئے جاتے ہیں -

قوت جو نہ ہنگامہ عفت کو بقا ہے  
چنگیز بھی نابود ہے جمشید بھی نابود  
حق زندہ جاوید ہے حق مٹ نہیں سکتا  
ہو خدج فرعون کہ ہو آتش نمرود -



حقیقت یہ ہے کہ حضرت قائد اعظم کی وفات کے بعد مرحوم کے سیاسی مخالفین نے ایک منظم سازش کی کہ حضرت قائد اعظم کے قول و فعل کے اندر تضاد پیدا کیا جائے اور دنیا پر یہ واضح کیا جائے کہ حصول پاکستان سے قبل تو حضرت قائد اعظم دو قوموں کے idea (نظریہ) کے رہنما اور قائل تھے۔ یہی سیاسی نظریہ رکھتے تھے اور اسی اساس کی بنیاد پر پاکستان کو حاصل کیا وہ مفسر جنگ جو حضرت قائد اعظم نے لڑی اسی سے مقابل کون تھا؟ ایک طرف انگریز اور دوسری طرف سکھ۔ ہندو اور خان ازم؟ نہ صرف ان تمام سے بلکہ مجلس احرار سے بھی جو ان میں شامل تھی حضرت قائد اعظم نے ٹکر لی اور تمام کو شکست فاش دینے کے بعد پاکستان کو ایک روشن حقیقت بنا کر قوم کے سامنے پیش کیا۔ اس کے بعد جو ان کے عقلمند سیاسی مخالفین تھے مثلاً مسٹر شہنشاہ سہروردی، مسٹر بھاشانی، مسٹر جی۔ ایم۔ سید مسٹر عبدالغفار خان، مسٹر عبدالصمد اچکزئی انہوں نے ایک منظم سازش کی کہ حضرت قائد اعظم نے جن تقریروں میں پاکستان کی شہریت کے حقوق سے متعلق اپنے پاکیزہ خیالات کا اظہار فرمایا ہے انکو قومیت کی اساس قرار دیکر عوام کے سامنے پیش کر کے یہ کہا جائے کہ پاکستان بننے کے بعد قائد اعظم نے اپنا نظریہ بدل لیا تھا۔ کیا کوئی شخص جس کے دماغ میں ذرا بھی سیاسی شعور ہو وہ اس امر سے انکار کر سکتا ہے کہ جس بنیاد پر پاکستان حاصل کیا گیا تھا اسکو گرا کر اور جس نظریے پر پاکستان قائم ہوا تھا اس سے انحراف کرنے کے بعد پاکستان قائم نہیں رہ سکتا؟ مگر بعض لوگوں نے ایک منظم گروہ کی صورت میں پاکستان کے خلاف ریشہ دوانیاں شروع کر دی ہیں۔ یہ وہی لوگ ہیں جو پاکستان بننے سے پہلے ہم سے برسر پیکار تھے اور آج پھر وہی لوگ ہم سے برسر جنگ ہیں اور وہ کہتے پھرتے ہیں کہ جس بنیاد پر پاکستان کا عظیم الشان محل تیار کیا گیا تھا اس بنیاد کو اکھیڑ دینا چاہئے ورنہ پاکستان مستحکم نہیں رہے گا۔ اس سلسلے میں وہ خود حضرت قائد اعظم کے ملفوظات کو غلط رنگ میں پیش کر کے لوگوں کو گمراہ کر رہے ہیں۔ میں یہ ثابت کر سکتا ہوں کہ ان کے دلائل سراسر غلط ہیں۔ حضرت قائد اعظم کی جن تقاریر کا وہ حوالہ دیتے ہیں وہ شہری حقوق سے متعلق تھیں۔ جن کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ پاکستان میں غیر مذاہب کی اقلیتوں کے جان و مال کی کامل و مکمل حفاظت کی جائے اور تمام اقلیتوں کو عزت اور وقار کی زندگی کے وسائل بہم پہنچائے جائیں گے اور ان کو وہ تمام مراعات حاصل ہونگی جو متحدہ ہندوستان میں ہم خود مسلمانوں کے لئے طلب کرتے تھے مگر بعض لوگ ایک منظم سازش کر کے یا تجاہل عارفانہ کے طور پر یا بد دیانتی اور بڑی نیت سے یہ مشہور کر رہے ہیں کہ حضرت قائد اعظم نے ”دو قوموں کے نظریے“ میں تبدیلی کر لی تھی ان لوگوں کو ان کی زندگی میں تو یہ جرأت نہ ہوئی کہ ان کی ۱۱ اگست کی تقریر کی غلط تعبیر کرتے مگر جب حضرت قائد اعظم خدا کو پیارے ہو گئے تو یہ سیاسی میڈیک ان کے پاکیزہ دامن پر غلاطت بکھیرنے لگے ہیں۔

پیر الہی بخش۔ جناب، لا کیا یہ ”میڈیک“ کا لفظ ٹھیک ہے۔

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالد گیلانی۔ چور کی داڑھی میں تنکا۔

پیر الہی بخش۔ یہ چور کا لفظ بھی پارلیمنٹری نہیں ہے۔ یہ شرم کی بات ہے۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ آپ یہ الفاظ واپس لیں۔

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالد گیلانی۔ اچھا جی (میں واپس لیتا ہوں) اب جناب والا میں ان لوگوں کی ذہنیت اور نیت کو بے نقاب کر دینا اور حضرت قائد اعظم کی تقریروں میں سے چھ (۶) اقتباسات ایران میں پیش کر دینا اور انصاف آپ پر چھڑو دینا پھر آپ ہی فیصلہ صادر فرمائیں گے کہ آیا وہ الزامات غلط ہیں یا صحیح جو انہوں نے لگائے ہیں۔

اب جناب والا میں حضرت قائد اعظم مرحوم کی تقریروں کے چند اقتباسات پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں جس سے تمام حقیقت خود بخود واضح ہو جائیگی۔



نومبر ۱۹۲۵ء میں حضرت قائداعظم نے تقریر کرتے ہوئے ارشاد فرمایا :-

۱ - "ہم (ہندو و مسلمان) ہر چیز میں ایک دوسرے سے مختلف ہیں - ہم مذہب میں مختلف ہیں تہذیب و تمدن میں مختلف ہیں - تاریخ میں زبان میں - طرز تعمیر میں موسیقی میں قانون اور اصول قانون میں - کھانے پینے میں معاشرت میں لباس میں الغرض ہر چیز میں ان سے مختلف ہیں صرف ووٹ ڈالنے کی صندوقچی میں ہم اور وہ یکجا نہیں ہوسکتے" یعنی حضرت قائداعظم نے اس بات کی تشریح کردی کہ ووٹ اور ووٹ کی صندوقچی میں ہم کبھی مشترک نہیں ہوں گے (نعرہ ہائے تحسین) -

۲ - حضرت قائداعظم نے دسمبر ۱۹۲۶ء میں ایک بھرے جلسے میں خطاب کرتے ہوئے ارشاد فرمایا :-

"(ہندو اور مسلمانوں) کے اختلافات ایسے بنیادی اختلافات ہیں کہ زندگی کا کوئی معاملہ جو کچھ بھی اہمیت رکھتا ہو ایسا نہیں ہے جس سے ہمارے اور ان کے درمیان اتفاق ہو" -

۳ - حضرت قائداعظم نے ۱۱ اکتوبر ۱۹۲۷ء کو کراچی میں اعلیٰ افسران حکومت پاکستان سے خطاب کرتے ہوئے فرمایا :-

قیام پاکستان جس کیلئے گزشتہ دس سال سے ہم کوشاں رہے ہیں بفضلِ ایزدی اب ایک روشن حقیقت بن چکا ہے - ہماری ایک اپنی مملکت کی تخلیق ہمارے لئے مقصدِ اعلیٰ کا ذریعہ تھی - یہ محض خود ایک مقصد نہیں تھا - ہمارا تصور یہ تھا کہ ایسی مملکت ضرور بنے جس میں ہم اپنی تہذیب و تمدن کو پروان چڑھتا دیکھ سکیں - اور جہاں اسلامی عمل کے اصول پرورے طور پر اجاگر ہوں جہاں تک حکومت پاکستان کا تعلق ہے میں پرزور اعادہ کرتا ہوں کہ ہم اپنی مقررہ پالیسی پر عمل کرینگے - اور ہم اقلیتوں کے جان و مال کی حفاظت کرینگے اور ان کے ساتھ پورا پورا انصاف روا رکھیں گے ہم انہیں پاکستان سے نکالنے کے حق میں نہیں ہیں - جب تک وہ مملکت کے وفادار اور عقیدت مند رہیں گے وہ اسی سلوک کے مستحق سمجھے جائینگے - جیسے باقی شہری

جناب والا - اس عالمانہ تقریر کے ایک ایک لفظ سے شہری حقوق کی تائید ہوئی ہے - اور قومی یا سیاسی حقوق کا اس سے کوئی تعلق نہیں ہے -

۴ - حضرت قائداعظم نے مورخہ ۱۲ فروری ۱۹۲۸ء کو سبی کے مقام پر شاہی دربار میں جو تقریر ارشاد فرمائی ہے اس میں یہ فرمایا تھا :-

"میرا یہ اہل عقیدہ ہے کہ ہماری فلاح ان زرین اصول زندگی کی پیروی میں ہے جو ہمارے عظیم ترین صاحب کتاب اور صاحب شریعت نے ہمیں دیئے ہیں - یعنی پیغمبر علیہ السلام نے؟ آئیے ہم - اپنی جمہوریت کی بنیاد انہی - صحیح اسلامی اصولوں اور پاکیزہ مقاصد پر رکھیں"

"جناب والا - یہاں میں اس حقیقت کو واضح کردینا چاہتا ہوں - کہ حضرت قائداعظم کے ذہن و دماغ اور زبان و قلم پر پشاورستان - پنجابستان - بلوچستان - سندھستان اور اسی قسم کے کسی اور جہل ستان ایسے غیر اسلامی نظریات نہیں آتے تھے - اور جو لوگ حضرت قائداعظم سے اس قسم کے نسلی - علاقائی یا صوبائی تعصبات منسوب کرتے ہیں وہ بڑے بے انصاف ظالم اور وطن عزیز کے بدترین دشمن ہیں - جو اپنے سیاسی مخالف کے مرجعے کے بعد بھی بہتان اور الزام تراشیوں سے باز نہیں آتے -

مگر انفسوس کہ قائداعظم کے ان الفاظ کو جو پاکستان کی سرزمین کے ذرہ ذرہ کو منور و تاباں کر رہے ہیں آج ان کے گوشہ لوح میں آرام فرمانے کے بعد توڑ مروڑ کر پیش کیا جا رہا ہے اور ان کی ذات کے ساتھ ایسی دلیلیں منسوب کی جا رہی ہیں جو شائع حقائق سے دور کا بھی تعلق نہیں رکھتی ہیں۔ میں یہ گزارش کروں گا کہ قائداعظم اور مسلم لیگ کا یہ اصول تھا کہ وہ فرقہ کی طرح رنگ بدلنے کے عادیوں سے ہمیشہ برا سلوک کیا کرتے تھے۔ وہ نہ فرقہ تھے اور نہ فرقہ کی طرح رنگ بدلنے والوں کو پسند کرتے تھے۔ وہ تو عزم و استقلال کا ایک پہاڑ تھے جس کے ساتھ ہندو کے سرمایہ نے سر بھوڑا۔ جس نے انگریز کے جبروت اور طاقت کو ٹکڑے ٹکڑے کر کے رکھ دیا اور جس کے پایہ استقلال میں سکھوں کی کرپاؤں نے کبھی بھی لغزش پیدا نہ کی اور جو خان برادران کے اس طوفان سے جو سارے ملک کو بھارت میں شامل کرنے کیلئے لاوا بن کر ابل رہا تھا مطلق نہ گھبرائے اور وہ ایک مستقل چٹان کی طرح اپنی منزل کی طرف بڑھتے چلے گئے اور بڑھتے چلے گئے تاآنکہ انہوں نے اپنی منزل کو حاصل کر لیا۔ آج اس ملک کے اندر جو حضرت قائداعظم نے حاصل کیا۔ اس کی تمام نعمتوں سے مالا مال ہو کر۔ اس کی تمام دولتوں پر قابض ہو کر۔ اس کی اقتدار کی کرسیوں پر قابض ہو کر محض عوام جمہور کو اپنے دام فریب میں مبتلا کرنے کیلئے پاکستان کی سلامتی اور آزادی کے بنیادی ستون پر جس کا نام جدائے انتخاب ہے وار کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اس کے بعد حضرت قائداعظم نے مارچ ۱۹۴۸ء کے شروع میں تقریر کرتے ہوئے فرمایا :-

”پاکستان مسلمان قوم کی وحدت کا مجسم ظہور ہے۔ اور اس کو ایسا ہی رہنا چاہئے۔ آگے ہم اپنی اس بااختیار ریاست پاکستان کی تعمیر و تجدید اور حیات نو کا نقشہ بنائیں جس کے متعلق آپ جانتے ہیں کہ وہ نہ صرف دنیا کی سب سے بڑی مسلم ریاست ہے بلکہ دنیا کی پانچویں عظیم ترین با اختیار ریاست ہے“

پھر حضرت قائداعظم مرحوم نے مورخہ ۲۸ مارچ ۱۹۴۸ء کو ریڈیو پاکستان ڈھاکہ سے ایک تقریر نشر کرتے ہوئے فرمایا :-

”پاکستان ملت اسلامیہ کی وحدت کا متشکل نفاذ ہے اور یہ اب تک ایسا ہی رہے گا“

یہاں تو چار سال گزرنے کے بعد اس نظریہ کو بدل دیا گیا ہے لیکن قائداعظم تو فرماتے ہیں کہ اب تک ایسا ہی رہے گا۔ اس کے بعد وہ فرماتے ہیں :-

”تمہارا بحیثیت صحیح فرزند اسلام فرض ہے کہ اس وحدت کی پورے طور پر حفاظت اور نگرانی کریں۔ اگر ہم اپنے آپ کو بطور بنگالی، پنجابی، سندھی وغیرہ وغیرہ پہلے سمجھیں مسلمان اور پاکستانی بعد کو اس صورت میں پاکستان لازمی طور پر تخریب کا شکار ہو جائیگا“

حضرت قائداعظم کی تقریروں کے یہ اقتباسات پڑھ کر سنا چکنے کے بعد میں یہ گزارش کروں گا کہ ہم اس ایران کے اندر واجب الاحترام سیاسی عوامی راہنما ڈاکٹر خان صاحب کے متعلق یہ تصور لیے کہ یہاں آئے تھے کہ ہم خلوص دل سے ان کی حرمت میں مبارکباد پیش کریں گے جب ہم ڈاکٹر خانصاحب کے منہ سے یہ سنیں گے کہ وہ اس ایران کے رکن اعلیٰ ہونے کی حیثیت میں یہ بیان فرمائیں کہ میں اور میری ریپبلکن پارٹی کا نظریہ جدائے انتخابات کے حق میں ہے اور یہ کہ میں نے اپنے اس نظریہ کو جو ایک قوم کی تہیوری کے حق میں تھا اور جس کیلئے میں میری پارٹی اور میرا بھائی لڑتے رہے ہیں آج بدل لیا ہے۔ ہم تو یہ سننے کیلئے آئے تھے کہ حضور والا ایک زمانہ وہ تھا کہ آپ پاکستان کے جھنڈے کو سلامی دینا عیب سمجھتے تھے لیکن آج وہ خدا کے فضل سے اسی اسلامی جھنڈے کو ملک کے گوشہ گوشہ میں خود اٹھاتے پھرتے ہیں۔

ڈاکٹر خان صاحب - That is a lie یہ جھوٹ بول رہے ہیں -

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالہ قیلائی - لعنتہ اللہ علی الکاذبین -

مسٹر جی الانا - لفظ "lie" unparliamentary ہے یہ withdraw کیا جانا چاہئے -

صاحب سپیکر - معزز ممبر نے جو بات ان سے منسوب کی ہے کہ انہوں نے پاکستانی جھوٹے کو سلامی نہیں دی اس کے متعلق انہوں نے کہا ہے کہ یہ جھوٹ ہے -

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالہ قیلائی - میں نے اس کا جواب دیا ہے کہ لعنتہ اللہ علی الکاذبین کہ جھوٹوں پر خدا کی لعنت ہو -

صاحب سپیکر - لیکن آپ کو ایسے الفاظ کہنے نہیں چاہئیں -

**Mr. G. Allana:** The question still remains, is the word 'lie' parliamentary or unparliamentary. If it is parliamentary let it remain on record and certainly others will use it. But if it is unparliamentary then I think you must ask the Chief Minister to withdraw it.

صاحب سپیکر - لفظ lie پارلیمنٹری نہیں ہے آپ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ وہ غلط کہہ رہے ہیں -

ڈاکٹر خان صاحب - میں اس لفظ کو واپس لیتا ہوں - لیکن لعنتہ اللہ علی الکاذبین ہمیشہ رہے گا -

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالہ قیلائی - میں عرض کرونگا -

دم توڑا کشتیوں نے کناروں کی گود میں  
کس کو پناہ ملی ہے سہاروں کی گود میں  
دنیا میں آج تک نہیں دیکھا نہیں کیا  
مرجھا رہے ہوں پھول بہاروں کی گود میں  
اب ناخدا کو ہوش میں لانے کا وقت ہے  
طوفان اہل رہے ہیں کناروں کی گود میں

تو میں ڈاکٹر خان صاحب کے متعلق ذکر کر رہا تھا کہ ایک وہ وقت تھا - اس وقت وہ غنیمت یا اصول تھے کہ ساری دنیا نے ان سے کہا کہ وہ اپنے نظریہ میں تبدیلی پیدا کریں لیکن وہ اس میں تبدیلی پیدا کرنے کیلئے تیار نہ ہوئے لیکن اب گلہ یہ فرما رہے ہیں کہ مسلم لیگ باؤفا نہیں - اور مسلم لیگ لیڈر باؤفا نہیں ہیں مسلم لیگ نے تو آپ کو دعوت دی تھی کہ آپ مسلم لیگ میں شوق سے شامل ہو جائیں اور وہ آپ کو اپنا لیڈر بنانے کیلئے تیار ہیں لیکن وہ مسلم لیگ میں کس طرح شامل ہوتے کیونکہ مسلم لیگ تو ملک کے ساتھ قہری حب الوطنی کا جذبہ رکھتی ہے - اس کے بعد ایک ایسا وقت آیا کہ ڈاکٹر خان صاحب نے تجاہل عارفانہ کے طور پر اور اپنے دامن سے برنامہ کے چھینٹے دھونے کیلئے نہایت عقلمندی اور ہوش ملحدی کے ساتھ اس ایوان میں اپنی ترمیم پیش فرما دی جس سے ہم یہ سمجھے کہ شاید وہ در قوموں کی تھیوری کے قائل ہو گئے ہیں اور مخلوط انتخاب کی جگہ جداگانہ انتخاب جس کے خلاف وہ ہمیشہ لڑتے رہے ہیں حامی

ہوئے ہیں۔ لیکن میں مبارکباد پیش کرتا ہوں میجر جنرل جمال داد اور کرنل (ریٹیریٹ) پارٹی)۔ میں منظور حسن - مسٹر جی الانا اور مسٹر جی - ایم - سید کو کہ انہوں نے چور پکڑ لیا اور فوراً اس ترمیم پر انہوں نے نکتہ چینی شروع کر دی۔ ڈاکٹر خان صاحب اگر سیرھی بات کہہ دیتے کہ میں جڑگانہ انتخابات کا حامی ہو گیا ہوں لیکن آپ نے یہ نہیں کہا۔ آپ نے یہ کہا کہ ملک کی اقلیتیں یہ چاہتی ہیں اور میں نہیں چاہتا کہ یہاں جڑگانہ انتخابات ہوں۔ لیکن ان کو معلوم تھا کہ اقلیتیں یہ نہیں چاہتی اور اقلیتوں کے نہ چاہنے کے اسباب کیا ہیں۔ ہندو اقلیت جو سب سے بڑی اقلیت ہے ہمارے ملک کے اندر۔ اگر وہ جڑگانہ انتخابات نہیں چاہتی تو میں ایسا نداری کے ساتھ کہتا ہوں کہ اس کی نیت میں فتور ہے۔ اگر ہم لاکھ اس کے لئے یہ چاہیں اور وہ نہ چاہے تو وہ احمق نہیں بلکہ اس کے مقاصد اس سے بہت بلند ہیں۔ اور وہ اس بلند مقصد کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے چند سیٹوں کی قربانی کرنے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ ان کے پاس دولت ہے۔ ان کے پاس تعلیم ہے۔ مسلمان پسماندہ ہے۔ اس لئے وہ بنقال میں مخلوط انتخاب چاہتے ہیں۔ کیونکہ وہ دولت کے زور سے مسلمانوں کے ووٹ خرید سکتے ہیں۔ وہ حضری قسم کے مسلمانوں نیشنلسٹ قسم کے مسلمانوں اور ریپبلیکن قسم کے مسلمانوں کو اکٹھے لانا چاہتے ہیں۔ (تالیاں)۔ اور اس چھوٹے راستے سے مرکزی حکومت پر قابض ہونا چاہتے ہیں تاکہ وہاں جاکر یہ ریزولوشن پاس کر دیں کہ ہم ہندوستان کے ساتھ شامل ہونا چاہتے ہیں۔ وہ یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ مسلم لیگ اسلام لیگ جماعت اسلامی اور دیگر محب الوطن سیاسی جماعتیں میدان سے نکل جائیں۔ کیونکہ ہر محب وطن پاکستانی ان کی اس تجویز کو ٹھکرائیگا اور اسی پوری پوری مزاحمت کریگا۔ (تالیاں)۔ ہم پاکستان کی آزادی اور سالمیت پر کبھی آنچ نہیں آنے دینگے۔ (تالیاں)۔

مخلوط انتخاب کے حامی ہمیں یہ طعنہ دیتے ہیں کہ جڑگانہ انتخاب کا مطالبہ اقلیت کی طرف سے ہونا چاہئے نہ کہ اکثریت کی طرف سے۔ میری یہ گزارش ہے کہ اگر اکثریت فی الواقع مخلوط انتخاب کا مطالبہ کرتی ہے تو وہ اقلیتوں کی سیٹوں پر قبضہ کرنا چاہتی ہے اور میں اسے اتنا ہی بد دینا سمجھتا ہوں جتنا اس اقلیت کو جو یہ کہتی ہے کہ ہمیں اپنے حقوق کے تحفظ کی ضرورت نہیں ہے۔

مشرقی پاکستان میں پچاس لاکھ اچھوت ہیں اور اعلیٰ ذات کے ہندوؤں کی تعداد وہاں چالیس لاکھ ہے۔ مگر وہاں صرف چند نشستیں اچھوتوں کے پاس ہیں۔ باقی ساری اعلیٰ ذات کے ہندوؤں کے پاس ہیں۔ اعلیٰ ہندو اس لئے مخلوط انتخاب چاہتے ہیں کہ وہ اچھوتوں کی تمام سیٹوں پر ہمیشہ کے لئے قابض رہ سکیں۔ لیکن مسلم لیگ اور اسی ہندو جماعتیں جنہوں نے قائد اعظم کی زیر قیادت پاکستان حاصل کیا تھا یہ تہمت لگے ہوئے ہیں کہ وہ ان اچھوتوں کے معیار زندگی کو بلند کرنے کے لئے ہر ممکن کوشش کریں گے اور کسی ایسی چیز کو قبول نہیں کریں گے جس سے وہ اعلیٰ ہندوؤں کے آگے کاربن کر رہ جائیں۔ اور ان کی سیٹیں اور حقوق غصب ہو جائیں۔

جڑگانہ انتخاب پر ایک اور اعتراض یہ کیا گیا ہے کہ اس سے ترازو کی ڈنگی ہندوؤں کے ہاتھ میں چلی جائیگی۔ یہ عجیب و غریب قسم کا اصرار ہے۔ پاکستان میں ہندو تعداد میں ۲۲ فیصد ہیں۔ بتائے ۲۲ فیصد کی اقلیت پچھتر چہتر فیصد کی عظیم اکثریت کو کیسے مرعوب کر سکتی ہے۔ ہم ساری عمر ہندوستان میں اقلیت میں رہے۔ جڑگانہ انتخاب پر عمل پیرا رہے۔ لیکن ترازو کی ڈنگی کبھی ہمارے ہاتھ میں نہ آئی اگر اکثریت متحد ہو تو ترازو کی ڈنگی کبھی اقلیت کے ہاتھ میں نہیں جاسکتی۔ ہندوستان میں ہندو متحد تھا مگر یہاں بدترین قسم کی سیاست کا سامنا کرنا پڑ رہا ہے۔ یہاں ہماری اکثریت کی تخریب کی ذمہ داری ہمارے ارباب اقتدار کے ان نظریوں پر ہے جن

کے باعث تمام ملک ایک تماشاگاہ بنا ہوا ہے۔ انہوں نے اپنی جنگ زرگری کے باعث ملک میں ہر طرف ایک اودھم مچایا ہوا ہے اسلئے یہ کہنا سراسر غلط اور بے بنیاد ہے کہ جرنیالانہ انتخاب سے طاقت کا توازن اقلیت کے ہاتھ میں چلا جائیگا۔

اب میں جناب جی۔ ایم۔ سید صاحب سے کچھ گزارشات کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ وہ بھی جی۔ ایم۔ سید ہیں اور میں بھی جی۔ ایم۔ سید ہوں۔ وہ غلام مرتضیٰ سید ہیں اور میں غلام مصطفیٰ سید ہوں۔ ۱۹۳۶ میں جب الیکشن لڑے جارہے تھے مجھے اپنی جماعت مسلم لیگ کی طرف سے سزیم میں بھیجا گیا تھا تاکہ میں مسلم لیگ کے ٹکٹ پر انتخاب لڑنے والوں کی حمایت کروں۔ ان دنوں قائداعظم کے حکم کے مطابق ہندوستان کے کونے کونے سے مسلمان وہاں پہنچے ہوئے تھے۔ اس وقت مجھے مسٹر جی۔ ایم۔ سید کے علاقے میں جانے کا بھی موقع ملا۔ وہاں انکی حمایت کے لئے ہندوستان کے کونے کونے سے کانگریسی ہندو پہنچے ہوئے تھے اور ہر طرف گاندھی ٹوپیاں نظر آتی تھیں۔

مسٹر جی۔ ایم۔ سید۔ یہ غلط ہے۔ میری مزید کے لئے کوئی ہندو نہیں آیا تھا۔

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں خیلانی۔ اب آپ اس سے انکار نہیں کر سکتے۔ آج ایک سید کی زبان سے مخلوط انتخاب کا کھڑا پاکستان کی جڑوں پر چلتے دیکھ کر میں یہ کہہ بغیر نہیں رہ سکتا۔ ع

بیچتا ہے ہاشمی ناموس دین مصطفیٰ۔

انہوں نے مخلوط انتخاب کے حق میں جتنے دلائل دیئے ہیں۔ وہ سب غلط ہیں۔ اور پھر اپنی اس وطن دشمنی کو چھپانے کے لئے قائد اعظم کی ان تقاریر کا حوالہ دیا جا رہا ہے جو انہوں نے شہریت کے حقوق کے متعلق فرمائی تھیں۔ یہ کس قدر اندھیر گردی ہے۔ (قطع کلاسیاں) میں یہ گزارش کر رہا تھا کہ ڈاکٹر خاں صاحب نے اپنی ترسیم واپس لے کر ہم پر کرم فرمائی ہی ہے۔ اب ہمیں اتنا تو پتہ چل گیا کہ ڈاکٹر صاحب کے گرد و پیش جو آدمی جمع ہیں انکے سیاسی نظریات مختلف ہیں۔ میرے بھائی ناراض نہ ہوں۔

ہوتا ہے ایسا بعض اوقات

رکتی نہیں منہ آگئی بات

ریپبلکن پارٹی کے جتنے رکن ہیں ہمیں کبھی انکی حب الوطنی پر شبہ نہیں ہوا۔ میرا رویہ سخن صرف اپنے چیف منسٹر کی طرف ہے۔ ہمیں انکی حب الوطنی پر شبہ ہے تھا اور رہے گا جب تک وہ اس معزز لیون کے اندر کھڑے ہوکر یہ اعلان نہ فرمائیگے کہ انہوں نے اب اپنے سیاسی نظریات کو تبدیل کر لیا ہے اور وہ اب دو قوموں کی تہذیبی کے قائل ہو گئے ہیں۔ (تالیان)۔ اور اب جرنیالانہ انتخاب کے حق میں ہیں۔ اس سے اتنا دامن ساری قوم کے سامنے پاکیزہ اور خوشنما ہو جائیگا۔ اور ہمارے دلوں میں انکے خلاف جو ضرورت ہے وہ مٹ جائیگی میں صرف اتنا کہونگا۔

مانو نہ مانو خاں صاحب اختیار ہے

ہم نیک و بد حضور کو سمجھائے دیتے ہیں

میں انہیں یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ ہمیں انکے ساتھ کوئی ذاتی عداوت نہیں۔ اگر کسی مسلم لیگی کے دل میں ان سے ذاتی عداوت ہے تو میں اسے دینتدار نہیں سمجھتا۔ ہماری ان سے



سیاسی عداوت ہے جسے چھپانا ہر دہانتی ہے۔ جب تک وہ ایسا اعلان نہیں کرینگے ہمارے یہ شکوک قائم رہینگے اور قائم رہنے چاہئیں۔ کسی نے کیا خوب کہا ہے۔

بازار سیاست میں ہر سو انسان خریدے جاتے ہیں  
اسلام کے سودے چکتے ہیں ایمان خریدے جاتے ہیں

بازار نیا قانہک بھی لٹے وہ جن کو وفا کی قدر نہیں  
اب ہر ہر جانب فتنوں کے سامان خریدے جاتے ہیں

میر صاحب موجود ہیں۔

روٹ اور وزارت عہدوں کے بازار سجائے جاتے ہیں  
یوں دو دو کوڑی کے بدلے انسان خریدے جاتے ہیں

(تالیاں)

صاحب سپیکر۔۔ آرڈر پلیز۔ جو معاملہ اس وقت ایران کے سامنے ہے اسے متعلق فرمائیے۔

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں قیلانی۔۔ چھیڑتے ہیں حضور۔ (تالیاں)۔

مصلحت کی لغت یہ کہتی ہے شیر قالیں بھی شیر پیش ہے  
بے حیائی بھی ایک صنعت ہے چابووسی بھی ایک پیش ہے

(تالیاں)

جناب والا۔۔ میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ ہمیں ڈاکٹر خانصاحب کے ساتھیوں کے متعلق کوئی شبہ نہیں۔ انکی دائیں طرف سردار عبدالرشید بیٹھے ہیں۔ میرے دل میں انکی انتہائی عزت ہے۔ اہلئے کہ وہ پاکستان کے دشمن نہیں۔ وہ سرخپوش تحریک کے رکن نہیں۔ انہوں نے فرمایا تھا کہ عبدالغفار کی سرگرمیاں ملک کی سالمیت کے منافی ہیں۔

میں نے دیانتدارانہ حب الوطنی کا ذکر کیا تو ڈاکٹر خان صاحب نے یہ کہہ کر میرا منہ چڑایا کہ ”یہ دولتانی کے کہنے سے کہتی ہے“ (تہقیر) حالانکہ میں ”دولتانی“ کو بھی اس ایران کے اندر سچی باتیں کہتا رہا ہوں۔

صاحب سپیکر۔۔ آپ کی یہ باتیں غیر متعلقہ ہیں۔

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں قیلانی۔۔ میں غیر متعلقہ باتیں نہیں کر رہا۔

صاحب سپیکر۔۔ یہ ”دولتانی“ کا کیا ذکر ہے ؟

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں قیلانی۔۔ میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ ڈاکٹر خان نے ہمیں گردن زدنی کہا اور جب میں نے کہا کہ سرخ پوشوں -----

صاحب سپیکر۔۔ آرڈر۔ آرڈر۔ دیکھئے جس معاملہ پر اس وقت بحث ہو رہی ہے یہ ایک بڑا سنجیدہ معاملہ ہے اور اگر آپ اس طرح الفاظ اور زبان کے ذریعہ تضحیک کا

پہلو نکالیں گے تو اس پر دوسری جانب سے اعتراض ہوگا اور بات طول بکڑے گی - ایسی چیزوں کے لئے اس ایوان کے باہر بڑے مواقع ہیں اور یہ سب کچھ وہاں ہو سکتا ہے لیکن یہاں اسمبلی کے اندر اس وقت جو معاملہ زیر بحث ہے آپ اس کے متعلق بات کیجئے -

سیّد غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں قیلائی - صدر محترم اگر اس ایوان کے باہر دو کروڑ انسان بھی جمع ہوں تو میں اس جم غفیر کو اتنی اہمیت نہیں دوں گا جتنی میری نظروں میں اس ایوان کو حاصل ہے اور مجھے حق پہنچتا ہے کہ ان تمام خطرات کو معرض ذکر میں لاؤں جو میرے خیال کے مطابق میرے وطن عزیز کو لاحق ہیں اور آپ کی آنکھوں پر نقاب کے جو پردے ہیں انہیں چاک کر کے رکھوں - اسی وجہ سے میں نے جب یہ کہا کہ سرخ پوش تحریک کا وجود پاکستان کی سالمیت کے لئے ایک خطرے کا باعث ہے تو اس وقت یہ کہا گیا کہ یہ ضد ہے - لیکن چلا ہی دن بعد مغربی پاکستان کی باوقار حکومت نے میری انہیں باتوں کو معقول سمجھتے ہوئے ان کی عمل نے تائید کی اور اسے جو اقدامات کئے ہیں ان پر اسے ہدیہ تہنیت و تبریک پیش کرتا ہوں اور میرا دعویٰ ہے کہ حکومت جو اچھا کام کر رہی ہے اسکی تائید کروں گا لیکن اگر مجھے کوئی خطرہ نظر آئیگا تو میں اسے ضرور بے نقاب کروں گا -

**Pir Ellahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** On a point of order, Sir. The question before the House is whether we should recommend to the Central Parliament that there should be separate electorates or joint electorates. That is the question before the House. We are not discussing here whether there was a red shirt or whether there was an Awami League or someone else. But here we have to put before the House our views, whether joint electorate or separate electorate is better and which should be adopted. I think you should safeguard the traditions of the House and see that the members should be relevant.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** I want to point out to you that the honour of every member of this House is your honour. You are the custodian of the honour of the members. If a member is allowed to make attacks at random and abuse each and every member, it is your duty to protect them, otherwise others also know how to abuse those persons.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Sir, this is entirely a political issue. The Republican Party as a Party through their Leader has table their motion. (Interruptions). I did not interrupt Mr. Syed. He will be courteous enough to listen to me. It is a political issue. The Republican Party through their Leader have table their motion. The Muslim League as a Party have tabled their motion and I ordered to speak on it therefore naturally the political ideology of the Republican Party, the political ideology of the Muslim League Party, are definitely under consideration when we are discussing the electoral issue.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law): How is it relevant to the question before the House to say that at the election of Mr. G. M. Syed, Hindus with Gandhi caps were canvassing. (Interruptions). Please listen.

**Mr. Speaker:** Have patience to hear. Order, please.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada:** You are shouting; just wait; do not bring rowdism in the House.

How is it relevant to say that in the election of Mr. G. M. Syed, Hindus with Gandhi caps were canvassing for him. Then follow it up by saying that therefore he advocates that joint electorates should be held. Is it not personal attack?

**Voices—No.**

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada:** Your are not protecting the rights of the members properly. All these personal attacks should not be allowed.

**Mr. Speaker:** I cannot allow offensive language to be used in the House.

مسٹر اسماعیل برہانی :- جناب والا جیسا کہ میرے دوست نے کہا ہے زیر بحث مسئلہ ایک بنیادی مسئلہ ہے اور ملک میں جتنی بھی سیاسی جماعتیں ہیں ان میں سے ہر ایک کی اس مسئلہ پر جدوجہد رائے ہے۔ لہذا میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہر تقریر کرنے والے کو یہ حق حاصل ہے کہ وہ ہر سیاسی جماعت کا پس منظر بیان کرے۔ اور کسی ممبر کو روکا نہیں جا سکتا کہ سرخ پوٹوں کا یا مسٹر جی۔ ایم۔ سید کا ذکر نہ کرے۔ جہاں تک الفاظ کا تعلق ہے میں مسٹر جی۔ ایم سید سے متفق ہوں کہ اگر کوئی ممبر قابل اعتراض الفاظ استعمال کرے تو آپ اسے روک سکتے ہیں لیکن میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ چونکہ آپ نے معزز سید کو نہیں روکا اس لئے کوئی ایسے الفاظ استعمال نہیں کئے گئے جو قابل اعتراض ہوں۔

صاحب سپیکر :- جو معزز رکن ابھی تقریر کر رہے تھے میں نے دو تین مرتبہ ان کی توجہ اس بات کی طرف دلائی تھی کہ وہ اپنی تقریر میں غیر متعلقہ باتیں کر رہے ہیں جو انہیں نہیں کرنی چاہئیں۔ اور کسی کے متعلق ایسے الفاظ بھی استعمال نہیں کرنے چاہئیں جو ناہنجار ہوں کیونکہ قواعد ان چیزوں کی اجازت نہیں دیتے۔ میں اس امر کی طرف دو تین مرتبہ ان کی توجہ دلا چکا ہوں اور اگر وہ پھر ایسا کریں گے تو مجبوراً مجھے ان سے یہ کہنا پڑیگا کہ وہ اپنی تقریر ختم کر دیں۔

(شور)

میں نے ان کو پورا موقع دیا ہے اور یہی کہا ہے کہ جو معاملہ زیر بحث ہے آپ اس کے متعلق بات کیجئے۔ اس پر انہوں نے کہا تھا کہ میں موضوع زیر بحث کی طرف آتا ہوں میں انہیں پھر کہوں گا کہ وہ ان غیر متعلقہ باتوں کو چھوڑ دیں ان سے کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوگا۔ یہ باتیں اس ایوان سے باہر بھی ہو سکتی ہیں۔

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں گیلانی صدر محترم :- جہاننگ میرا ذہن میرا ساتھ دیتا ہے میرا خیال ہے کہ میری زبان سے کوئی غیر مہذب فقرہ یا لفظ نہیں نکلا۔

مسٹر جی۔ ایم۔ سید :- جناب صدر۔ انہوں نے ڈاکٹر صاحب کے متعلق یہ الفاظ استعمال کئے ہیں کہ لوگ دو عورتی کے آدمی کی طرف کھنچے جاتے ہیں۔ کیا یہ موزوں ہیں؟ مجھے یاد ہے کہ مسٹر الانا نے بھی یہ الفاظ میرے متعلق استعمال کئے تھے It is devil quoting scriptures تو اگرچہ یہ قابل اعتراض تھے لیکن میں نے ان سے درگزر کی کیونکہ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ان کو مجھ پر تنقید کرنے کا حق حاصل ہے۔ مجھ پر وہ تنقید بیہش کریں مگر اس کے لئے جو زبان استعمال کریں وہ نہایت مناسب اور فریادہ ہونی چاہیئے۔

**Mr. G. Allana:** On personal explanation. I am sorry if I have hurt the feelings of honourable member Mr. Syed. I assure him that I am not in the habit of giving offence to any member. I am very sorry if he has taken any offence. If he had interrupted me, then I would have immediately apologised and withdrawn those words.

**صاحب سپیکر -** دیکھیے قاعدہ نمبر ۶۸ میں درج ہے کہ

68 (iii) "A member while speaking shall not utter defamatory words or make use of offensive expressions."

اس میں تمام قابل اعتراض امور کا ذکر ہے۔ اگر میں آپ کو قابل اعتراض الفاظ استعمال کرنے کی اجازت دے دوں یا قابل اعتراض الفاظ کو نظر انداز کر دوں تو اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ ایوان کے اس طرف سے اس سے بھی بڑی بڑی گالیاں دی جائیں گی۔ تو کیا ایسی صورت اس معزز ایوان کے وقار کے مطابق ہو سکتی ہے۔ آپ کو چاہیے کہ آپ Electorat کے معاملے پر اظہار خیال کریں جو دراصل اس ایوان میں زیر بحث ہے۔

**سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالہ گیلانی -** بہت اچھا۔ جناب میں پیر زادہ صاحب کے متعلق تو پہلے بھی کہہ چکا ہوں کہ

وونگ ہوئی جو ختم تو یاران تیز قام  
قا قا کے اپنا چرم چکارا کھسک گئے

میں عرض کر رہا تھا کہ اعتراض یہ کیا جاتا ہے کہ جدا گانہ انتخاب کی وجہ سے ہندوؤں کو یہ حق پہنچے گا کہ وہ پاکستان کی سرزمین پر ہوم لینڈ کا مطالبہ کریں۔ اس اعتراض کی نہ تو کوئی حقیقت ہے اور نہ کوئی بنیاد۔ یہ تو محض عوام کو دھوکہ اور فریب دینے کیلئے کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اگر ہندوستان کی سر زمین پر چار کروڑ یا تین کروڑ مسلمانوں کی منتظر اور موثر اقلیت ہوم لینڈ کا مطالبہ کرنے کا حق نہیں رکھتی تو یہاں کچھ کروڑ کی آبادی میں چالیس لاکھ کی اقلیت کیسے یہ مطالبہ کر سکتی ہے جبکہ اس کے انتشار کی حالت یہ ہے کہ نہ اس کی کسی صورت میں اکثریت ہے۔ نہ کسی ضلع اور تحصیل میں اور نہ ہی کسی قریے اور قصبے میں۔ اس صورت حال میں وہ یہاں ہوم لینڈ کا مطالبہ کیسے کر سکتی ہے۔ دراصل ہم دو نظریات کے تصادم کی بنا پر لڑتے رہے ہیں۔ حقیقت تو یہ ہے کہ یہ جداگانہ انتخاب کا نظریہ ہی تھا جس کی بنا پر ہم نے آج سے دس سال قبل مسلسل اور بدھم جنگ و جدل کے بعد پاکستان حاصل کیا۔ اب یہ کیسے ممکن ہو سکتا ہے کہ جس محل کی تعمیر ہم نے بڑی محنت اور جانفشانی سے کی ہو جس کی بنیادیں کدالوں سے محو کر ہم ان میں سینٹ بھرتے رہے ہوں اب وہی کدالیں اس کی تعزیر اور انہدام کیلئے کام میں لائی جائیں۔

**صدر محترم -** ہمارے ملک کے دونوں بازوؤں میں ایک ہزار میل کا فاصلہ ہے۔ اگر آپ کا استدلال تسلیم کر لیا جائے تو سمجھے یہ بتائیے کہ اس خطہ ملک کو جس کا نام مغربی پاکستان ہے مغربی پاکستان کے ساتھ کیا مناسب ہے۔ وہاں کے باشندوں کی بحوراک مختلف لباس مختلف رہنے سہنے کے طریقے مختلف تہذیب و تمدن مختلف غرض ہر چیز مختلف ہے۔ دراصل ان کی مناسبت کسی حد تک مغربی ہنگال کے ساتھ تو ہے مگر ان دونوں علاقوں میں اقتصادی اور سماجی بہبودی کے منصوبوں میں یکسانیت پائی جاتی ہے۔ حتیٰ کہ مغربی ہنگال کے اخبارات اپنے پرائیونڈ کے ذریعے مغربی پاکستان کے لوگوں میں وہی تبدیلی پیدا کرنے میں بھی بعض اوقات کسی حد تک کامیاب نظر آتے ہیں۔ جہاں یہ

صورت حال ہو تو وہاں کونسا ایسا رشتہ ہے جس کی بنا پر مغربی پاکستان مشرقی پاکستان کا ہم پلہ تصور کیا جا سکتا ہے۔ یہی وہ رشتہ اور بنیاد ہے جس کا نام اسلام اور مذہب ہے۔ جناب صدر۔ ہمارے ملک کے دونوں حصوں میں تو صرف ایک ہزار میل کا فاصلہ ہے خلفائے راشدین کے دور اقتدار میں جب کہ دنیا کے کونے کونے میں مسلمانوں کی حکومت تھی تو اتنی بڑی سلطنت کو ایک ہی مرکز سے کنٹرول کیا جاتا تھا۔ وہاں نہ کوئی وزارتوں کا جھڑوا ہوتا تھا اور نہ ہی اقتدار کے حصول کی غرض سے فساد۔ اس زمانے میں تو حسب ضرورت ملک کے ہر حصے میں فوجیں پہنچتی تھیں اور فتح و نصرت کے جھنڈے بلند کرتی تھیں۔ تو میرا مطلب یہ ہے کہ جدائے انتخاب کے نظریے کو ختم اور محو کرنے کا مطلب دوسرے الفاظ میں اپنے آپ کو ہندو کے ساتھ ضم کرنے کی کوشش کرنے کے مترادف ہے۔ اگر لاکھوں مسلمان خواتین کی عصمتیں لٹانے اور کروڑوں مسلمانوں کی قربانیاں پیش کرنے اور آج سے نو یا دس برس قبل پاکستان حاصل ہو چکنے کے بعد اگر اسے پھر ہندوستان میں ضم کرنے کا ارادہ کرنا اور پاکستان کے حصول کا الزام قاتل اعظم کے پاکیزہ دامن پر لگانا تھا تو مجھے بتائیے کہ جدائے انتخاب کا مطالبہ کرنے اور پاکستان کی جنگ لڑنے کا مقصد کیا تھا جو لوگ مخلوط انتخاب کی حمایت کرتے ہیں میرے رائے میں نزدیک ان کے ذہنوں میں پاکستان کے متعلق فتنہ ہے۔ وہ پاکستان کی حب الوطنی کا مظاہرہ کرنے کے ہرگز اہل نہیں۔

جناب صدر۔ اس موقع پر میں یہ عرض کر دینا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ آج جب کہ مغربی پاکستان کی اسمبلی میں طریقہ انتخاب کا مسئلہ زیر غور ہے ہندوستان کی سرزمین کے تیس کروڑ باشندوں کی نظریں ہماری طرف لگی ہوئی ہیں۔ ہمارے ملک میں ایک ایسا غدار عنصر بھی موجود ہے جس کا مرکز اطاعت کراچی نہیں بلکہ کوئی دوسری جگہ ہے۔ وہ مجبور ہے کہ پاکستان کے قیام و استحکام کی مخالفت کے سلسلے میں اس قسم کی بھیکی بھی باتیں کرے۔ لیکن میں اس موقع پر یہ امر واضح کر دیتا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب تک پاکستان کی سرزمین پر ایک بھی محب الوطن پاکستانی موجود ہے اس وقت تک پاکستان کی سلامتی پر آنچ نہیں آسکتی۔ پاکستان کی سرزمین پر بسنے والی اقلیتوں اور ان کو شری حقوق دینے کے سلسلے میں مسلمانوں اور ان کے درمیان کوئی اختلاف نہیں ہے۔ اس لئے میں اس امر کا پھر اعادہ کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جدائے انتخاب کا مسئلہ ہمارا ایک بنیادی مسئلہ ہے۔ اور ہمارے آئینیل وزیر اعلیٰ صاحب نے جو ترمیم پیش کر کے واپس لے لی ہے اس کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ کل جب کہ قومی اسمبلی میں یہ مسئلہ پیش ہوا جہاں مشرقی پاکستان کی طرف سے انہیں غالب امکان ہے کہ مخلوط انتخاب کے فیصلے کی ترجمانی کی جائے گی جس کے برعکس مغربی پاکستان کی اسمبلی کا فیصلہ جدائے انتخاب کے حق میں ہوگا تو اس وقت انہیں اپنی ترمیم کی ترجمانی کرنے کا نمایاں موقع مل سکے گا۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ اس ترمیم کے جو الفاظ ہیں آپ اس پر بحث کریں۔ آپ کی تقریر سے تو یوں معلوم ہوتا ہے جیسے آپ کو انہماک ہوا ہو کہ حزب اقتدار طریقہ انتخاب کے بارے میں آپ سے مختلف نظریہ رکھتی ہے۔ آپ مہربانی کر کے مسئلہ زیر بحث پر تقریر فرمائیں۔ محض مغروضوں کی بنا پر اس ایوان کے معزز ممبروں کی نیت پر حملہ نہ کریں۔

حاج فقیر خان جردن۔ جناب والا۔ معزز ممبر کے مخاطب کر رہے ہیں؟

سیّد غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں گیلانی۔ میں جناب سپیکر کو مخاطب کر رہا ہوں۔

آپ کو نہیں۔



نائب وزیر (خان سخی جان خان)۔۔ جناب والا - آپ انہیں کتنا وقت دینا چاہتے ہیں - مہربانی کر کے آپ وقت کا تعین کر دیں کیونکہ ہماری پارٹی کے بہت سے ممبروں نے ابھی تقریریں کرنی ہیں -

صاحب سپیکر۔۔ تقریروں کیلئے کوئی وقت مقرر نہیں کیا گیا -

نائب وزیر (خان سخی جان خان)۔۔ جناب والا - اگر یہی صورت رہی تو ہماری پارٹی کے بہت سے ممبر تقریریں نہ کر سکیں گے -

صاحب سپیکر۔۔ آپ اب اپنی تقریر ختم کریں - آخر اب اس کے بعد اور کونسی دلائل باقی رہ گئے ہیں جو آپ اپنے نقطہ نظر کی تائید کے سلسلے میں پیش کرنا چاہتے ہیں -

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں گیلانی۔۔ چونکہ صدر محترم یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ میں مسلم زیر بحث پر بہت کچھ کہہ چکا ہوں اس لئے میں اپنی تقریر ان اشعار پر ختم کرتا ہوں -

الہی سلامت رہیں آشیانے  
فضا آج پھر آگ برسا رہی ہے  
شہید آج رہ رہ کے ہر موج طوفان  
ہمارے سفینے سے ٹکرا رہی ہے

میر عبدالقیوم (ضلع لاٹل پور)۔۔ جناب صدر - حزب مخالف کی طرف سے اب تک جو کچھ کہا گیا ہے - مجھے افسوس ہے کہ اس کی ضرورت ہی نہیں تھی اور نہ ہی اس کی گنجائش تھی کیونکہ ہماری طرف سے جو تجویز پیش کی گئی ہے اس کا موضوع بالکل وہی ہے جو ان کی طرف سے ہے - (آوازیں نہیں) لیکن ان کی تقریروں کا انداز اشعار اور الفاظ کی بھر مار اور الزامات کی بوچھاڑ یہ سب باتیں ظاہر کرتی ہیں کہ اگر ہم کچھ بھی نہ کہتے تب بھی وہ ضرور یہ مہربانی کرتے - اس لئے جن دوستوں نے ہم پر طرح طرح کے الزامات لگائے ہیں میں ان کی خدمت میں صرف اتنا عرض کروں گا کہ میں ان کا جواب ان کے الفاظ میں نہیں دوں گا جیسا کہ انگریزی میں کہا جاتا ہے -

Return them in the same coin.

لیکن ہمارا اخلاق ہمیں اس بات کی اجازت نہیں دیتا - اس میں کوئی شبہ نہیں کہ ہم ایک دوسرے کے سیاسی حریف ہیں مگر میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ ہم آپ کا مقابلہ کریں گے اور ڈٹ کر مقابلہ کریں گے لیکن شرافت کو کبھی ہاتھ سے نہیں جانے دیں گے - (نعرہ ہاتھی تحسین)

میں مانتا ہوں کہ آپ اخلاق - حب الوطنی - شرافت اور سیاست غرضیکہ ہر بات کے ٹھیکیدار ہیں اور ہم نہیں ہیں - آپ ہی بتائیں کہ کیا ہم نے کبھی اس بات کا دعویٰ کیا ہے کہ تمام سیاسی شعور ہم اور جب الوطنی ہم میں ہے ہمارا صرف ایک دعویٰ ہے کہ ہم پاکستانی ہیں - ہم نہ پاکستان میں رہنا ہے ہم یہیں رہ رہے ہیں -

ہمارے ہاں بچے ہمارے خاندان ہمیں نہیں گئے۔ اس لئے میں اس شخص کی شرافت اور دیانت کا قائل نہیں ہوں جو یہ کہے کہ ہم میں حب الوطنی نہیں ہے۔ چاہے کوئی ہو۔ خواہ وہ ہمارے لیڈر ہوں یا ایک اذنیہ ممبر ہوں۔

میاں منظور حسن۔ پوائنٹ آف آرڈر۔ جناب والا۔ میر صاحب جو کچھ فرما رہے ہیں وہ کہاں تک درست ہے۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ اس طرف سے اشارۃً "اور کثایت" یہ الزام لگایا گیا تھا کہ یہ لوگ حب الوطن نہیں ہیں۔ اس لئے میر صاحب اس کا جواب دے رہے ہیں۔ (تائیل)

**Mr. G. Allana:** May I correct one thing. To my knowledge not one member from this side of the House during the course of his speech has cast aspersions on the patriotism of the members of this House.

میر عبدالقیوم۔ صبر محترم۔ اب میں اصل موضوع پر اظہار خیال کرتا ہوں۔ جس طرح ممبران حزب مخالف جرائد انتخاب کے حامی ہیں بالکل اسی طرح ہم بھی ہیں۔ الٹا صاحب غالباً اردو نہیں سمجھتے اس لئے وہ نہیں سمجھ سکتے کہ اشارۃً اور "کثایت" الزام کا مطلب کیا ہے۔ اصل میں یہ باتیں تو بڑی ہی طور پر صاف الفاظ میں کہی گئی ہیں اور اشعار پڑھے گئے ہیں۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ آپ کو شاید معلوم نہیں کہ اب اس ہاوس کی پالیسی یہ ہے کہ اگر کوئی شخص بلاوجہ ہاوس کی کارروائی میں رکاوٹ پیدا کریگا تو میں اسے باہر نکال دوں گا۔ پچھلے سیشن کی طرح نہیں ہوگا۔

شیخ ظفر حسین۔ جناب والا۔ میں آپ کو ان اختیارات پر مبارکباد دیتا ہوں۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ آرڈر آرڈر۔

راجہ خداداد خان۔ جناب والا۔ آپ کا فرض ہے کہ آپ ہاوس میں اس قائم رکھیں۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ یہ اختیارات ان رولز میں موجود ہیں۔ اگر کوئی ممبر رولز کی پابندی سے قاصر رہے گا۔ تو میرا فرض ہے کہ میں اسے ان کا پابند کراؤں۔

سردار محمد ظفر اللہ۔ پوائنٹ آف آرڈر۔ جناب والا۔ پچھلے سیشن میں بھی یہی رولز تھے اس وقت بھی اس قسم کی تقریریں ہوئی تھیں مگر اس وقت ان پر عمل نہیں ہوا اب کیوں ہو رہا ہے۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ اس وقت رسی ڈراڑ تھی۔

میر عبدالقیوم۔ جناب والا آپ نے اگرچہ مجھے بچانے کی کوشش کی ہے مگر میں انہیں جانتا ہوں اور وہ مجھے جانتے ہیں مجھے معلوم ہے کہ ان کو مجھ سے کتنی محبت ہے۔ جناب والا۔ میرے نزدیک یہ اچھی بات نہیں کہ محض سیاسی اختلافات یا سیاسی معاملات کے سلسلہ میں ایک شخص دوسرے پر جھوٹا الزام عائد کرے۔ جہاں تک ڈاکٹر خان صاحب کی ذات کا تعلق ہے۔ میں نہایت مردبانہ عرض کروں گا کہ وہ سیاست میں ایک بھلا باب اور ایک کھلی کتاب ہیں اور آپ ان پر بڑی خوشی سے اعتراض کر سکتے ہیں۔

**Mr. Speaker:** Please address the Chair.

**Mir Abdul Qayyum:** I am only addressing you, Sir.

میرے دوست منظور حسن صاحب نے اپنی لمبی چوڑی تقریر میں جہاں اور بہت سی باتیں کہیں یہ بھی فرمایا تھا کہ انہوں نے قوم کے لئے اور اس پاکستان کے لئے گولیاں کھائی ہیں۔ مجھے احساس ہے اور اس بات کا احترام ہے کہ انہوں نے فی الواقع گولیاں کھائی ہیں مگر وہ پیرمنٹ کی گولیاں تھیں کوئی اور گولیاں نہیں تھیں۔ تہقہ -

میں ان کی خدمت میں عرض کرونگا کہ میں ان کو خوب جانتا ہوں۔ ان کی سیاسی زندگی ہمارے سامنے ہے اور ہماری ان کے سامنے ہے لیکن میں یہ عرض کرونگا کہ ہمیں اس قسم کے دعوے نہیں کرنے چاہئیں جو صداقت پر مبنی نہ ہوں۔ ہمیں یہ نہیں دیکھنا چاہئے کہ کوئی تجویز کون پیش کر رہا ہے ہمیں یہ دیکھنا چاہئے کہ وہ تجویز کیا ہے۔ میں مسلم لیگ کی لیڈر شپ سے خاص طور پر یہ توقع رکھتا ہوں کہ وہ غیر جانبدارانہ طریقے سے اس مسئلہ پر بحث کریں گے۔ دراصل میرے ان دوستوں کو آخری دن تک یہ توقع تھی کہ ری پبلکن پارٹی میں طریقہ انتخاب کے مسئلہ پر پھوٹ پڑ جائیگی لیکن ان کی برہمستی سے اور ہماری خوش قسمتی سے ہمیں ہم آہنگی سے متفقہ طور پر یہ فیصلہ کیا کہ ملک کے موجودہ حالات کے پیش نظر جراثیم طریقہ انتخاب ہونا چاہئے۔ اور اس فیصلہ میں ہمارے ممبران میں قطعی طور پر کوئی اختلاف نہیں ہے۔ ایک چیز میں ضرور عرض کرونگا کہ مستقبل کے متعلق کوئی نہیں جانتا کہ کیا ہوگا۔ مستقبل کے متعلق تو شاید میرے وہ دوست جانتے ہوں گے جن کو الہام ہوتا ہے یا جو پیشین گوئیاں کرتے رہتے ہیں لیکن ہمارے ہاں خدا کے فضل سے کسی کو الہام نہیں ہوتا اور نہ ہی کوئی نجوم لگاتا ہے لہذا کوئی نہیں کہہ سکتا کہ مستقبل میں کیا ہوگا لیکن ملک کے موجودہ حالات کے پیش نظر یہ ایک بہتر اور مفید فیصلہ ہے اور یہ اقلیتوں کے لئے خاص طور پر مفید ہے مثلاً مغربی پاکستان میں اگر مخلوط انتخاب ہو جائیں تو ہر شخص اقلیتوں کے نمائندہ کو محروم کر سکتا ہے اور کسی دوسرے نمائندہ کو ووٹ دے سکتا ہے لیکن اسے ہر آدمی اسکی اقلیت کے باوجود ووٹ دے کر منتخب کر سکتا ہے اگر انکی نشستیں مقرر کردی جائیں ہمارے ملک کی موجودہ فضا ایسی نہیں ہے کہ ہم اس میں مخلوط طریقہ انتخاب رائج کر سکیں۔ لہذا میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ غیر مسلموں کے لئے بھی موجودہ فضا میں جراثیم طریقہ انتخاب زیادہ بہتر اور مفید ہوگا۔ میں اس سلسلہ میں یہ بھی عرض کرونگا کہ میں اخلاق کے دامن کو کبھی نہیں چھوڑونگا ہم پر جو یہ الزام لگائے گئے ہیں کہ ہم نے یہ نہیں کیا اور وہ نہیں کیا یا یہ کہ فلان چیز چھوڑ دی ہے وغیرہ وغیرہ تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ کسی طرح مناسب نہیں ہے۔ آخر ہمارے آپس میں تعلقات ہیں اور ہم آپ کے جذبہ حب الوطنی سے یہ توقع رکھتے ہیں کہ اگر ہم نے قوم کی کوئی خدمت کی توکل آپ سب انشاء اللہ انہیں بنچوں پر ہوں گے۔ مجھے آپ کی حب الوطنی سے پوری توقع ہے۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اس ریزولیشن کی تائید کرتا ہوں۔

**Mr. M. H. Gazdar:** (Municipal Corporation of Karachi): My submission is this. I wish to thank the Chief Minister, through you, for having accepted the amendment of Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan. Now, it would be in the fitness of things if with your permission an agreed resolution by the Leader of the House and by me and by those who are in favour of separate electorates and amendments of such members be put before the House. Everybody in the Muslim League Party and an overwhelming majority of the Republican party are for separate electorates.

صاحب سپیکر - آج تو وقت بہت تھوڑا ہے اور اس وقت جو ترامیم ایران کے سامنے ہیں ان پر بحث ہو رہی ہے لہذا ان کو اٹھا نہیں کیا جاسکتا - یہ تو کل ہو سکتا ہے - اب ایک گھنٹہ کے قریب وقت باقی ہے اس لئے یہ فیصلہ بلا میں ہوگا - ہاں اگر دونوں اطراف سے اس مسئلہ پر کوئی اختلاف باقی نہیں رہا تو لمبی تقریریں کرنے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے - مختصر تقریریں ہوتی چاہئیں - اس لئے جن ممبر صاحبان کو اب اختلاف نہیں ہے وہ دس دس منٹ لے لیں -

**Al-Haj M. H. Gazdar:** Sir, the method of electorate is a sort of mechanism by which various interests can be represented in this House. In India, Sir, the differences between the various communities, especially the majority community inhabiting India, were so deep that it was very necessary for minorities to be represented by their own representatives. We, Muslims, felt that if we sent our representatives on joint electorates to Legislatures, our interests, economic, political, cultural, religious, will be finished and therefore we fought and fought and secured separate electorates to safeguard our own interests. You know that Mahatma Gandhi had made a statement that he would commit suicide if depressed classes were given separate electorates.

Now what is the result of joint electorates in India? No Muslim is being elected to any Legislature there, barring very few favourite toadies or show-boys of Hindus. Sir, you take up the list of members of the different Legislatures in India and you will find that very few Muslims are being elected and that also only those who are show-boys of Hindus. The result is that they do not get any share in services. After all why do you want elections? Because we want people's Government, every man should have equal rights and since the Muslims there are denied the right of representation in legislatures, they do not get political rights, their religious rights. That is the result. That is what we find has happened in India. We in Pakistan do not want to create the same situation and deprive the minorities of their rights.

People might say that when minorities do not want separate electorates, why you are insisting on it. My honourable friends have expressed that opinion. But, Sir, if a blind man is walking towards a well and if a man who has got two eye does not protect him, he is not doing his duty. We have seen the immense harm and damage done to Muslim interests in India on account of joint electorates without reservation of seats. We cannot be a party to depriving the minorities of their right of representation in our popular houses.

Now in this House we came not on separate electorates or joint electorates. Here we are all one and the offices of power are captured by a combination of various parties, irrespective of the fact whether the man belongs to minority or to majority community, and community makes no difference. They get all equal rights.

I am very sorry, Sir, that some of my friends have quoted Quaid-i-Azam's speeches, of what Quaid-i-Azam said, that everybody will have an equal right. As I said, every body here has an equal right, whether he is a Hindu, Christian, Jew or Muslim, and through combination of parties they can capture power,

Now to secure to them representation so that they should go into the Legislatures and fight for the particular interests of their own community and so many other things, cultural, religious, economic, etc, it is very necessary that we should have separate electorates. It is, as I said before, a sort of machinery by which people can be brought into popular houses to serve their interests.

چودھری محمد حسن :- (ضلع گجرات) جناب والا - مجھے اس وقت بے حلا خوشی ہوئی جبکہ اس ریفرنڈم میں سے تھوڑے سے قابل اعتراض الفاظ نکال دیئے گئے اور میں اس پر اپنے انڈیل لیٹر کو مبارکباد کا مستحق سمجھتا ہوں۔ جناب والا - میں یہ سنکر حیران ہوا جب میرے دوست سید امیر حسین شاہ نے یہ کہا کہ قاضی ایران نے اپنا نظریہ تبدیل کر لیا ہے۔ وہ شاید یہ بھول گئے کہ

میں ہوا کافر تو وہ کافر مسلمان ہو گیا

انہوں نے آج اس نظریے کے خلاف آواز اٹھائی جس کی خاطر یہ خود قربانیاں دے چکے ہیں۔ ڈاکٹر خان صاحب پر یہ الزام عائد کیا گیا ہے کہ انہوں نے اپنا بنیادی نظریہ تبدیل کر لیا ہے۔ میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ دیانتداری سے اس وقت اپنے نظریے کو صحیح سمجھتے تھے اور آج انہوں نے مسلم لیگ اور پاکستان کا نظریہ اپنا لیا ہے اور اسی وقت سے ہم انکی حمایت کرتے ہیں۔ جہاں تک جدانہ اور مخلوط طریقہ انتخاب کا تعلق ہے میں یہ واضح کر دینا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ قطع نظر اس سے کہ اقلیتوں نے جدانہ طریق انتخاب کا مطالبہ کیا ہے یا وہ اس کے مخالف ہیں ہمارا نظریہ یہ ہے کہ جدانہ طریق انتخاب اقلیتوں کیلئے مفید ہے اور سب سے بڑھ کر یہ کہ یہ نظریہ پاکستان کی بنیاد ہے۔

جناب والا - ایک حضرت نے مجھ سے دوران گفتگو مخلوط انتخاب کے حق میں یہ دلیل دی کہ متحدہ ہندوستان میں ہمیں خطرہ تھا کہ اکثریت ہمارے حقوق غصب کر لے گی۔ اب مزہ آجائیگا - اب مخلوط انتخاب کے ذریعے ہم ان کے حقوق غصب کریں گے۔ تو میں نے عرض کیا کہ پاکستان اسلئے نہیں بنایا گیا تھا کہ اقلیتوں کے حقوق کو غصب کیا جائے۔ (ہینئر - ہینئر) میں نے عرض کیا کہ پاکستان اقلیتوں کے حقوق کی بہترین ضمانت ہے اور ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ اکثریت کسی وقت بھی آبادی کے بل بوتے اقلیت کے حقوق غصب کرنے کا خیال تک بھی دل میں نہ لائے (ہینئر ہینئر) میں اس امر کا اظہار کرنا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ مجھے ان سے کوئی خطرہ نہیں۔ مجھے خطرہ اپنے ان مسلمان بھائیوں سے ہے جو اس وقت ہمارے اس نظریے کے خلاف تھے۔ جبکہ پاکستان کیلئے جنگ لڑی جا رہی تھی وہ تب بھی غلط انتخابات کے حامی تھے۔ اور آج بھی غلط انتخاب کے حامی ہیں (حزب مخالف کی جانب سے نعرہ ہائے تحسین)۔

جناب والا - اب بھی ان کی نیت میں فتور ہے اب ان کی نیت الٹی ہو گئی ہے۔ اب وہ یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ مخلوط انتخابات کے ذریعے اقلیتوں کے حقوق غصب کئے جائیں۔ میں ان کے اس نظریے کو بقول ہر دو لعنت سمجھتا ہوں۔

جناب والا - میرے دو محترم دوستوں نے یعنی مسٹر جی - ایم - سید اور میاں محمد شفیع صاحب نے شیعہ اور سنی کے سوال کو اٹھایا ہے۔

زاہد تنگ نظر نے مجھے کافر جانا

اور کافر یہ سمجھا کہ مسلمان ہوں میں

میں ان سے عرض کروں گا کہ شیعہ اور سنی دونوں بھائی بھائی ہیں۔ یہ دونوں ایک خدا کو مانتے ہیں۔ ایک رسول کو مانتے ہیں۔ ان دونوں بھائیوں کے خیالات میں صرف تھوڑا



سا فرق ہے۔ آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ متحدہ ہندوستان میں مولانا عبدالباری مرحوم کو جو صوبہ بہار میں کانگریس کے صدر تھے قتل کیا گیا تھا۔ میں اس جنگ مسٹر جی۔ ایم۔ سیل سے دریافت کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا مولانا باری مرحوم کو اس بنا پر قتل کیا گیا تھا کہ وہ شیعہ تھے۔ کیا صاحب موصوف کو اس لئے موت کے گھاٹ اتارا گیا تھا کہ وہ سنی تھے۔ نہیں ایسا ہرگز نہیں تھا۔ ان کو اس لئے قتل کیا گیا تھا کہ وہ مسلمان تھے۔ حضور والا۔ مجھے شیعہ حضرات سے کوئی عداوت نہیں۔ مجھے ان سے کوئی ضرورت نہیں۔ مجھے ان سے کوئی نفرت نہیں۔ میں تو ان حضرات کے خیالات و احساسات کا دل کی گہرائیوں سے احترام کرتا ہوں۔ وہ چونکہ سادات میں سے ہیں اس لئے میں ان کو واجب التعظیم اور واجب الاحترام سمجھتا ہوں اور ان کی دل سے قذر کرتا ہوں۔ اس لئے میں آپ سب حضرات کی خدمت میں عرض کروں گا کہ آپ بھی شیعہ سنی کے سوال کو ہمیشہ ہمیشہ کے لئے ختم کر دیں اور اس کو ہوا دینے کی کوشش نہ کریں۔

جناب والا۔ جرائد انتخابات اقلیتوں کے لئے بے حد مفید اور سود مند ثابت ہوں گے۔ اس سے ان کو یہ فائدہ ہوگا کہ وہ اسمبلیوں میں اپنے بہترین اور ہمدرد نمائندے چن کر بھیج سکیں گے جو ان کی صحیح نمائندگی اور ترجمانی کریں۔ اگر جرائد انتخابات نہ ہوئے تو اقلیتیں اپنے ہمدرد نمائندے چن کر نہیں بھیج سکیں گی اور اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ ان کے دلوں میں قتل و شہادت پیدا ہو جائیں گے جو پاکستان کی سالمیت اور بقا کے لئے زہر ثابت ہوں گے۔

جناب والا۔ جرائد انتخابات سے ایک یہ فائدہ بھی ہوگا کہ ہم دنیا کو یہ بتا سکیں گے کہ جو نظریہ ہمارا کل تھا آج بھی وہی ہے اور انشاء اللہ آئندہ بھی وہی رہے گا اور ہم یہ بھی واضح کر سکیں گے کہ جس نظریے کی بنیاد پر پاکستان کا سنگ بنیاد رکھا گیا تھا مسلمان عزم راسخ کے ساتھ اس پر قائم ہیں۔

جناب والا۔ میرے محترم دوست سید امیر حسین شاہ صاحب نے اپنی تقریر کے دوران میں Joint Electorates کا مطالبہ کر کے اقلیتوں سے ہمدردی اور محبت کے راگ اپننے کی ناقام کوشش کی۔ Joint Electorates سے اقلیتوں کو کوئی فائدہ نہ ہوگا۔ ہم جرائد انتخابات کے منصوبے کو عملی جام پہنا کر یہ ثابت کر دیں گے کہ یہی طریقہ انتخاب ان کے لئے مفید ہے اور یہی ان کے حقوق کی ضمانت دیتا ہے۔ ہم انشاء اللہ ان کے حقوق کی پوری پوری حفاظت اور نگہداشت کر کے دنیا کو دکھا دیں گے۔ دراصل ہم جرائد انتخابات کا مطالبہ ہی اقلیتوں کے حقوق کی حفاظت کی خاطر کر رہے ہیں (سبحان اللہ سبحان اللہ کی مسلسل آوازیں) ہم یہ مطالبہ پاکستان کی سالمیت کی خاطر کر رہے ہیں۔ اس عزیز پاکستان کی سالمیت کی خاطر جسکو حاصل کرنے کے لئے میں نے اور آپ نے بیش بہا اور گرانبوا قربانیاں کیں اور قید کی صوبتیں برداشت کیں۔ تحریک پاکستان کے ایام میں مجھے اور میرے دوسرے دوستوں کو گجرات جیل میں قید کر دیا گیا تھا۔ اس لئے جناب والا۔ جرائد انتخابات کو ختم کر کے ہمیں پاکستان کو خطرے میں نہیں ڈالنا چاہیے۔

جناب والا۔ باوقار قومی اپنے نظریات کو آگے دن بڑا نہیں کرتیں۔ اگر آپ نے آج اپنا بنیادی نظریہ بدل دیا تو پاکستان کی سالمیت کو نقصان عظیم پہنچنے کا احتمال ہے۔ پاکستان کی سالمیت کو قائم رکھنا اور اس کے تحفظ کے لئے کوشش کرنا ہمارا فرض اولین ہے۔

Who lives if Pakistan dies,—Who dies if Pakistan lives.

ہماری جان و مال۔ ہماری عزت و آبرو۔ ہماری ترقی و بقا اور ہماری آئندہ نسلوں کی نشو و نما صرف پاکستان کی بقا اور سالمیت سے وابستہ ہے۔ اس لئے میں اپنے عزیز دوست سید امیر حسین شاہ صاحب سے درخواست کروں گا کہ وہ اپنے ان نظریات کو جن سے پاکستان کی یقینی اور سالمیت کو ٹھیس پہنچنے کا امکان ہو یکسر بدل دیں اور ڈاکٹر محان صاحب کے موجودہ خیالات کے مطابق ہر جاگیں۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اپنی تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں۔

**Begum Tahira Agha** (Hyderabad District) (seat reserved for women) : Sir, the late lamented, second Constituent Assembly, while breathing its last, bequeathed, that its successor, the National Assembly should decide the basic constitutional issue of electorate, after ascertaining the views of the Provincial Assemblies.

So, this day, we are meeting to decide whether we are to retain the present system of separate electorate, or want to switch over to joint electorate, cutting at the basic root of the ideology of Pakistan for which Muslims fought and won. This may not be in operation in small matters, but may well be our salvation, in hours of trial and tribulation, as in the past. Nothing can save a Nation that cannot save its basic ideology and national logic.

The pertinent question would be : Who wants joint electorate? The reply to that is that the Hindus of East Pakistan and their Muslim collaborators of old, who up to the last opposed creation of Pakistan and even today, I make bold to say, have not adapted themselves to it.

Pakistan was achieved with the blood and tears of Muslims alone, so that they may order their lives individually and collectively according to the ideology of Islam. Separate electorate alone, without being unjust or unfair to Hindus as equal citizens, ensures to Muslims this basic objective.

With separate electorate alone, Sir, true representatives of Muslims and as well as Hindus will be elected who would truly and boldly reflect the desires of their people and safeguard their interest. Therefore, Sir, separate electorate is indispensable. Of course, fundamental rights of all citizens of Pakistan are guaranteed by the Constitution.

Switch over to joint electorate will not only prove that the basis of Pakistan was wrong and immoral, but will also be the beginning of the process of dimming Islamic consciousness.

Even otherwise in a democracy, a minority cannot dictate a majority, particularly to the extent of cutting the very basis of its creative ideology.

It may be mentioned here that the Muslim members of the Indian Constituent Assembly unanimously demanded separate electorate but it was turned down by Hindus saying that a minority cannot dictate to a majority.

Furthermore, Sir, we should not coin lawyers' arguments to suit our purpose. We should not twist Quaid-i-Azam's sayings. His belief in the separate nationality of Muslims and the Islamic character of Pakistan, no honest person will ever question. I would quote Quaid-i-Azam. Did the Quaid not say on 28th March 1948 that "Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation and so it must remain. That unity, we, as true Muslims, must jealously safeguard and preserve?"

Tell me honestly, can we preserve this unity of the Muslim nation with joint electorate? Can we safeguard the interest of Muslim community with joint electorate? Certainly not. I think it is humanly impossible.

As true Pakistanis and faithful followers of Quaid-i-Azam, I would appeal to all my brothers and sisters in this august House to unanimously vote for separate electorate. Let even the prodigals return to the parental fold. This may be the last chance.

Believe me, Sir, when I tell you, I have been wondering at the alignment of those, now sitting on the Treasury Benches. Sir, it really pains me. I have been wondering for the last few months what was that great attraction, what was the direction, what was the power that made people change their party affiliation and their opinions. I feel very much ashamed to say that it was nothing else but a handful of silver. I would respectfully appeal to the Leader of the House not to bribe people, not to bribe the members of this august House, not to win them over by offering them Ministerships and Deputy Ministerships or route permits or such other things. Sir, this is not correct. This is not democracy.

Lastly, Sir, however, of the day of reckonig, howsoever, you may avoid it, that day is coming—may be tomorrow, after a fortnight or a few months or a few years—when you have to face your true masters. You know what the people want. The people of Pakistan are in favour of separate electorates. I would also request the people in power that they must run the country in a most democratic way and not to continue in the way they have been doing for the last few month.

In conclusion, I would like to say that God forbid if we switch over, to the joint electorate, what will happen after all to the tall talk of Constitution of an Islamic Republic of Pakistan with a Muslim Head of State. Mind you, if you decide in favour of joint electorates, beside numerous other hazards, you will be undoing the labours of nine years and I am afraid we shall have to re-write the Constitution.

**Mr. Zain Noorani** (Municipal Corporation of Karachi): Sir, words have been the cause of great misunderstandings and have often resulted in bloodshed. One such word which has been often misunderstood and often debated is the word "nation". This word, Sir, has existed since times immemorial but it has never had the significance which it has today. Abraham Lincoln during the course of his inaugural address said:

"Nationality is founded on the bonds of affection and the mystic hords of memory".

According to Professor Wilson nationalism is primarily loyalty to traditions; be they traditions of military valour or of cultural achievements, or they may be associated with the feelings of statehood. One of the most scientific conceptions for "nation" is that a group of people become a nation when they develop out of the consciousness of their historical past or future common political destiny the desire that their future species and future generations should live as a free nation in a homeland of their own. There are some people like my friend who has advocated joint electorates who have not understood the difference between a nation and a State. They have failed to realise that there is a little line which differentiates between the two

words. Sir, it is not necessary that a nation must always coincide with a State. Take the case of the Italian nation. The boundaries of the land which normally exist today have always been there. But not so the Italian nation. It was only after the creation of the bonds of affection that a nation came into being. Same is the case of Arabia. The land was there, the people were there but it was only after Islam had brought about that great common bondage and made Muslims brothers unto one another that the Arabian nation was formed.

The same is the case with Pakistan. Pakistan came into being out of the desire of the Muslims of India to live as they wished and to have a homeland of their own. It came into being out of the struggle of Muslims who were firmly convinced that by every definition of the word they were a nation by themselves and out of their desire to have a place to live in. After all a nation must survive somewhere. A nation must have a place to live in.

It has been said that if you preach that there are more than one nation living in Pakistan, you are not preaching the correct thing. But this argument is nothing new. Take the case of Switzerland and of Canada. Like Pakistan, they are independent states; but there are different nationalities living there. Hence they are states of nationalities. As the Quaid-i-Azam said, at the All Parties Convention as far back in 1928, the Canadian Constitution provided sufficient safeguards for different nationalities, since there were British Canadians and French Canadians. The administrative divisions of Canada also concided with social divisions specially in Quebec and Ontario. Quaid-i-Azam further said at the same convention "the minorities are generally afraid of the majorities; and majorities, especially religious majorities sometimes forget to respect rights and privileges of minorities and, therefore, it is essential that the rights of the minorities must be safeguarded". But, Sir, one of our friends, an honourable member of this House who has opposed Quaid-i-Azam all along who has never seen eye to eye with the Quaid-i-Azam and was never convinced by his arguments while he was alive, has risen from his seat pointing to a speech made by him during the time of the inauguration of the Constituent Assembly, and has given it an interpretation which is not in conformity with any of the speeches made by the Quaid-i-Azam, either before or after this speech.

My friend, honourable Mr. G. Allana, has given the correct interpretation to this speech and he has also read out to the House an extract from a speech made by the Quaid-i-Azam later on at Dacca. The Quaid-i-Azam delivered a talk to the Muslim students in March, 1948, also at Dacca more than a year after the speech quoted by Mr. G. M. Syed was delivered by him. This is what he said "Remember we are Muslims, and I think you will agree with me when I say that whatever else you are a Muslim. You belong to a nation, you have carved out a territory for yourself. It is all yours. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a strong and healthy nation. For God's sake, forget provincialism and sectarianism". This amply shows that even after the speech delivered by the Quaid-i-Azam at the inauguration of the Constituent Assembly, the Quaid-i-Azam was firmly convinced that the Mussalmans of Pakistan must be maintained as a complete and separate entity. Sir, I say once again that Pakistan was achieved due to the struggle of the Mussalmans and due to then desire to have a homeland for themselves where they could live as a free nation; that Pakistan came into being out of the blood, the



sweat, the toil and the tears of the Mussalmans and Mussalmans alone; and that these Hindus and minority communities, rather some of the minority communities which now live in Pakistan and preach joint electorates, were then opposed not only to the Quaid-i-Azam but to the creation of Pakistan itself.

Sir, whether Pakistan includes in its Constitution the principle of separate electorates or of joint electorates, is a matter of crucial importance—it is basic to the very character of the State. I say that the very ideology for the achievement of Pakistan was based on the Quaid-i-Azam's famous "Two-Nation" theory. The Quaid-i-Azam said that Hindus and the Mussalman are two distance nations and that they had a different outlook on life and of life. That was a fact in India—that is a fact even today. Sir, facts cannot change to suit temporary political exigencies though there are many people who change their opinions. But facts never change.

Sir, we, during the last twenty years or more, before Pakistan was achieved, when we were a minority, asked for separate electorates. We felt that as a minority, our rights should be safeguarded. Today we are placed in a different position. We find that the Hindus form a large portion of the minority in Pakistan. If we wish to be fair to them, if we wish to give them the same rights that were asked by us when we were a minority, we are not being unjust to them. We know that after all we are human beings. If we do not preserve their rights now, there may be a time when we may lose their confidence. Therefore, in order to avoid any such situation arising, we should say to them that we would like you to elect your own representatives; we do not wish to interfere in your rights; we do not wish to encroach on your privileges. But, strangely enough, our friends refuse to be satisfied. They say: "No, we want you to elect our representatives". We are unwilling to consider the question of joint electorates for the time being. Let the time come when there may be one Pakistani nation. As the Quaid-i-Azam had said, when the time changes—it may be after twenty years, it may be after thirty years—we will consider this question once again. Till that time comes, as long as the present conditions prevail, we say: "You have all the rights that a Mussalman has; you elect your own people to the Provincial Legislature; you elect your own representatives to the National Assembly; we do not wish to encroach on your rights". Sir, what argument can there be against this? What reasoning can there be against this and what method can be more fair than this? What reasoning can there be against this and what method can be more fair? Therefore, Sir, I most emphatically support that this Assembly should recommend to the National Parliament that elections to the Parliament should be held on the basis of separate electorates. With these words, I take my seat.

سر دار محمد جعفر خان گل محمد خان بلوچی (ایئر سٹریٹ فرنیچر ڈسٹرکٹ) - صحر  
محترم تقریر کرنے سے قبل میں یہ معلوم کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر میں سٹریٹ میں تقریر کروں  
تو کیا اسے ریکارڈ کیا جائیگا -

صاحب سپیکر - اگر آپ اردو میں بولیں گے تو سب لوگ سمجھ سکیں گے -



سردار محمد جعفر خان گل محمد خان بلیجی - یہاں سب اردو سمجھنے والے ہیں اس لئے اردو ہی بولتی ہوگی - جناب والا اس معزز ایوان کے سامنے مسئلہ زیر بحث یہ ہے کہ آیا مخلوط انتخابات ہوں یا جرائگانہ - میرے سنجھی بھائیوں نے معزز ایوان میں اس مسئلہ پر بہت کچھ مخلوط انتخابات کی تائید کرتے ہوئے بڑے بڑے لیڈروں - مولوی صاحبان اور بڑے بڑے برہمنوں کی تقریریں اور تحریریں پڑھ کر سناٹکی ہیں کہ وہ سب کے سب مخلوط انتخابات کے حامی تھے - مگر صدر صاحب یہ سراسر برابر نہیں ہیں - ان کا مطلب صرف یہ تھا کہ اقلیتوں کو اور ہر شہری کو برابر حق دئے جائیں - ان الفاظ کا مطلب مخلوط انتخابات نہیں بلکہ وہ حقوق ملیں جس سے کہ ہر شہری کے مال و جان و ملکیت وغیرہ وغیرہ سلامت رہیں -

صدر صاحب - اس ایوان کے چند معزز ممبران نے بڑے بڑے لیڈروں برہمنوں کی تقریریں اسٹنٹ پڑھی ہیں کہ عوام کے خیالات کو غلط راستے پر ڈالا جائے - اگر مخلوط انتخابات لیڈروں اور برہمنوں نے ضروری سمجھا تھا تو کیا ضرورت تھی کہ ان سب کے سب نے کوشش کرے ہندوستان اور پاکستان کو جدا کرایا - اس لئے یہاں ہاؤس میں اکثریت جرائگانہ انتخابات کے حامی ہے کہ ملک میں جرائگانہ انتخاب ہوں بعض حضرات کی تقریریں سننے کے بعد افسوس کے ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ وہ تاریخ سے واقف نہیں ہیں اگر جرائگانہ انتخاب نہوتا تو ہندوستان کی تقسیم عمل میں نہ آتی اور یہ ہندوستان اور پاکستان نہ بنتا - مسٹر جی - ایم - سید اور چند دیگر حضرات نے فرمایا ہے کہ جو شخص جرائگانہ انتخابات ملک میں کرانا چاہتا ہے وہ پاکستان کی بنیادوں کو تباہ کر رہا ہے مسٹر سید اپنے دل کے مالک ہیں وہ جو چاہیں کہیں یہ اپنا اپنا خیال ہے مسٹر گڈر نے بھی فرمایا ہے کہ مسلمانوں کے ساتھ جو کچھ ہندوستان میں ہو رہا ہے وہ ظاہر ہے - اظہر من الشمس ہے - مجھے افسوس سے کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ ان تمام چیزوں کو دیکھتے ہوئے یہ کیسے ممکن ہے کہ ہم مخلوط انتخاب کے حامی ہو جائیں ہم مسلمان ہوتے ہوئے آپس میں لڑ رہے ہیں آپ نے سنا ہوا کہ نواب شاہ میں کیا ہوا تھا - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ مخلوط انتخاب سے آپس میں خفا پیڑا ہوا - ہمارا اتحاد ختم ہو جائیگا - ملک کے حالات کا جائزہ لیتے کے بعد ہمارے لیڈر اس نتیجہ پر پہنچے ہیں کہ جرائگانہ انتخاب ملک کے لئے اچھی چیز ہے اور اس لئے وہ اس ریزولیشن کو اس معزز ہاؤس میں لاتے ہیں میں انہیں اس اقدام پر مبارکباد دیتا ہوں اور ان الفاظ کیساتھ تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں -

پیرزادہ مولوی محمد اسلام الدین - (ضلع ملتان) - جناب والا - یہ جو مسئلہ اس وقت زیر بحث ہے میں اس کے متعلق اپنے نظریے کی وضاحت آپ کی وساطت سے اس ایوان کی خدمت میں پیش کر دینا مناسب سمجھتا ہوں جرائگانہ طریقہ انتخاب میرے نزدیک پہلے بھی ضروری تھا اور اب بھی ضروری ہے - کیونکہ میرے خیال میں اسلام ایک مکمل شاہدہ حیات رکھتا ہے - اسلام صرف عبادت اور پوجا پاٹ کا نام ہی نہیں ہے - اسلام صرف نماز پڑھ لینے کا نام ہی نہیں ہے بلکہ اسلام میں سیاست بھی مفسر ہے اور اس میں ایک مسلمان کی زندگی کے تمام شعبہ جات آجاتے ہیں اور اسلام میں مسلمان کے آرام و آسائش اور زندگی بسر کرنے اور رہنے سہنے کے تمام قوانین شامل ہیں -

حضور والا - میں آپ کی وساطت سے یہ واضح کر دینا چاہتا ہوں (اس مرحلے پر لاؤ سپیکر ٹیل ہو گیا) اس قسم کے ملک میں جہاں اشتراکیت رائج یا جہاں سولنزم کا دور دورہ ہو وہاں مخلوط انتخاب کو ڈیموکریسی سمجھا جاتا ہے مگر پاکستان میں ہم اسلام کے واضح شاہدہ حیات کے پابند ہیں کیونکہ ہمارے نبی کریم صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم نے فرمایا ہے -

شیخ ظفر حسین - جناب والا ان کی تقریر کا وہ حصہ جس میں لاؤ سپیکر ٹیل ہو چکا تھا سمجھ میں نہیں آیا - آپ ان کو وہ حصہ دہرائے کے لئے کہیں -

مولوی محمد اسلام الدین۔ جناب والا معزز ممبر تو تقریر ضرور سنتے ہیں اور خوب سمجھتے ہیں کیونکہ آپ شیخ صاحب ہیں اور شیخ اور شیطان کا رتبہ ایک ہے۔

شیخ ظفر حسین۔ مولوی کی طرح فساد پھیلانا نہیں ہے۔

مولوی محمد اسلام الدین۔ جناب والا۔

شیخ اور شیطان کا رتبہ ایک ہے

شیخ سے شیطان قدرے نیک ہے

شیخ ظفر حسین۔ اور دین ملا فی سبیل اللہ الفساد۔

مولوی محمد اسلام الدین۔ میں یہ عرض کرونگا کہ اسلامی تصورات۔ تہذیب و تمدن کے اعتبار سے۔ ہماری عبادت۔ تھامے پینے۔ رہنے سہنے کے اعتبار سے ہمارے لئے ضروری ہے کہ ہمارے ملک میں انتخابات جراثیم اصول کے ماتحت ہوں۔ یہ ایک اسلامی نظریہ ہے اور اس کی تائید کرنا ہمارے لئے اڑیس ضروری ہے۔ اسلام نے ہمارے حقوق کو محفوظ کیا ہے۔ پاکستان جس غرض کیلئے اور جن بنیادوں پر متصور کیا گیا تھا اس کے پیش نظر ضروری ہے کہ یہاں انتخابات جراثیم اصول پر ہوں۔ پارٹیشن سے پہلے کے مخلوط انتخابات کے نتائج ہمارے سامنے ہیں۔ ہم انہیں بھولے نہیں۔ جناب والا حالانکہ اس پارٹی کی طرف سے جراثیم انتخابات کی حمایت ہو رہی ہے پھر بھی حزب اختلاف کو شان ہے اور ادھر سے کوئی بات پیش کی جائے چاہے وہ حق ہی کیوں نہ ہو حزب اختلاف کی کوشش ہوتی ہے کہ اس کی ضرور مخالفت کی جائے تاکہ ان کی تقاریر اخبارات میں شائع ہو جائیں۔ جناب والا میں یہ بتا دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ مسلم لیگ اور ریپبلکن پارٹی کا نظریہ ایک ہے یعنی یہ کہ انتخابات جراثیم اصول کے ماتحت ہوں اور پاکستان کی سلامتی اور تحفظ کیلئے بھی ضروری ہے کہ انتخابات جراثیم ہوں۔ پاکستان معرض وجود میں اسی لئے آیا تھا اور اسلامی تصورات کا تقاضا یہ ہے کہ انتخابات جراثیم ہوں اور ہمارے لیڈر نے جو تربیم آپ کے سامنے پیش کی ہے وہ جراثیم انتخابات ہی کے متعلق ہے میں سمجھ نہیں سکا کہ وہ کونسی بات تھی کہ جس کے متعلق حزب اختلاف تناقض پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کر رہا تھا ہاوس میں اس طرح تناقض پیدا کرنے اور لچھے دار تقریریں کرنے سے کوئی مفاد نہیں پہنچ سکتا۔ الغرض جبکہ نظریہ ایک ہو۔ جناب چیف جسٹس نے ایک چیز پیش کی ہے اور وہ اقلیتوں کے حقوق کے تحفظ کے پیش نظر کی ہے۔ یہ جو معزز ممبر صاحبان کو کھٹکتا ہے۔ میں یہ بات واضح کر دوں کہ اس میں تو کوئی حرج نہیں ہے۔

شیخ ظفر حسین۔ معزز ممبر غلط بیانی کر رہے ہیں۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ جو الفاظ آپ استعمال کر رہے تھے وہ بھی تو ٹھیک نہیں تھے۔

شیخ ظفر حسین۔ آپ کو روکنا چاہئے تھا۔ معزز ممبر غلط بیانی کر رہے ہیں اور

پہلے بھی وہ شیخ اور شیطان کا لفظ استعمال کر چکے ہیں۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ آپ نے شیخ اور شیطان وغیرہ کے جو الفاظ استعمال کئے تھے وہ

واپس لے لیجئے۔

مولوی محمد اسلام الدین :- میں ان الفاظ کو واپس لیتا ہوں - میں یہ بات واضح کر دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ چیف منسٹر صاحب نے جو ترمیم پیش کی ہے اس میں مسلم لیگ کے ارکان کی طرف سے جو وضاحت پیش کی گئی ہے اس میں کوئی فرق نہیں ہے - اگر کوئی سمجھ دار اور عقلمند انسان ان کو بغیر عمیق دیکھے تو وہ ان میں کوئی تناقض نہیں پائیگا - جناب والا میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ چیف منسٹر صاحب کا اور ہمارا بلکہ اس طرف کا بھی نظریہ یہ تھا - ایک ترمیم چیف منسٹر صاحب نے یہ پیش کردی ہے کہ اقلیتوں کے حقوق کے تحفظ کے پیش نظر بھی یہ ضروری ہے کہ انتخابات جرائگم ہوں - اگر اسے اس جہت سے لیا جائے تو آپ ہمارے سٹیڈ اور مسلم لیگ کے نظریہ میں کوئی تناقض نہیں پائیگے - جناب والا میں نے بار بار یہ عرض کیا ہے کہ اسلامی تصورات کے اعتبار سے - اسلامی عقائد کے اعتبار سے اور اسلامی روایات کے پیش نظر اور پاکستان کی سلامتی اور تحفظ اور بقا کے لئے جرائگم انتخابات از حد ضروری ہیں - اور چیف منسٹر کی ترمیم کے اور مسلم لیگ کے نظریہ کے مابین کوئی تضاد نہیں ہے - ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں چیف منسٹر صاحب کی ترمیم کی تائید کرتا ہوں -

#### ELECTIONS TO THE SENATE OF UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR.

**Mr. Speaker:** The following five candidates have been validly nominated for election to the Senate of the University of Peshawar :—

1. Mr. Ismail Burhani ;
2. Mr. Nasir A. Shaikh ;
3. Khan Abdul Ghani Khan Khattak ;
4. Khan Shad Muhammad Khan ; and
5. Haji Abdullah Khan.

Candidates who had been nominated to the Senate of the University of Peshawar could withdraw their candidature by 1-00 p.m. today.

Out of the 5 validly nominated candidates, Messrs Ismail Burhani and Nasir A. Shaikh have withdrawn their candidature. That leaves only 3 candidates in the field which number is equal to the number of persons to be elected by the members of this Assembly. The poll is, therefore, not necessary and I declare :—

1. Khan Abdul Ghani Khan Khattak ;
2. Khan Shad Muhammad Khan ; and
3. Haji Abdullah Khan.

as duly elected to serve on the Senate of the University of Peshawar.

The Assembly then adjourned to meet again at 1-00 p.m. tomorrow the 3rd August, 1956.

پیشہ ورانہ تعلیم کے ذریعہ  
مستقبل کی ترقی اور ترقی یافتہ  
ملک بنانے کا ارادہ رکھتے ہیں۔

پیشہ ورانہ تعلیم کے ذریعہ مستقبل کی ترقی اور ترقی یافتہ



Gul Hayat Institute

پیشہ ورانہ تعلیم کے ذریعہ  
مستقبل کی ترقی اور ترقی یافتہ  
ملک بنانے کا ارادہ رکھتے ہیں۔

# WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

## SECOND SESSION OF THE FIRST WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday the 3rd August, 1956.

*The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber, Lahore, at 8-0 a.m. of the Clock,  
Mr. Speaker (Chaudhry Fazal Elahi) in the Chair*

*(Recitation from the Holy Quran)*

### STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

\*(Supplementaries to Q. No. 58 of Mr. G. M. Syed).

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** Will the honourable Minister of Rehabilitation please state whether the figures of evacuee lands supplied by him included he illegally allotted lands. to Muslims?

**Sayed Jamil Hussain Rizvi :** (Minister of Rehabilitation) : Firstly, I am unable to understand as to what the honourable member means by "illegally allotted" lands. If they have been wrongly allotted, they can be challenged in a Court of Law or a representation can be made to me and I will look into the matter. Since I have no such information, certainly it is not possible for me to supply the required information to the honourable member.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** May I know from the honourable Minister if he is aware that there are certain instances in the Province of Sind where persons have been declared "non-evacuees" by the Court but still their land is in possession of the refugees and it is not being restored to the non-Muslims?

**Minister :** I have no such information, but if any particular case is brought to my notice, I will order the restoration of the land.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** May I remind the honourable Minister for Revenue that some honourable members of this House consisting of non-Muslims waited on him and supplied him a list of several non-evacuee lands which have been wrongly allotted, and declared so by the department concerned but still for years together they have not been restored to the non-Muslims?

**Minister :** I believe it was in the presence of the honourable member that I passed orders to the quarters concerned.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** When are these orders supposed to be carried out ?



**Minister :** Orders were sent to give me details of land which has been allotted but which has been declared non-evacuee. But since the report has not yet arrived, I am not in a position to tell you anything definitely.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** When is that report expected to be received? Already two months have passed)

**Minister :** Of course one cannot say. I may tell you that I am issuing a reminder for the quick supply of the required information.

**Pir Ellahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** May I know from the honourable Minister whether this process of getting a report will take months or years?

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Centuries.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** Will the Government sympathetically consider the question about the payment of compensation to those non-evacuees whose lands have been wrongly allotted by the Government for an indefinite period?

**Minister :** It is not a matter for the Government to consider; it is a matter of one's right. If one has been deprived illegally he is entitled to compensation.

**Mr. M. H. Gazdar :** Will the Honourable Minister fix some date for his officers to submit a report?

**Minister :** Sir, unfortunately, as I have been saying, the officers are still under the impression that they are under the old Sind Government and they are rather slack.

**Pir Ellahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** They have been more sluggish now than before.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** Will the honourable Minister take care to see that the Government employees of the One Unit regime take their orders seriously and do not act as they did in the days of the former provincial Governments.

**Mr. Speaker :** Disallowed.

(Supplementaries to Q. No. 410)†

**Mr. Speaker.** Now, we proceed to supplementaries on Question No. 410 in the name of Pir Ellahi Bakhsh.

**Chief Minister :** I have already read the answer but if you want to ask supplementaries, I will answer them.

† Q. No. 419, Vol. II, No. P.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** I think I did not get a proper reply. My question was : "(a) whether it is a fact that Government have allowed Travelling Allowance concession and Separation Allowance to the employees of Sind who have been posted in the West Pakistan Secretariat only ;

(b) If so, whether it is a fact that the former employees of the Sind Secretariat who have not been absorbed in the West Pakistan Secretariat are not being allowed similar concessions ;"

The answer to para (b) was not clear and you stated that you will explain it.

**Chief Minister :** The staff who has been posted to the Secretariat get separation allowance but those who are posted to the Attached Departments do not. This question is being considered by the Cabinet.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** May I know from the honourable the Chief Minister as to why this matter has not as yet come up before the Cabinet ; it should have come before them about four months back ? Why are the papers being kept with the Chief Secretary or any other officer concerned ; why are they not being placed before the Cabinet ?

**Chief Minister :** We are considering this question. After all, if we had not taken up these people, they would have become surplus.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** I want to know how long will you take to decide this ordinary matter in the Cabinet ? I think about three or four months have elapsed. You may decide it in any way. You should just be fair to the people.

**Chief Minister :** It will be decided.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Will the honourable the Chief Minister kindly state as to whether the employees of the Legislative Department of West Pakistan are also included for the purpose of this concession ?

**Chief Minister :** I have given the answer.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** He has not. He wants to know whether the Assembly staff is included?

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** On a point of order Sir. I think it is usual for every member of the House that he should stand up and then speak. The honourable the Chief Minister is not showing that courtesy to the House which is its due.

**Mr. Speaker :** He just says that he has already given the answer.

**Chief Minister :** I have given the answer and it will be waste of the time of the House to prolong this discussion.

If he wants to ask a supplementary question, he must give me notice for it.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** May I ask the honourable Chief Minister whether he would be prepared to supply the requisite information to the House if I put a short-notice question?

**Mr. Speaker :** You can put a short-notice question.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** Under the rules while admitting the short notice question, you have to consult the Minister concerned. That is why I want this assurance from him whether he would be prepared to accept this question if it is sent to him as a short-notice question and supply the requisite information to this House.

**Mr. Speaker :** Yes.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I want to know from the honourable Chief Minister whether it is a fact that the employees in the Secretariat of this Legislative Department were previously given such privileges but these have recently been withdrawn?

**Mr. Speaker :** You put a short-notice question.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, if I put a short-notice question to him just now, will he answer it?

**Mr. Speaker :** You give that short-notice question in writing. If you have already put it, it will be sent on to him and will be included in the Agenda.

#### REPAIR OF KUTCHA WORKS.

\*173. **Chaudhri Ghulam Rasul Tarar :** Will the Minister of Social Welfare be pleased to state whether the Government intend to entrust the District Boards with the repair of Kutchha works i.e. Bunds, etc.; if not, the reasons therefor?

**Makhdomzada Syed Hassan Mahmood (Minister of Social Welfare, Local Government and Information):** The repair of some of the Kutchha Works i.e. Bunds, etc. is done by Government and of others by the District Boards. Government have no intention to entrust this work only to District Boards as the present system is working satisfactorily.

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ - وزیر متعلقہ نے جو جواب دیا ہے وہ دستخط بورڈوں کی تمام تعمیرات کے بابت ہے یا ان بندوں کے متعلق ہے جو کم ریلیف سے بنائے گئے تھے؟

مخدوم زادہ سید حسن محمود - میں نے اپنے جواب میں عمومی کاموں کا ذکر کیا ہے -

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ۔ کیا وزیر متعلقہ ان کچی تعمیرات کے متعلق جو کہ امریکی فنڈ کے عطیہ متبرک سے بنائی گئی ہیں بیان فرمائیں گے آیا ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں کو یہ حق دیا جائیگا کہ وہ ان کی مرمت اور حفاظت اپنے ذمہ لیں ؟

وزیر۔ مجھے معزز ممبر کی اس رائے سے اتفاق نہیں ہے کہ ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ۔ کیا وہ کئی لاکھ روپیہ جو لوگوں کے مفاد کی خاطر بندوں وغیرہ کی تعمیرات پر خرچ کیا گیا ہے اس طرح ضائع کر دیا جائے گا؟ یہ تو "چوران" دے کپڑے تے ڈانکان دے کر" والا معاملہ ہوگا۔

وزیر۔ مجھے معزز ممبر کی رائے سے اتفاق نہیں ہے کہ ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں کے ذریعہ کام نہ کرانا روپیہ ضائع کرنے کے مترادف ہوگا۔

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ۔ میں نے یہ عرض کیا ہے کہ جو بند بنائے گئے ہیں وہ پبلک کے مفاد کی خاطر بنائے گئے ہیں۔ اب اگر کچی مٹی کے ان بندوں کی مرمت وغیرہ نہ کرائی گئی تو کئی لاکھ روپیہ کے نقصان کا اندیشہ ہے۔ اور سوال نمبر ۱۷۲ کے جواب میں یہ کہا گیا تھا کہ گورنمنٹ مرمت نہیں کرائے گی۔ اگر یہ کام ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈ کے ہاتھ میں ہو تو تھوڑے سے خرچ سے کئی لاکھ روپیہ کا فائدہ ہو سکتا ہے۔

وزیر۔ جو کام ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں کی تحویل میں ہے اس پر پوری نگرانی کی جائے گی اور جو کام ان کی حدود سے باہر ہیں وہ متعلقہ محکمے کرائیں گے۔ مجھے معزز ممبر کی اس دلیل کی سمجھ نہیں آئی کہ جو کام گورنمنٹ اپنے ذریعہ سے کراتی ہے وہ ضرور ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں سے کرایا جائے۔

رانا گل محمد نون عرف عبدالعزیز نون۔ کیا میں وزیر متعلقہ سے دریافت کر سکتا ہوں کہ جب یہ بند تعمیر کئے گئے تھے اس وقت ان کی مرمت کیلئے کوئی گنجائش رکھی گئی تھی؟

وزیر۔ جی ہاں۔

الحاج حکیم میاں خورشید احمد قریبی۔ کیا آج تک کسی بلا کی مرمت کی گئی ہے؟

وزیر۔ یقیناً کی گئی ہے۔

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ۔ جناب وزیر متعلقہ نے فرمایا ہے کہ بندوں کی مرمت کی گئی ہے۔ میں نے یہ عرض کیا ہے کہ بندوں کی مرمت کا سوال تو یہ ہے کہ بند وغیرہ امریکن امداد سے بنائے گئے ہیں۔

قاضی مرید احمد۔ کیا بندوں کی مرمت سے انسانوں کی مرمت مراد ہے یا کچھ

اور ؟

صاحب سپیکر۔ دیکھئے میاں منظور حسن صاحب جس طریقہ سے آپ یہاں بیٹھ کر

باتیں کر رہے ہیں یہ مناسب نہیں۔

میاں منظور حسن۔ جناب میں نے دو تین دن ہوئے سکرپٹری صاحب سے Rules

کی ایک کاپی مانگی تھی جو مجھے ابھی تک نہیں ملی۔ میں تو ان سے صرف اس کا مطالبہ کر رہا ہوں۔

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ :- بعض بند ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں کی حدود کے اندر بنائے گئے تھے۔ میں یہ دریافت کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ان کے علاوہ جو بند ڈسٹرکٹ بورڈوں کی حدود سے باہر بنائے گئے تھے کیا ان کی مرمت کا حکومت نے کوئی خاطر خواہ انتظام کیا ہے ؟

وزیر :- حکومت ضرور ان کی مرمت کرائیگی۔

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ :- میں نے یہ عرض کیا ہے کہ جب اتنی بارش ہو رہی ہے تو کیا جب وہ بند اس سے بہہ جائینگے تب ان کی مرمت کی جائیگی۔ کیا اس سے پہلے یہ ممکن نہیں ؟

وزیر :- جہاں نہیں بھی یہ بند قابل مرمت نظر آئینگے ان کی مرمت کرائی جائیگی۔

رانا غلام صابر خان :- کیا آپ اس کام کا ٹھیک لینا چاہتے ہیں ؟

Mr. Speaker: Disallowed.

Mr. S. M. Illahi : I would like to know from the hon'ble Minister whether Government has provided any estimate for the repair during the current year. Has any provision been made during the current year for the repair of these bunds, and if so, what is the amount ?

Makhdumzada Syed Hassan Mahmood : There is always a provision for such work.

GHEE PRODUCTION.

\*184. Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan : Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state :—

(a) the quantity in maunds of Ghee produced actually in West-Pakistan;

(b) whether the Government undertake to test the purity of Ghee; if so, the amount of Ghee in maunds tested by the Government during the year ending 31st March 1956?

(c) whether such tested Ghee has ever been found to be adulterated ?

Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law and Agriculture) : (a) The total quantity of Ghee produced actually in West Pakistan, including former Baluchistan States, Tribal Areas and Agencies, is 25,44,000 maunds.

(b) (i) Central Government undertakes testing of Ghee at their Laboratory at Lyallpur and put "Pak Mark" on the products. Under this scheme 7276 maunds 12 seers and 2 chits. were tested during the financial year ending 31st March 1956.



(ii) Facilities for testing Ghee also exist in the College of Animal Husbandry, Lahore.

(c) No instance of adulteration of "Pak Mark" Ghee has been reported.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** May I ask the hon'ble Minister whether any particular standard for the purity of Ghee has been set down and, if so, whether that standard is the same as shown by certain gentlemen dealing with Ghee?

**Pir Elahi Baksh Nawaz Ali Shah :** The honourable Minister has given the figures for the whole of West Pakistan. I ask what is the quantity produced in the former province of Sind?

**Minister :** I am sorry this question cannot be replied. A short notice question may be put.

**Pir Elahi Baksh Nawaz Ali Shah :** No, you must quote the figures.

**Minister :** I have quoted for the whole of West Pakistan.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, the production of Ghee is gradually falling.

**Minister :** Please put a short notice question.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, does he know that due to the fall in production of Ghee the health standard of the people of West Pakistan is falling; if so; what does the Government intend to do for that?

**Mr. Speaker :** This is disallowed.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Does the honourable Minister know that the former province of Punjab was the backbone for providing personnel to the Army and does he realise that due to lack of purity in the ghee... (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker :** This is disallowed. You should study the rules.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** I want to know if it is possible to know what impurities are found in Ghee?

**Minister :** Give me notice and I will find out.

#### REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN DISTRICT LOCAL BODIES.

\*232. **Begum Tahira Aijaz Hussain Agha :** Will the Minister of Social Welfare and Local Government be pleased to state :—

(a) whether it is a fact that recently by a Notification in the Government Gazette, 3 seats have been reserved for women in the District Board of Gujrat ;

(b) whether it is also a fact that by another recent Notification in Government Gazette, no seat has been reserved for women in the District Board of Hyderabad; if so, the reasons for this differential treatment in the same province;

(c) whether the Government intend the adoption of a uniform practice of reservation of seats for women in the District Local Boards throughout the province?

**Makhdumzada Syed Hassan Mahmood** (Minister of Social Welfare, Local Government and Information): (a) Yes.

(b) Yes. The reasons is that whereas the Punjab Act provided for seats for women, the Sind Act did not have any such provision.

(c) Yes. A uniform law for District Boards throughout the Province is being drafted and the Bill is likely to be introduced in the next session of the Assembly. This Bill will, among other matters, provide for the reservation of seats for women on District Boards throughout the Province.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon**: May I know from the honourable Minister whether any steps have been taken to bring the laws of the former provinces into uniformity in this respect?

**Minister**: I have already answered the question. The honourable member was not attentive.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan**: May I ask from the honourable Minister whether it is a fact that rules are not framed by the District Local Boards but by the Government?

**Minister**: I have not said otherwise.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon**: May I ask the honourable Minister also when does the Government propose to amend the rules?

**Minister**: Sooner than the honourable member expects.

**Begum Tahira alias Hassan Agha**: Sir, is it according to the promises given during the unification of West Pakistan that due representation will be given to back ward areas regarding seats for women?

**Minister**: Sir, I assure the honourable member that we shall give seats to women all over West Pakistan.

بیگم سلمیٰ تھرق حسین - کیا وزیر متعلقہ بتا سکتے ہیں کہ انہوں نے کجرات پر جو خاص عدایت کی ہے اس کی وجہ کیا ہے؟

وزیر - اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ پنجاب کے ڈسٹرک بورڈ ایٹک میں اس کی گنجائش تھی - اس لئے ہم نے خواتین کی تعداد اس کے مطابق کر دی ہے - سندھ کے ایٹک

میں اس چیز کی گنجائش نہیں۔ لہذا جب تک اس میں مناسب ترامیم نہ کی جائیں یہ چیز ممکن نہیں۔

بیگم سلمیٰ تصدق حسین :- اقر آپ پنجاب ڈسٹرک بورڈ ایکٹ کے مطابق یہ چیز کر سکتے تھے تو آپ نے سارے صوبے میں کیوں نہیں کی۔ آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ جب مغربی پاکستان لوکل سیلف گورنمنٹ کانفرنس ہوئی تھی تو اس میں بھی خواتین کی طرف سے کئی بار اس امر کا مطالبہ کیا جا چکا ہے کہ خواتین کو بلدیات میں ۲۵ فیصدی نمائندگی دی جائے۔ مگر جب آپ نے اس مطالبے کے مطابق عملدرآمد کیا تو اس کے لئے صرف ضلع گجرات کو موزوں سمجھا۔ آخر اس کی وجہ کیا ہے؟

وزیر :- میں نے عرض کیا ہے کہ ڈسٹرک بورڈ ایکٹ جو پنجاب میں نافذ تھا اس میں یہ گنجائش ممکن تھی۔ اس لئے اس کے مطابق اقدام کیا گیا ہے۔ فی الحال ضلع گجرات میں عملدرآمد کیا گیا ہے۔ رفتہ رفتہ باقی ضلعوں میں بھی ایسا ہی اقدام کیا جائیگا۔ جہانک سندرہ کا تعلق ہے وہاں کے ایکٹ میں جب تک ترامیم نہ کی جائیں یہ چیز ممکن نہیں۔ تاہم حکومت اس سلسلے میں مناسب اقدام کر رہی ہے۔

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** May I know from the Honourable Minister whether he is aware that on account of these defects the former Sind Government had appointed a Committee to make a report whether the entire Act should be overhauled; whether that report is before the Government?

**Minister :** After the unification of the former provinces into West Pakistan, any report of any kind of a former unit is now under consideration of Government.

**Begum Tahira Ajas Hussain Agha :** How long will Government take to decide the matter?

**Minister :** It will be decided sooner than expected.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** In view of this assurance, may I know whether he will bring the necessary legislation during this session or the next?

**Minister :** No.

بیگم سلمیٰ تصدق حسین :- کیا وزیر متعلقہ ارشاد فرمائیں گے کہ گجرات کے بعد کس ضلع کی باری آئے گی؟ میرے خیال میں تمام ضلعوں کو اسی تعداد میں عورتوں کی نمائندگی ملنی چاہئے۔

صاحب سپیکر :- آپ نے غالباً جواب نہیں سمجھا۔ وہ فرماتے ہیں کہ پنجاب کی حدود میں پنجاب ایکٹ کے ماتحت ڈسٹرک بورڈز میں مستورات کی نمائندگی کی گنجائش تھی اس لئے انہیں نمائندگی دی گئی ہے۔ چونکہ سندرہ ایکٹ کے ماتحت گنجائش نہیں تھی اس لئے وہاں نہیں دی گئی۔

## INDUS WATER DISPUTE.

\*508. **Mr. Abdul Hamid Kadir Bukhsh Jatoi** : Will the Minister of Law be pleased to State:—

(a) Whether it is a fact that the Government sent their Engineers to the United States of America to represent in the Indus Water Dispute;

(b) the decision so far arrived at ?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada**, (Minister of Law and Indus Water Dispute)

(a) No delegation of the Provincial Government was sent in connection with the Water Dispute but the Government of Pakistan have sent a delegation which participated in these talks and that delegation included men who are on deputation from the Provincial Government to the Centre in connection with the Water Dispute question.

(b) There is no final outcome as yet.

**Mr. G. M. Syed** : May I know from the honourable Minister whether it is a fact that representatives or subordinates of the Provincial Government were sent from West Pakistan to United States?

**Minister** : Yes.

**Mr. G. M. Syed** : Is it a fact that this question mainly concerns the people of West Pakistan.

**Minister** : Yes.

**Mr. G. M. Syed** : Is it not a fact that excepting taking advice or informing them, no previous consultation is being made with West Pakistan Government?

**Minister** : Consultation is being made.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah** : May I know from the honourable Minister how many officials from West Pakistan Government have been kept on that delegation?

**Minister** : I cannot give the exact number.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah** : Has any officer been appointed from the former province of Sind also?

**Minister** : Yes.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah** : May I know from the honourable Minister whether he is aware that there was a dispute between the former province of Punjab and the former province of Sind over the distribution of waters of the Indus? What has become of it?

**Minister** : There was a dispute, but the dispute was pending when the integration came.

**Mr. G. Allana** is the honourable Minister aware that this particular question affects the economic life of West Pakistan very acutely?

**Mr. Speaker:** This question has already been answered.

**Mr. G. Allana:** May I know from the honourable Minister whether, in view of the great importance of this question, the Government will be pleased to allot a day during this session for the discussion of this question?

**Minister:** I am sorry, it cannot be done, because the talks are pending and it would not be wise to do so.

**Mr. G. Allana:** May I know whether it would not be better that both Provincial Government and the Central Government be advised by the elected members of the people of this Assembly?

**Mr. Speaker :** He has already said that as the talks are still pending, it would not be wise to discuss this question.

**Mr. G. Allana :** May I know from the honourable Minister whether Government intends to take this honourable House into confidence on this subject.?

**Minister:** After the talks are over?

**Mr. G. Allana :** No, at this stage.

**Mr. Speaker:** He has said that it would not be wise to do so at this stage when talks are pending.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Why do you not allow his answer to come on the record?

**Mr. Speaker,** I have asked the question, you may disallow it, if you please.

**Mr. Speaker:** When you are repeating your question, I must disallow it. I am disallowing it because it has already been answered by the Minister.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon ; Alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** May I ask the honourable Minister whether the West Pakistan Government has been kept informed about the progress of the talks by the Central Government?

**Mr. Speaker :** He has answered it.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon : Alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** He has not answered this question.

**Minister :** I have answered it. I said it was in consultation with it.



**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** *Alias Abdul Aziz Noon :* May I ask the honourable Minister whether he would be prepared to take this House into confidence as regards the talks that have taken place so far; if not, why not?

**Mr. Speaker :** It would not be wise to do so.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** *Alias Abdul Aziz Noon :* May I ask from the honourable Minister of Law and Agriculture whether it would not be wise to consult the representatives of the people whose lives are so vitally affected.

**Minister :** I will answer it. The nature of the talks is such that it would be damaging our cause if publicity is given to the matter. The publicity given by discussion of the matter in the Assembly by any means cannot be avoided and therefore it is in the interest of the country that this should be avoided.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Is it possible for the honourable Minister, in view of his reply, to prepare some document giving the honourable members as much information as possible without doing any harm or damage to the cause?

**Minister :** As honourable members know talks started on certain proposals as basis for discussion with certain reservations and explanations. Then another proposal came and talks are going on about it. The matters are still under discussion and it would not be wise to discuss these things on the floor of the House at this stage.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** May I know from the honourable Minister, since the matter mostly pertains to the West Pakistan Government, whether they have made any representation or are prepared to make any representation that the matter should be entirely allowed to remain in the hands of the West Pakistan Government?

**Minister :** It cannot be allowed to be left entirely in the hands of the West Pakistan Government because there is an international aspect of the case and therefore the Central Government does come in from that point of view.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Will the honourable Minister of Law and Agriculture be prepared to hold a session of the Assembly for a day or two to discuss this question.

**Minister :** As soon as advisable, I will bring the matter before the House.

میاں منظور حسن : کیا یہ امر واقع ہے کہ ان دو دریاؤں کو ہمیشہ کے لئے قلیل دام  
کے عوض بیچا جا رہا ہے ؟ انٹرنیشنل بینک ایوارڈ تو ریڈ کلف ریوارڈ سے بھی زیادہ  
خطرناک ہے ۔

**Mr. Speaker.**

Disallowed

## CONFIRMATION OF TAXATION INSPECTORATE STAFF

**\*519. Malik Muhammad Akbar :** Will the Minister of Excise and Taxation be pleased to state :—

(a) whether it is a fact that a large number of Taxation Inspectorate staff, who have completed their probationary period as required by their service rules long before, have not been confirmed so far; if so, the reasons therefor ;

(b) the date by which the confirmations of the said staff are proposed to be made ?

**Ch. Abdul Ghani Ghuman (Minister of Excise and Taxation):** (a) Yes. Their confirmation is held up as the question of revising the seniority of the confirmed Taxation Sub-Inspectors is under the consideration of Government as a result of appeals preferred by certain Taxation Sub-Inspectors against the original seniority assigned to them by the former Government of the Punjab.

(b) The confirmation will be ordered as soon as the above case is decided by Government.

## SENIORITY OF PERMANENT HANDS OF TAXATION INSPECTORATE

**\*520. Malik Muhammad Akbar :** Will the Minister of Excise and Taxation be pleased to state, whether it is a fact that the question of revision of seniority of certain permanent hands of the Taxation Inspectorate staff has been under the consideration of the Government for the last three years ?

**Ch. Abdul Ghani Ghuman (Minister of Excise and Taxation):** Yes.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, before I ask the question I would like to know what is the procedure for arranging these questions. There is question No. 60 and then 518. I do not know how these numbers are given. What is the basis ?

**Mr. Speaker :** The rules are that only three questions of an honourable member can be put on the order list. Some members give notice earlier and some later on. So the numbers are not uniform. They cannot be uniform. Now you may put Q. No. 60.

## JAILS.

**\*60. Mr. G. M. Syed :** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state :—

(a) the number of District and Central Jails in the Province ;

(b) the number of convicted prisoners in each of these District and Central Jails on 1st December 1955 ;

- (c) the number of sub-jails in the province ;
- (d) the number of under-trial prisoners in the sub-jails, District Jails and Central Jails on 1st December, 1955 ;
- (e) the Jail-wise number of such under-trial prisoners from amongst those mentioned in (d) above as have been in Jail :—
- (i) for more than six months ;
  - (ii) for more than twelve months ;
  - (iii) for more than two years ;
  - (iv) for more than three years ;
  - (v) for more than four years and the measures so far taken to expedite the disposal of their cases ?

**Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan** (Minister of Jails): (a) 31 and 13 respectively.

(b) 5176 and 11244 respectively.

(c) 3.

(d) 3974, 4527 and 1953 respectively.

(e) a statement is laid on the table.

Instructions for the speedy disposal of cases against the under-trials have been issued to all the District Magistrates in the province. It is also proposed to set up a small committee in each district to review the cases of under-trial prisoners from time to time and to recommend release in suitable cases.

*Jail-wise number of undertrial detained for more than :—*

			6 months	1 yr.	2 yrs.	3 yrs.	4 yrs.
Central Jail, Dera Ismail Khan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Jail, Peshawar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Jail, Haripur	..	..	1	8	14	..	..
C. Jail, Rawalpindi	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
C. Jail, Bannu	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
District Jail, Kohat	..	..	3	2	..	..	..
District Jail, Abbottabad	..	21	1	..	..	..	..

	6 months	1 yr.	2 yrs.	3 yrs.	4 yrs.
District Jail, Jhelum ..	6	..	..	—	..
District Jail, Sargodha ..	1	..	..	..	..
District Jail, Gujrat ...	1	..	..	..	..
Sub-Jail, Mardan ..	15	..	..	..	..
Central Jail, Hyderabad ..	198	157	32	6	1
Central Jail, Sukkur ..	3	21	8	..	6
Central Jail, Khairpur ..	65	21	..	..	..
Central Jail, Mach. ..	4	9	..	..	..
Central Jail, Mastung ..	..	..	..	..	..
District Jail, Sibbi ..	1	9	..	..	..
District Jail, Quetta ..	2	14	..	..	..
District Jail, Sukkur ..	153	103	21	11	..
District Jail, Larkana ..	61	12	..	..	..
District Jail, Dadu ..	6	5	..	..	..
District Jail, Mirpurkhas ..	27	17	4	..	..
District Jail, Nawabshah ..	..	5	..	..	..
B. I. and J. Jail, Lahore ..	2	1	..	..	..
Central Jail, Montgomery ..	2	3	4	5	6
New Central Jail, Multan ..	..	..	..	..	..
Central Jail, Bahawalpur ..	Not opened on 1-12-55.				
District Jail, Bahawalpur ..	Do.				
Central Jail, Lahore ..	7	2	..	..	..
District Jail, Multan ..	71	..	..	1	..
District Jail, Sialkot ..	8	1	..	..	..
District Jail, Gujranwala ..	2	1	..	..	..
District Jail, Lyallpur ..	12	2	1	..	..
District Jail, Jhang ..	12	1	..	..	..

	6 months	1 yr.	2 yrs.	3 yrs.	4 yrs.
District Jail, Bahawalnagar .. ..	..	3	..	..	..
District Jail, Rahimyarkhan ..	4	..	..	..	..
District Jail, Dera Ghazi Khan.	19	5	6	..	..
District Jail, Muzaffargarh ..	..	..	..	..	..
District Jail, Rajanpur ..	..	..	..	..	..
District Jail, Sheikhpura ..	..	..	..	..	..
District Jail, Kasur ..	..	..	..	..	..
Women's Jail, Lahore ..	1	..	..	..	..

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, the Minister has not replied to part (e) of my question as to how many persons have remained in jail for four years, six years, etc. I have got information that there are persons who have remained in jails for more than nine years as undertrial prisoners.

**Minister :** Sir, if the honourable member goes through the list, he will find that this information has been supplied in the enclosure to the answer.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, I have just found out that a list containing this information is attached with the answer. With due respect to the information supplied, may I point out that it has been mentioned that in the Central Jail, Hyderabad, there is only one prisoner who has remained more than 4 years as an undertrial prisoner, but I know definitely that there are at least five prisoners in Hyderabad Jail who are undertrial prisoners for more than nine years? Very recently I received applications from their mothers.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Will the Minister give a promise to this House that he will make enquiry in respect of the prisoners who are under-trial prisoners for more than a year, will he also make an enquiry as to why incorrect information has been supplied to this honourable House?

**Mr. Speaker :** Disallowed.

#### REGISTRATION OF FACTORIES.

\*518. **Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Will the Minister of Industries be pleased to state :—

(a) whether it is a fact that the work pertaining to the registration of the factories under the Factories Act, 1934 has been transferred to the



Directorate of Industries since December, 1955 in accordance with the decision of the Integration Council;

(b) whether any separate section has been created to deal with the work of registration in the Directorate of Industries;

(c) whether the registration work of factories in the Directorate of Industries had since started; if not, the reasons therefor?

Mr. Mumtaz Hassan Qizilbash (Minister of Industries, Commerce and Labour).

(a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) The work of registration of factories started from the 11th January 1956.

PRICES OF FOODGRAINS.

\*180. Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan : Will the Minister of Food be pleased to state :—

(a) whether the prices of foodgrains have become normal in West Pakistan;

(b) whether it is a fact that scarcity of foodgrains is being experienced in some parts of the Province;

(c) whether Government intend to introduce some element of subsidy in prices of foodgrains in the deficit areas in order to give relief to the purchasers ?

Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur (Minister of food and Civil Supplies).

Gul Hayat Institute

(الف) جی ہاں ۔

(ب) آجکل کسی جگہ بھی کمی نہیں ہے ۔

(ج) مالی امداد کی کسی جگہ ضرورت نہیں ہے ۔ کیونکہ گندم کا نرخ تمام صوبہ میں معمول پر آگیا ہے ۔

میاں منظور حسن ۔ کیا یہ امر واقعہ ہے کہ لوگوں کی قوت خرید اس قدر کم ہے کہ وہ اس نرخ پر گندم خرید نہ سے عاجز ہیں ؟

Mr. Speaker : Disallowed,

L (iv) 518—3

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** Sir, the honourable Minister of Food has said that prices have become normal in West Pakistan. Sir, may I know how Government have arrived at this figure of normally.

وزیر - گورنمنٹ کو اپنے ذرائع سے جو معلومات فراہم ہوئی ہیں انکے مطابق جواب دیا گیا ہے۔

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** The Honourable Minister has not understood what I mean. What would be considered to be the normal price of wheat?

وزیر خوراک - ساڑھے بارہ روپیہ۔

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** How has the Government arrived at this figure of Rs. 12-8-0 as a normal price of wheat?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** By working out the averages.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** May I ask the honourable Minister if it is a fact that the actual price of wheat is ten rupees per maund?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** That is the procurement price.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** Sir, is the Government aware of the fact that the price of Rs. 12-8-0 is too exorbitant a price for the common man?

**Minister of Education:** It is the market price.

**Minister of Law:** That has been the average price prevailing for the last seven or eight years.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan:** Does the Government intend to subsidize prices for those who are not in a position to purchase wheat at this price?

**Minister of Law:** No.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan:** Is the Government aware that there are many people who are not in a position to purchase wheat at this high price?

**Mr. Speaker:** Disallowed.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question hour is over.

بیگم سلمیٰ تصدق حسین - پروانٹ آف آرڈر - جناب والا - تمام سوالوں کا جواب وزیر متعلقہ صاحب : دیا جا رہا ہے - وزیر قانون صاحب کا اسکے ساتھ کوئی تعلق نہیں - صاحب سپیکر - کوئی پروانٹ آف آرڈر نہیں ہے - وہ جواب دے سکتے ہیں -

حاجی عطاء اللہ خان :- کیا وزیر متعلقہ کو معلوم ہے کہ ڈیڑھ اسماعیل خان میں ۱۸ - ۱۹ روپے فی من کے حساب سے بک رہی ہے ۔ اور کیا وہ اس ضمن میں عوام کی تکالیف رفع کرنے کیلئے تیار ہیں ؟

وزیر خوراک :- مجھے اسکا علم نہیں ۔ معزز ممبر نے مجھے اسکی اطلاع نہیں دی ۔ اگر یہ ہمیں اس قسم کی اطلاعات فراہم کریں تو حکومت بلیک مارکیٹ کرنے والوں کے خلاف سخت اقدام کرے گی (خوب خوب)

حاجی عطاء اللہ خان :- کیا آپ فوری طور پر ٹیلیفون پر وہاں کے حالات معلوم کر کے لوگوں کی تکالیف کو رفع کرینگے ؟

وزیر خوراک :- ہم یقیناً کریں گے ۔

حاجی عطاء اللہ خان :- کیا یہ گورنمنٹ کے انفرن متعلقہ کا فرض نہیں تھا کہ وہ ایسے حالات میں گورنمنٹ کو مطلع کریں ؟

### COMPLAINT AGAINST CONDUCT OF MR. SPEAKER.

Mian Amir-ud-Din (Lahore District): Mr. Speaker, I beg to make an important statement on behalf of the members of the Opposition. We have observed that the conduct of the Speaker towards the members of the Opposition, particularly yesterday, has given genuine cause of grievance. A number of adjournment motions have been tabled to discuss this subject. Respect begets respect. There can be no respect, if one party behaves in an insulting manner. Consequently, the members of the Opposition have decided not to be in their seats when you, Mr. Speaker, enter the House at 8 a.m. For it would then be necessary for all members to rise in their seats out of respect for you and bow before you. We shall be in our seats as soon as the recitation from the Holy Quran starts.

Mr. Speaker : It is your own look out.

### MISREPORTING BY THE PRESS

Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon : On a point of privilege, Sir, my point of privilege arises out of the version of yesterday's proceedings as given in the Pakistan Times. I will read out the requisite paragraph and then draw your attention to it :

"Standing on a point of order, the Muslim League member pointed out to the Speaker that the Revenue Minister had not replied to certain specific points incorporated in the question. The Speaker ruled him out of order and asked him to sit down.

When the member insisted on occupying the floor on the plea that it was his privilege to put his point before the House, the Speaker continued to ask him to sit down and on the member's failure to comply with the order of the Chair, the Speaker asked the member to withdraw from the House for a day."

**Mr. Speaker :** What is the point of privilege ?

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** My point of privilege arises out of this inaccurate press report. As you will recollect, and the record of the proceedings of the Assembly will bear me out, that as far as the questions and supplementaries which were intended to be asked from the Revenue Minister were concerned the matter had been closed.

**Minister of Education :** What matter ?

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon *alias* Abdul Aziz Noon :** It is not for the honourable Minister to interrupt me.

**Mr. Speaker :** He will not. Come straight to your point of privilege.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon *alias* Abdul Aziz Noon :** After all I must make my point of privilege. I have to show that there has been inaccurate reporting in the Press. Sir, I was asked to withdraw not when I was asking supplementaries on a particular question from the honourable Minister of Revenue but I was asked to withdraw when it was pointed out to you by Mian Muhammad Shafi, an honourable member of this House, that the Chair should not use unparliamentary words when it asks a member to sit down. He was saying that the Chair should say to an honourable member, "Will the honourable member resume his seat". You were kind enough to point out that during the last session when the same question arose and you had given a ruling. Then I rose on a point of order and I said that it was not in keeping with the dignity of the House that you should use a word which is unparliamentary when you ask a member to sit down. In no Parliament of the World members are addressed in that manner which I may say is the most offensive manner.

**Mr. Speaker :** You are again becoming disorderly. I warn you.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon *alias* Abdul Aziz Noon :** You may warn me. I will insist that you must conduct the business of the House in accordance with the Rules.

**Mr. Speaker :** If you insist, I am determined to enforce these Rules.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon *alias* Abdul Aziz Noon :** You must hear my point of privilege.

**Mr. Speaker :** I am repeatedly asking you to state your point of privilege but you are not doing that.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** I am coming to that. Sir, as reported in the press it is wholly incorrect. Sir, you asked me to withdraw from the House not when I was asking supplementaries but when I asked you to use parliamentary language. It was on this that you asked me to withdraw from the House.

**Mr. Speaker :** This is no point of privilege. If there has been any misreporting in the Press we shall ask the Press Gallery Committee to check the Assembly record and correct it.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Thank you, Sir.

**چودھری محمد احسن۔۔ جناب والا۔** میں آپ کی ترجمہ اسمبلی کی کل کی کارروائی جو پاکستان ٹائمز میں چھپی ہے کی طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں۔ میں نے کل جو گزارشات کی تھیں اخبار مذکور نے ان کو بالکل غلط پیرائے میں پیش کیا ہے اور اپنی طرف سے من گھڑت باتیں لکھ دی ہیں جو میں سمجھتا ہوں بد ذہانتی پر مبنی ہیں۔ اس سے نہ صرف میری حق تلفی ہوئی ہے بلکہ اس معزز ایوان کی بھی حق تلفی ہوئی ہے۔ میں اخبار کا relevant حصہ پڑھتا ہوں جس سے ثابت ہو جائے گا کہ اس کا ایک ایک لفظ غلط ہے (حزب مخالف کی طرف سے شور)

**صاحب سپیکر۔۔** معزز ممبر نے شغایت کی ہے کہ ان کی تقریر پاکستان ٹائمز میں غلط پیرائے میں رپورٹ کی گئی ہے۔ اس کے متعلق میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ معاملہ بھی پریس گیلری کمیٹی کے سپرد کیا جائے گا اگر یہ ثابت ہو گیا کہ اخبار کی رپورٹ اسمبلی کے ریکارڈ کے مطابق نہیں ہے اور غلط پیرائے میں پیش کی گئی ہے تو اس کی مناسب تردید پریس میں کرا دی جائے گی اور آئندہ کے لئے پریس کو warn کیا جائے گا کہ وہ صحیح رپورٹ چھاپیں۔

**مسٹر جی۔ایم۔سیکر۔۔ جناب والا۔** دو دن پہلے میں نے جو تقریر کی تھی اس میں میں نے Treasury Benches کو congratulate نہیں کیا تھا بلکہ میں نے تو مسلم لیگ والوں کو congratulate کیا تھا کہ انہوں نے اپنے خیالات کو ڈاکٹر خان صاحب کے خیالات کے مطابق بنالیا ہے لیکن پریس نے لکھا ہے کہ میں نے Treasury Benches کو congratulate کیا جو سراسر غلط ہے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس معاملے کو بھی پریس گیلری کمیٹی کے سپرد کر کے مناسب تردید کرائی جائے۔

**قاضی مرید احمد۔۔ جناب والا۔** میں پوائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ وہ یہ ہے کہ ابھی ابھی چودھری محمد احسن صاحب نے پریس کے متعلق جو کچھ کہا ہے اس میں بعض الفاظ **unparliamentary** استعمال کئے گئے ہیں۔ میں آپ سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ آپ انکو کہیں کہ وہ اپنے ایسے الفاظ واپس لے لیں۔ چونکہ اس معزز ایوان میں پریس کا کوئی نمائندہ موجود نہیں ہے اس لئے پریس کے متعلق اس قسم کے الفاظ استعمال کرنا ایوان کے وقار کے خلاف ہے۔

**صاحب سپیکر۔۔** میں نے تو چودھری صاحب کے منہ سے کوئی **unparliamentary** لفظ نہیں سنا۔ آپ بیٹھ جائیے۔

**چودھری محمد احسن۔۔ جناب والا۔** میں چاہتا ہوں کہ اس سلسلہ میں عجلت سے کام لیا جائے تاکہ پبلک میں غلط فہمی نہ رہے۔

**صاحب سپیکر۔۔** یہ معاملہ جلد از جلد طے کیا جائے گا۔



## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes, there were some adjournment motions which were kept pending yesterday because the honourable members in whose names these motions stood, were not in possession of copies of those adjournment motions.

## FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT TO CONVEY TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT THE JOY OF THE PEOPLE ON NATIONALISATION OF SUEZ CANAL.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** I ask for leave to make motion for an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance namely, the failure of this Government to convey to the Central Government the joy with which the people of West Pakistan have hailed the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by the President of Egypt which they consider a master-stroke of policy by an Asian country to thwart the designs of the Imperialist powers of U. S. A., U.K. and France.

**Mr. Speaker:** This adjournment motion relates to the question of nationalization of the Suez Canal. There was another motion before the House which was also on the same subject. According to rules, since it was a matter concerning foreign affairs, it cannot be brought before the House, unless the consent of the Governor is obtained. Steps have been taken to ask for the consent of the Governor to discuss on the floor of the House such motions and if the Governor assents, the matter will be discussed in the House. On this ground this adjournment motion is ruled out of order.

## DELAY IN THE ISSUE OF ORDINANCE DISSOLVING STANDING COMMITTEE OF LAHORE CORPORATION.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** Sir, I want to make another adjournment motion. I ask for leave to make a motion for adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the action of this Government of deliberately delaying the ordinance dissolving the Standing Committee of the Lahore Corporation so as not to bring it before this Session although the decision to dissolve the Standing Committee was arrived at long ago inasmuch as the appointment of the Administrator has already been made.

**Mr. Speaker:** This adjournment motion is ruled out of order, because the complaint of the honourable member is that Government has not taken early steps with regard to this matter, that is, the dissolution of the Standing Committee. This cannot form the subject matter of an adjournment motion as it is not a matter of urgent public importance.

**Syed Amir Husain Shah:** You have not understood my point.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** No argument.

**Mr. Speaker:** After the ruling from the Chair, has been given there cannot be any discussion or argument.

### EJECTION OF TENANTS.

**Sayed Amir Hussain Shah :** I have one more adjournment motion to make. I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the wholesale ejection of tenants and the utter senselessness of the Government's policy for their rehabilitation.

**Mr. Speaker:** In this connection I would request the honourable Minister to explain the position of the Government.

(At this stage Syed Amir Hussain Shah rose to say something).

**Mr. Speaker:** Sit down.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** You should not say "sit down" to an honourable member; you should say: "Please resume your seat". That is the language used in all Parliaments. I would request you to be courteous to us and use parliamentary language.

**Mr. Speaker:** I can use both the expressions.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Then why not use it.

**Mr. Speaker:** I may assure the honourable member that when I say "sit down", I do not mean any discourtesy. "Sit down" and "resume your seat" have the same meaning. You cannot compel me to use particular words at all times.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** We are not compelling you. We are merely requesting you that you may please use parliamentary language.

**Mr. Speaker:** If I think that a certain expression is parliamentary, I use it. If in your mind, another expression having the same meaning is more parliamentary, I am not bound to go according to your wishes. Of course, I would never resort to unparliamentary language.

**Rana Gul Muhammed Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** But you said "sit down" which is unparliamentary.

**Mr. Speaker:** I would say that your opinion is wrong.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** To me it appears that the adjournment motion is clearly out of order.

**Mr. Speaker :** I wanted to know the position of the Government with regard to this matter and I find from the press reports that there was some agreement between the tenants and the Government and that the Government gave certain assurances. If this is a fact I would rule it out of order.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** My motion for adjournment was as to whether or not some measures are being taken by the Government at present for the rehabilitation of tenants. This matter is one of urgent importance.

**Mr. Speaker :** It is not a matter of urgent importance.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law) :** Sir, the adjournment motion does not make it clear as to whether or not the tenants have been actually ejected and as to whether or not the Government has taken any steps to rehabilitate them. It is on this point that it should be ruled out of order.

If it had been definitely stated in the adjournment motion that there has been wholesale ejection of tenants and that the Government has not taken any steps to rehabilitate them, then only it could be called a matter of urgent public importance to be discussed as an adjournment motion. Government, however, gives an assurance that they are taking adequate steps.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, they are not. They are doing nothing.

**Mr. Speaker :** That is your comment.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law) :** May I submit again, Sir, that before it can be decided that this adjournment motion is ruled out of order on a statement from the Government that the facts are incorrect, it will have to be seen as to whether the subject-matter of the motion is definite ; if it is not definite, then it should straightway be ruled out of order.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Sir, I rise on a point of order.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of law) :** There is a point of order already.

So, Sir, I would submit that you will have to decide from what is mentioned in the adjournment motion itself and rule it out of order. Other considerations come afterwards.

**Mr. G. Allana :** May I now rise on a point of order? I do not agree with the view that after hearing the Government's statement that the facts

mentioned in the adjournment motion are incorrect, the motion becomes inadmissible. I think that stand is completely out of order. The authority to determine and decide as to whether the facts stated in an adjournment motion are correct or not is this House. The statement of one Member of the Government will not do. Sir, if you act in this way, it will be a serious infringement of the rights of this honourable House. It would then mean that on every conceivable or unconceivable occasion, adjournment motions would be ruled out of order. Whether this House can discuss a subject or not would depend upon the opinion of the Government Members. If this is so, I think, we might as well shut up this House and go out of the House.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law): honourable member Mr. Allana has no doubt studied the parliamentary procedures, but I think he has not taken into consideration the rulings of the various Assemblies in connection with adjournment motions. It is not on each and every conceivable point that Government denies the facts contained in the motion of adjournment. If he has the patience of looking through the rulings, and I would give hundreds of rulings not one, he will find that it has been held that if the facts contained in an adjournment motion are disputed by the Government, it has been held to be out of order.

**Mr. G. Allana** : I do not agree.

**Syed Jamil Husain Rizvi** (Minister of Refugee and Rehabilitation): Sir, the motion has absolutely lost its object. Why? Because as soon as the ejectment proceedings were started, some of the representatives, the so-called public leaders, wanted to create an unhealthy atmosphere. They persuaded the tenants to go and try to raise some sort of agitation against the ejectment. The Government had already taken a decision that all those tenants who would be ejected would be provided with alternative Government land. Government have made adequate arrangements for giving them land. But, finally, they have all gone back and taken the land which they had been denied. Moreover there is no urgency about this matter. The matter has been amicably settled between the Government and the tenants and therefore the facts stated in this adjournment motion are not correct and there is no urgency. It should be ruled out of order.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi** : Sir, with regard to that fact I would like to correct the Minister, if he gives a patient hearing to this side of the House also. The Minister has stated that the arrangements have been finalized for the resettlement of tenants and agreements have been reached between the Government and the tenants and therefore the tenants have decided to go back. This I am afraid is far from the truth.

**Syed Jamil Hussain Rizvi** : Every tenant has gone back.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi** : Their gang was broken up by the Police.

**Mr. Speaker :** Have the tenants gone back ?

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Yes, Sir, the tenants have gone back.

**Mr. Speaker :** Have you seen the statement in the Press that there has been some sort of understanding ?

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister) :** Sir, the honourable member, Mian Muhammad Shafi, knows about it, and I know what he has done. When first they started agitation I called the real representatives of the people because I do not want the so-called leaders to come between me and the public—and they came. I decided everything with them. Then they persuaded them to act against the law and those people were misled, specially by the honourable member Mian Shafi. He came several times to me and I told him, and also issued a statement in the Press, that all those people who are ejected will be given alternative land. The price of land, good land, would be 10 times the revenue and further the price of the land will be assessed according to its quality. It will be credit all as the value on which the land could be assessed by the authorities. Then I went personally to Sheikhpura, where the trouble was really created by some miscreants. I have been there and given the officers special instructions on this question. Mian Shafi tells now, because he wanted to have the credit of these things. I thought that it was not in the interest of tenants that they should be led by the honourable member or those who deal with them. The Pakistan Times wrote absolute lies in this matter.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon :** Alias Abdul Aziz Noon Sir, ask the Chief Minister to withdraw the words.

**Dr. Khan Sahib :** I am a bit truthful and straight forward. I tell you they are trying their best to create trouble for the Government, but as we are for the service of the people, these people can never create trouble for us.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** That is not so.

**Sayed Amir Hussain Shah :** The Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation has gone into the merits of the case, and therefore I would like to make a few observations. If you can assure me on those points, I shall be satisfied.

I will not refer to the speech which the Chief Minister has made because apart from personal allegations there was nothing in it and I ignore that speech with contempt and I would likewise ask my friend Mian Shafi to do the same.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Not myself.



**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** Sir, I will not make a long speech. I have noted certain points which I am going to reply. He has observed that all those tenants who were ejected, because the small refugee landlords wanted to remain *Khud Kashi*, have been rehabilitated. I conclude therefrom that all those who have been ejected on other grounds have not been rehabilitated.

Now one of the other grounds for ejectment is non-payment of rent. You, Sir, are yourself a zamindar. I would therefore ask you whether it is the custom in this Province for the landlords to issue receipts to his tenants. He does not do so and, therefore, Sir, those people have been penalised who were unable to produce receipts. They will be penalised not because they do not pay rent but because according to custom the receipts were not issued to them and they were unable to produce those receipts.

It has been pointed out that those tenants who were ejected for reasons of *Khud Kashi* have all been rehabilitated. Sir, they have been rehabilitated in a funny manner.

**Mr. Speaker :** These are questions of opinion. Why do you refer to them and why do you say "funny" ?

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** I withdraw the word "funny" and will say "highly unsatisfactory."

They have been given the land just for one year and they have been asked to pay 10 times the land revenue. Now, Sir, how can you expect a tenant to devote his attention to agriculture and to settle down on that land if he has no security of tenure, if the period for which that land has been allotted to him is just one year.

**Dr. Khan Sahib :** I must tell you one thing. This is a most important thing. He has said something which is not true.

**Mr. Speaker :** Let the honourable member continue his speech.

**Dr. Khan Sahib :** Sir, it is a very important thing that the House should know.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** The Chief Minister has accused me of misleading the tenant leaders and I owe a duty to this House to tell them the truth. Sir, on a personal explanation. You cannot deny it to me. I cannot allow this allegation against me to go unchallenged.

I want to say to the Chief Minister and to this House that the Chief Minister has been speaking without reference to the chapter and verse. He knows it very well.

**Mr. Speaker :** You are again commenting on the Chief Minister.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** The point is that it is quite clear that when the tenants went to see him, he gave them certain terms which they found unsatisfactory. Subsequently he made improvement in the terms which were acceptable to the tenants.

**Dr. Khan Sahib :** The honourable member who is accusing me came to me asking me to go to that Party. Several times he came to me to go to the people with him. I said: "No, I won't go through you, I can contact the people personally". Now I do not know why he wants to get excited. These are the facts.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** I am glad that the Chief Minister has said that so far as my grievance about the tenure was concerned, the period of tenure, he has been kind enough to say, is more than one year and they have been allowed to settle there for more than one year. My submission is that it should be put in black and white, in writing between the Government and the tenants, this oral assurance of the Chief Minister. I have very great regard for him. But the question is he may not be occupying the Chair before the year is out and the poor tenants may be ejected.

**Mr. Speaker :** In view of the assurance given by the Chief Minister are you prepared to withdraw it?

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** No.

**Mr. Speaker :** This motion is ruled out of order on the ground that the matter is not urgent as, there has been some agreement between the Government and the tenants. After calling off the agitation, the tenants have gone back to the villages. If there is any specific instance, then it can form the subject matter of an adjournment motion.

#### DISTRESS CAUSED TO TENANTS ON ACCOUNT OF EJECTION ORDERS.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the distress and dislocation of hundreds and thousands of tenants as a result of the ejection orders of the Government and the failure of the Government to devise any suitable comprehensive scheme to obviate the misery of the ejected tenants, and furthermore the oppressive methods adopted by the Government to suppress the peaceful movement of the tenants for presenting their grievances to the Government.

**Mr. Speaker :** This adjournment motion is on the same subject, as the previous motion. It is also ruled out of order.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, I have mentioned 'oppressive measures'.

**Mr. Speaker :** It must be definite.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, it is definite.

**Mr. Speaker :** It is not definite. It is vague.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Sir, I withdraw my adjournment motion yesterday.

## IMPOSITION OF ONE-MAN RULE IN LAHORE MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the imposition of one-man rule in Lahore Municipal Corporation for party reasons.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** Sir, this motion is obviously out of order. (Interruptions) You require some more days to learn the procedure of this House. (Interruptions).

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** Also to change sides.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada:** Mr. Noon, do not let me open my mouth, otherwise you will hear things which will make you jump. First hear me and then controvert if you can. I challenge you.

Sir, I refer you to item No. 11 on the Order of the Day. The motion, which has been moved by the honourable member is the subject matter of item No. 11 and as this motion anticipates that, it is out of order. Item No. 11 is regarding introduction of the City of Lahore Corporation (West Pakistan Amendment) Bill, 1956. It covers the complaint of the gentleman.

**Mr. Speaker:** As this matter will come under discussion when this Bill is before the House, it is out of order.

## ILLEGAL DISSOLUTION OF DISTRICT BOARD, GUJRAT.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the illegal dissolution of the District Board, Gujrat, for party reasons.

**Mr. Speaker:** This matter is *sub judice*, as there is a writ petition and this motion is therefore out of order.

## RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON POLITICAL WORKERS IN LAHORE DISTRICT.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the restrictions imposed on political workers in Lahore district under the Public Safety Act to prevent them from carrying on lawful and peaceful trade union activities consistent with the spirit of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

**Mr Speaker:** When were these restrictions imposed?

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, these restrictions were imposed when the Kisan movement and the textile workers strike was on recently. The House was not in session then.

**Mr. Speaker:** These restrictions on the political workers were there previously also.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, these restrictions on the workers of textile Mills at Jallo were recently imposed under the orders of the Chief Minister.

**Mr. Speaker:** Your adjournment motion relates to the restrictions imposed on political workers in Lahore district. I want to know whether these restrictions were there previously?

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** No, Sir. You know recently there had been two agitations of considerable importance. One is going on even now in the Textile Mills at Jallo and the other related to tenants agitation. As a result of these agitations, Government of West Pakistan imposed restrictions upon the leaders of these movements, restricting their movements.

**Mr. Speaker:** This adjournment motion is ruled out of order because the matter is not definite. In the adjournment motion he says 'restrictions imposed on political workers in Lahore district' while explaining the motion he says 'restrictions were imposed on the workers in the Textile Mills at Jallo'. This adjournment motion is out of order as it is vague.

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#### ILLEGAL ARREST OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD RASHID.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the illegal arrest under the Public Safety Act of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid convener of the Awami Jamhoori Party who was conducting a peaceful agitation of ejected tenants to secure their proper rehabilitation.

**Mr. Speaker:** He has been prosecuted in the Court. The matter is sub-judice and, therefore, this motion is out of order.

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#### FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT TO PUNISH CERTAIN POLICE OFFICIALS OF RAIWIND POLICE STATION.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the failure of Government to bring to book police officials of Raiwind police station in Lahore district who, taking law into their hands, subjected 8 kisans of village Rawal Changar to baton beating and shoe beating on July 20 for their participation in the kisan morcha in Lahore.



Sir, I can answer any questions on this point because I took these people to the S. S. P., the D. C., the D. I. G., C. I. D. and the press also knows how these people who have been given shoe beating were suffering.

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister):** Sir, I will remind the honourable member that once a person was beaten in the jail according to law and he took him and said that he was beaten by the police. I tell you I always investigate a thing when it is brought to my notice, but the honourable member consistently wants to bring the police into disrepute. (Interruptions).

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** It is a pity that you have so much deteriorated now.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I want to say something. I want to state on the floor of this House with full sense of responsibility and with this assurance that if my statement is incorrect you can prosecute me in a court of Law, that your police did subject kisans of village Rawal Changar belonging to Raiwind police station to baton and shoe beating after Eid on 20th July at 9-00 p.m. because they were told why they went to Lahore to participate in the kisan morcha. I took these people with me to the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, to the S. S. P., Lahore who was not in his house and to the D. I. G. and the gentlemen sitting now in the press gallery were witness to the fact and they saw on their backs the signs of shoe and baton beating. Sir, resolutions were adopted to this effect which were sent to the Chief Minister.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** I would like to ask the Chief Minister whether he has himself investigated this matter which he terms as "mere allegation against the Police".

**Dr. Khan Sahib:** I assure the honourable member that it is my duty, that as and when a matter is brought to my notice I should try to help all the people. Now you see the honourable member is disappointed because he does wrong things and then he approaches me. How can I help him, what can I do?

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** A First Information Report was filed with the Lahore Police.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please sit down, no more discussion.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Sir, the Chief Minister has said that the person was beaten under the law. Under what law of Pakistan was he beaten?

**Mr. Speaker :** Under the law, the Jail authorities have some powers.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** Sir, I asked a very specific question from the Chief Minister: whether he has



himself personally investigated this particular case or not, and his answer was too vague. If he has himself investigated this case we would like to know the result of his investigation?

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order. Such cases are not always investigated by the Chief Minister. This is an ordinary process of law. If a person is beaten by the Police, he can file a complaint in a Court. He can move the High Court if Lower Courts do not take action. In this specific matter the ordinary process of law is open to the complainants. The adjournment motion is, therefore, ruled out of order.

#### BREAKING UP OF A PEACEFUL KISAN MORCHA.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the forcible breaking up of a peaceful Kisan Morcha on July 15 which is preventing the peaceful citizens of Pakistan from exercising the fundamental right of association provided in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

**Mr. Speaker :** Was that a morcha or a congregation of Kisans in defiance of the order passed under Section 144?

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, there was Section 144 preventing the taking out of processions but there was no ban on holding public meetings or congregating together.

**Mr. Speaker :** This adjournment motion is ruled out of order because Police took action under the ordinary law.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, there was Section 144 against procession only, not against the holding of public meetings.

**Mr. Speaker :** This is too fine a distinction. When people come together when they assemble together, you say they have not. I, therefore, rule this adjournment motion out of order.

I think we have taken pretty long time in these adjournment motions. We now proceed to the business which is already under discussion. I call upon Pir Elahi Bakhsh.....

**Mr. G. Allana :** How many more adjournment motions are there?

**Mr. Speaker :** I cannot devote the whole day to these adjournment motions.

**Mr. G. Allana :** On a point of order, Sir. The business of this House is conducted by the rules of procedure.

As far as I understand the rules of procedure—of course I am open to correction—they determine that immediately after the question hour such of the adjournment motions as have been received for the day shall be put before the House. I, therefore, demand it as my right under the Rules of Procedure, irrespective of the number of adjournment motions that you may have received, that the adjournment motions be discussed or at least read out before the House.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order please. If the interpretation, which you want to put on the rules, is accepted, the result would be that each member of the House can give twenty adjournment motions every day and the whole session can be utilised only for reading the adjournment motions. No other business can be conducted. If you study the rules you will find that adjournment motions can be moved only with the consent of the Speaker. If I find that after devoting a sufficiently good time to the adjournment motions other business is suffering, I can defer the consideration of the motions to the other day.

**Mr. G. Allana :** On a point of order, Sir. There is one adjournment motion repeated by about fifty members of this honourable House to discuss a particular action of the Speaker yesterday. I would like that to be discussed today. That is my point of order.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have received thirty-three adjournment motions with regard to the conduct of the Speaker in asking an honourable member of this House to withdraw from the House when, in the opinion of the Speaker, he was disorderly. No adjournment motion can be moved after the Speaker has given his ruling, even if it is wrong, although this ruling was correct. I, therefore, rule these adjournment motions to be out of order. (Interruptions). If you persist in creating confusion, I will have to take some drastic action, although that will be against my wishes and against my nature.

**Voices from Opposition Benches :** Shame, shame.

*(At this stage the members of the Opposition walked out of the House.)*

#### PRINCIPLE OF ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah (Dadu District) :** Sir, I rise to support the amendment to the main resolution by the honourable member, Mr. G. M. Syed, that this House do recommend that there should be joint electorates for both the National and Provincial Assemblies.

Sir, I have heard both the sides. Some honourable members have quoted scriptures, some have dwelt on political aspects and some people, I am very sorry to say, knowing very little about religion or having anything to do with religion, have been very good to give exposition of the Islamic laws.

I know for certain that there are several Maulvis who have always been saying, through pamphlets, through speeches, that it will be un-Islamic or against Islam, if separate electorates are not accepted and we accept joint electorates. I have failed to see anywhere, in any of the religious books, that separate electorates are one of the tenets of Islam.

I have seen the report of the Punjab Disturbances Commission where our Chief Justice of the Federal Court has very rightly and correctly pointed out that he examined several Ulemas and Maulvis—learned persons in Theology—and they gave different definitions of "Mussalman"; no two persons gave the same opinion about the "definition". This is the state of affairs of our Ulemas and Maulvis who interpret Islam according to their own wishes. However, I have nothing to say about them. The whole thing about separate or joint electorates is a political thing. This is the gift given to us by the foreign government under which we were groaning for several years. In fact, this curse was introduced by the British Parliament in 1892. They passed the Council Act wherein they said that minorities should be given separate representation. Sir, may I point out to you here that at that time, that is in 1892, there was no representation from any quarter in India that there should be separate representation for any community or any class. It was only to perpetuate their rule by that famous policy of "divide and rule" that they passed in London the Parliamentary enactment in 1892. That was the beginning and that is how the thing had been started. Later on, in 1909, again another Act was passed. I am coming to that presently. But, in the meanwhile, I may tell the House that the Muslims of India at that time had no political organization and in 1906 Nawab Samiullah Khan laid the foundation of the Muslim League and he called the Mussalmans together; he was the first man and from then begins the history of the Muslim League and the movement of separate electorate. At that time, Agha Khan led a deputation to Lord Minto who was then the Viceroy in India and a representation was made to him wherein a demand was made by the Mussalmans that there should be a sort of separate representation for them. Then in 1909, the above Parliament Act was passed. Hindus opposed this Act but Mussalmans accepted it. It was agreed to give to Mussalmans: (1) the right to elect their representatives by separate electorates: (2) the right to a second vote in joint electorates. So the Mussalmans got two votes at that time; one for separate electorates and the other for separate representation in the joint electorates.

Another phase started from 1909 to 1919. At that time, Sir, it appeared that even Mussalmans were not unanimous about separate electorates or separate representations. I just quote here what our Quaid-i-Azam said. In his evidence before the Joint Select Committee appointed by the Parliament. Mr. Jinnah, our Quaid-i-Azam, said: "We put this matter to the test whether separate electorates should be insisted on or not by Mussalmans". A division took place on this issue and the votes in favour of doing away with the separate electorates came to 40; I do not know the exact number of votes from Members representing different Provinces or Divisions who were in favour of the separate electorates—probably it was 18. On this very occasion, he further said. "We contemplate early disappearance of separate electorates and nothing would please me more". These are his words which he uttered before that Committee that was appointed by the Parliament.

The question at that time was for the representation of only Muslims and non-Muslims. But the British Government were very liberal! They did not want to be satisfied that they had been able to divide Hindus and Mussalmans but they wanted to divide all the various communities, that is Sikhs, Madrasis, Brahmins, non-Brahmins, Mahrattas and untouchables, so the Britishers did not confine the divisions only to religions, not even to the sects of the same religion but also to various communities. The Britishers were always anxious to see that they dominated and that their rule was made permanent here in India.

In the meanwhile, in 1916, there was a pact, which is called the Lucknow Pact. It was between the Congress and the Muslim League. The grounds for this Pact were that there was an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. They agreed that:—

(i) no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official, affecting one or the other community shall, be proceeded with, if  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the members of that community in the particular Council oppose the Bill, etc.,

(ii) in the Imperial Legislative Council 1/3rd of the Indian elected members should be Muslims elected by separate electorates,

(iii) the proportion of Muslim representation in the Provincial Legislative Councils should be as follows:—

						Percentage of elected members.
Punjab	..	...	...	...	..	50
U. P.	..	...	...	...	..	30
Bengal	..	—	—	..	..	40
Behar and Orissa	..	—	—	...	..	25
C. P.	..	—	—	—	..	15
Madras	...	—	—	—	..	15
Bombay	..	...	...	...	..	33 1/3

Now here you will see that majority provinces of Musalmans were reduced to minorities and the provinces where Musalmans were in minority they were given some sort of representation. Only provinces of U. P. and C. P. were given protection.

Then, Sir, after that, a Commission of Enquiry was appointed by the Parliament: There was the famous Montagu-Chelmsford Report and in their decision they gave separate representation—a communal representation that is to say, but it expressed the opinion that "communal electorates are opposed to the teaching of history, perpetuate class divisions, stereotype existing relations and are very serious hindrance to the development of self-governing principle". They, however, recommended that "so far as the Muslims are



concerned, the present systems must be maintained until conditions alter". Their idea was that there should be no peace between major communities, i. e. Muslims and Hindus. Therefore, after going through the historical background they gave out this.

Then, Sir, the Franchise Committee of Southborough was appointed and they again declared the Sikh community as separate. Montague-Chelmsford in their report only said that there should be Muslims and Hindus, but this report went further and sub-divided a community and gave representation to the Sikhs also.

Again, in 1919, there was a Report, which said that communal representation will be for the following :—

1. for the separate Muslim electorates,
2. for the Sikhs also to have separate electoral roll and separate constituencies,
3. for the claims of non-Brahmins and Mahrattas and allied castes,
4. for the nomination of members to represent depressed classes,
5. for the representation of workers in organized industry,
6. for separate electorates for Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans.
7. for representative of University,
8. for representation of other interests like those of Chambers of Commerce, trade associations, mining and planting association.

After consulting the people, the Secretaries of State, M/S. Montague and Chelmsford of Southborough said that there are not two communities or three communities, but that Sikhs should also be divided into sub-sects, so that there should be complete break-down and chaos in the country. This principle of introducing separate electorate went down from religion to the castes.

Now, Sir, the third stage comes from 1919 after the Reforms of Montague-Chelmsford. It gave the famous Act of 1935 under which we were upto recent times being governed.

Sir, the Hindus might be knowing that after 1919 upto the second Great War there was Khilafat Movement, Congress Movement and Non-co-operation Movement, and all that the Leader of the House knows better than anybody else. He was the principal man, who was Member of the Congress Party and he must be knowing all those things very well. I personally have very high regard for him as a man and I know that for the last 50 years he kept up his principle, but I do not know how he has suddenly changed from the old principle. I can only quote.....

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** He has said nothing.



**Pir Elahi Bukhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** I can say only one thing about him. It is this. I only submit that at this last stage of life he should have been the last person to give up his old principles and accept this separate electorate.

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister):** I will never give it up.

**Pir Elahi Bukhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Now I am coming to those facts which occurred after 1919. There was Khilafat Movement, Congress Movement and Non-co-operation Movement and all those things.

In 1927, there were so many conferences in Delhi. There were the All India Muslim Conference, the All Muslim Parties' Conference, the Jamiatul Ulema Conference and the Khilafat Conference. All of them met together and then Muhammad Ali Jinnah, our Quaid-i-Azam, declared '14 Points' after those meetings at Delhi in fact they were 15 points; but 14 points are known so far, I will just read them out.

1. The form of the future constitution should be Federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy should be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be reconstituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority of any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one-third.

Now the fifth... and this is more important to which I will refer later on

5. The representation of communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it should be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates.

As I said, I will come to it later on and show what Quaid-i-Azam mean by it.

6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim Majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province.
7. Full religious liberty, that is liberty of belief, worship, observance, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or resolution, or any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method as may be devised or as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.
11. Provision should be made in the constitution giving the Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the services of the State and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law and the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.
13. No Cabinet, either Central or Provincial should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim Ministers of at least one-third.
14. No Change to be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

15. That in the present circumstances the representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country and of other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable, and, further, Government being pledged not to deprive the Muslims of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent and so long as the Muslims are not satisfied that their rights and interests are safeguarded in the manner specified above (or herein) they would in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates with or without conditions.

Sir, these are the famous 15 points of our Quaid-i-Azam.

Then, Sir, there was an All Parties Conference and they produced a report, called the famous Nehru Report, in 1928. Nehrus have, with due deference to the present Prime Minister, never been a friends of the Muslims, though they posed they had an affinity or love for the Muslims, but, in fact, even the present Prime Minister's father, was bitter against the Muslims. Even Maulanas Muhammadali and Shaukatali, who were then in the Congress, rejected that Report and it was thrown out.

This is the development that has come up to the 14 points of Quaid-i-Azam, and then there was the Khilafat Movement, then after that the Report of 1935.

By the way, before I deal with them, I shall refer to Ceylon which was also under the British Protectorate some time ago. There also the benign British Government divided the country into sub-sections. They said there were different communities there, the Sinhalese, the Tamils, the Moors, Malays, the Christians, Burghers and Europeans. They gave separate electorates to all these communities. But what happened there? What did they do? A Commission was appointed by the British Government. The Commission said—and these are very important words for my friends here, I have got every regard for their convictions and whatever they have said they have said genuinely and I have regard for them and respect for them. I have equal right to express and put before them and tell them that these are the facts of history, kindly reconsider, we are not living under the British yoke. Now we are independent and after all our community is the majority community, at least in this province there are insignificant about 10 to 12 per cent. minorities. Why do you not give them the opportunity, the freedom to chose what they want, when your Constitution—I will just read it out our own constitution says: Give them freedom. But you deny them this moral right of choosing how they are going to be elected, by joint electorates or separate electorates. Some of my friends there say: Oh, these Hindus are capitalists, they will purchase every member and out of 300 members they will have 160, so they will have a majority here. At least I cannot agree with them. The past history is there; these facts are there and everybody can see them for himself.

Now I pass on. What did the Commission say about Ceylon? This Commission was appointed by the British Parliament. They said:

“that communal representation tends to keep communities apart and to send communal representatives to the Council with the idea of defending particular interest instead of giving their special contribution to the common weal.”

Further they observed:

“only by its abolition will it be possible to develop together a true national unity”.

This is the report of the Commission appointed by the British Parliament. Later on, separate electorates in Ceylon were done away with and the new constitution contained no provision for separate electorates.

**Dr. Saeedudin Swalleh :** The conditions in Ceylon are different.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** You can speak later on.

**Mr. Speaker :** No interruptions please.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** It is no function of yours to interrupt. I am very sorry that my learned friend there is coming forward to quote scriptures. I would be very happy to hear him later on and I will give due weight to his speech.

This nefarious system was again introduced by the British in Kenya. There, Sir, they took another turn. They did not take then stand there on religion as was the case in India and Ceylon, but they took another turn. They divided the country into groups—European group, Asiatic group and natives. There also Hilton Young Commission was appointed and this is what the Commission said in their report :

"It is argued on the other hand that the communal system offers little room for political progress. While securing the representation of different interests it does little to reconcile them. It tends rather to promote the election of men of extreme views who will emphasize the differences. The different communities in Kenya can only attain to healthy political life if they learn to compose their differences and seek the common good. The surest foundation for a stable constitution is community of interests rather than a nice adjustment of opposing forces. The communal system where it has been tried, has tended to accentuate differences and prevent the growth of a healthy political life. The determining consideration in a sound political system should not be the immediate interests of particular communities, but the ultimate good of the whole territory".

Sir, that is what should be our case. Each one of us should think in these terms and not in terms of separate electorates. This is the main thing.

The Commission further said :

"our view is that, inasmuch as the progress of the territory must depend on co-operation between the races, the ideal to be aimed at is a common role on an equal franchise with no discrimination between the races."

Sir, this is what they did about Kenya. Now, Sir, I revert again to the situation here.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din :** Sir, I want to rise on a point of order. It seems today is the last day of debate on this issue. I would very much like that you kindly give some time to the minorities also. The honourable member is reading copiously.

**Mr. Speaker :** If the members of the minority communities do not stand up, how can I give them time. Nobody has stood up so far.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Sir, our Quaid-i-Azam declared in 1927 that he was not wedded to separate electorates. Four years later, on the 8th August, 1931, he said :

“the next question that arises is one of separate *vs.* joint electorates. As most of you know if a majority is conceded in the Punjab and Bengal, I would personally prefer a settlement on the basis of joint electorate”.

He further added :

“My position is that I would rather have a settlement even on the footing of separate electorate, hoping and trusting that when we work our new constitution and when both Hindus and Muslims get rid of distrust, suspicion and fears and when they get their freedom we would rise to the occasion and probably separate electorate will go sooner than most of us think.”

Sir, this is what he said addressing an open conference of Muslims. I am quoting our Quaid-i-Azam for whom our friends have got as much regard and respect as ourselves.

The whole House is aware that after that there was the Third Round Table Conference in London and there unfortunately the various communities did not come to an agreement and therefore the Communal Award came. It allotted seats to depressed classes, representatives from backward areas, Sikhs, Muslims, Indian Christian, Anglo-Indians, the Europeans, landholders' interest, commercial interests, etc. Thus again several interests were created by the Communal Award. This Communal Award was again a great blow given by Mr. MacDonald in whom all our leaders reposed confidence because they could not agree amongst themselves on a settlement.

Then, Sir, I come to another point. After that Communal Award a Committee was appointed by the British Government. That Committee then came here in India and they made enquiries. And they say:

The following were the representations and arguments sent to us, by the separate electorate school of thought :—

- (a) Separate electorates minimize communalism,
- (b) Separate electorates are not a negation of democracy,
- (c) The very bitterness existing between the Hindus and Muslims is the cause why communal electorates are necessary,
- (d) Separate electorates are the best method of representation.”

Now the School of Thought of Joint Electorates argues like this:—

- (a) Separate communal electorates are really incompatible with responsible parliamentary government.
- (b) Communal electorates have tainted public life with communalism,
- (c) It is against the teaching of history.
- (d) It perpetuates “class” divisions.



- (e) It is responsible for communal riots.
- (f) It encourages a minority to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security.
- (g) It hinders the growth of party system.
- (h) It hinders the growth of nationalism".

These were the suggestions and ideas put to the Commission and the Commission again gave their report like this. The Joint Committee said: "There must be an authority in India". Here also they kept the British point of view: how to keep the Indian people under their yoke for ever. So they say, we accept your suggestion but there must be a third party to decide between you because you cannot agree and you are not fit for Swaraj. They say:—

"There must be an authority in India armed with adequate powers, able to hold the scales evenly, there must be a Governor, that Governor will be specially responsible".

They did not think that the consent of the Governor should any longer be required to the introduction of legislation which affects religion or religious rites and usages. The Governor could always prevent the introduction or secure the withdrawal of any legislation proposed by his Ministers which he regarded as inconsistent with the discharge of his special responsibility for the protection of minorities and he would in addition be free to refuse his assent to any bill if in his opinion it were undesirable on the ground that it should become law.

"The proposal of the White Paper that even the Governor's Council of Ministers should be so constituted as to include as far as possible members of important minority community is firmly supported by the mass of Indian political opinion".

Sir, this is how they wanted to perpetuate their rule.

Then, Sir, the last phase is from 1935-47. This is the stage when the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was divided into two—India and Pakistan. I shall first take up the Government of India Act, 1935. Then there was correspondence between Quaid-i-Azam and Mr. Nehru for a settlement. Quaid-i-Azam made the following six points in addition to his 14 points:

- "(1) Statutory fixation of Muslim share in services.
- (2) Statutory guarantee of Muslim personal law and culture.
- (3) Freedom to perform cow-slaughter.
- (4) Statutory recognition of Urdu as the National Language.
- (5) The Hindus to give up 'Bande Mataram'.
- (6) Equal importance of the Muslim flag."

L (iv) 518 - 6.



The Hindus did not accept the demand for equal importance of the Muslim flag. And then the last stage came when the famous resolution of the Muslim League was passed in Lahore on 26th March, 1940. The resolution was passed at a time when the Muslims had realised that the Hindus are not going to agree to their demand and therefore they must have a separate State. Therefore they followed a policy and programme of a separate State for Muslims which is now called Pakistan. This was not the first time that the idea of a Muslim State—Pakistan, crept into the minds of the Muslims. To quote the Committee's report:—

"There is evidence that some of the Muslims knew Pakistan to be their ultimate destiny as early as 1923. Khan Sahib Sardar M. Gulkhan, President, Islamic Anjuman, Dera Ismail Khan, appearing as a witness before the North West Frontier Committee appointed in that year by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Sir Denuis Bray to report upon certain administrative relationship", made a demand for a separate Muslim State."

So, Sir, Khan Sahib Sardar M. Gulkhan was the first man to advocate the idea of a separate state for Muslims.

Then, Sir, in 1930 when the Round Table Conference was held in London some Muslim members sat together and later issued circulars to Members of the Round Table Conference advocating the idea of Pakistan.

Then, Sir, as every member knows there came the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 and we were separated. Our National Assembly has just passed the Constitution in which the fundamental rights of all the communities residing in Pakistan have been accepted. Now, Sir, there are about fifteen such rights. I am not going to quote all of them because that will be a lengthy affair. I will only quote some of them.

"(1) Right of Assembly.

(2) Right of Association.

(3) Right to enter upon any lawful profession or occupation and to conduct any lawful trade or business.

(4) Freedom to provide religious instruction.

(5) Freedom of access to places of public entertainment or resort.

(6) Protection from discrimination in appointment to services.

(7) Protection of property rights:

(8) Right to profess, practise and propagate any religion.

(9) Right to preserve its distinct language, script or culture.

(10) Immunity from the payment of a tax the proceeds of which are to be spent on a religion other than its own.

(11) No one to be an untouchable.

(12) Right to enforce any of these rights by appropriate proceedings in the Supreme Court or High Court."

Now, Sir, all these big rights you have given to the minority community. Why on earth don't you like to give them such a small thing—joint electorates? I was surprised when I saw an amendment of our Chief Minister that the minorities want separate electorates. I am glad that my friends have withdrawn that part of the amendment. They have realised their mistake, they have realised that they were not right. I am glad to note that sense came to them in proper time and they have withdrawn it. In Sind, there is not a single person—Christian, Hindu or Parsi—whom I came across who asked for separate electorates. If the minorities want to be swept away, as the Republican Party amendment has put it, it is their look out. It is the look out of the minorities. If they want joint electorates why don't you give that right to them? Why do you grudge them this? This amounts to imposition of a certain thing on them against their wishes. How are you going to give them protection if you do not accept their minor demand. Today we are afraid of them. We, who are 90% are afraid of 10%. This is unthinkable. Islam never taught us to think in these terms. In the days of Holy Prophet (peace be on him) ten people could face thirty people, three hundred people could face one thousand. But today when we are 90% and we are afraid of 10%. It is really a pity.

Therefore, I would appeal to you to be fair though I know that you have come determined to do what you like; but I have done my duty by saying what I thought fit.

I want to tell you, however, that you are going to do a great harm to our country. History will never forget you that you are responsible for all this discrimination and dis-service and disfavour with which you are treating the minorities. If they remain disgruntled, if they feel dissatisfied and at any time they go against the State, it will be you people who are going to encourage them that they should be disloyal to the State.

My friends think in these terms that they are in minority and we are in majority; that we should be liberal even if we were equal. I think if there is any fear, it should have been there in East Pakistan where there are substantial minorities. Our attitude of mind, therefore, should have been of allowing them to decide the issue, to express their opinion so that we may accept it. Unfortunately, that has not been the case. It is a pity that we are quoting the things which do not befit us. If you want to twist the words and if you want to give interpretation according to your own wishes, I have nothing to say. You are at liberty. You have got your own convictions. You do as you please. But the fact is fact. I have narrated the history so as to show that Quaid-i-Azam was from the very beginning against separate electorates. This is what he said:—

دستور ساز اسمبلی میں پہلے ہی دن قائد اعظم نے فرمایا تھا -

”ہماری ریاست کسی فرقہ دارانہ تہیز کے بغیر قائم ہو رہی ہے - ایک فرقے یا دوسرے فرقے میں کوئی فرق نہیں ہوگا - اور نہ ہی ذات اور عقیدوں کے اختلافات ہوں گے - ہم اس بنیادی اصول کے ماتحت کام شروع کر رہے ہیں کہ ہم ایک ملک کے باشندے ہیں - ہمیں اس اصول کو اپنا مطمح نظر بنا لینا چاہئے اور پھر کچھ عرصہ بعد آپ دیکھیں گے کہ ہندو ہندو نہیں رہیں گے اور مسلمان مسلمان نہیں رہیں گے - اس کا مطلب یہ نہیں کہ ان کے مذہب

مث جائیں گے کیونکہ مذہب کو ماننا ہر شخص کا ذاتی عقیدہ ہے۔ میرا مطلب سیاسی تمیز سے ہے اور اس طرح وہ سب ایک قوم کے افراد ہو جائیں گے۔

اس اجلاس میں قائد ملت خان لیاقت علی خان نے فرمایا تھا۔

”اگر پاکستان کا مطلب ایک مشترکہ جمہوری حکومت ہے ایسی حکومت جسمیں بسنے والوں کے درمیان تمیز نہیں کی جائے گی۔ جسمیں ذات پات، عقیدہ یا فرقہ کو وجہ امتیاز نہیں بنایا جائے گا تو میں آپ کو یقین دلا سکتا ہوں کہ ہمارا اور عوام کا گہرا تعاون آپکو حاصل رہے گا“

This is what Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the most trusted lieutenant of Quaid-i-Azam said. Well, Sir, if my friends are anxious that I should resume my seat I have done my duty and I have placed my views before you.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din (Lyallpur District):** Sir, before I take up the main issue, I would like to state the attitude of Christians on the question of electorates generally. So far as it concerns the Christians, I want to assure this House and the authorities concerned that whatever suits Pakistan, and the Muslim majority in the long run, will suit Christians of Pakistan capitally. We shall not quarrel on this issue, joint or separate, whatever suits you, with that you must go ahead, and you may be sure that we shall co-operate with you fully in everything which is of fundamental value for Pakistan as an Islamic State.

But the issue before us today is as to what are we to have specifically: joint electorates or separate electorates. I would like to study this issue from three points of view; the Muslim point of view, the non-Muslim point of view and the subjective study of the question of separate and joint electorates. In this connection, your honour, I would also make a reference to the attitude taken up by the Awami Mahaz and especially the statement of Mr. G. M. Syed that so far as it concerns the non-Muslim minorities, all excepting the Christians stand for joint electorates. I would also refer to what Pir Elahi Bakhsh said that this issue should be decided by the minorities only hoping and believing that the Hindus who happen to be in a majority in respect of the representation of the non-Muslim minorities of West Pakistan, all stand for joint electorates.

Your honour, I would now trace the history of separate electorates as contemplated by the British and the Muslim statesmen. So far as it concerns the British, the question of separate electorates dawned in India in 1905-7 and was introduced into our body politic by the Minto-Morley reforms. The next step forward was taken by the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1921. The same principle of electorates was followed up in the Government of India Act, 1935, which continued right up to 1947. This is the history—rather brief account—of separate electorates as contemplated by the British statesmen. You will find, your honour, that in their contemplation of separate electorates, the British did not have two-nations in view but they had a multiplicity of nations.

Now I come to the genesis of the Muslim League, particularly the Quaid-i-Azam, who reduced this multiplicity of nationalities of the British pattern of separate electorates to two-nations and from here on, this question acquires an ideological aspect. At this stage, you will find that we have to study the very ideology of Pakistan and the various statements, and commitments of the Muslim statesmen and politicians. Then, your honour, to find out as to what separate electorates on ideological basis mean, you have also to study the Lahore Resolution, which is generally called the Pakistan Resolution, of 1940. Lastly, we have to study the Delhi Muslim League Convention of 1946. You will find that in all these stages wherein the Muslim ideological aspect of separate electorates has appeared, two things have been conspicuous. Firstly, the two-nation theory; secondly a demand for a separate homeland, separate in the sense that the Muslims could order their lives in such a homeland in the light of their own ideology and build their culture in the light of their own religion. Your honour, you will please see that this leads us right up to the stage when Pakistan was established, that is 1947. Upto this stage, you will please notice that whether you take the British interpretation of the separate electorates or you take the ideological aspect of the Muslim League, one thing is certain that either there was a multiplicity of nations or there was the question of "two nations" quite conspicuous at every stage. This was the situation upto 1947.

Your honour, if you kindly study what has happened after 1947, you will find that the two-nations theory has again been conspicuously in the minds of the Muslim statesmen. In fact, it was their guiding star and they wanted the constitutional development of Pakistan to be on the basis of this very theory. They believed that on the basis of two-nations alone they could carve their future according to their ideology in its utmost complexity. Your honour, in this connection you will have to study firstly the Objectives Resolution of March, 1949. Secondly, you will have to study the One-Unit Act. In both of these documents you will find that the principle of two-nations has been conspicuously present. The whole constitutional edifice of Pakistan seems to have been based even now on the concept of two-nations. Lastly, Sir, you will have to study the Constitution of the Islamic State of Pakistan itself. There also you will find the two-nation concept quite conspicuous. What I am emphasizing, your honour, is that whether you study the question of electorates in the light of what happened before 1947 or you study it in the light of what has happened since 1947 right up-to-date, you will find that the ideological basis of everything constitutional and political has been the 'two-nations' theory.

It means that with Pakistan as an Islamic State the question of "two-nations" is and has always been a fundamental reality. From the very birth of Pakistan right upto now the concept of 'two-nations' has been there as the leading light in everything. In fact, the concept of two-nations is the parental concept of Pakistan itself. But, Sir, certain gentlemen of the Awami Mahaz believe that what Quaid-i-Azam particularly meant was not "two-nations" for Pakistan as an Islamic State but just one united nation. Most members of the Muslim League particularly, Mr. G. Allana has very nicely quoted some speeches to remove this notion. I do not want to take the time of the House, in repeating those speeches of Quaid-i-Azam. But



I shall refer to only one speech of the Quaid-i-Azam wherein he says that in course of time Hindus shall cease to be Hindus and Muslims shall cease to be Muslims, not in the religious but in the political sense. Mr. G.M. Syed and others of the Awami Mahaz have tried to prove that by this speech the Quaid-i-Azam has advocated one single nationality for Pakistan, and that really he did not want the two-nations theory to be the basis of Pakistan. Mr. Allana has advanced two types of arguments to dispel this erroneous notion of the Awami Mahaz. Firstly, that Quaid-i-Azam had laid utmost stress on the principle of co-operation between the Hindus and Muslims of Pakistan, in fact, the majority and the minorities of Pakistan.

**Mr G. Allana :** I never doubted the co-operation of minorities directly or indirectly. I never made a mention of it.

**Mr. Joshu Fazal-ud-Din :** I assure the House that the co-operation of the minorities can never be doubted. I never said that Mr. Allana doubted the co-operation of the minorities. What I want to say is simply this that to save time I am prepared to adopt all the arguments of Mr. Allana that Quaid-i-Azam meant that the first condition of common citizenship was co-operation between the majority and the minority. The second point which Mr. Allana referred to was the phrase "in course of time" in the speech in question of the Quaid-i-Azam. The phrase was not adequately discussed by Mr. Allana. It is not suggested that Quaid-i-Azam meant that as soon as co-operation between the Muslims and Hindus appeared they would cease to be Hindus and Muslims politically. The real crux of this speech of Quaid-i-Azam lies in the phrase "in course of time". As a lawyer I see that this phrase has a fundamental importance and constitutes the necessary condition. The phrase "in course of time" means "in due course of time" and if you take it in the Biblical sense it means "proper time". Consequently, what Quaid-i-Azam meant was that if the policy of co-operation and understanding between the minorities and the majority is pursued then a time will come when both Hindus and Muslims may feel that politically they are just one people. That would be the time when the Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense but politically. But this is a reality which the Quaid-i-Azam contemplated may take shape after the passage of time. The factor of time which constitutes the condition precedent for the fulfilment of Quaid-i-Azam's dream is the very thing which the gentlemen of the Awami Mahaz have delightfully ignored. Till the Muslims and the Hindus have lived together in perfect co-operation and understanding as citizens of Pakistan for a sufficiently long time, evidently, Quaid-i-Azam meant that Muslims shall remain Muslims and Hindus shall remain Hindus not only religiously but also politically and the electorates and other factors of public life shall continue as they were before Pakistan, as they were at the time of the establishment of Pakistan and as they are upto now.

Sir, I can say now that from the Muslim point of view, apart from what the minorities say, it is a duty cast upon the Muslims also that they shall be consistent with what their ideology was before Pakistan, with what their ideology was at the time of the establishment of Pakistan and with what their ideology has been upto now as is clear from the various resolutions and enactments since Pakistan. Muslims have got to be consistent with the political



and legislative history of Pakistan. It is not possible that what has been formed and the ideology which has been proclaimed during these many years should now be changed overnight.

You will see, Sir, that the theory of separate electorates has played a very prominent part in the establishment of Pakistan. It is the very life blood of Pakistan. It is not only the corner-stone but also the very foundation-stone on which the whole edifice has been built. If you remove the foundation stone, I am afraid you will be injuring that edifice which you have built and which you have yet in mind more to add to and build upon.

Sir, I will not take much of the time of this Honourable House on this aspect of the issue because there are others who are anxious to speak.

Now, Sir, I come to the point of view of the non-Muslims in respect of separate electorates. In this connection I would bring to the notice of this House the legal position of the non-Muslims in the light of what the Muslim jurists have said. I am quoting from the Islamic Law and Constitution by Maulana Maudoodi, page 174.

*The Classification of non-Muslim citizens*

"The Islamic *Shariah* divides its non-Muslim subjects into three categories, viz :

(a) Those who become the subjects of an Islamic State under some treaty or agreement ;

(b) Those who become its subjects after being defeated by the Muslims in a war ; and

(c) Those who are there in the Islamic State in any other way.

So far as the general rights of non-Muslims (*i. e.* the fundamental human rights) are concerned, all are treated alike. However, the respective instructions relating to the first two groups being slightly different from one another as well as from those concerning the third group, we propose to deal first with the specific instructions relating to groups (a) and (b) before embarking upon a discussion on the general rights of all *Zimmis*.

"CONTRACTEES"

For those who accept the hegemony of an Islamic State without or even during a war, and enter into a specific contract with it, Islam prescribes that all matters relating to them should invariably be subject to the terms of the agreement."

This is with regard to the non-Muslims of the first two categories mentioned above. Now, so far as it concerns the non-Muslim population of

Pakistan, they evidently belong to the category of the people who have not been defeated in any way but who are here as a result of an agreement between the majority and the minority parties.

Now, Sir, I shall once again draw the attention of this august House to what was declared by the Muslim statesmen in 1947. At that time it was said in the clearest possible terms that the ideology of Pakistan was to be built on the principle of the two-nation theory. The Muslims also said that the concept of Pakistan connoted that they will have a separate homeland in which they could lead their lives according to the Islamic laws and Islamic rules of life. This was what was held out by the Muslims at that time and that is what the non-Muslims also heard and understood and it was this concept of Pakistan which they accepted.

The Muslims in 1947 came out with certain conditions, certain definite proposals. The non-Muslims with all their eyes and ears open knew those conditions, heard those conditions and understood those conditions. They knew that this Pakistan, if at all it is to flourish ideologically, will flourish on the basis of the two-nation theory. This Pakistan has been constituted and established with a definite purpose. The non-Muslims understood that part of the contract which was impliedly entered into between the two parties—the Muslims and the non-Muslims. The State conferred fullest rights of citizenship and fullest protection of life, honour and culture on the non-Muslim minorities. Under this contract the Muslims were bound to respect the culture of the non-Muslim minorities, grant them religious freedom and give full economic rights, and, in return, the non-Muslims accepted that the Muslims could continue to have their ideology in respect of the two-nation theory, they could continue to have Pakistan built according to their own Islamic principles. This was the implied contract in 1947 between the Muslims and the non-Muslims, and I would now ask those gentlemen who stand up for joint electorates now whether joint electorates in 1947 formed part of this contract. I ask this question in clear and simple language. I ask from the members of the non-Muslim group. Did joint electorates form part of the scheme which we non-Muslims accepted as honourable men in 1947, belonging to different cultures and different religions? Did joint electorates form part of that contract or not? If you say that they did not, then I would ask with what justification can we non-Muslims in 1956 stand up and say: We repudiate that contract and ask for joint electorates when, at the time the contract in question was entered into, in 1947, joint electorates were not at all its component part. Can we non-Muslims repudiate unilaterally that contract now? I would ask my non-Muslim friends who now stand up for joint electorates, do we want to take advantage and make political capital and say that we repudiate unilaterally the agreement which was entered into in 1947? I leave the advocates of joint electorates to answer this question. But so far as the non-Muslim Christians are concerned, the question does not at all arise. I say with the fullest responsibility that the Christians stand for separate electorates as a community.

But, Sir, I must admit that I am somewhat intellectual in my approach to this problem, while in politics we have got to get down to hard facts. Luckily the leaders of the Awami Mahaz, both Mr. G. M. Syed and Pir Elahi

Bakhsh, have given us material to come down to concrete facts. I did not want to bring these sordid facts to the notice of this House which have operated as most unjust against Christians and which have favoured only one community *i.e.* the Hindus. Rather, I have been of the opinion that it is no use digging up old things and I wanted to co-operate fully with my non-Muslim friends to solve those problems which are common to both of us. But Mr. G. M. Syed's claim, and the claim of his party, that because the Hindus are in a majority in the House, their voice is worthy of greater notice than that of the Christians who happen to be three in this House of 310. This has constrained me to go down to hard facts and bring to the notice of this House how we are reduced to three and how our Hindu friends were raised to seven.

Sir, the factual position of the population of the communities is stated in the Census Report of Pakistan, 1951, and I would request at least one of my friends in the Cabinet who doubted my figures the other day to take a paper and a pen and write down these figures which I give. Sir, facts will show that Christians in the West Pakistan are the largest single non-Muslim community and I am developing the theory that whatever the Hindu friends have been given is without justification and is at the expense of the poor Christians. Sir, this is the theory that I am building up and I would request you to take down these figures which I give.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** Sir, we are not discussing the representation of non-Muslims here.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din :** Sir, it is absolutely relevant.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Remarked that the issue should be left to the non-Muslims, *i.e.* Hindus who wanted joint electorate and other non-Muslims who did not want it. He expounded his theory in the hope that the Hindus are in a majority. Therefore it is absolutely right for me to give facts and figures and prove that the very basis of Mr. G. M. Syed's claim was factually wrong.

**Mr. Speaker :** You just give your point of view. You need not worry about what they say.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din :** Sir, I have to worry very much about that. I am not here to say like a prophet one word and finish with that. I am here, like a parliamentarian, to say and prove what I claim. Sir, if you accepted what Mr. G. M. Syed said you should also allow me to speak and prove my point.

**Mr. Speaker :** There is no question of accepting what he said.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din :** Then, Sir, you ought to have objected to what he said. You should have stopped him. Since you have allowed him to say what he said, I am perfectly right in giving facts and figures to prove my point.

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani :** Sir, it will be irrelevant.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din:** It will be relevant. I have said that we are the largest single community; let me prove that also.

**Mr. Speaker:** You proceed with your argument.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din:** Thank you, Sir. I have said that we are the largest single community and I want to advance some arguments to prove that. Sir, injustice has been done to the Christians and it is by some device that Hindus are in a majority and Mr. G. M. Syed and others take advantage of that.

**Mr. Speaker:** You just say that; why do you want to prove it?

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din:** Sir, it is my right to prove it. If of course Mr. G. M. Syed takes back what he said and admit that he just said that without meaning, then I will not proceed, but so long as that statement of Mr. G. M. Syed stands, I am perfectly within my right to defend the position of my community.

Sir, the position is like this. According to the Census Report at pages 1, 8 and 22-24, the total population of non-Muslims in West Pakistan as given on page 1 is 9,72,000 and the total seats assigned to them in the Assembly are ten. The caste Hindus (as given on page 1) are 1,62,000, the Scheduled Castes (as given on page 1) are 3,69,000; the Christians (as shown on page 1) are 4,34,000 and others (as given on page 1) are 7,000. The total is 9,72,000.

Sir, these are the figures regarding West Pakistan as a whole. Now, I come to the provinces because the seats were allocated provincewise. According to the Census Report at pages 22-24 in Sind, the caste Hindus are 1,34,000 and the seats voted for them are 5. Scheduled castes are 3,20,000 and the seat assigned to them is one. Then, there is Karachi.

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani:** Sir, this has nothing to do with the problem under discussion.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din:** Sir, I will tell you why my friends want joint electorate. They want to grab the share of the poor depressed classes in Sind. Here it is very clear. While the caste Hindus in that province who number only 1,34,000 have secured 5 seats the schedule Castes who are 3,20,000 have got only one. They want joint electorate so that they may be able to grab the share of these poor depressed classes and if the scheme is accepted, they may also grab the share of the Christians, who are very near to depressed classes.

Then, Sir, I come to Karachi. One seat was allowed to non-Muslims from Karachi. The total population of the non-Muslims in Karachi is as follows:—

Caste Hindus	..	..	..	4,641	one seat
Scheduled Castes	..	..	..	13,412	no seat
Christians	..	..	..	20,427	no seat



It is a mystery how the caste Hindus of Karachi with a population of 4,641 have secured one seat, while more than twenty thousand Christians and thirteen thousand Scheduled Castes have gone empty-handed. The voting was, of course, on the basis of joint electorate.

Then, Sir, we come to the Punjab. The Christians here are four lakhs and one thousand. The total population of Christians of course is much more than that. Seats voted for the Christians are three. If you examine carefully the proportion of representation of the Christians and others you will find that while the Caste Hindus got one seat for twenty-two thousands, the poor Scheduled Castes got one seat for three lakhs and twenty thousands; Christians got one seat for one lakh and thirty three thousands.

Unfortunately, I cannot pay compliments to the Muslim members of the Sind Assembly also. The election was on the basis of joint electorate. It was open to them to do justice to the depressed classes and the Christians. But it seems that they wanted to please the Caste Hindus to save their Muslim brethren in India. And here in the Punjab the same thing has happened under the general scheme of One Unit. The Muslims have tried to please, rather bribe, the Hindus at the cost of the Christians and the Depressed Classes so that their brothers may be safe in India.

Now, Sir, the argument being put forward by my Hindu brethren and their friends is that since they are in a majority they will have their voices heard. Christians and the Scheduled Castes were to be the losers because already the Caste Hindus will have been given preference. This is clear enough from the Census Report. But I say, and say with the fullest authority, that since the publication of the Census Report the position has got worse. The population of the Hindus is not one lakh and sixty-two thousands. It is much less than that. In this connection, your Honour, I have to make one admission. When I found what injustice was being done to the Christian community in the matter of representation in the framing of the One-Unit Act, I contacted authorities both in Pakistan and India to find out the exact figures of migration of the Hindus and the Scheduled Castes since 1950. I contacted the authorities and got the figures. The figures, as far as West Pakistan is concerned, show that only the D. A. V. College non-Muslim Refugee camp is recognised as an exist. There are no restrictions for leaving Pakistan *via* Khokrapar, where the border is yet open. So far as it concerns the D. A. V. College Refugee Camp, Lahore, the figure are available, but the figures for Khokrapar are not available. The figures available upto 1951 alone were compiled in the Census Report. I give you the figures of the Hindus and the Scheduled Caste evacuees from Pakistan from the 1st of April 1950 to the 31st of August 1955. During this period from the D. A. V. College Camp alone 10,500 Hindus and Depressed Classes had left Pakistan in 1951. According to the Census Report the population of the caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes in the areas which were served by the D. A. V. College Camp *i.e.* Punjab, the Frontier and the Tribal Areas, was twenty-four thousands. That is by 31st August 1955 from the 1st of April 1950, 10,500 had left. This means that now only thirteen thousands and a few hundreds were left behind in this area. I would like to bring to your notice that the border of Khokrapar is open. Secondly, the facilities which are available there are not available here.



**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** The Khokrapar border was open for coming into West Pakistan.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-un-Din :** You will have to correct yourself and me many times more.

So, Sir, you will please see that while there are restrictions in the D. A. V. College Camp for migration to India, there are no such difficulties at Khokrapar. Therefore, you may say that whereas the population of the caste Hindus in 1951 was one lakh sixty-two thousand now it may be near about ninety thousand even if we compute at the rate of evacuation from the D. A. V. College Camp. Moreover, whereas the Scheduled Castes were three lakhs and sixty thousand in 1951 now they may be two lakhs sixty thousand for similar reasons of constant migration from Pakistan. It gives us a total of three lakhs seven thousand three hundred and sixty for both caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes. The population of the Christians, on the other hand, as I have already told you, is four lakhs and thirty-four thousands. If you doubt the figures of population of the Hindus and the Scheduled Castes, then I will say that these figures have been compiled in the light of information supplied by the authorities both Indian and Pakistani on the basis of the evacuation that has taken place since 1st April 1950 upto 31st August 1955. But you may question these calculations. However, if you question the figures of the Census Report, then I will say that this is a document which the Government has prepared and which you cannot challenge. According to the Census Report also we are the largest single minority and with one voice we have said that we want separate electorates. I was rather surprised when our Chief Minister generously withdrew that part of his amendment which said that "minorities demand separate electorates" Yes, Sir, we demand separate electorates here and now. You promised us in 1947 that we will have our culture in our own way. You also promised that you will give us an opportunity to have our own culture and rights defended by representatives of our choice. That right we demand today, here and now. These rights can be conceded only by separate electorates. What does a Muslim know about my difficulties? What does a Muslim know what a Christian means by his culture? It is only a Christian who knows the Christian community. It is only a Hindu who can know what Hinduism means, a Muslim cannot know. Just as a Christian is not competent to say anything as to what a Muslim means and what a Muslim wants to safeguard his religion and his culture. Similarly a Muslim is not competent to represent a Christian where his culture, religion and special interests are involved.

Then, your honour, I want to say as to what has happened in the Press yesterday and today. There was a news item yesterday that out of the seven non-Muslims who considered this issue of joint and separate electorates, as many as six have stood for joint electorates. Only one stood for separate electorates. Fortunately, I am that one person. This statement, I must say, is very, very partially true. The argument should have been that Christians, who are the largest minority both from national and humanitarian point of view, demand separate electorate. That ought to be the argument accepted by the Muslim statesmen and politicians. But as far as all the non-Muslims

are concerned, as a group, the position is different. There has been a gradual development in their appreciation of separate electorates. I would take the House a little into the background of the history of what happened during the last session. This history I will briefly state. We were asked by the Honourable the Chief Minister to go into the issue of the electorates and decide about it. We met on the 24th May and decided to recommend joint electorates with reservation of seats. Later on, we were again summoned and asked to reconsider the issue of the electorates in the light of the ideology of Pakistan and other matters, particularly Kashmir, and we straightaway decided that, so far as the Christians are concerned, they were for separate electorates. My Hindu friends, of course, did not agree. Then again we had a meeting that, very evening. The result of that meeting was published in a minority paper from Karachi called the Goodwill, and I think this news item was supplied by our worthy leader Mr. Madhavji himself. The issue is dated June 15th 1956. At page number 5, it reads like this:—

“Mr. Madhavji, M.L.A. from Karachi invited all the non-Muslim M.L.As. of West Pakistan Legislative Assembly at the Elphinston Hotel on May 24th, 1956. Out of ten M.L.As. seven attended and the meeting discussed the electorate issue minutely and resolved to have joint electorate with reservation of seats.”.

**Mr. Shahnawaz Pirzada:** is there any time limit fixed for speeches?

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din:** There is no time limit fixed for any speech.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, please.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din:** In the meanwhile, the Revenue Minister, Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, who is a champion of separate electorates, with a view to upset the unity of non-Muslims, invited them at his residence on June 3rd, 1956. He submitted a draft on electorates and requested them to sign it—the draft advocated separate electorates.

Sir, this draft was not prepared by the Khan of Mamdot. It was prepared by me right in the presence of these persons who had gathered at his House. So to say that it was drafted by Nawab Sahib is wrong. It was prepared by me in the light of the general opinion of the members that had gathered in his house. The draft said:—

“that so long as the Kashmir issue is not settled, in the wider interests of Pakistan they (the non-Muslims) would like to be consistent with the original basis of Pakistan and would accept separate electorates”.

It was stated that the non-Muslim M. L. As. from the former Punjab agreed to this draft while five of them belonging to the former Sind and one from Karachi rejected it. The same evening the non-Muslim M. L. As. met again and it was decided that a non-Muslim party be formed in the Assembly. The following were elected its office bearers.

**Mr. Speaker:** The mention of the names of the office-bearers is not at all relevant to the discussion.

**Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din:** Alright, Sir.

This independent non-Muslim party formulated five-point demand and placed it before the Cabinet Ministers of the West Pakistan Government. The Party demanded that evacuee laws should be repealed forthwith, that equal rights and representation should be given to the minorities in the West Pakistan Cabinet which meant that there must be a non-Muslim Minister in the Cabinet, a Deputy Minister and a Parliamentary Secretary. Secondly, it demanded that the Revenue Minister should provide necessary assistance to non-Muslim Zamindars and Haris in order to enable them to harvest their crops, that non-Muslim abducted women should be restored, that the properties of the non-Muslims and the Hindus should be restored. The Party, it was further stated, decided to support Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry on the question of electorates provided the Government agreed to their five-point demand. The four Cabinet Ministers, it was learnt, agreed to most of the demands excepting that of giving representation to the non-Muslims in the Cabinet.

What I want to state is that the position of the Christians is clear; they want separate electorates. Hindus have also shown their willingness to accept separate electorates provided certain conditions were fulfilled. But I am very sorry to say that the Government have not been able to fulfil those conditions.

The whole thing comes to this that the Christians, who are the largest single minority, accept the principle of separate electorate, advocate it and demand it from you, as their right. The position of the non-Muslim Hindus is that they have shown their willingness to accept the principle of separate electorate, and have no objection whatever to any proposal that Dr. Khan Sahib makes in respect of the electorate provided, of course, certain conditions were fulfilled, so far as my support of this resolution of the non-Muslim group is concerned.

Sir, I say it with all the emphasis at my command that it is the right of the non-Muslims to be in the Cabinet; that it is the right of the non-Muslims to be closely associated with the administration. To that part of the Resolution I declare support and stand by it.

However, the point is now about the future system of electorates and the eventual relations of the communities in Pakistan. It is not a party issue but a national issue. On such a vital issue, we should not have made fulfilment of our demands as our condition for supporting separate electorates. Of course our duty is to go on hammering and hammering till we get our rights even after the issue of electorates is decided and we are not satisfied with our rights. It is, indeed, the duty of my Hindu friends as well as of every Christian not to take account of personal considerations at this national juncture and accept the Resolution now sponsored by Dr. Khan Sahib demanding separate electorates as the basis for the next general elections in Pakistan.

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani (Sukkur District):** (Non-Muslim Reserved): Sir, on one side our Republican friends have been advocating the cause of separate electorate, on the other side our League friends have also been advocating the cause of separate electorate and our Awami Mahaz

friends have been advocating joint electorate, but nobody made a mention about Hindus and non-Muslims. After the unification when all the provinces were merged into one West Pakistan Province the fundamental principle which was accepted by all the provinces was that there should be political unity. As Republicans say Pakistan was created on the basis of two nation theory. Now that Pakistan has come into existence and we pray for its continuance, we have pledged our loyalty to it, we risked ourselves and said that we want to merge our political entity into others, but I cannot understand why my friends treat us separate from them when we want to be one with them politically. On the contrary we, Hindus, should raise that question that we should have separate electorate. Why should not we feel that our seats have been taken away. We should feel that we want to merge our entity into theirs without having separate electorates. My friend from Karachi has advocated very well. He stated that there are so many castes and creeds, such as Buddhism, Hinduism and Musalmans. He impressed that there are so many castes and communities, but the nation is one. We are Pakistanis first and then Musalmans or Hindus. On the contrary you are the gainer and we are the losers, actually this demand should come from us that we want separate electorate.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please address the Chair.

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani :** Sir, our friend from Awami Mahaz remarked that they want joint electorate for the first 5 years and after 5 years they may have otherwise and they are themselves satisfied. They have their own theory of separate electorate. As regards our friends Mr. Joshua, I specially assure him on our behalf that we have got no difference between Hindus and Christians. We are non-Muslims. Even Government have recognized that they are non-Muslims and I assure him that we have been extending our help even to other brothers. For instance, take the case of the late Mr. Jamshed. He was elected from our seats from Dadu. At that time also we had no differences. We have got regard for each other. I think the Leaguers as well as Republicans and our Awami Mahaz have extended hands of sympathy for our safeguards and our interest, but I am sorry to say that it is only lip-sympathy. Nothing has been done for safeguarding the interest of Hindu minorities. Lands have been allotted but there is no safeguard for Hindus, only the political safeguard for vote. It is immaterial for us. We want substance, mere words will not convince us. We want real action. We have been approaching the Government to recommend to the Central Government for the repeal of evacuee Laws since they have already been repealed in India. Even today I have heard a report that Hindus have been disturbed at Jacobabad.

**Mr. Speaker :** Does it concern that issue? Please discuss the issue before the House.

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani :** We have been given equal rights. Is principle of equal right that we have been uprooted from our allotted houses? Even today people have been ejected from their lands and they have been very much disturbed and harassed by the Deputy Commissioners. If we go to them they do not listen to us.



**Mr. G. Allana :** Why do you support such a Government?

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani :** We have to raise the voice for our safeguards.

**Mr. Speaker :** No cross talk.

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani :** We even do not want any seat here, you may have all the seats, but we want at least that there should be reciprocal love and affection which will add to the strength of our country. Sir, if you really want strength, you should have our love and affection only by safeguarding our interests.

**Mr. Speaker :** The Assembly stands adjourned till 8-00 a.m. on the 4th August, 1956.

*The Assembly then adjourned till 8 a. m. on Saturday the 4th August, 1956.*



Gul Hayat Institute



## WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Second Session of the First West Pakistan Legislative Assembly

Saturday, the 4th August, 1956.

*The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber, Lahore, at 8 a.m., of the Clock,  
Mr. Speaker (Chaudhri Fazal Elahi) in the Chair.*

*(Recitation from the Holy Quran).*

### STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

#### PENICILLINE.

\*238. **Mian Manzoor Hasan:** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state:—

- (a) the approximate annual consumption of Penicillin in West Pakistan;
- (b) the sources from which the said quantity is obtained;
- (c) the prospects of its manufacture locally;
- (d) whether there is any plan under contemplation for its mass production in West Pakistan; if so, when and where; if not, the reason therefor?

(وزیر صحت نے اس سوال کا جواب اردو میں پڑھنا شروع کیا)

میاں منظور حسن۔ جناب والا میں سوال کا جواب انگریزی میں چاہتا ہوں۔ میں نے یہ سوال انگریزی میں بھیجا تھا اور میں اس کا جواب انگریزی میں چاہتا ہوں۔

**Khan Khuda Dad Khan:** (Minister of Health): The Provincial Government are not concerned with the import of foreign drugs like penicillin and their manufacture in Pakistan. It is therefore not possible for the Provincial Government to furnish figures for annual consumption, etc. of penicillin in West Pakistan which information can only be given by the Licencing Department of the Central Government.

حافظ خواجہ غلام سید الدین۔ On a point of order. میرا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر

یہ ہے کہ اس سوال کا جواب پہلے اردو میں پڑھا جا رہا تھا لیکن معزز سپر کے کہنے پر یہ انگریزی میں پڑھا گیا جس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ یہ صرف چند لوگوں کے لئے ہی مخصوص ہو گیا۔ میں پوچھتا ہوں کہ کیا اس کا جواب کا اردو میں بھی اعادہ کیا جائیگا تاکہ سب سمجھ سکیں؟

صاحب سپیکر - نہیں

حافظ خواجہ غلام سیدالرحمن - کیا دوسرے ممبران کو اس ایوان کی کارروائی

سمجھنے کا حق حاصل نہیں؟

صاحب سپیکر - یہ بات نہیں۔ بلکہ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ سوال انگریزی میں بھیجا گیا تھا اور سوال بھیجنے والے معزز رکن نے کہا کہ اس کا جواب انگریزی میں دیا جائے اس لئے وزیر صحت نے اس کا جواب انگریزی میں پڑھ دیا۔ ویسے اسمبلی کا قاعدہ یہ ہے کہ ہر شخص اردو زبان میں تقریر کرے گا ہاں اگر کوئی ممبر یہ کہے کہ وہ انگریزی میں اچھی طرح تقریر کر سکتا ہے تو وہ انگریزی میں بول سکتا ہے لیکن سوالات کے متعلق قاعدہ یہ ہے کہ اگر کسی سوال کے متعلق یہ لکھا جائے کہ اس کا جواب اردو میں دیا جائے تو اس کا جواب اردو میں دیا جاتا ہے ورنہ نہیں۔

If the member puts a question in English and wants the reply in English then it may be given in that language for his facility. Otherwise nobody can insist on the answer to be given in English.

خان محمد اکبر خان - دو حضرات کا کیا ہے آپ ہاؤس کی رائے معلوم کریں آیا

ممبر صاحبان سوال کا جواب اردو میں پسند کرتے ہیں یا انگریزی میں۔

میاں منظور الحسن - اگر انہیں انگریزی زبان پر قدرت حاصل نہیں ہے تو مجھے

کوئی اعتراض نہیں۔ وہ اردو میں جواب دے دیں۔

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan:** On a point of order, Sir. Parts (c) and (d) of my question have not been answered.

وزیر صحت - ان شعبوں کے جواب کا سوال ہی پیدا نہیں ہوتا۔

میاں منظور حسن - سنٹرل حکومت نے اس حکومت پر کوئی پابندی تو نہیں لگا

رکھی کہ یہ پنسلین تیار کرنے کے لئے کوئی انتظام نہیں کر سکتی۔ جناب مجھے اس کا جواب

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** May I ask the honourable Minister whether any communication has been addressed to the Central Government regarding the manufacture of penicillin and the necessity felt by the general public that penicillin should be manufactured in West Pakistan?

This is a fresh question.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** It is not a fresh question.

**Minister:** I want notice for that.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** May I know from the honourable Minister.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Mr. Speaker:** Please resume your seat. If a supplementary question is put and the honourable Minister is unable to give a reply without notice nobody can force him to reply.

**یہاں منظور حسن۔** میرا سوال یہ ہے کہ جب تک یہاں پنسلین کی تیاری کا مکمل انتظام نہیں ہو سکتا کیا اسکی متبادل ادویات تیار ہو سکتی ہیں یا نہیں اور کیا ایسا کیا جائیگا یا نہیں یا لوگوں کو ایسے ہی امراض کا شکار رہنے دیا جائیگا ؟

**وزیر صحت۔** بات معمولی ہے۔ پنسلین تیار کرنے کے لئے ہمارے پاس ذرائع موجود نہیں ہیں۔ جب کبھی پنسلین میسر نہیں آتی ڈاکٹروں کے پاس متبادل ادویات ہوتی ہیں۔ متبادل ادویات کونسی ہیں اسکا علم ڈاکٹروں کو ہے۔ ہم صرف یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ ابھی تک یہاں پنسلین تیار کرنے کا انتظام نہیں ہوا۔ ویسے انتظام کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اس کے لئے ایک پلانٹ منگوانے کا انتظام کر لیا گیا ہے۔

**حافظ خواجہ غلام سدید الدین۔** وزیر موصوف فرماتے ہیں یہ معمولی بات ہے۔ اگر ان سے اس معمولی بات کا انتظام نہیں ہو سکتا تو وہ کٹھن معاملات کا کیا انتظام کریں گے؟ اگر یہ خود اس مرض کا شکار ہوں تو انہیں پتہ چلے۔

**Mr. Speaker:** He says there is no such plant but the Government is considering this matter. Are you not satisfied?

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** The honourable Minister knows nothing about it.

Arising out of the answer given by the honourable Minister when he says that arrangements have been made . . . . . (interruptions)

**چودھری سی محمد۔** آپ کوئی ولایت سے تو نہیں آئے ہوئے

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** I can express myself better in English when I am putting questions and I shall continue that practice. Let the honourable Speaker translate it if the Ministers do not understand English. I cannot help it.

Arising out of the answer given by the honourable Minister, may I ask him, when he says that arrangements have been made for getting a plant for the production of penicillin, what arrangements have been made when the order was sent; when does he expect to get the plant and how soon is it going into production?

**سردار عبدالحمید خان دستی۔** (وزیر تعلیم) وہ تاریخ پرچھتے ہیں وقت پرچھتے ہیں۔ کب چٹھی بھیجی گئی۔ کس وقت اسے ڈاک میں ڈالا گیا۔

**صاحب سپیکر۔** انہوں نے یہ پرچھا ہے کہ اس پلانٹ کے آنے کی کب تک توقع ہے۔

انداز بتا دیجئے۔

حافظ حوجہ غلام سریدارالحق :- میں یہ بوچھتا ہوں پبلسین کا انتظام تو ہو رہا ہے مگر یہ جو ہسپتال سمنان پڑے ہیں - نہ وہاں ڈاکٹر ہیں نہ لیڈی ڈاکٹر - ٹیکہ مریضوں کو کون لگائیگا؟ وہ خود لگائیگی یا فرشتے آئیں گے - اس وقت تونسہ شریف کے ہسپتال میں نہ ڈاکٹر ہے نہ لیڈی ڈاکٹر -

**حافظ خواجه غلام سید الدین :-** جناب کیا یہ وزیر صحت کے فرائض میں ہے یا نہیں کہ وہ اس صوبہ میں ضروری ادویہ کی بہم رسانی کا انتظام کریں ۔

میں منظور حسن - میرے سوال کے جزو (د) کا جواب عطا نہیں ہوا - اس بات کا مرکزی حکومت کے ساتھ کوئی تعلق نہیں ہے - اگر وہ اس کا جواب نہیں دینا چاہتے تو اسکی وجہ بتادی جائے -

حافظ خواجه غلام سدید الحسن - کیا آنریبل وزیر بیان فرمائی گئے آج وہ اس وقت جب تک کہ پشلیں کا مکمل انتظام نہیں ہو جاتا اس کی کسی متبادل دوائی کا انتظام کر دے کے لئے تیار ہیں ؟

صاحب سپیکر۔ انہوں نے جواب دیا ہے کہ پنسلین کے متعلق صوبائی حکومت غور کر رہی ہے۔

حافظ خواجہ غلام سدید الدین - انگریزی میں جواب دینے کا یہ نقصان ہے کہ اب آپکو دوبارہ تکلیف کرنی پڑی ہے -

چودھری سہی محمد:- میرے خیال میں انگریز خود تو چلے گئے ہیں اور دون صاحب کو چھوڑ گئے ہیں مگر تم انگریزی بولتے رہو۔ (تہقیر)

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noor:** May I ask the honourable Minister, when he says that the Central Government have placed orders for the procurement of a plant for the production of penicillin, whether the Central Government is in communication with the Provincial Government, if so, what is the latest communication from the Central Government regarding this subject?

**Minister of Health:** I want notice.

## DETENUS.

**\*61. Mr. G. M. Syed:** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state:—

(a) the names of persons arrested and detained under different Safety and Security Acts, Frontier Crimes Regulation with the dates of arrest, periods of detention and brief reasons for each arrest from the inception of Pakistan upto December, 1955;

(b) whether the Government are aware of the demand of the public for repeal of these and all other such Acts under which political workers are thrown behind the bars without trial?

**Begum G. A. Khan (Deputy Minister):** (a) The number of detenus under different Safety and Security Acts arrested and detained during the period in question was 909. The names and other particulars of these persons are not provided as the labour and time involved in preparing lists of all such persons will not be commensurate with the benefit derived from it.

(b) Yes, the Government has already announced its policy not to detain any person without trial.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan:** On a point of order, Sir. I would like to know whether the Deputy Minister or a Minister can answer questions relating to the Chief Minister.

**Mr. Speaker:** Any Minister can answer a question on behalf of any other Minister.

## APPOINTMENTS OF GOVERNORS AND DIPLOMATIC SERVICES, ECT.

**\*63. Mr. G. M. Syed:** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state:—

(a) Whether he has made any representation to the Central Government for due share being given to Sindhis in the following appointments and services:

(i) Provincial Governors;

(ii) Ambassadorial and Diplomatic services;



(iii) Central Secretariat ;

(iv) Army ;

(b) if the answer to (a) above be in the affirmative, the details thereof ?

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister) :**

(a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

#### MAKING OUT OF A CASE TO DECLARE A BAD CHARACTER.

**\*204. Chaudhri Ghulam Rasul Tarar :** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state :—

(a) the manner in which police authorities make out a case to declare a bad character ;

(b) whether would be a bad character is kept informed of the proceedings conducted by the police before finally declaring him as a bad character ;

(c) If answer to (b) above be in the negative, the reasons therefor ;

(d) whether a bad character of 'basta' 'A' or 'B' is given an opportunity to prove himself innocent of the charges on the basis of which he is declared a bad character ; if not, the reasons thereof ;

(e) whether it is a fact that a person is declared a bad character on the basis only of verbal or written report against him made by a Sub-Inspector to higher authorities in this behalf ;

(f) whether a proper investigation is made by a higher police official himself before declaring a person to be a bad character on the report of a Sub-Inspector incharge of a Police Station ;

(g) whether in view of parts (a) to (f) Government intend to provide suitable opportunity to all citizens of proving themselves innocent of the charges brought up against them by Police authorities before declaring them bad characters ; if not, the reasons thereof ?

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister) :** (a) A note giving details of the procedure is laid on the table of the House.

(b) Yes.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) Yes.

(e) No.

(f) Yes.

(g) The Government is going to thoroughly examine this system and bring it to the level of a free country.

NOTE REFERRED TO IN PART (a) OF ANSWERS TO Q. No. 214.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

## NOTE

The manner in which police authorities make out a case to declare a bad character is set out in Chapter 23, Rule 4 of the Police Rules issued by and with the authority of the local Government under sections 7 and 12 of Act 5 of 1861. A person is described a bad character as soon as his name is brought on the Surveillance Register No. X of a Police Station. This register consists of two parts. Part I contains the names of persons who belong to one or more of the following classes :—

- (1) All persons who have been proclaimed offenders under section 87 of the Code of Criminal Procedure.
- (2) All released convicts in regard to whom an order under section 565, Criminal Procedure Code has been made.
- (3) All convicts the execution of whose sentence is suspended in the whole, or any part of whose punishment has been remitted conditionally under section 401, Criminal Procedure Code.
- (4) All persons restricted under Rules of Government made under section 16 of the Restriction of Habitual Offenders (Punjab) Act, 1918.

(1) In part II of the said register are entered :—

Persons who have been convicted twice, or more than twice, of offences under Chapters XI, XII, XVI, XVII and XVIII, of the Pakistan Penal Code, under sections 108, 109 or 110, Code of Criminal Procedure or under the Gambling Act, the Opium Act or under the Arms Act.

- (2) Persons who are reasonably believed to be habitual offenders or receives of stolen property, whether they have been convicted or not.
- (3) Persons under security under section 109 or 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure.
- (4) Convicts released before the expiration of their sentences under the Prisons Act and Remission Rules without the imposition of any conditions.

No entry can be made in Part II of the Register except by the order of the Superintendent of Police and in Part I except by the order of a Gazetted Police Officer. Ordinarily, before the name of a person is entered in Part II of the Surveillance Register, a history sheet is opened for him. If from the entries in the history sheet, the Superintendent of Police is of opinion that such a person should be subjected to surveillance, he shall enter his name in Part II of the Surveillance Register ; provided that the names of persons who have never been convicted or placed on security for good behaviour shall not be entered until the Superintendent of Police has recorded definite reasons for doing so.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** May I know from honourable the Chief Minister as to who is the authority, who is the person in-charge of a police station, who finally decides about the character of the person?

**Chief Minister :** It is the duty of the Station Officer to find out but if the honourable member has got any complaint about any specific case, I am prepared to enquire into it.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Sir, that is not my question. I want to ask as to who is the final authority.

**Chief Minister :** The Sub-Inspector of Police recommends and eventually the S. P. recommends.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Are there any rules prescribed for that purpose ?

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** If there are any such rules, are you prepared to place these rules for the information of Members on the Assembly table ?

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ :- کیا عزت مآب وزیر یہ فرمائیں گے کہ آیا یہ امر ان

کے علم میں ہے کہ ہسٹری شیٹ کھولنے کے وقت سے کسی کو ہرمعاش قرار دینے کے وقت تک متعلقہ شخص کو کوئی اطلاع نہیں دی جاتی ؟

وزیر اعلیٰ :- اس کو خبر دی جاتی ہے ۔

رانا گل محمد نون المعروف عبدالعزیز نون :- کیا میں وزیر اعلیٰ سے پوچھ سکتا

ہوں کہ کسی ایجنسی کی معرفت خبر دی جاتی ہے ؟

وزیر اعلیٰ :- پولیس کے ذریعہ جس کا یہ کام ہے کہ خبر دے ۔

شیخ محمد سعید :- کیا اس کے متعلق کوئی قواعد کورنمنٹ نے وضع کئے ہیں اگر

کئے ہیں تو وہ کہاں ہیں ؟

وزیر اعلیٰ :- قواعد موجود ہیں ۔

میاں محمد شفیع :- کیا وزیر اعلیٰ کو علم ہے کہ منٹگری پولیس نے ایسے لوگوں کے

نام ہسٹ (ب) میں رکھے ہیں جنہوں نے سرکاری قواہ بننے سے انکار کیا ہے ؟

وزیر اعلیٰ :- میں آپ کا سوال نہیں سمجھا ۔

میاں محمد شفیع :- میرا سوال یہ ہے کہ آیا یہ امر واقعہ ہے کہ پولیس ایسے لوگوں

کے نام سزا کے طور پر ہسٹ (ب) میں رکھتی ہے جو اس کا آلم کار بننے سے انکار کرتے ہیں لیکن بحیثیت مجموعی اچھے آدمی ہیں ؟

وزیر اعلیٰ :- آپ کو معلوم ہونا چاہئے کہ پہلے زمانے کی باتوں کے لئے میں ذمہ دار

نہیں ہو سکتا ۔ لیکن اب اس قسم کی باتیں بالکل نہیں ہو سکتیں ۔ وردہ ابھی کئی آدمی ہیں جنکا نام بھی وہاں آگیا ہوتا ۔ (تہقہق) ۔

میاں محمد شفیع :- اگر میں وزیر اعلیٰ کے نوٹس میں ایسے واقعات لاؤں جن سے

یہ ثابت ہو کہ پولیس نے محض ارادہ انتقام ایسے لوگوں کے نام ہسٹ (ب) میں رکھے ہیں تو کیا وہ اس کے متعلق کارروائی کرنے کا وعدہ کرتے ہیں ؟

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

وزیر اعلیٰ۔ اگر آپ کو ایسے واقعات کا علم تھا تو آپ انہیں پہلے میرے دوش میں کیوں نہیں لائے؟ یہ تو آپ کی ڈیوٹی تھی۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ ان کا سوال یہ ہے کہ یہ کس افسر کی ڈیوٹی ہوتی ہے کہ کسی آدمی کا نام بستہ (ب) میں درج کرے؟

وزیر اعلیٰ۔ طریقہ یہ ہے اس کے متعلق قانون یا علاقہ میں اور دوسرے لوگوں سے پوری تفتیش کر کے الزامات لگائے جاتے ہیں۔ پھر ان کے متعلق خوب سوچ سمجھ کر کسی کا نام اس بستہ میں رکھا جاتا ہے۔ سب انسپکٹر نام ریکمنڈ کرتا ہے۔ لیکن یہ تو قواعد کے مطابق کیا جاتا ہے۔ اگر معزز ممبر چاہتے ہیں تو میں یہ قواعد ایوان کے میز پر رکھنے کیلئے تیار ہوں۔

قاضی مرید احمد۔ کیا کسی بزمعاش کو کسی عزالت۔ ڈپٹی کمشنر یا کمشنر کے پاس اپیل کرنے کا حق حاصل ہے یا نہیں؟ کیا وزیر اعلیٰ ایسے لوگوں کو یہ حق دینے کیلئے تیار ہیں؟

صاحب سپیکر۔ یہ سوال اس لئے نہیں پوچھا جا سکتا کہ اس کا تعلق اس بات سے ہے کہ قانون کیا ہے۔ اور قانون آپ دریافت کر چکے ہیں۔

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ۔ وہ قواعد آپ کب تک اس ایوان کے میز پر رکھ دینگے؟

صاحب سپیکر۔ کیا یہ قواعد آپ اسی سیشن میں ایوان کے میز پر رکھ دینگے؟  
وزیر اعلیٰ۔ جی ہاں۔

قاضی مرید احمد۔ جناب میں نے جو سوال پوچھا ہے اس کا تسلی بخش جواب نہیں دیا گیا۔ اس لئے۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ آپ کا سوال بھی غیر تسلی بخش تھا۔ آپ نے پوچھا ہے کہ اس بارے میں قانون کیا ہے؟

قاضی مرید احمد۔ کیا آئینیل وزیر اعلیٰ بیان فرمائیگے آیا آج کے بعد وہ کسی بزمعاش کو یہ حق دینے کیلئے تیار ہیں کہ وہ کسی عزالت یا کسی اعلیٰ افسر کے پاس اپیل کر سکے؟

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ :- جناب میرا سوال یہ ہے آیا یہ امر جناب وزیر اعلیٰ کے علم میں ہے کہ صرف تھانیدار کی رپورٹ پر وزیر - امیر اور غریب سب کو بزمعاش بستہ (ب) قرار دیا جاتا ہے اور متعلقہ شخص کو اس کی خبر تک نہیں ہوتی؟

وزیر اعلیٰ :- یہ سوال اس حکومت کے عہد میں پیدا نہیں ہوتا - پہلی باتوں کا میں ڈسدار نہیں -

مسٹر محمد بخش لکھویرا :- جناب والا - کیا اس جھگڑے کی بجائے یہ بہتر نہ ہوگا کہ اس سلسلے میں شریعت کا قانون نافذ کیا جائے؟

صاحب سپیکر :- سوالات کے وقت کوئی نئی تجویز پیش کرنے کی اجازت نہیں دی جاسکتی - آپ کو چاہیے کہ آپ پہلے قواعد کو سمجھیں اور پھر قانون بنانے کی تجویز پیش کریں - آپ قواعد تو پڑھتے نہیں لیکن ایران کی کارروائی میں خواہ مخواہ دخل دینا شروع کر دیتے ہیں -

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ :- کیا وزیر اعلیٰ یہ ہدایت جاری کرنے کیلئے تیار ہیں کہ کسی شخص کو بستہ (ب) میں درج کرنے سے پہلے اسے کسی ٹریڈ انسر کے سامنے پیش کیا جائے؟ مزید برآں کیا وہ ایسے شخص کو شبہات کے بارے میں کھلی عزالت میں جواب دینے کا حق دینے کیلئے تیار ہیں؟

وزیر اعلیٰ :- بالکل - وہ عزالت میں جاسکتا ہے - تاہم میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ اس حکومت کے عہد میں جو لوگ بستہ (الف) یا (ب) میں رکھے جاتے ہیں انکے بارے میں ہر طرح سے مکمل تحقیقات کی جاتی ہے - بلکہ ہم نے تو یہاں تک کیا ہے کہ انسران متعلقہ کو ہدایات جاری کر دی ہیں کہ وہ بڑے بڑے لوگوں کے گھنے سنے پر خواہ مخواہ لوگوں کو تنگ نہ کریں - اس میں شک نہیں کہ پہلے بڑے بڑے لوگ پولیس والوں پر اثر ڈال کر غریب لوگوں یا اپنے مخالفین کو بستہ (الف) یا (ب) میں رکھوا دیتے تھے - لیکن ہمارے عہد میں ایسے لوگ دب گئے ہیں اور سیدھے راستے پر آگئے ہیں - اب تو شاید ہی کوئی آدمی ہو ماسوا چند پیشہ ور قسم کے بزمعاشوں کے جسے ناجائز طور پر بستہ (الف) یا (ب) میں رکھا گیا ہو - میں پورے وثوق سے کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ اب کسی پاکستانی کو ناجائز طور پر تنگ نہیں کیا جاتا -

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ :- وزیر اعلیٰ کی خدمت میں میری گزارش یہ ہے آیا وہ اس امر کی ہدایت جاری کر دیں گے کہ کسی شخص کو بستہ (ب) میں درج کرنے سے پہلے کہ ان کے اسے کسی ٹریڈ انسر کے سامنے صفائی کیلئے پیش کیا جائے - یہ درست ہے کہ جو کچھ آپ فرما رہے ہیں وہ اب بھی ہو رہا ہے اور آگندہ بھی ہوتا رہے گا -

وزیر اعلیٰ :- میں آنریبل ممبر سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ وہ کوئی ایسا کیس میرے نوٹس میں لائیں - میں ان کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ میں اس کے بارے میں پوری کارروائی کرونگا -



## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

حاجی ریحان الدین صدیقی :- کیا وزیر اعلیٰ بیان کرنے کی زحمت قرار فرمائیے کہ گزشتہ چار یا چھ ماہ میں جن لوگوں کے نام بستم (ب) میں درج کئے گئے ہیں وہ واقعی ان کی اجازت سے کئے گئے ہیں؟ کیا وہ تمام مسلمین منگوا کر دیکھیں گے کہ اس میں جن لوگوں کے نام درج کئے گئے ہیں وہ ان کی منشا اور اجازت سے ہوئی ہیں؟

صاحب سپکر :- اس سوال کی اجازت نہیں دی جا سکتی۔

راہ عبدالرحمن خان :- کیا میں وزیر اعلیٰ سے دریافت کر سکتا ہوں کہ جن قواعد کے تحت انگریز کے عہد میں لوگوں کو بستم (الف) یا (ب) میں درج کیا جاتا تھا اب بھی اس سلسلے میں انہی قواعد پر عملدرآمد کیا جاتا ہے؟

وزیر اعلیٰ :- پہلے زمانے میں بڑے بڑے لوگ جھوٹی گواہیوں کی بنا پر بعض چھوٹے اور غریب آدمیوں کی محض دشمنی کی بنا پر بستم (الف) یا (ب) میں درج کروا دیا کرتے تھے۔ لیکن اب ایسا نہیں ہو سکتا۔ میں آنریبل ممبر کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ اس حکومت کے عہد میں اب اس قسم کے لوگ اپنی کوششوں میں کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتے۔ اگلے دن جب میں باہر دورے پر گیا تو وہاں مجھے ایک آدمی نظر پڑا جو غریب زمینداروں سے آٹا اکٹھا کر رہا تھا اور انہیں خواہ مخواہ تنگ کر رہا تھا۔ لیکن جب اسے مجھے دیکھا تو وہاں سے بھاگ نکلا۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس قسم کے لوگ ہوتے ہیں جنہیں واقعی بستم (الف) یا (ب) میں درج ہونا چاہیے۔ تاہم اس حکومت کی انتہائی کوشش بھی ہے کہ کسی کے ساتھ بے انصافی نہ ہونے پائے۔

**Syed Amir Husain Shah :** Sir, the honourable the Chief Minister has stated that he is prepared to look into any individual case that is brought to his notice. May I submit, Sir, that it is not possible to eradicate administrative ills by looking into cases at random? Is the Chief Minister prepared to give this House an assurance that he is prepared to amend the procedure to this extent that a person against whom charge of goondaism is levelled that person will be given an opportunity to clear himself before a Court of Law.

صاحب سپکر :- یہ ضمنی سوال اس لئے رد کیا جاتا ہے کہ یہ محض ایک suggestion

is. It is a suggestion for a particular action. - ہے۔

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** Sir, on several occasions on the floor of this House during the question hour we have asked Government to give assurance to us whether they are prepared to look into this or that matter, and this method of asking assurances has always been allowed. Now, Sir, I am asking for an assurance, an assurance whether he is prepared to amend the procedure, instead of my asking for an assurance for a particular person. I am asking for an assurance for the amendment of the procedure.

**Mr. Speaker:** You are asking for an assurance and making a suggestion to make amendments to the rules or the law on the subject and this can certainly not form the subject matter of a supplementary question.

میں منظور حسن۔ جناب والا۔ اس سوال کے جزو (د) میں درج ہے کہ -

"آیا برعاش بستم الف اور ب کو اس امر کا موقع دیا جاتا ہے کہ وہ الزامات کے بارہ میں جن کی رو سے اس کو برعاش قرار دیا گیا ہے اپنی بریت کا ثبوت پیش کرے۔"

چونکہ ضابطہ کے مطابق انکو موقع نہیں دیا جاتا کہ وہ اپنی بریت کا ثبوت پیش کریں۔ اس لئے میں یہ دریافت کرتا ہوں کہ آیا حکومت یہ ارادہ رکھتی ہے کہ انہیں اپنی بریت کا ثبوت پیش کرنے کا موقع عطا کرے؟

**Mr. Speaker** Disallowed.

خان عبدالجبار خان۔ جناب عالی انگریزی انگریزوں کے ساتھ ولایت چلی گئی ہے۔ چنانچہ آپ کو چاہئے کہ آپ اپنی تقریر قومی زبان اردو یا پشتو میں کریں اور انگریزی اگر آپ کو اتنی بیماری ہے کہ آپ اسے نہیں چھوڑ سکتے تو آپ بھی ولایت چلے جائیں۔

SINDHI LANGUAGE.

\*236. **Begum Tahira Aijaz Hussain Agha:** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state:—

(a) whether Government are aware of the demand for recognition of Sindhi as a Provincial language;

(b) if answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, the action of Government have taken towards such recognition?

**Bagum G. A. Khan** (Deputy Minister): (a) No;

(b) The question does not arise. Under the Constitution only Urdu and Bengali shall be the State languages.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the honourable Minister in charge whether it is a fact that at the time of establishment of One Unit, definite assurances were given to the people of the integrating provinces that their language and culture will be preserved?

**Chief Minister:** Sindhi, Punjabi and Pushtu will all be regional languages for their respective areas.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Have they been recognised for that purpose?

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Chief Minister:** Yes.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** What steps have been taken for their encouragement and advancement ?

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** No steps have been taken.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** I want to have the answer from the honourable Minister-in-charge.

**Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** I assure the honourable member that my answer will be on behalf of the Government.

The grants for the development have been sanctioned. The scheme for the development of the Sindhi language has been continued by this Government and a grant of one lakh of rupees has been made to the Adabi Board, a grant of 5 lakhs of rupees has been made to the Shah Bhit Culture Centre in Sind and other schemes are under consideration.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** I want to know whether the statement of the honourable Minister in charge is correct when yesterday he said that the question of Shah Bhit Shah is under consideration and it has not yet been finally decided.

**Minister:** More than 5 lakhs of rupees have been finally decided.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Which statement is correct ? Whether the statement of the honourable Minister in charge is correct or the statement of the Minister who is now replying is correct.

**Minister of Law:** Both are correct. What he said was that the details of the Cultural Centres are under consideration but the principle of grants has been decided.

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SECRETARIAT OF THE WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

\*432. **Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state:—

(a) whether Government is aware that under provisions of Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, para. 13 (2) of Fourth Schedule, the Provincial Legislative Assembly has to enact a legislation to regulate the recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to the staff of the Secretariat of the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly;

(b) Whether it is a fact that the Assembly is required to fulfil this statutory obligation; if so, whether Government intend to introduce a Bill in this regard, during the current Session ?

**Begum A. G. Khan (Deputy Minister) :** (a) Yes.

(b) Yes; but it may not be possible to introduce it in the current session.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah (Dadu District):** Is the honourable Minister in charge aware that this question was to be replied to in the last session and now it is nearly three months over since this question has been pending, but this simple ordinary Bill is not being introduced, under para. 13(2) of the IV Schedule of the Constitution.

**Chief Minister :** You mean the conditions of service ?

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Yes.

**Chief Minister :** There is a lot of other work.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Is it a fact that they are contemplating not to call the next session till March next.

**Makhdumzada Syed Hassan Mahmud (Minister) :** It is not so.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** May I draw attention of the honourable Chief Minister to Para. 13 of the Fourth Schedule of the Constitution which says :

“(2) The Provincial Legislature may by law regulate the recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to the staff of the Provincial Assembly.”

Now it is for this House to pass such an Act, but I do not know why this simple Bill is being kept away and what will be the conditions of the persons who are serving in the Legislative Assembly Department. Should you not regulate things properly ?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law) :** As the honourable member has rightly said, it is an enabling section ; it is not a compulsory section. It says the Provincial Government “may” by law regulate. It means until that is done the present rules will be followed.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Here it is made very clear. I would request attention of the honourable Law Minister to sub-para. (3) of rule 13. It says :

“(3) Until provision is made by the Provincial Legislature, the Governor may after consultation with the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, make rules regulating the recruitment and the conditions of service . . . .”

Therefore it is incumbent on the House to pass such an Act or the rules for the staff of the Assembly.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law) : Sir, I think I am correct. You may kindly refer to the Fourth Schedule of the Constitution ; 'Su - clause 3 of rule 13 in this Schedule has made a provision ; so until the Provincial Legislature makes the provisions, you have got the alternative.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah** : Does it mean that the Ministers and the Governor's rule should continue indefinitely ?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law) : I do not say 'indefinitely'. Your suggestion was that we are bound to bring the legislation right now and I disagree with that. It will be brought up at the appropriate time.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah** : What will be the appropriate time ?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law) : We have just started functioning and I hope it will be as soon as possible.

## POINT OF ORDER.

## PROVISION OF FANS IN THE MEMBERS VISITORS' GALLERY.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi** : Sir, I rise on a point of order. You may kindly see rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure. Sir, you have a right to allow visitors to enter the galleries, but I want to bring to your notice that while fans have been provided in the distinguished visitors' gallery, there is none for the members visitors' gallery. That gallery is packed and I think they require fans. I hope you will exercise your discretion in this matter and provide them with fans.

**Mr. Speaker** : Arrangements have been made to provide electric connection in those galleries also and more fans will be supplied.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi** : Thank you, Sir.

**قاضی مرید احمد** - On a point of privilege, Sir, حضور والا میں نہایت ادب کے ساتھ آپ کی توجہ ایک خاص اسلامی مسئلہ کی طرف مبذول کرانا چاہتا ہوں۔ جناب والا کو شائق معلوم ہوگا کہ جب آئربیل سپیکر ہاوس میں تشریف لاتے ہیں تو ان کے اعزاز میں ان کے آگے آگے ایک چپراسی Mace لیے کر چلتا ہے۔ اس پر برطانیہ کا تاج لگا ہوا ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ آئربیل سپیکر جس کرسی پر تشریف فرما ہوتے ہیں میں سجھتا ہوں کہ اس پر بھی تاج کا نشان موجود ہے (قطع کلامیاں اور شور)۔ میں نہایت ادب کے ساتھ گزارش کروں گا کہ جمہوریہ اسلامیہ پاکستان کے معرض وجود میں آنے کے بعد ہمیں چاہیے تھا کہ انگریزی دور کے اس قسم کے غلامانہ نشانات ختم کر دیے جاتے مگر وہ برائے نام موجود ہیں۔

**سیکرٹری** - میں صاحب سپیکر کے حکم سے

(قطع کلامیاں اور شور)۔



**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan :** Secretary cannot address this House.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** On a point of order, Sir. The Secretary cannot address the House under the Rules. May I ask you, Sir, whether a servant of the House can address the House. The Secretary being a servant of the House cannot address the House under any circumstances. (Interruptions).

چودھری سہی محمد : آپ انگریزی میں تقریر کرتے ہیں تو کیا یہ انگریز کا نشان نہیں ہے ؟ (شور) -

صاحب سپیکر : Order please. آپ نے جو یہ سوال اٹھایا ہے نہ Mace پر تاج کا نشان ہے - اس پر تاج کا کوئی نشان نہیں ہے - اس نشان کے متعلق آپ کسی آرٹ گیلری سے دریافت کر سکتے ہیں (شور اور قطع کلامیاں) اور جہانگ عرسی کا تعلق ہے - اس پر کچھ پرانے نشان ہیں - یہ پرانے زمانے کی یادگار ہے - سیکریٹری صاحب کو میں نے اس لئے کہا تھا کہ وہ بہت پرانے اس ہاؤس میں ہیں لہذا وہ آپ کو اس کے متعلق کچھ بتلا سکیں گے (قطع کلامیاں اور شور) اگر آپ اس کے متعلق تفصیلاً دریافت کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو میں آپ کو کل بتلا سکونگا اور میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ اگر کوئی قابل اعتراض بات ہوئی تو اسے تبدیل کر دیا جائیگا -

چودھری سہی محمد : جناب والا انہیں کوئی پرامیٹڈ پیش کرنے سے پہلے اپنے صحن میں صفائی کرائی جا چکی ہے - پہلے یہ اپنے لباس کو دیکھیں - کیا ان کا لباس انگریزی نہیں ہے ؟ ان کی ہر چیز انہی سے ملتی ہے پھر جس زبان میں وہ تقریر کرتے ہیں کیا وہ انگریزوں کی زبان نہیں ہے ؟ ان کی سب چیزیں انگریزی راج کی یادگار ہیں -

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** You should have asked the Secretary about the matter and then informed us, but he cannot address the House.

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS.

### IMPOSITION OF SECTION 144-A IN LAHORE.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the decision of the Government to impose Section 144-A in Lahore by the District authorities on the eve of the Kisan Morcha, thus preventing the ejected tenants to put their point

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of view before the citizens of Lahore by organising themselves into procession to parade the streets.

صاحب سپیکر :- تقریباً اسی مضمون کی تحریک التوا پہلے مسترد کی جا چکی ہے ۔  
اسلئے اسکی اجازت نہیں دی جا سکتی ۔

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** It is different from the older one. It is substantially different. The authorities imposed Section 144-A in Lahore with a view to stopping the ejected tenants from parading the streets of Lahore. These tenants wanted their point of view to be heard and get the sympathy of the citizens of Lahore.

صاحب سپیکر :- دفعہ ۱۴۴ کا نظارہ مشترک مجسٹریٹ کے احکام کے تحت ہوتا ہے اور یہ ایک Norma procedure ہے ۔ اس لحاظ سے یہ تحریک التوا خلاف قواعد ہے ۔

## Distruction of fauna wealth of Pakistan.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, wanton destruction of fauna wealth of Pakistan in the form of precious and rare varieties of trees in he Bagh-i-Jinnah having been cut down to satisfy the caprice of tennis mongers.

صاحب سپیکر :- اس تحریک التوا میں یہ نہیں بتایا گیا کہ درخت کب کاٹے گئے ہیں fauna wealth of Pakistan کے متعلق بھی نہیں بتایا گیا ۔ کہ اسکی تباہی کب ہوئی ۔ یہ واقعات تحریک التوا کے مضمون کے لئے کافی نہیں ہیں ۔

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, may I explain?

**Mr. Speaker :** No.

## Suicide of Hamidullah Beg, M.L.A.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the suicide of Mirza Hamidullah Beg, M.L.A., due to the fact that the Rehabilitation Department harassed him.

صاحب سپیکر :- کیا آپ بتا سکتے ہیں کہ محکمہ بحالیات نے انکو کس طرح harass کیا ؟

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, the deceased before he shot the bullet into his heart wrote a chit—two lines—

- (1) I am committing suicide because of the separation of my friends, and
- (2) because of the difficulties experienced by me in the Rehabilitation Department.

Sir, the last sentence is pregnant with meanings. It has lot of insinuations and implications. Sir, it is clear that when a man, who is visibly healthy and a normal human being before committing suicide, refers to some difficulties created for him by the Rehabilitation Department, it is crystal clear that something was being done against him by the Rehabilitation Department which compelled him to commit suicide. It was the duty of the Government to order a probe into the conditions which led to his suicide.

**صاحب سپیکر ۰** آپ نے یہ کہا ہے کہ محکم بحالیات نے انکے راستے میں جو مشکلات پیدا کیں وہ بھی ایک وجہ تھی جو انکی موت کا باعث ہوئی۔ لیکن اگر یہ معلوم نہ ہو کہ وہ مشکلات کیا تھیں تو یہ محض قیاس آرائیوں کیلئے دروازہ کھولنا ہے۔ لیکن میں حکومت سے دریافت کرتا ہوں کہ اگر انکے پاس کوئی Information ہے تو وہ بیان کریں۔

**سید جمیل حسین رضوی** - (وزیر مہاجرین)۔ جناب والا۔ اگرچہ جو جواب میں مرزا حمید اللہ بیگ مرحوم کی موت کے متعلق دینا چاہتا ہوں وہ انگریزی میں ہے لیکن میں یہ بہتر سمجھتا ہوں کہ جناب کی وساطت سے اس معزز ایوان کے سامنے واقعات کو اردو میں پیش کروں (تالیان)۔

غالباً اس ایوان کے معزز اراکین کو یہ معلوم نہیں کہ مرزا حمید اللہ بیگ مرحوم میرے نہایت قریبی عزیز تھے۔ انکی حقیقی بھانجی میری بیوی کے حقیقی بھانجے سے شادی شدہ ہے۔ انکی شادی کو پچیس سال سے زیادہ عرصہ ہو چکا ہے اور وہ بڑی کامیاب ثابت ہوئی ہے۔ انکے بچے بھی ہیں۔ اسکے علاوہ وہ بیس سال کے زائر عرصہ سے میرے ذاتی دوست تھے۔ چنانچہ جسوقت ریپبلین پارٹی اور مسلم لیگ کے درمیان tussle شروع ہوئی تو مرزا حمید اللہ بیگ مرحوم میرے پاس آئے اور کہا کہ چودھری صلاح الدین کے ساتھ میرے اس قسم کے ذاتی تعلقات ہیں کہ انکی بنا پر میں باوجود اسکے کہ آپکا عزیز ہوں آپکا ساتھ نہیں دے سکتا۔ اسوقت مرزا حمید اللہ بیگ کے حقیقی بھانجے خلیفہ سید حسن بھی موجود تھے۔ میں نے ان سے کہا کہ آپکو اس بات کی قطعی ضرورت نہ تھی کہ اس مقصد کیلئے میرے پاس تشریف لاتے اور نہ کسی Explanation کی ضرورت تھی۔ آپ آزادانہ طور پر جس طرف چاہیں روٹ دیں۔ چنانچہ جس دن سپیکر کا الیکشن ہوا انہوں نے مسلم لیگ اسمبلی پارٹی کے ساتھ ووٹ دیا۔

ان کے پاس جسقدر الاٹمنٹس تھیں انکی تفصیل یہ ہے۔

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۱۔ ان کو ایک سینما کا حصہ الاٹ تھا جس سے انکو پانچ سو روپے ماہانہ آمدنی ہوتی تھی ۔

۲۔ ان کے پاس ایک باغ Urban area میں الاٹ تھا جس سے تقریباً دس ہزار روپے سالانہ کی آمدنی تھی ۔

۳۔ ان کے claim میں جتنی زمین بنتی ہے وہ پوری کی پوری الاٹ شدہ تھی ۔ جس میں انہوں نے ثوب ویل لگایا ہوا تھا اور ٹریکٹر سے کاشتکاری کرتے تھے ۔ اس وقت محکمہ بحالیات کے ذمے انکا کوئی مطالبہ باقی نہ تھا سوائے ایک درخواست کے جو وہ پہلی حکومت کے سامنے بھی اور ہمارے سامنے بھی پیش کرتے رہے اور وہ یہ تھی کہ جو میرے نام پر باغ اربن ایریا میں الاٹ ہے اسکو مستقل کر دیا جائے ۔ چنانچہ جس مہینے انکی وفات ہوئی اس ماہ کی سترہ تاریخ کو وہ میرے پاس آئے ۔ سید حسن صاحب بھی انکے ساتھ تھے ۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ باغ مستقل طور پر میرے نام الاٹ کر دیا جائے ۔ میں نے انکو یہ کہا کہ ہم اس معاملے پر مرکزی حکومت سے خط و کتابت کر رہے ہیں ۔ جب ہمیں اربن ایریا کی الاٹمنٹ کی اجازت مل جائے گی تو اسکا فیصلہ ہو سکتا ہے ۔ اس سے پہلی حکومت بھی انکو یہ جواب دے چکی تھی ۔ اسکے علاوہ محکمہ بحالیات سے انکا کوئی مطالبہ نہ تھا ۔

جناب والا ۔ میں نے یہ بیان اسلئے دیا ہے کہ اول تو میری انکے ساتھ عزیز داری کی بنا پر یہ معنی نہ تھا کہ انکے ساتھ بے انصافی کرتا لیکن اگر کوئی کسی قسم کا دباؤ ہوتا جو مجھے انکے ساتھ بے انصافی کرنے پر مجبور کرتا جو کہ نہیں کیا گیا تو وہ قریبی عزیز داری کی بنا پر مانع ہو سکتا تھا ۔

میں نے آپکی خدمت میں جو بیان دیا ہے اسکی تائید میں میرے پاس دو خطوط موجود ہیں ۔ ایک مرزا حمید اللہ بیگ مرحوم کے بڑے بھائی مرزا عطاء اللہ بیگ صاحب کا ہے اور دوسرا انکے لڑکے پروین اختر کا ہے ۔ یہ دونوں خطوط میں ایران کی اطلاع کیلئے پڑھنا چاہتا ہوں لیکن انکے ورثا نے اس خواہش کا اظہار کیا ہے کہ انکی موت کے واقعات کو موضوع بحث نہ بنایا جائے ۔ چنانچہ میں نے چند سوالات بھیجے تھے جن کے جوابات مجھے ملے ہیں ۔

میرا پہلا سوال یہ تھا کہ کیا مرزا صاحب کی بھانجی کی شادی میری بیوی کے بھانجے سے ہوئی تھی؟ انکی شادی کو کتنا عرصہ ہوا ہے ؟ کیا انکی ازدواجی زندگی خوشگوار ہے اور انکے بچے ہیں؟ اسکا جواب ہے ہاں ۔ میری بھانجی ثریا سلطانہ آپکی بیوی کے بھانجے کے ساتھ پچیس سال سے شادی شدہ ہے اور خوشگوار زندگی بسر کر رہی ہے ۔ انکے بچے ہیں ۔

دوسرا سوال یہ تھا کہ کیا اس عزیزداری کے علاوہ وہ میرے ذاتی دوست بھی تھے؟ اس کا جواب ہے ۔ ہاں ۔

میرا تیسرا سوال یہ تھا کہ آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ میں نے کبھی مرزا صاحب کو انکی الاٹمنٹ منسوخ کرنے کی دہمکتی دی یا ان پر کسی قسم کا دباؤ ڈالا کہ وہ ریپبلکن پارٹی میں شامل ہو جائیں - جواب ہے -

No. He never informed us or my mother of this.

Mr. G. Allana : On a point of order, Sir. I hope the honourable Minister will sit down when I am standing on a point or order.

Mr. Speaker, as far as I understand, the position is that an adjournment motion has been moved, and you have called upon the honourable Minister-in-Charge to put the facts before the House, and primarily before you, so that you may be able to make up your mind on the admissibility of the adjournment motion. I think it would be relevant on the part of the honourable Minister to put before the House, and particularly before you, the facts as he knows in so far as they relate to the deceased. The honourable Minister has put before you the evidence not from the deceased but from others.

Evidence of this type, particularly on the part of the Government, is not difficult to be trumped up in a country like this. I find the evidence that the Opposition has is absolutely irrefutable, as far as I understand the case—and believe me, I know nothing about the facts. I understood honourable member Mr. Kirmani to say that Mr. Hamidullah Beg had himself written a letter, in his own hand-writing and, therefore, you should prevent the honourable Minister from reading out to you something which is not on the authority of the deceased himself and is likely to prejudice your mind.

Mr. Speaker: The relatives of the deceased, who were living in his house, were in the best position to say about the state of his mind when he committed suicide. It may not be, strictly speaking, evidence in a Court of Law, but, for the information of the House and for deciding this matter, I think these facts can be considered.

Mr. G. Allana: Whether the facts now being read out to the House are correct or not would form part of the debate only when the honourable House has decided to discuss the adjournment motion. At present, the matter under discussion concerns the admissibility of the adjournment motion. At this stage, statements like those the honourable Minister is making now, are, I think, absolutely irrelevant.

Mr. Speaker: I have already said in this connection that the deceased wrote a chit in which a very brief statement was made that he had some difficulties with the Rehabilitation Department. This is not a definite matter as to what difficulties he had and if the Government is in a position to tell the House as to what these difficulties were, then I think it becomes admissible.

Rana Gul Muhammad Noon *alias* Abdul Aziz Noon: On a point of Order. May I ask the honourable Minister, through you, Sir, as to what necessity did he feel to send this questionnaire to the deceased's brother and his son?



## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

Was he putting up some evidence to meet future allegations or for some future case regarding the Rehabilitation Department for the difficulties created by then?

**Mr. Speaker:** This is no point of order. The honourable member should know that the honourable Minister has already explained that as the deceased had some complaints about the Rehabilitation Department; it was therefore quite proper to enquire from his wife and sons and daughters about the circumstances connected with his suicide.

سیز جمیل حسین رضوی - جناب والا - یہ سب غیر متعلقہ باتیں ہو رہی ہیں -

میاں منظور حسن - جناب والا - میں پوائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں -

صاحب سپیکر - آپ بیٹھ جائیے - ہمارے سامنے ہمارے ایک معزز رکن کی موت کا سوال ہے اور یہ ایوان بھی اس میں بڑی دلچسپی لے رہا ہے - اس سوال پر پہلے دنوں بھی بحث ہوتی رہی ہے - اور اگر آج ایوان میں اس کے متعلق کوئی مزید اطلاع مل رہی ہے تو آپ کو چاہئے کہ آپ اس کو سکون سے سنیں -

میاں منظور حسن - جناب والا - میں ایک نہایت ہی اہم پوائنٹ آف آرڈر آپ کے سامنے پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں - امید ہے آپ مجھے ضرور ایک منٹ دے دیں گے -

صاحب سپیکر - آپ کا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر کیا ہے - اگر آپ کا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر غیر متعلقہ ہوا تو میں یہ سمجھونگا کہ آپ جان بوجھ کر ایوان کا قیمتی وقت ضائع کر رہے ہیں -

میاں منظور حسن - جناب والا - میرا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر یہ ہے کہ جب آپ نے یہ اجازت دی ہے کہ دوسری secondary evidence پیش ہو تو کیا آپ ان ممبران کو بھی بولنے کا موقع دے دیں گے جنہیں مرزا حمید اللہ بیگ کے روپرو گفتگو کرنے کا اتفاق ہوا اور جن سے مرحوم نے اپنی تکلیفات بیان کیں اور اس Political pressure کا بھی ذکر کیا جو ان پر حکومت کی طرف سے ڈالا گیا تھا -

صاحب سپیکر - اگر منسٹر صاحب کے جواب سے میری تسلی نہ ہوگی اور میں نے مناسب سمجھا کہ اس تحریک التوا کو ایوان میں بحث کے لئے پیش کیا جائے تو اس کو پیش کیا جائے گا اور اس پر بحث ہوگی - اور اگر بحث ضروری نہ سمجھی گئی تو میں کسی شخص کی Secondary evidence کو (جو کسی ایسے شخص کی طرف سے ہو جو مرزا صاحب مرحوم کے عزیز و اقارب میں سے نہ ہو) مرزا صاحب مرحوم و منظور کی بیوی اور ان کے بچوں کی evidence سے زیادہ قابل اعتماد اور قابل قبول نہ سمجھونگا اور اسے ترجیح نہ دوں گا -

میاں منظور حسن - جناب والا - میں نے یہ نہیں کہا کہ آپ کے سامنے کوئی secondary evidence پیش کروں گا - میں نے primary evidence دینے کو کہا ہے -

**Mr. Speaker :** Please sit down and do not waste the time of the House. The honourable Minister should continue.

سیّد جمیل حسن رضوی (وزیر مہاجرین و بحالیات) - جناب والا - میں ان معروضات کو پیش کرنے سے پہلے دو باتیں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں - ایک تو یہ کہ مجھے اسکا بالکل اعتراض نہ ہوگا کہ میں اپنا خط اور وہ \*دونوں خطوط جو ان کے بھائی اور ان کے لڑکے کی طرف سے مجھے موصول ہوئے ہیں میں ایران میں پیش کروں - دوسری چیز یہ ہے کہ مسٹر الانا نے یہ کہا تھا کہ

The Minister does not have direct information from the deceased and for that you will have to depute Mr. G. Allana or somebody else to find out from the deceased. (Interruptions).

اس کے بعد جناب والا - میں نے مرحوم کی بیوی سے یہ سوال کیا تھا کہ کیا مرزا صاحب گذشتہ بیس سال سے متواتر اپنی روزانہ ڈائری لکھا کرتے تھے اور کیا انہوں نے کبھی اپنی ڈائری میں یہ لکھا کہ میں نے بحیثیت وزیر ان کو دھمکی دی کہ اگر وہ ریپبلکن پارٹی میں شامل نہ ہونگے تو ان کی الاٹ منٹیں منسوخ کردی جائیں گی - اور کیا انہوں نے اپنی ڈائری میں محکمہ بحالیات سے کسی قسم کی شکایت کا تذکرہ کیا تھا -

اس سوال کے جواب میں مرحوم کے لڑکے نے اپنی والدہ کی طرف سے لکھا ہے کہ -

Yes. He never informed us or my mother of this.

اس کے بعد میں نے لکھا تھا کہ کیا تمام زمین ان کو مل گئی ہے - اس کے متعلق یہ جواب دیا گیا ہے کہ -

Yes. The claim of rural agricultural land was almost satisfied.

اس کے بعد کا سوال میری طرف سے یہ تھا کہ کیا یہ درست ہے کہ باغ جو مرزا صاحب کے نام عارضی طور پر الاٹ کیا گیا ہے اس مطالبہ اراضی سے زائد ہے اور جب باغ مستقل طور پر الاٹ کیا جائے گا تو اراضی اسی نسبت سے کم کر دی جائے گی - اس کا جواب یوں دیا گیا ہے کہ

My mother is actually not aware of the exact position. We have not been able to find out relevant papers on account of our trouble.

اس کے بعد میں نے یہ سوال پوچھا کہ کیا عرصہ سے مرزا صاحب کو High Blood Pressure تھا اور اس وجہ سے ان کی طبیعت ناساز رہتی تھی - اس کا جواب ملا کہ

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

اس کے بعد میں نے سوال کیا تھا کہ کیا مرزا صاحب نے اپنی زمین میں ایک ٹیوب ویل لگایا تھا اور ایک ٹریکٹر بھی خریدا تھا اور کیا ان کو اس سلسلہ میں ٹیوب ویل کے خراب ہو جانے سے کافی نقصانات اٹھانے پڑے تھے اور کیا یہ بھی صحیح ہے کہ اس طرح مرزا صاحب مقروض ہو گئے تھے اور اگر مقروض ہو گئے تھے تو کس حد تک -

اس کا جواب یہ دیا گیا ہے کہ -

Yes. He suffered loss about a couple of years ago. As regards his actual debts my mother is not aware.

اس خط کے آخری الفاظ یہ ہیں کہ ان کی گھریلو زندگی نہایت ہی خوشگوار تھی اور وہ ہم سب سے بڑی محبت کرتے تھے اور وہ اپنی بیماری کے دوران میں یہ دعا کیا کرتے تھے کہ اے اللہ تعالیٰ مجھے لمبی عمر عطا فرما تاکہ میں اپنے خاندان کے افراد کو اپنی زندگی میں پروان چڑھتے دیکھ سکوں - وہ Rehabilitation کے سلسلہ میں کسی قسم کی difficulty میں مبتلا نہ تھے - مگر ان کو صرف یہ خیال ضرور رہتا تھا کہ ان کو جو urban garden ملا ہوا ہے (چونکہ ان کو یہ باغ ان کی اس اراضی کے عوض ملا تھا جو rural area میں تھی) وہ ان کے نام confirm کر دیا جائے - اس کے علاوہ ان کو کوئی تکلیف محکمہ بحالیات کی طرف سے نہیں تھی - اور ہمیں ہرگز علم نہیں کہ وہ کون سی چیز تھی جس نے انہیں اپنی زندگی ختم کر دینے پر مجبور کیا -

اس خط کے آخر میں درخواست کی گئی ہے کہ "ہمارے والد مرحوم کی موت کو معرض بحث میں لا کر ہمارے grief میں اضافہ نہ کیا جائے"

اس کے علاوہ جناب والا مرزا صاحب مرحوم و مغفور کے بھائی نے بھی مجھے ایک خط لکھا جس میں انہوں نے کہا ہے کہ "مرزا صاحب کی گھریلو زندگی خوشگوار تھی - ان کے نام ایک باغ الاٹ تھا جس کو وہ permanently اپنے لئے حاصل کرنا چاہتے تھے - اس فکر نے اور high blood pressure نے ان کی صحت کو بالکل برباد کر دیا تھا - میں کہہ نہیں سکتا کہ ان کے دماغ میں کیا بات تھی جسکی وجہ سے انہوں نے اپنی جان ختم کی -"

آج کے اخبار میں آپ نے خود پڑھا ہوگا کہ ہمارے ایک انجینیئر نے محض blood-pressure کا مریض ہونے کی وجہ سے اپنی جان ہل سے چھلانگ لگا کر دیہی - مرزا حمید اللہ بیگ مرحوم کے تمام دوست اور تمام اراکین اسمبلی جانتے ہیں کہ وہ عرصہ سے blood-pressure کے مریض تھے ان تمام وجوہات کی بنا پر - ان تمام چیزوں کی بنا پر جو ان کے عزیز ترین اعزاء نے لکھی ہیں کہتا ہوں کہ اس قسم کی عرشی evidence موجود نہیں ہے جس کی بنا پر یہ کہا جاسکے کہ انہیں محکمہ بحالیات سے کس قسم کا شکوہ تھا - بلکہ اگر آپ سچ پوچھتے تو انکو باغ urban property سے زیادہ ملا ہوا تھا انکو ڈر تھا کہ جب باغ permanently confirm ہوگا

تر اسکے تناسب کے مطابق زمین کم کر دی جائے گی۔ ایسی صورت میں یہ بات صاف ہے کہ مرحوم کو آبادکاری کے محکمہ سے کوئی تکلیف نہ تھی۔ صرف مخالف کو محض بیکار ہر معاملہ میں کیچڑ اچھالنا مقصود ہے ورنہ دراصل انکو کسی قسم کی تکلیف محکمہ آبادکاری سے نہیں پہنچی۔ انکی موت محض بیماری کی وجہ سے واقع ہوئی تھی۔

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Sir, I would like to say a few things for the information of the honourable minister and for the information of the House. Sir, I want to give some information on the point. Before I do that, I want to assure the honourable minister Rehabilitation that (*Maksud Keecher Uchalna Nahi Hai*), but my object is to perform some public duty as public has resented this and it was not meant to do any harm to any individual.

As regards evidence, here the deceased has got a garden of 18 acres of land in Shahdra. That garden was within the Municipal limits. Sir, because Government have taken no decision with regard to the disposal of urban property, this garden which is situated within the Municipal limits, was kept unallotted not only by the Provincial Government but also by the Central Government. Sir, I know it for a fact that since there was a struggle for power between Daultana and Malik Firoze Khan Noon he was forced to vote in a particular manner and the allotment of garden standing in his name was cancelled. For his information, Sir, I am coming to the climax. Sir, my information is that Gen. Badar told me that when the tussle for power was started in West Pakistan, Mirza Hamidullah Beg was extremely worried as to what would happen to his garden and, Sir, according to his information, the authorities had called for the file in relation to his garden. On the eve of his death, he being a member of the Punjab Club Association, of which I am also partly a member, he was present there, he was very happy and jovial and he had not indicated any sign of bad health.

**Dr. Khan Sahib :** (Chief Minister) : Sir, the honourable member is wasting the time of the House and I request the Chair that as we have got other work so at least he should close this chapter.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, the honourable the Chief Minister has become so much short-tempered that he does not want even to give me my right to be able to put the points before the House. Sir, I have the greatest respect for him, but when I exercise my right then that greatness ignores and prevents me from performing my duty.

**Dr. Khan Sahib :** (chief Minister) I have got no short temper. I never said any such thing, but I request the Chair that in this way the time of the House is being wasted. When the relatives of the deceased want that his case should not be discussed any more, so that their grief may not be more aggravated, I think it is in the best interest that this sort of discussion is stopped.

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**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I am a journalist also and I have got some information.

جناب والا میں عرض کر رہا تھا کہ جس رات متوفی خود کشی کی تھی وہ اس رات پنجاب قلم اسوسی ایشن تفریف لے گئے تھے جسکا میں بھی ممبر ہوں۔ وہ وہاں پر رات کو گیارہ بجے تک بیٹھے رہے۔ فیڈرل کورٹ کے چیف جسٹس محمد منیر بھی وہاں موجود تھے۔ انہوں نے کوئی بات اس قسم کی نہیں کہی جس سے یہ احساس ہوتا کہ انکی صحت پر Blood pressure کی وجہ سے کوئی خاص اثر ہے بلکہ وہ normal تھے۔ بالکل ٹھیک تھے۔ انکی باتیں۔ انکے خیالات۔ ان کے ہوش حواس بالکل کنٹرول انسانوں جیسے تھے۔ جناب والا۔ میں اپکو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ وہ رات کے ساڑھے گیارہ بجے اپنے مکان پر واپس تفریف لے گئے اور انہوں نے جاکر پانی پیا اور پنکھا چھوڑ کر اپنے کمرے میں لیٹ گئے۔

**صاحب سپیکر :-** آپ سے زیادہ انکے بچے جانتے ہیں۔

**Main Muhammad Shafi :** I am journalist also. You know it.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order.

**Dr. Saeeduddin Swaleh :** Sir, Mirza Ahmed Baig is gone and is gone for ever, but he was one of us and what the honourable Minister said was merely one-sided picture. I want to suggest that a thorough and impartial inquiry should be made in this matter.

**سردار محمد ظفر اللہ :-** عالی جاہ میرا پرائنٹ آف آرڈر یہ ہے کہ آپ نے ابھی فرمایا ہے کہ کوئی بھی شہادت اس قسم کی موجود نہیں ہے کہ جس سے یہ ثابت ہوسکے کہ مرزا حمید اللہ بیگ نے محکمہ بحالیات کی سختیوں کے ماتحت خودکشی کی (مداخلت) اور یہی میں عرض کر رہا ہوں کہ ایسے معاملات میں اور ایسے حالات میں بہترین گواہ کوئی اکر ہو سکتا ہے تو وہ خود مرزا حمید اللہ بیگ ہی ہوسکتے ہیں جبکہ انہوں نے خود اپنے قلم سے یہ لکھا ہے کہ . . . . .

**صاحب سپیکر :-** آپنا پرائنٹ آف آرڈر کیا ہے۔

**سردار محمد ظفر اللہ :-** میری عرض یہ ہے کہ اس معاملہ کے متعلق تحقیقات ہونی چاہئے۔ اس سلسلہ میں جو شہادتیں معزز ایوان کے سامنے پیش کی گئی ہیں وہ کوئی value (اہمیت) نہیں رکھتیں۔

**صاحب سپیکر :-** This is not a point of order. میں نے جیسا

پہلے عرض کیا تھا کہ جو تحریر انکے اعزاء کی طرف منسوب کی جاتی ہے اس میں کوئی چیز ایسی درج نہیں ہے جس سے یہ ظاہر ہوسکے کہ مرحوم کو محکمہ بحالیات تھپڑ سے کسی



قسم کی تکلیف پہنچی تھی۔ میان محمد شفیع نے یہ کہا ہے کہ مرحوم کو پریشانی یہ تھی کہ جو باغ انہیں rural property کی جگہ الاٹ ہوا تھا وہ اس وقت تک انہیں مستقل طور پر الاٹ نہیں ہوا تھا۔ انہیں خرچہ تھا کہ وہ الاٹمنٹ کہیں منسوخ نہ ہو جائے۔ مرحوم کو یہ تکلیف تھی۔ معزز ممبر کو یہ معلوم ہونا چاہیے کہ urban property الاٹ کرنا مرکزی حکومت کا کام ہے۔ صوبائی حکومت کا کام نہیں ہے۔ لہذا یہ پرائنٹ آف آرڈر مسترد کیا جاتا ہے۔

**Loss of life and property due to floods—Dera Ghazi Khan District.**

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the failure of Government to take timely and proper steps resulting in severe losses of life and property due to floods in Dera Ghazi Khan district.

**Mr. Speaker :** This is a matter of public importance but the Government have already supplied aid to the flood affected people. It is therefore ruled out.

**Extension of a grant of land to a British landlord.**

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, Government decision to extend a grant comprising of 60 squares of land at Koleyana in Montgomery district on extremely easy terms to a British landlord at a time when thousands of ejected tenants are going abegging for agricultural land.

**Mr. Speaker :** This adjournment motion is clearly out of order. The land was given on lease long long ago and it may have been renewed, as there is a provision for its renewal.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, although I believe that you are the final authority to rule out the motion for adjournment.....(Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker :** Please sit down. I understand that there is a provision that the lease can be renewed after certain period.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, that has expired and now it is being renewed. It should not be renewed, but they are going to do it and they should not do it.

**Mr. G. Allana :** On a point of order. There was an adjournment motion of Mian Muhammad Shafi. It is fit and proper that the Speaker, as far as

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

the facts are concerned, should call upon the Government to let him know the facts. That has been the procedure adopted on adjournment motions. But what is the procedure which is being adopted in the case of this adjournment motion? You have without asking the Government volunteered yourself certain information. How are we to know whether your information is in consonance with facts or not? What-ever your decision, we shall accept. But I would request the honourable Minister in charge to first put the facts before you and then you can make up your mind.

**Mr. Speaker:** I can make up my mind after having the adjournment motion read by the honourable member, but if there is some doubt I can ask the Government to explain their position. In this case I have absolutely no doubt that this cannot be the subject matter of an adjournment motion. It is clearly out of order.

**Paucity and exorbitant rates of foodgrain in Dera Ismail Khan.**

**Haji Ata Ullah Khan :** Sir, I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the extreme paucity of foodgrains and the exorbitant rates thereof prevailing in Dera Ismail Khan on account of which the public of that area is faced with untold hardships.

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no restriction on the movement of foodgrains throughout West Pakistan and deficit can be made up through normal channels. It is not obligatory for the Government to make foodgrains available in deficit areas where prices are going up. There are no restrictions on the movement of foodgrains.

Gul Hayat Institute حاجی عطاء اللہ خان - آپ پہلے میری بات تو سن لیں -

صاحب سپیکر - تہیں - میں ابھی نہیں سن سکتا - (شور) اب جبکہ گندم کی نقل و حرکت پر سے تمام پابندیاں اٹھ چکی ہیں تجارتی لوگ پنجاب سے سندھ سے جہاں سے چاہیں گندم خرید کر جہاں چاہیں لے جا سکتے ہیں - لہذا یہ تحریک التوا آرٹ آف آرڈر ہے -

حاجی عطاء اللہ خان - جناب والا - آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ چونکہ قانونی پابندیاں اٹھ گئی ہیں اسلئے اب صوبے میں ہر جگہ گندم کی ریل پیل ہو گئی ہے اور ہر جگہ گندم آسانی سے اور فراوانی کے ساتھ پہنچ رہی ہے - یہ سراسر غلط خیال ہے ہمارے ضلع میں گندم کی سخت قلت ہے اور سلسلہ مواصلات منقطع ہو چکا ہے -

صاحب سپیکر - آپ اپنی دوسری تحریک التوا پڑھئے ۔

حاجی عطاء اللہ خان - جب آپ بات نہیں سنتے تو تحریک کے پڑھنے سے کیا فائدہ

ہوگا ۔

صاحب سپیکر - آپ کی دوسری تحریک زیادہ اہم اور ضروری ہے وہ پڑھئے ۔

Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon: I wanted to say a few words on the adjournment motion already moved by the honourable member.

Mr. Speaker: No.

Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon: It concerns the public.

Mr. Speaker: Please resume your seat.

Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon: Thank you.

چودھری سہی محمد - جناب والا - میں اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ آپ ارکان سے کہیں کہ وہ انگریزی کی بجائے اردو میں بولیں ۔ ایک طرف تو آپ اسلامی باتوں پر زور دیتے ہیں مگر دوسری طرف ان پر خود ہی عمل نہیں کرتے ۔ انگریزی تو آپ لعنت قرار دیتے تھے وہ تو چلے گئے مگر ان کی زبان انگریزی باقی رہ گئی ہے ۔ جب تک انگریزی یہاں باقی ہے انگریز کی لعنت باقی رہیگی ۔

Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon: On a point of order. May I ask the honourable member, who does not know English, whether it is un-Islamic to speak in English. Then why does he make this reference. He should withdraw those observations.

صاحب سپیکر - انگریزی بولنا غیر اسلامی فعل نہیں ؟

چودھری سہی محمد - پھر یہ انگریزی لعنت کا ذکر بار بار کیوں کیا جاتا ہے ؟

انگریز چلا گیا مگر انگریزی لعنت ابھی جاری ہے ۔

صاحب سپیکر - چودھری سہی محمد صاحب کو اس طرح کی باتیں نہیں کرنی چاہئیں

میں نے ان کو کچھ کہا تو یہ بول پڑے اور جب میں نے ان سے کچھ کہا تو وہ بول پڑے اس طرح کی باتوں کو کرنا ہے تو پھر آپ ..... (شور)

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں گیلانی - جب ہم نے کچھ کہا تو آپ بول پڑے (تہقیر)

صاحب سپیکر - میں نے بولنا ہوا ۔ سپیکر کے فرائض میں داخل ہے کہ وہ ایوان میں

آرڈر بحال رکھے ۔

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

**Havoc played by the floods in Dera Ismail Khan District.**

**Haji Ata Ullah Khan :** Sir, I beg to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the havoc played by the recent torrential rains and unprecedented floods in the towns, villages and suburban areas of Dera Ismail Khan District resulting in suspension of communications and grave inconvenience to the public.

صاحب سپیکر۔ یہ تحریک التوا جو سیلاب سے متعلق ہے پہلے بھی دیگر تحریک التوا کی صورت میں ہمارے سامنے آچکی ہے مگر چونکہ گورنمنٹ نے سیلاب کی صورت حال پر بحث کرنے کے لئے پہلے ہی ایک دن مخصوص کرنے کا وعدہ کر رکھا ہے اگرچہ مجھے ابھی تک یہ نہیں بتایا گیا کہ کون سا خاص دن اس کے لئے مخصوص کیا گیا ہے تاہم حکومت کے کہنے پر ہم ایک دن سیلاب کی صورت حال پر بحث کرنے کے لئے مخصوص کیا جائیگا۔ میں ان تحریکوں کو مسترد کرتا رہا ہوں لیکن اگر یہ ایوان چاہے تو میں اس تحریک التوا کو آج ہی ایڈجٹ کرانے اور زیر بحث لانے کے لئے تیار ہوں۔

سیز غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں گیلانی۔ گورنمنٹ سے پوچھئے۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے سیلاب پر بحث کرنے کا معاملہ ایجنڈے میں شامل ہے۔

حاجی عطاء اللہ خان۔ جناب والا۔ ہمارے علاقے میں اور بعض دیگر علاقوں میں بھی وسائل رسل و رسائل اور آمد و رفت کٹ چکے ہیں اس لئے آپ خود ہی غور فرمائیں کہ غریب آدمی کس طرح اٹھارہ روپے فی من گندم لے کر گذارہ کر سکتا ہے۔ مخصوص جبکہ اس گران درخ پر بھی گندم ضرورت کے مطابق نہیں مل رہی ہے۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ یہ معاملہ ایجنڈے میں شامل ہے۔

خواجہ حافظ غلام سید رحیم۔ ہم از کم دو روز اس کے لئے وقف کرنے چاہئیں۔  
(آوازیں۔ اس کے لئے تو پورا ایک دن چاہئے) (شور)۔

**Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzada: (Minister of Law):** If you think the motion is admissible, I shall not stand in the way of the honourable member and it can be fixed for discussion this evening. You can discuss it today, if it is admissible.

**Haji Ata Ullah Khan:** Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my adjournment motion.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** Through you, may I ask the Government when do they propose to discuss the flood situation.

صاحب سپیکر :- اگر ایوان میں اتفاق رائے ہو کہ یہ معاملہ آج زیر بحث آجائے تو میں اس تحریک کو ایڈٹ کرنے پر رضامند ہوں ۔

### MISREPORTING IN THE PRESS.

**Mr. Speaker:** Chaudhri Muhammad Ahsan made a complaint that his speech was not correctly reported in the Pakistan Times on 3rd August 1956. I have gone through the original speech as well as the version given in the paper and find that the speech has not been properly reported in the paper. I request the Press to issue a correction and give the correct version of Chaudhri Muhammad Ahsan's speech and in future the Press should be more careful while reporting the speeches of honourable members.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** What about the words in my speech which have not been reported in the Press properly.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is being equiried into.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Ahsan:** Sir, I just want to know if the Press will issue a correct version of my speech.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes, they should issue the correct version.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Ahsan:** Then I would thank the press.

خان صفی اللہ خان :- آن اے پرائنٹ آف پریولنج - میرا استحقاقی نکتہ یہ ہے کہ ایک اخبار میں میری طرف بھی ایک غلط بات منسوب کی گئی ہے اور غالباً یہ اسلئے کیا گیا ہے کہ جس معزز ممبر کے ضمن میں وہ بات میری طرف منسوب کی گئی ہے وہ ان کے ہم پیشہ ہیں ۔ یہ اخبار جس کا نام مغربی پاکستان ہے اس میں یہ لکھا ہوا ہے کہ میں نے انہیں کوئی دھمکی دی تھی ۔ وہ جناب والا - اپنے آپ کو شاہ صاحب کہتے ہیں میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ شاہ صاحب نہیں ہیں ورنہ وہ اس قسم کے الفاظ ہرگز نہ استعمال کرتے جو انہوں نے اس وقت پٹھانوں کے متعلق استعمال کئے - مجھے تو افسوس ہے کہ پٹھانوں نے بھی یہ بات نہیں سمجھی - جناب والا - انہوں نے پٹھانوں کو ہینگ اور گڑ کھانے والے کہا - میں آپ سے عرض کروں گا کہ اس وقت میں نے صرف یہ سوال اٹھایا تھا کہ انہیں یہ الفاظ استعمال نہیں کرنے چاہئیں تھے ورنہ میں نے انہیں کوئی تھریٹ وغیرہ نہیں دیا جناب والا - میں جب تھریٹ دیا کرتا ہوں تو اس سے پہلے اقدام کیا کرتا ہوں اور تھریٹ نہیں دیا کرتا - میں وہ نہیں جو زبانی لڑائی کروں -

صاحب سپیکر :- آپ کا پوائنٹ آف پریولنج کیا ہے ؟

خان صفی اللہ خان :- اس اخبار میں یہ لکھا ہے کہ میں نے انہیں تھریٹ دیا ہے یعنی جب وہ تقریر کر رہے تھے تو میں نے کھڑے ہو کر شاہ صاحب کو چیلنج کرتے ہوئے کہا I never said these words. - چکھایا جائیگا -



## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

صاحب سپیکر :- یہ معاملہ بھی پریس کمیٹی کے سامنے لایا جائیگا۔

خان صفی اللہ خان :- جو کچھ مغربی پاکستان میں ہمارے ساتھ ہو رہا ہے ویسا ہی سلوک اس مغربی پاکستان اخبار نے ہمارے ساتھ کیا ہے۔

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالہ گیلانی :- میں اس قسم کے بوگس آدمی کے تھریٹ کی ذرا بھی پروا نہیں کرتا۔

خان صفی اللہ خان :- میں نے ان کو تھریٹ نہیں دیا تھا۔

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالہ گیلانی :- ہمارے سامنے انہوں نے یہ کہا تھا۔ اب وہ اس سے مکررے کیوں ہیں۔

خان صفی اللہ خان :- میں نے ہرگز ایسا نہیں کہا۔ صاحب سپیکر انہوں نے میرے متعلق بوگس کا لفظ استعمال کیا۔

**Mr. Speaker :** Please withdraw the word "bogus".

سید غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالہ گیلانی :- بہت بہتر جناب میں اسے واپس لیتا ہوں۔

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, I also brought to notice yesterday that the incident of the 2nd August, which resulted in your ruling that I should withdraw from the House for the day, was also incorrectly reported in the press, and you said that you will look into it.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have not been able to look into that matter yet. I will

### PRINCIPLE OF ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

**Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law) :** Sir, I wanted to say that we have had enough discussion on this subject now, we have been discussing it for three days. If the House agrees, there should be closure and I should be allowed to make a reply.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, the suggestion of the Law Minister is opposed.

**Mr. Dharamdas Waryani :** Sir, I did not finish my speech yesterday.

**Mr. Speaker :** You had finished your speech yesterday.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, we have got a right of reply.

**Mr. Speaker :** If a closure motion is moved from any side and if the motion is carried by the House, I have no power to call members who have already spoken to make a reply, but if a closure is not moved, then I will certainly give them an opportunity to explain if any new points have been raised. The Law Minister has just mentioned about the closure, but he has not moved the motion for closure in accordance with the rules. I would request both sides not to move it at the moment because some minority members and some members from other political parties have yet to make speeches and I will give them 15 minutes each and after that the debate may be closed.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Sir, may I express my views for your consideration. As far as I can understand, the position on this particular subject is not covered by the rules of procedure. Mr. Speaker you will recall that that was the stand that I took when I saw you personally in your chamber before the session commenced. You were good enough to agree that no rules of procedure would apply to this particular subject as this was a matter of constitution making. In support of this I will give you proof that first of all when Mr. G. M. Syed rose to speak, you did not fix any time limit at all, obviously in view of the understanding we had arrived at that the rules of procedure did not apply to this discussion. Then, Sir, when I spoke for one hour and forty-five minutes, you did not interrupt me. If the rules of procedure were applicable to this subject, you would have certainly called me to order and asked me to resume my seat.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have understood your point of order. You do not have to elaborate; you have only to state it.

**Mr. G. Allana:** But I have not stated it yet.

**Mr. Speaker:** You have stated that no time limit was fixed for the speeches made by you and Mr. G. M. Syed and other honourable members and therefore rules of procedure do not apply, and therefore closure cannot be moved; sit down.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I thought you had learnt to say 'sit down please'.

**Mr. Speaker:** Please resume your seat. But I still maintain that 'sit down' is not unparliamentary.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** But 'sit down' is certainly unparliamentary. It is crude if nothing else.

**Mr. Speaker :** If it is crude, perhaps there are some other crude things which should be curbed.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** Certainly.

**Mr. Speaker :** The position is that Mr. Allana is perfectly right. He saw me in my Chamber and he asked me whether I intended to fix any time limit for the speeches. I told him that it was an extraordinary matter and my inten-

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

tion was not to impose any time limit. But I hope that the honourable members will be just quite relevant and to the point and will not elaborate more than what is necessary. But so far as the rules of procedure with regard to the time limit are concerned, they may not be applicable to this. But the other debate that takes place in this House is to be conducted in accordance with the rules of procedure and I have absolutely no option. Whatever my discretion was, I exercised it in allowing members more than one hour. But if a closure motion is moved, I have no option. I have requested the Government side not to move any closure motion till I have given an opportunity to another member of the minority community and to a member of the Awami League if any one of them is present in this House.

**A member :** What about the Muslim League?

**Mr. Speaker :** Order please. Anybody else from the minorities?

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani :** Sir, I had not finished yesterday.

**Mr. Speaker :** You had. You never said that you wanted to speak again.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** I might bring to the notice of the honourable Speaker that Mr. Dharamdas is one of the members of the minority community who can express his views very well. He had started yesterday but could not finish his speech because the time was over.

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani :** I will take only ten minutes.

**Mr. G. Allana :** There should be no time limit on the speeches of the members of the minority community, because certainly we would like to hear their views.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Yes Sir, there should be no time limit on their speeches.

**Mr. Speaker :** Don't waste the time of the House.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** I am not wasting the time of the House.

I am simply pleading the case of the minority community.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order please.

میرا انکے متعلق یہ خیال تھا کہ وہ کل اپنی تقریر ختم کرچکے تھے۔ مگر چونکہ وہ کہتے ہیں کہ انہوں نے کل اپنی تقریر ختم نہیں کی تھی اسلئے انہیں پانچ دس منٹ اور دیئے جاتے ہیں۔

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani (Sukkur District—Non-Muslim Reserved) :** In continuation of what I said in favour of joint electorates, I would say that joint electorates will not only minimise all religious and com-

munal differences and bring about cordial relations between the various sections in Pakistan, but it will also be a factor to strengthen and consolidate the very foundations and the edifice of Pakistan. If the practice of classification of nationalities is followed, there will be so many nationalities in Pakistan. Here I would quote certain sayings of the Quaid-i-Azam and some comments thereon. In 1927, he declared that "he was not wedded to separate electorates". In the U. P. Muslim Conference held at Allahabad on the 8th August 1931, Quaid-i-Azam said :

"The next question that arises is one of separate *vs.* joint electorates.

As most of you know, if a majority is conceded in the Punjab and Bengal,

I would personally prefer settlement on the basis of joint electorates." Quaid-i-Azam added :

"My position is that I would rather have a settlement even on the footing of separate electorate, hoping and trusting that when we work our new constitution and when both Hindus and Muslims get rid of distrust, suspicion and fears and when they get their freedom we would rise to the occasion and probably separate electorate will go sooner than most of us think."

When Quaid-i-Azam came before the Joint Select Committee appointed by the Parliament, he said :

"We put this matter to the test whether separate electorates should be insisted on or not by Mussalmans and we got a division and that division is based upon Provinces : only a certain number of votes represent each province."

On this occasion he said :

"He contemplated early disappearance of separate electorates and that nothing would please him more".

This clearly shows that the Quaid-i-Azam was in favour of joint electorates.

Now, Sir, the greatest difficulty with the minority community is that often they are accused of bringing about friction between two parties of Muslims. In case there is joint electorate and we do not return, our Muslim friends will never have the audacity to accuse us of such charges, charges which are rather undesirable. Even in this House my vote was suspected. But I may assure you that I did vote for my honourable friend, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur. My action was not guided by party politics and it was never my intention to cause friction. I would be accused of trying to bring about the down fall of the Republican Party. But believe me this was never my intention. If you go to Muslim countries—Turkey, Iraq or Egypt—you will find that there are so many sections of people living there. They too have joint electorates. Our Christian friends there have never objected to joint electorates. I do not understand why they have objection to joint electorates in this country.

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

The system of separate electorates is fraught with so many fears and dangers and to avoid those dangers and to bring about harmony and understanding between the peoples of Pakistan there should be joint electorates. Joint electorate will not only prove to be successful and helpful but it will positively prove to be the greatest factor for the prosperity of our State and the people. Unfortunately, we have seen here that religion and politics have been mixed together. It is a very sad state of affairs. Politics and religion, I may tell you, can never be combined together. One is separate from the other. Religion is based on truth, whereas politics is nothing short of hypocrisy and falsehood. Honest men will never prosper. On the contrary, they will be the targets of criticism.

To come back to my subject of electorate, I would say that separate electorates will create bitterness and communalism and this may result in riots. So to stop all this bitterness, communalism and riots the principle of joint electorates should be accepted. This will arouse consciousness in us for common citizenship and common citizenship is the only thing that is wanted in Pakistan. Believe me, Sir, that if we make united effort for our stability no foreign country will have the power to oppose us or attack us.

**Dr. Said-ud-Din Swalleh :** On a point of order, Sir. All the citizens of Pakistan are equal before law. The honourable member must know that.

**Mr. G. Allana :** May I know if this is a point of order ?

**A Member :** It is not a point of order.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Even if it is taken as an objection, it is meaningless.

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani :** Now I would refer to the report which says that joint electorates are opposed to the teachings of history ; they promote class divisions and are a very serious hindrance to the development of self-governing principle.

**Mr. Speaker :** This argument has already been referred to by Pir Ellahi Bakhsh.

**Mr. Dharamdas Motumal Waryani :** No, Sir, they are quite different arguments.

I would now reply to my friend who is there, Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din. Let it be made clear to the House that I was the only person who had opposed joint electorates. But I changed for joint electorates because I realized that we should merge our political differences for the sake of the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. I am, Sir, more for my party than for Ministership or Deputy Ministership. Taking all these facts into consideration, I would appeal to you to unite with us. (Hear, hear).



قاضی مرید احمد - حضور والا - مسلم لیگ کی طرف سے تین دنوں میں صرف تین چار تقریریں ہوئی ہیں - حالانکہ مسلم لیگ پارٹی کی بہت بڑی تعداد ہے - مہربانی فرما کر ان کو موقع دیجئے -

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai** (Municipal Corporation of Karachi.) (Seat reserved for Non-Muslims): Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my learned friend, Mr. G. M. Syed, seeking to recommend to the National Assembly to adopt the system of joint electorates for election to the National and Provincial Assemblies.

Sir, it is no secret—and I know for certain—that prominent members to my left and right—Republicans and Muslim Leaguers—in their personal capacity desire and have publicly expressed that they want joint electorate. Joint electorates, Sir, in no way contravene the aspirations of our nation. We are all aware that our political life is governed by party system. As such every member of the party has to support the view demanded of him as a party member. It is only a very strong man with determination and will who will opposes the decision of his party. Sir, at least I believed—and my belief has turned out to be incorrect—that Dr. Khan Sahib was a man of a strong will and determination and would oppose the unjust move of his party. Today Dr. Khan Sahib has become a champion of separate electorate which is wholly opposed to his life long mission.

Sir, one of our minority members, Mr. Joshua Fazal-ul-Din, the latest covert to the principle of separate electorates, admitted in his speech that he was at one with all the other non-Muslim members, when they first met on 26th May, on this issue. It was decided that they all should put forward this demand for joint electorate with reservation of seats. Sir, on that day my friend, the honourable Chaudhri Sunderdas was not present, but I was informed that he stood by joint electorate, but certainly, Sir, this new champion of separate electorates was definitely with us. He was for joint electorate. We, all the members of the minority communities, were called by our Chief Minister to his residence on 26th May to express our opinion on the question of electorates. Sir, we unanimously informed him, and at that time honourable Raja Gazanfar Ali Khan was also present, that we all stood for the principle of joint electorate with reservation of seats for backward classes for the first 10 years. Dr. Khan Sahib fluttered and said "Gentleman I cannot accede to any sort of reservation; I stand for unadulterated joint electorate. I am opposed to reservation of seats."

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** : Has he said that he stands for joint electorate ?

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai** : Yes, Sir.

Sir, after our meeting with Dr. Khan Sahib and some Ministers some responsible members from the Treasury Benches, wanted to jettison our united stand. We, the representatives of the minority communities in this House, again met on 4th June and, according to the wishes of Dr. Khan Sahib, decided

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to drop the demand for reservation of seats ; but at no time we decided to ask for separate electorates, because that has been the principle of at least the Hindu community of this State and upto this date we are at one with this principle. But, Sir, we are not new to the overnight changes from Opposition Benches to the Treasury Benches for the sake of Ministership and other favours. Sir, you will bear with me that upto 2nd August, Mr. Joshua Fazalud-Din was with us on this Bench and on the 3rd August he went over to the Treasury Benches and became the new convert to the system of separate electorates.

The honourable member Mr. Joshua spoke as if he was the only champion of Christian community. With regard to the Christian community of East Pakistan, I will speak later on. First, I shall deal with the Christian community in West Pakistan on this side. I quote from the "Christian Voice" of Karachi. In an editorial, the "Christian Voice" says :—

"Why should it not be possible in Pakistan to have in theory an Islamic State to satisfy the reticians—and in practice a modern democracy to satisfy the minorities ?

"This solution was implied by the Quaid-i-Azam himself when after Partition he advised Muslims of India to look to India as their home and to give her their complete loyalty and, at the same time told non-Muslims of Pakistan to regard this country as their home and to be loyal to it. Thus he jettisoned the principle on which India was partitioned. Logically, this was inconsistent but as a supremely practical man he saw he had to take a supremely practical decision."

"But by jettisoning the principle of Partition, the Quaid, in practical terms lost nothing for Muslims. By securing Pakistan, he had already won for them a homeland where they could develop as they chose. The next great gain was to win the loyalty of the minorities by the promise of complete political equality. This he did. By implication, therefore, the Quaid was not against joint electorate.

"What in practical terms would be the gain or loss to the nation by adopting the principle of joint electorate ? For tiny minorities like the Christians and Budhists, very likely none of them will even get elected to the Parliament. But even in separate electorates their position so far as securing their legitimate rights were concerned, has been no better. For everything depends on the sweet-will of the Muslim majority. It is on Muslim goodwill and not on voting strength, therefore, that the protection of minority rights rests.

"On the other hand, joint electorate will have the very decided advantage of compelling Muslims to come out of their Islamic shells and to talk to the minorities as their own Pakistani brothers. It will have a great effect in broadening their minds and enlarging their sympathies. This in the long run will bring great benefits to Pakistan and help in welding the people into one single whole."

Sir, this is the opinion of the section of Christians reproduced in their own paper "Christian Voice".

Now, I will come to the Christians in East Pakistan. My Christian friends will agree that there is a substantial number of Christians in East Pakistan too and there are probably a greater number of Christians in that province. Do the Christians of East Pakistan want separate electorates? No. Their leader honourable Mr. Peter Pual Gomez represents them in the East Pakistan Assembly. He also represents them in the National Assembly. Mr. Gomez says that in his opinion separate electorates will wipe out the minorities. I will proceed to quote his very recent article published in the fortnightly "Goodwill" of Karachi. Mr. Gomez says:—

"I feel that the Muslim demand for separate electorates is a remnant of their fear of being dominated by the majority community in undivided India."

Then he goes on to say:—

"Hence there was justification in the Muslim demand for separate electorates in undivided India."

Further, he says:—

"The Muslims in Pakistan are in an absolute majority comprising more than 80 per cent of the population and the non-Muslims form only about 20 per cent. Under these changed circumstances it was naturally expected that the Muslim stand would change—they would demand joint electorate in an all out attempt to absorb the non-Muslims completely in the body politic of the country and remove the very idea of majority and minority complex—and remove the very idea of this narrow complex and the non-Muslims would try to safeguard and protect their interests by clamouring for separate electorates and that would have been most natural."

"But alas! what do we find? While the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan still demand joint electorate and are ready to completely merge themselves in the body politic of the country and wipe out the idea of majority and minority from the political sphere to forge ahead as one nation, the Muslims, though being the majority community—demand separate electorates in an attempt to keep up divisions amongst the people of the country. This is something new in history".

Further Mr. Gomez says:—

"But why is it that the non-Muslims of East Pakistan are so very adamant in their demand for joint electorate? Actually, so far as the election of non-Muslims to the Provincial Legislature of East Pakistan is concerned, they have absolutely nothing to gain. It may, and I think, surely mean a reduction in their numbers being returned to the Provincial Legislature. The Muslims will thus be the gainers."

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"I think the position in West Pakistan is more or less similar. Still, how is it that even though the non-Muslims stand to lose, if the principle of joint electorate be accepted, they are so very adamant in voting their demand for it."

"This too needs a little analysis. But any one who regularly goes through the newspapers and has studied the working out of the 'apartheid' policy of the Government of South Africa will quickly be able to appreciate the stand taken by the non-Muslims of East Pakistan".

"The non-Muslims of East Pakistan do not want to grow up as a separate communal group in the political field. They desire to be merged and grow up as a single political entity. They do not desire that the 'apartheid' policy with all its future implications be practised in Pakistan on minor religious groups."

Sir, you, and all the members of this august House, after hearing the tall claim of Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din as the sole and only speaker for Christians, will take him at his face value and not at the inflated value by his going nearer the Ministerial Benches.

Now, Sir, I come to the arguments advanced by a majority of the Muslim members of this House. I have heard them with great attention and interest. Their arguments, in short, are that the system of separate electorate is the basis of the two-nation theory by which Pakistan was achieved. To adopt joint electorate, they emphasise, is to cut at the very root of this two-nation theory.

The second argument was that the Muslim religion and culture was quite different from the religions and cultures of the minorities, and to preserve them, separate electorates must be adopted.

Then the third argument—and here the members are divided,—some members say that joint electorate is in the interest of minorities mainly for two reasons. Some members say that the minorities will be completely wiped out from the legislatures and the majority will dominate them. But others express fears that the minorities being an advanced class would manoeuvre a march over the Muslims and secure a predominant position in the Legislatures.

The first portion of this argument is far from facts, baseless and without any foundation. May I know from these honourable members, Sir, whether after the establishment of Pakistan, the two-nation theory still stands. If so, which are the two nations in Pakistan to which they want to apply this theory? According to some of the Ulemas and Maulanas—who mostly opposed the division of India into Bharat and Pakistan—Pakistan is only for those who follow the faith of Islam. One of such Maulanas,—Maulana Maudoodi,—was extensively quoted by Joshua Fazal-ud-Din who emphatically said that the minorities, if they want to stay in Pakistan, must stay as "Zimmis". Sir, I have no objection if our honourable Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din or the small section of the Christian community he represents



want to remain as "Zimmis" and depend upon their masters, but we on these Benches do not want to stay as "Zimmis" and strongly oppose that idea. We want to stay here as equal citizens of this State with equal rights as are enjoyed by the Muslim community.

Sir, the two nation theory came to an end with the establishment of Pakistan. The roots of the two nation theory no longer exist so that this theory may be rooted out with the adoption of joint electorate. There is, therefore, no foundation for claiming separate electorates in accordance with this theory.

Sir, coming to the assertion that separate electorates were the basis of two nation theory, the facts were different. In any case, Sir, the very first historical policy speech of Quaid-i-Azam on the floor of the Constituent Assembly on 11th August, 1947, puts an end to this separatist tendency which was aimed to achieve Pakistan. The honourable members, particularly Mr. Allana, tried to evade straightforward implications of this memorable policy statement of our Quaid-i-Azam.

Sir, in support of my plea, I will quote from the articles of honourable Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, our envoy till recently to India. He had written series of articles during the last four or five months over this issue, advocating joint electorate. Raja Habib Sahib says:

"I am constrained to say that some of the opinions expressed on the question of separate or joint electorates in the future constitution of Pakistan really represent the mouldered branch which should be lopped away.

"What has moved me to write these lines, however, is not only the existence of the "mouldered branches" of thought but also the unbecoming exploitation of the great name and ideas of the Quaid-i-Azam. The exploitation of the name of the Quaid-i-Azam has been banned for purposes of cheap commercial advertising. But it is a great pity that in the political sphere his ideas are being disturbed and misrepresented and his great personality is being used as a substitute for creative and courageous thought and action. It is an insult to the political acumen of our people and an outrage against the memory of the Great Quaid.

He writes further:

"As far as the opinion of the Quaid-i-Azam is concerned, the fact is that, time and again, he put forward the demand that Muslim India would accept joint electorate provided certain safeguards were provided for the Muslim minority in the future Constitution. On March 20, 1927, a representative meeting of the Muslim leaders was held under the presidency of the Quaid-i-Azam. It is not without significance that this meeting decided to accept joint electorate on the following conditions".

And then, Sir, the conditions have been mentioned. Sir, it was not for the majority community in India to agree to these conditions, which led to the



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demand for separate electorates. It had nothing to do with the two nation theory of separate religion, or separate creed.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan further says :

"In the conditions obtaining today in Pakistan where the minority community desires joint electorate and is prepared to trust the justice of joint territorial electorates it would be strange for the majority community to impose separate electorates on them. It would hardly be in keeping with the Muslim demands voiced by the Quaid-i-Azam".

Sir, then he refers to the policy statement of Quaid-i-Azam of August 1947 and he says :

"It has been argued that the Quaid-i-Azam would never have agreed to joint electorate because it placed two irreconcilable elements on the same footing in elections. Such utterances do not indicate any understanding of the Quaid-i-Azam's ideology and the struggle for Pakistan. They perhaps show greater kinship to the policy of apartheid and racial segregation of South African whites. If joint electorates are to be rejected on the plea that it places two irreconcilable elements on the same footing, then would it not be logical to demand separate laws, separate judges, separate houses, and even separate schools for different elements. If I am sure of anything it is this that the Quaid-i-Azam would never have agreed to this policy of segregation and political apartheid.

"This great declaration by the Quaid-i-Azam was the Magna Charta given by the architect of Pakistan. Those who find loopholes in the statement or put it in cold storage are not the friends of Pakistan. Those who are acting in defiance of this declaration are certainly undermining the stability of Pakistan and are turning back the clock of progress and liberalism in Pakistan".

(At this stage Mr. Speaker left the chair and it was occupied by Pir Elahi Bukhsh Nawaz Ali Shah).

In another article, Sir, he says :

"On a closer study of the various political stands which the Quaid-i-Azam took in the course of his long political career the most striking feature one finds in his character is his unassailable consistency in his political professions coupled with a rare genius to widen and improve upon the scope of his ideas in changed circumstances. This is how he progressed from the Home Rule League stage to the forging of an independent Pakistani nation. Throughout he has been rigidly consistent in his demand for the independence of India as well as for the independence of Muslims. On the establishment of Pakistan he could not go back on his word to the non-Muslim minorities. He would not let Pakistan be weakened by the projection of communal differences in the political field, and thereby provide an opportunity to the world to misinterpret the ideal of Pakistan.

"Here is a minority community which itself seeks joint electorates and wants to integrate itself completely with the Pakistani nation hood

in the political sphere. By what canons of political science, practical politics or of morality can we stand up and refuse this demand? And how is the demand for joint electorates opposed to the ideal of Pakistan? The idea underlying Pakistan was to carve out a Muslim-majority state where the Muslims could mould their lives according to their own wishes, their culture and traditions, and wherein a generous treatment for the minorities could win a similarly happy treatment for the Muslim minority in India. The generous treatment to the non-Muslims in Pakistan did not envisage their compartmentalisation on political basis. Now in all fairness to ourselves we should ponder over the question as to how far we have stood by the cardinal principles of Pakistan, and how the question of joint electorates comes into conflict with those principles."

**Mr. Chairman (Pir Elahi Bakhsh):** I would like to tell the honourable member who has entered from this side of the House that it is a custom that any member coming from outside must bow to the Chair before he takes his seat. These rules must be observed and there should be no slackness. I think we should maintain the honour and dignity of the House.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai:** Now, Sir, the problem of treating the minorities justly and generously was always before Quaid-i-Azam. He wanted that Muslims in India should also be treated justly and generously. He said :—

"It would be sheer hypocrisy to close our eyes to the fate of Indian Muslims which is closely linked with the Hindus in Pakistan. Any one who adopts an attitude of indifference is to my mind a traitor to Pakistan."

Now, Sir, my honourable friends Mian Muhammad Shafi and Syed Amir Hussain Shah have quoted the memorable policy statement of Quaid-i-Azam to show to this House that the argument that separate electorate was the basis of the two-nation theory and that the system of joint electorates would cut the very roots of that theory was untenable.

Sir, now I would come to the second argument which is advanced in support of separate electorates. It is said that because the Muslim have separate religion and separate culture, they must have separate electorates. Sir, this argument has been contradicted by some other supporter of the separate electorate and I would particularly refer to the honourable member who spoke from the bench behind me. He said that "the culture of East Pakistan Muslims is different from the culture of the Muslims of West Pakistan." He further went on to say that even their language, dress and food is different. But they are one by faith which is sufficient to keep us united. Well, Sir, I submit, to us the State is greater than religion and culture.

I believe in "my country first", next comes "my religion and culture".

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** Not for Muslims.

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**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai:** Then they are opposed to the views of the Quaid-i-Azam which he has expressed in this memorable speech.

**Mr. Chairman:** No interruption, please.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai:**—In his policy statement Quaid-i-Azam said that religion is a personal affair of a person.

(At this stage Oazi Murid Ahmed rose.)

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai:** Sir, if the honourable member says that the statement of Quaid-i-Azam is 'incorrect' then the proceedings recorded in the Government departments are also incorrect.

**Mr. Chairman:** Honourable members will kindly not interrupt and let the honourable member continue.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai:** May I know, Sir, why some of the honourable members of the majority community, by advocating separate electorates, deny us our equal rights?

Why, Sir, these champions of separate electorates, want to deny us our due rights? Is it not gross injustice to keep the non-Muslims in air-tight compartments and thus create and enhance the separatist tendency. This has always struck fatal blow to the unity and solidarity of states.

**Mr. Chairman:** (Pir Elahi Bakhsh): Honourable Mr. Qurban Ali Khan has entered the chamber and he should have bowed to the Chair he took his seat.

*(The member then got up and bowed to the Chair.)*

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai:** Sir, I am sure the supporters of separate electorates, on the plea of different religion and different culture know that Pakistan is not the only Islamic State on the surface of this world. We have other Muslim States too. I refer to our great friends, Turkey, Egypt, Iran and Iraq. All these States have citizens with different faiths, different cultures, but with Muslims predominating as in our State of Pakistan.

**Chairman:** (Pir Elahi Bakhsh): Honourable the Leader of the Opposition should not stand in the lobby.

**Kazi Murid Ahmed:** Point of order, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** What is your point of order?

قاضی مرید احمدؒ - جناب والا - میں پرائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں اور حضور کی ترجمہ اسلامی جمہوریہ کے آئین کے غیر Preamble کے پیرا چھ کی طرف مبدول کرنا چاہتا ہوں - پیرا چھ میں واضح الفاظ میں درج ہے کہ حکومت مسلمانوں کو اس قابل بنائے گی کہ وہ انفرادی اور اجتماعی طور پر اپنی زندگی کو اسلامی تعلیمات و مقتضیات کے مطابق جس طرح کہ قرآن پاک و سنت میں ان کا تعین کیا گیا ہے ترتیب دے سکیں -

جناب والاؒ - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ مسلمان خدا کی ذات پاک کے سوا کسی اور کے سامنے جھک نہیں سکتا - سپیکر کے سامنے جھکنے کی رسم انگریز نے ڈالی تھی - انگریز نے ہمیں غلامی کا احساس دلانے کے لئے اور ہمیں ذلیل و خوار کرنے کے لئے یہ رسم جاری کی تھی -

مسٹر چیئرمین (پیر الہی بخش نواز علی شاہ)ؒ - آپ پہلے Preamble

کو پڑھ لیں اس کے بعد پرائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کریں -

قاضی مرید احمدؒ - جناب والا - میں تو پڑھ چکا ہوں اب آپ پڑھ لیں - ورنہ آپ اپنی کتاب مجھے دے دیں تو میں پڑھ دیتا ہوں -

مسٹر چیئرمینؒ - جب آپ نے موٹی پرائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کرنا ہو اور اس سلسلہ

میں اگر کسی حوالے کی ضرورت ہو تو وہ آپ کو خود پڑھنا چاہئے نہ کہ مجھے -

قاضی مرید احمدؒ - لیجئے جناب والا - میں خود ہی پڑھ دیتا ہوں -

“Wherein the Muslims of Pakistan should be enabled individually and collectively to order their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam, as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah”.

مسٹر چیئرمینؒ - اب آپ تقریر نہ فرمائیں - صرف اپنا پرائنٹ آف آرڈر بیان کریں -

قاضی مرید احمدؒ - بہت بہتر جناب - جناب والا - میں یہ گزارش کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ

اس Preamble میں یہ چیز واضح کی گئی ہے کہ مسلمانوں کی زندگی انفرادی ہو یا اجتماعی اس کو قرآن اور سنت کے سانچے میں ڈھالنا چاہئے - اور یہ چیز حکومت کے فرائض میں سے ہے - مگر یہاں آپ نے فرمایا ہے کہ جو سب ہاوس میں آگے بیٹھنے سے پہلے وہ سپیکر کے سامنے جھکے - یہ چیز خلاف شریعت ہے ایسا کرنا انگریزوں کے عہد بد میں تو کسی حد تک تسلیم کیا جا سکتا تھا مگر آج جبکہ صحیح معنوں میں اور علی الاعلان ہمارا ملک آزاد ہو گیا ہے اور اسلامی جمہوریہ قرار دیا جا چکا ہے کسی مسلمان کو سوائے خدائے عزوجل کے کسی اور کے سامنے نہیں جھکنا چاہئے (مسلل تالیاں) ایسا کرنا کٹھنہ عظیم ہے - ان حالات کے پیش نظر میں جناب سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ آپ اپنا آرڈر جو آپ نے ابھی ابھی اس سلسلہ میں دیا ہے واپس لے لیں - کیونکہ ایسا کرنا عین اسلامی ہے -

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مسٹر چیمبرلین - میں اس سلسلہ میں معزز رکن کو بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہاوس میں bow کرنا سجدہ کرنے کے مترادف نہیں ہے bow کرنا اور چیئر ہے اور سجدہ کرنا اور چیئر ہے - ہاوس میں سپیکر کے سامنے bow کرنے کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ سپیکر کی تعظیم کی جائے - ایسا کرنا کوئی بری بات نہیں ہے - bow کرنا انگریزوں کا پیدا کیا ہوا طریقہ نہیں ہے - اگر آپ نے تاریخ پڑھی ہے تو آپ کو ضرور معلوم ہونا چاہیے کہ مسلمان بادشاہوں کے زمانوں میں تعظیماً سجدہ تک کرنا جائز تھا -

ملک فیض حسین - جناب والا - میں پوائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں -

مسٹر چیمبرلین - آپ بیٹھ جائیں -

ملک فیض حسین - جناب والا - میرا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر آپ کے فائے ہی کے لئے ہے -

مسٹر چیمبرلین - برائے مہربانی آپ تشریف رکھیں - میرے خیال میں bow کر کے طریقہ کو انگریزوں نے جاری نہیں کیا تھا - اسمبلی رولز بنانے کا کام اس معزز ایوان کے ممبران پر مشتمل ایک کمیٹی کے سپرد کیا ہوا ہے - جب تک کمیٹی اس سلسلہ میں کوئی رول نہ بنائے اس وقت تک آپ کو لازمی طور پر اس custom کی پابندی کرنا ہوگی -

ملک فیض حسین - جناب والا - میرا پوائنٹ آف آرڈر بھی سن لیجئے - میری

تھوڑی سی گزارش آپ کے علم میں انشا اللہ ضرور اضافہ کرے گی - جناب والا - ایوان میں سپیکر کے سامنے bow کرنا کوئی سجدہ توحید نہیں ہے - یہ تو صرف بطور تعظیم کیا جاتا ہے - اس کے متعلق سب سے اہم دلیل قرآن حکیم کی سورۃ بقرہ سے دی جا سکتی ہے - اللہ تعالیٰ نے حضرت آدم کا بت بنا کر ملائیکہ کو حکم دیا کہ اس کو سجدہ کریں - حکم خداوندی کی تعمیل میں سب فرشتوں نے حضرت آدم کو سجدہ کیا مگر شیطان نے تکبر کیا جسکی وجہ سے (وکان من الکافرین) وہ راندہ درگاہ ایزدی ہوا - جناب والا یہ سجدہ تو صرف تعظیمی سجدہ تھا - اس لئے میرے خیال میں سپیکر کے سامنے bow کرنا کوئی مذہبی جرم نہیں ہے -

مسٹر چیمبرلین - یہ پوائنٹ آف آرڈر نہیں ہے -

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai:** Mr. Chairman, When I was interrupted in my speech I was referring to our brother Muslim States—great States who have no separate electorates on the grounds of separate religion and separate culture. Why, Sir, then some members of this honourable House advocate separate electorates on these unchangeable grounds of separate religion and separate culture. Sir, on this point, again, I would refer to the memorable speech of the Quaid-i-Azam wherein he clearly said that so far as the political life of the country is concerned, religion and culture should not be inter-mingled with politics. Sir, leaving aside all these great Muslim States, there are joint electorates in all the democratic countries of the world.



There is one exception; I will come to that. It is for us, Sir, to decide as to whether we want to follow our brother Muslim States and the democratic countries of the world or the so-called independent State of South Africa where they have the system of separate electorates.. The policy of that country, I hope this House is aware of. Sir, let us not follow in the foot-steps of South Africa. We should adopt the appropriate system of joint electorates.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed the chair.)

Sir, some of the members said that the non-muslims did not join hands with the Muslims for the demand of Pakistan. I agree, Sir, to a certain extent it is correct, but to say that all non-Muslims did not co-operate with the creation of Pakistan is not correct. I would refer here to Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, the former Governor-General of India and a stalwart of the Indian National Congress. After studying the 'Two-Nation theory', he was the only man to support the theory of the Quaid single-handedly in spite of strong opposition from his party and I am not ashamed to say that as an humble volunteer of the Congress at that time I also supported the 'two nation theory' of "C.R.", as I strongly believed and I still believe that Pakistan can be strong and prosperous and can be counted as a first rate country in the world, if we all work unitedly and forget the differences of the past as Quaid-i-Azam desired. Sir, I will quote one more instance where non-Muslim minorities co-operated with the creation of Pakistan. I would refer to the referendum in the District of Sylhet, where Muslims were not in an absolute majority. Sir, there quite a good number of non-Muslims voted for the creation of Pakistan and it is because of that co-operation—and it is because of that conviction of the non-Muslim minorities—that brought Sylhet district to our State. Sir, this is enough on the question that the non-Muslims did not co-operate for the creation of Pakistan.

Now, Sir, I come to the last argument. They say we are divided on this point. The minorities will not get a single seat in the Legislature if joint electorates are introduced. Some also say that minorities are quite advanced and will steal a march over the great majority in the Legislature.

**Mr. Ismail Burhani :** Who has said this?

**Mr. Madhavdas Dharsibhai :** It was stated by the Ulemas and Maulanas. And this has been extensively quoted by members of this House particularly by Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din.

**Mr. Speaker :** Mr. Ismail Burhani and Mr. Allana, you will be given an opportunity to speak afterwards.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Sir, during the course of his speech he has made a statement which in any way should not go unchallenged on record, because it is not in consonance with facts.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** Sir, the third argument of the supporters of separate electorates was that it is in the interest of public and to some extent it is in the interest of this House.

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One thing which has been broadly pointed out by most of the members of this House was that the minorities will be wiped out from the legislatures if the system of joint electorate is adopted.

**Mr. G. Allana :** This is quite correct and I stand by it, but the other statement which he made is not correct.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** There is another argument advanced in favour of separate electorates which has been widely circulated and quoted by one of the members of this House, Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din. The writing of Maulana Maudoodi that by the system of joint electorates, the minorities who are advanced, who are too clever, might manoeuvre and steal a march in the legislatures over the Muslim majorities.

**Mr. G. Allana :** I have no objection to the last statement of the honourable member. In his previous statement he had said that these words were used by some honourable members to advance the case for separate electorates. This was said by Maulana Maudoodi.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharishbai :** Sir, these two arguments which I have just quoted are quite contrary to each other. To the advocates of the first argument, I would say : Leave us to remain to ourselves : we know what is good and what is bad for us. We have sufficient common sense. Those who advocate the second argument, I say to them ; it is because you do not trust even your Muslim brethren. If the advocates of this second argument are honest, efficient and always ready to mitigate the difficulties of their suffering, helpless brethren, then they will not be so ungrateful as to vote for the minorities. Sir, the day is not far off when bribery, corruption and oppression in elections will disappear and become a memory of the past with the awakening of the masses. The masses have come to know who are their friends, and who are their foes ; their real well-wishers and their exploiters.

Finally, Sir, I again firmly declare before you and this august House, that the overwhelming majority of the minority community solemnly and strongly advocate and stand united for the acceptance of the system of joint electorate as advised by our Quaid-i-Azam. We earnestly desire to merge ourselves and become one politically with the majority community. We must have equal rights of citizenship with our Muslim brothers. I assure you and the members of this House that we shall stand shoulder to shoulder with our Muslim brothers in adversity and expect to share the prosperity as well.

Sir, I thank you and the honourable members of this House for attentively listening to me and with these words I take my seat.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** On a point of privilege. I was permitted by Pir Elahi Bakhsh when he was in the Chair, that after the honourable member has finished, I could avail of the opportunity

given to me under rule 74 of asking certain questions through you from the Chief Minister. Therefore I want to ask certain questions from the honourable Chief Minister. I assure you that they are not extraneous questions.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Sir, what the honourable gentleman said was that he was going to put certain questions under Rule 74 of the Rules of Procedure. I did not allow him to do so as the speech was going on, but I told him that if he asks afterwards, I will consider. That is what I said.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Sir, I want to ask a question from the last speaker to clarify the position.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please resume your seat.

The rule quoted by the honourable member is Rule No. 74 and this matter has been under discussion for the last 4 days and all sorts of arguments have been advanced in this House and the debate is still continuing, so I do not think. I should permit the honourable members to put the questions at this stage.

علامہ رحمت اللہ ارشد :- (ضلع بہاولپور) جناب والا - ہماری یہ قسمتی یہ ہے کہ

اس ملک کی سیاسی جماعتیں اور ان جماعتوں کے رہنما اپنے سیاسی مصالح اور سیاسی اغراض کے پیش نظر ہمیشہ نعرے ایجا کرتے رہے ہیں اور پھر ان نعروں کو تقریباً ہی جاتی رہی ہے لیکن ان کی بعد کی روش یہ بتاتی ہے کہ ان نعروں کو بدل دیا جاتا رہا ہے۔ ان لوگوں نے ہمارے ملک کو کئی مرتبہ ایسی پریشانیوں میں مبتلا کیا اور معلوم نہیں کہ ہمارے سیاسی رہنما کتنی دور تک اور کتنی دیر تک ہمارے ملک کو ایسی آزمائش اور ابتلا میں ڈالے رکھیں گے۔ اگر کوئی شخص یہ بحث کرتا ہے کہ مخلوط انتخابات یا غیر مخلوط انتخابات سیاسی طور پر - ملکی نقطہ نظر سے یا قومی نقطہ نظر سے مفید ہیں یا مضر تو یہ بحث بالکل صحیح اور حقیقت پسندانہ ہے اور ہمیں اس بحث کا خیر مقدم کرنا چاہیے۔ لیکن جب یہ کہا جائے کہ مخلوط انتخابات اور غیر مخلوط انتخابات کفر و اسلام کا مسئلہ ہے - مذہبیت اور لامذہبیت کا مسئلہ ہے - دین داری اور الحاد کا مسئلہ ہے تو یہ کسی طرح بھی درست نہیں ہے۔ میں آپ کی توسط سے اس معزز ایوان میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ انتخابات مخلوط ہوں یا غیر مخلوط اس کا اسلام یا مذہب کے ساتھ کوئی تعلق نہیں اور تکلف اور کوشش کے ساتھ اس مسئلہ کو دین اور مذہب کے ساتھ وابستہ کرنا صحیح نہیں - مجھے یہ کہنے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے کہ اسلام کے اندر انتخابات کے متعلق جس دور کا عمل ہمارے لئے حجت ہے وہ خلافت راشدہ کا دور ہے اور ہم سب کو معلوم ہے کہ خلافت راشدہ کے عہد میں نمائندوں کا انتخاب نہیں ہوتا تھا بلکہ امیر کا انتخاب ہوتا تھا اور براۓ راست انتخاب ہوتا تھا - اب اگر یہ باور کر لیا جائے کہ غیر مخلوط نمائندگی دین کا بتایا ہوا راستہ ہے اور غیر مخلوط انتخابات مذہب کا بتایا ہوا اصول ہے تو میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ یہ سبھ لینا چاہیے کہ قویا اسلام کے اندر خلافت راشدہ کے دور میں ایک امیر المومنین ہوتا اور ایک امیر الکافرین اس لئے کہ مسلمانوں کا امیر المومنین کسی حالت میں غیر مخلوط انتخابات کی صورت میں غیر مسلموں کا ووٹ حاصل نہ کر سکتا - میں یہاں یہ بھی عرض کر دینا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ ایک ہندو

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ممبر نے اس ہاؤس میں یہ فرمایا ہے کہ میں ذمی بن کر اس ملک میں نہیں رہ سکتا - اس ضمن میں میں اپنی سچہ اور بساط کے مطابق یہ عرض کرتا ہوں کہ اس وقت شرعی اور دینی اصطلاحات کی رو سے جو الفاظ ہمیں غیر مسلموں کے متعلق ملے ہیں وہ صرف تین ہیں - ایک تو ذمی ہے - اور دوسرا لفظ معاہدہ ہے اور تیسرا ہے مستامن - ذمی وہ ہوتا ہے کہ جس کے ملک کو بزور شمشیر - تیغ و سنان سے خنک کر کے حاصل کر لیا گیا ہو - اس ملک کے محکوم غیر مسلم ذمی ہوں گے - معاہدہ وہ ہوتا ہے کہ جس کا ہمارے ساتھ معاہدہ ہو - مستامن وہ ہوتا ہے جو ہمارے ملک کے انوار امان مانگ کر رضامندی سے زندگی گزارنے کیلئے رہے - میری سچہ کے مطابق سب سے پہلے ذمی کا لفظ سن ۸ ہجری میں فتح مکہ کے بعد سننے میں آیا جب آنحضرت صلی اللہ علیہ وآلہ وسلم نے نجران کے عسائیوں کو انکے حقوق کے متعلق ایک چارٹر مرتب کر کے دیا تھا - اسکی ابتدا میں یہ لکھا گیا تھا لنجران جوار اللہ و ذمۃ محمد اننبی رسول اللہ یعنی نجران کے عیسائیوں کو اللہ تعالیٰ کی حفاظت اور محمد رسول اللہ کا ذمہ دیا جاتا ہے - اور اس کے بعد اس سے یعنی ذمۃ محمد سے ذمی کا لفظ مشتق ہوا - یہ کوئی پست لفظ نہیں تھا - یہ کوئی تحقیر آمیز لفظ نہیں تھا اور یہ کوئی ایسا لفظ نہیں تھا کہ جس سے کسی کی ہتک مقصود ہو - ان کے حقوق کا جو چارٹر مرتب کیا گیا وہ یہ تھا -

(۱) اقر کوئی ان پر حملہ کریگا تو اسلامی افواج و عساکر مزاحمت کریں گی -

(۲) ان کو مذہب سے برگشتہ نہیں کیا جائیگا -

(۳) ان کی جائیں محفوظ ہوں گی -

(۴) ان کے اموال محفوظ ہوں گے -

(۵) جزیہ داخل کرنے کیلئے انہیں محمول کے پاس نہیں جانا ہو گا -

یہاں پر میں جزیہ کے متعلق وضاحت نہیں کرتا بلکہ بعد میں اس کے

متعلق کچھ عرض کروں گا -

(۶) ان کے قانون کی حفاظت کی جائیگی -

(۷) ان کی زمینیں محفوظ ہوں گی -

(۸) جو چیز ان کے قبضہ میں تھی ان کے قبضہ میں رہے گی -

(۹) ان کے پادری اپنے عہدوں سے برطرف نہیں کئے جائیں گے -

(۱۰) صلیبوں - بتوں اور مورثیوں کو نقصان نہیں پہنچے گا -

(۱۱) ان سے عشر نہیں لیا جائیگا -

(۱۲) ان کے ملک میں فوج نہیں بھیجی جائیگی -

(۱۳) پہلے سے جران کا عقیدہ تھا وہ بدلوا یا نہیں جائیگا - یعنی ایسا ماحول

پیدا نہیں کیا جائیگا یا ایسے حالات پیدا نہیں کئے جائیں گے جس سے غیر مسلموں کو

اپنا عقیدہ بدلنے پر مجبور ہونا پڑے -

(۱۲) ان کا کوئی حق جو پہلے سے ان کو حاصل تھا زائل نہیں ہوگا۔

(۱۵) جو لوگ اس وقت موجود نہیں یہ ضمانتیں ان پر بھی حاوی ہوں گی۔

پھر آپ (ص) نے لوگوں سے خطاب کرتے ہوئے فرمایا کہ اگر کوئی شخص میری موجودگی میں یا میرے بعد ان شرائط کو توڑیگا تو انا خصیمة یوم القيامة تو میں قیامت کے دن غیر مسلموں کی طرف سے مسلمانوں کے خلاف فریق ہونگا۔ یہ تمام چیزیں فتوح البلان میں درج ہیں۔ یہ لفظ تو ذمہ داری سے متعلق ہے اور ہمارے غیر مسلم دوستوں کا اس کے خلاف ہونے کا سب سے بڑا سبب یہ ہے کہ غیر مسلم موخین بالخصوص یورپین متشرقین نے عہد مسلم کے خانہ ساز مظالم کو بہت ہوا دی یہاں تک کہ انہوں نے جزیہ کے لفظ کو غیر مسلم اقلیت کے ساتھ وابستہ کر دیا۔ میں یہ عرض کر دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ جزیہ کا لفظ ہماری ایجاد نہیں بلکہ جو کچھ تاریخ بتاتی ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ جزیہ کا لفظ ایرانی لفظ جزیہ کا عرب ہے اور جزیہ لگانے کی رسم نوشیروان نے شروع کی تھی۔ جہاں مسلمانوں پر زکات واجب ہے وہاں غیر مسلموں پر جزیہ واجب ہے۔ جزیہ کے اندر فائدہ یہ تھا اسکی رقم مقرر تھی خواہ غیر مسلم کھپتی ہو یا کروڑ پتی یا وہ کتنا ہی مالدار ہو۔ اسکی مقابلہ میں مسلمانوں کے لئے زکات کا نصاب متعین تھا۔ جتنا کسی مسلمان کا مال بڑھتا جاتا تھا اسی کے مطابق اسکی زکات کی شرح بڑھتی جاتی تھی۔

**Mir Abdul Qayyum :** Sir, I move that the question be now put.

کرٹل سید عابد حسن :۔ زیر بحث موضوع کے متعلق بحث کیجئے۔ سوال یہ ہے کہ

آیا آپ مخلوط انتخاب کی حمایت کرتے ہیں یا جداگانہ انتخاب کی؟

علامہ رحمت اللہ ارشد :۔ سید عابد حسین شاہ سے مجھے ایسے اعتراض کی توقع نہیں

تھی میر عبد القیوم سے ہوسکتی تھی میں بالکل متعلقہ باتیں کر رہا ہوں۔ میں موضوع پر ہی بول رہا ہوں۔ میں نے پہلے عرض کیا تھا کہ ہمارے پاس ان غیر مسلموں کیلئے جو اسلامی حکومت میں رہتے ہوں تین اصطلاحیں تھیں۔ اب میں ان اصطلاحوں کی تشریح کر رہا تھا۔ میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ پاکستان کی موجودہ غیر مسلم اقلیت نہ تو ذمی ہے نہ معاہدہ اور نہ مستامن۔ یہ ایک نئی شکل و صورت ہے جو اس سے پہلے اسلامی حکومتوں کو کبھی پیش نہیں آئی۔ یہاں ایک غیر مسلم حکومت نے ایک دستاویز کے ساتھ ایک ملک کو دو حصوں میں تقسیم کر کے مسلموں اور غیر مسلموں کو بیک وقت آزادی بخشی اگر علماء چاہیں تو اسے لئے ایک اور اصلاح موافق یعنی ہم وطنی وضع کرسکتے ہیں۔ یہ نہ تو ذمی ہیں۔ اسلئے ان سے جزیہ نہیں لیا جاسکتا۔ نہ یہ معاہدہ ہیں۔ کیونکہ انکو بھی اسی دستاویز کی رو سے اسی طرح آزادی ملی ہے جس طرح ہم کو۔ (قطع کلام)۔ میں یہ کہنا چاہتا تھا کہ مخلوط یا غیر مخلوط انتخاب کے مسئلے کا تعلق دین سے نہیں ہے۔ کیا اب بھی جناب کو اسکا زیر بحث موضوع سے تعلق سمجھ نہیں آیا؟ یہاں مسلم لیگی بچوں پر بیٹھنے والے بعض دوستوں نے جذبات کے زیر اثر یہ بھی فرما دیا کہ چونکہ پاکستان جداگانہ انتخاب کی بنا پر وجود میں



## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

آیا تھا اسلئے اگر اب ہم نے یہاں پر مخلوط انتخاب رائج کر لیا تو اس سے پاکستان کی بنیادیں متزلزل ہو جائیں گی۔ اور جس نظر سے پر پاکستان کی بنیاد استوار ہوئی تھی وہ ختم ہو جائیگا۔ میرا خیال ہے کہ یہ دلیل بھی اپنے اندر کوئی جان اور وزن نہیں رکھتی۔ مجھے اس پر اصرار نہیں کہ مغربی پاکستان میں ضرور مخلوط انتخاب جاری ہو مگر مجھے اس پر ضرور اصرار ہے کہ اسے دین اور مذہب کا مسئلہ نہ بنایا جائے۔ مصر عراق اور شام تینوں اسلامی ممالک میں مخلوط انتخاب نافذ اور جاری ہے مگر ان ملکوں کی اسلامیت یا جمہوریت کو کوئی نقصان نہیں پہنچا۔ میرے اپنے خیال میں ان ممالک کے اندر اقلیت اس سے بہت کم ہے جو پاکستان کے اندر بحیثیت مجموعی موجود ہے۔ یا شاید بعض کے اندر اس سے زیادہ ہو۔ اقلیت کا عدویٰ طور پر زیادہ یا کم ہونا اس بات کی کوئی دلیل نہیں کہ اس پر مخلوط انتخاب کو جاری کر دیا جائے۔ مخلوط انتخاب سے کسی ملک کی سالمیت کو کوئی گزند نہیں پہنچتا۔ نہ اس سے اسلام کو کوئی گزند پہنچتا ہے۔ نہ اس سے دین اور مذہب کو کوئی گزند پہنچتا ہے۔

صاحب صدر اس ملک کے اندر اب تک یہی طریقہ رہا ہے کہ سب لوگ اپنی اپنی اغراض کے لئے کرسیوں کی پرستش کرتے رہے ہیں۔ لیکن جب ہمارے سب سے محترم اور کثیرالسن ڈاکٹر خانصاحب نے یہ عہدہ سنبھالا تو ہمیں ایذا تھی کہ وہ اپنے مقام کو بلند کرینگے۔ اس ہاوس میں آنے سے پہلے انہوں نے سینئرز مرتبہ یہ فرمایا تھا کہ پاکستان میں ایک مربوط قوم بنانے کے لئے ہمیں مخلوط انتخاب کی ضرورت ہے۔ انکے متعلق میرا تصور اس قدر بلند تھا اور انکی قیادت اور لیڈر شپ پر مجھے اس قدر اعتماد تھا کہ باوجود اسکے کہ میرا یہ خیال تھا کہ یہ مسلم لیگیوں سے وابستہ ہوگئے ہیں یہ ان سے اپنی بات منوا لیگئے۔ لیکن مجھے معاف کیا جائے اگر میں یہ کہوں کہ یہ بھی ہمارے مسلم لیگی دوستوں کی فتح ہے کہ اب ڈاکٹر خانصاحب نے خود ہی ہاوس کے اندر غیر مخلوط انتخاب کی ترمیم پیش کر دی ہے۔ (مسلم لیگی بچوں کی طرف سے تالیاں)۔ اب آپ تالیاں بجا رہے ہیں ابھی آپ ناراض ہوگئے۔ میں یہ کہہ رہا تھا کہ یہ بھی مسلم لیگی دوستوں کی فتح ہے۔ اسلئے کہ مسلم لیگ نے پچھلے آٹھ نو برس کے اندر صرف نعرے ایجاد کئے ہیں اور انہیں مذہبی تقریریں دی ہے۔ اور اب بھی وہ اپنی اس روش سے باز نہیں آتے۔ جب ڈاکٹر خانصاحب نے پچھلے دنوں مخلوط انتخاب کے حق میں بیان دیا مسلم لیگیوں نے بھی اپنے نعروں کو مذہبی تقریریں بخشنے کا کام شروع کر دیا۔ اسکا یہ اثر ہوا کہ ڈاکٹر خانصاحب اپنے اس موقف اور مقام سے ہٹ گئے جسکی طرف وہ بڑی دیر سے دعوت دے رہے تھے۔

یہ بات ایک عام آدمی کی سمجھ میں تو نہیں آتی۔ کم از کم مجھ جیسے معمولی فہم و فراست کے آدمی کی سمجھ سے تو بالا ہے کہ مسلم لیگی حضرات کو مخلوط پارٹی تو غوارا ہے مخلوط کابینہ تو غوارا ہے۔ مخلوط اسمبلی تو غوارا ہے۔ مگر انتخاب غوارا نہیں۔ اس سے بھی زیادہ تعجب کی بات یہ ہے کہ جن لوگوں کی ساری عمر ہندوؤں کے ساتھ کام کرتے ہوئے گزری۔ جو ہمیشہ متحدہ قومیت کا نعرہ بلند کرتے رہے۔ جو یہ کہتے رہے کہ

ملک کی آزادی کے لئے ہم ہندوؤں سے تعاون کرنے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ وہ اب اس ملک کی ترقی کے لئے مخلوط انتخاب کو غوراً نہیں کر سکتے۔ علی ہذاقیاس میں مسلم لیگی دوستوں سے یہ پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب انکو ہندو ممبروں کے تعاون کی ضرورت پڑتی ہے وہ انہیں چور دروازے سے ملحقہ ممبر بنا لیتے ہیں۔ اب بھی مسلم لیگی وزیر اعظم مسٹر دتہ کے ساتھ کنراہے سے کنراہا ملا کر کام کر رہے ہیں۔ انکی کابینہ میں غیر مسلم موجود ہیں۔ کابینہ کے انر پالیسی مشترک ہوتی ہے۔ کابینہ کی ذمہ داری مشترک ہوتی ہے۔ (قطع کلامیال)۔ وزیر اعظم مسلم لیگی بہر حال ہیں۔ اب تک نہ انہوں نے مسلم لیگ کو چھوڑا ہے اور نہ مسلم لیگ نے انہیں نکالا ہے اور نہ وہ ریپبلکن پارٹی میں شامل ہوئے ہیں۔ میں مختلف باتوں پر تبصرہ نہیں کرنا چاہتا۔ نہ میں کسی بحث میں پڑنا چاہتا ہوں۔ البتہ ڈائٹر خانصاحب کی آگاہی کیلئے میں اتنا کہہ دینا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہماری ریاست کے سابق متقی اور متدین وزیر اعلیٰ مخدوم زادہ حسن محمود جب وہاں موجود تھے تو انہوں نے بھی ایک نعرہ ایجاد کیا تھا۔ اپنے سیاسی حریفوں کے لئے ایک قالی ایجاد کی تھی۔ جسے وہ تین برس تک استعمال کرتے رہے کہ یہ کانگریسی ہیں۔ وہ اس نعرہ کو اسمبلی کے انر اور اسمبلی کے باہر متواتر استعمال کرتے رہے۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ اس وقت مخدوم زادہ حسن محمود کی شخصیت زیر بحث نہیں ہے۔

علامہ رحمت اللہ ارشد۔ قدرت کا انتقام دیکھئے کہ اس وقت وہ خود کانگریس کے جدوجہد کے ماتحت کام کر رہے ہیں۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ تشریف رکھئے۔ جب سپیکر کھڑا ہو اس وقت آپکو بیٹھ جانا چاہئے۔

علامہ رحمت اللہ ارشد۔ میں نے ابھی انتخاب کے مسئلہ کے متعلق تو اپنی رائے ہی پیش نہیں کی۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ اگر آپ غیر متعلقہ باتیں فرینگے تو میں آپ کو تقریر کرنے کی اجازت نہیں دوں گا میں نے آپکو بتایا تھا کہ آپ کے وقت میں سے دو منٹ رہ گئے ہیں۔ اسے بچا بھی آپ غیر متعلقہ باتیں کرتے رہے اور طریق انتخابات کے متعلق اپنی رائے کا اظہار نہ کیا اس لئے اب مجھے مجبوراً کہنا پڑے گا کہ آپ اپنی تقریر ختم کر دیں۔

علامہ رحمت اللہ ارشد۔ میں زیر احتجاج اپنی تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں۔

Mr. Speaker : Order please.

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

**Begum Salma Tassaduque Hussain :** On a point of privilege, Sir. We are representatives of the people of Pakistan and we are not being given a chance to speak and express our opinion. Will you please allow me to speak, otherwise we will walk out in protest. (Interruptions.).

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, please.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Sir, those persons who have moved amendments should have the right of reply.

**Mr. Speaker :** It will be decided after this question is put.

**Dr. Saiduddin Swalleh:** I have given my name yesterday. You ask the Leader of the Opposition. I have got a right to express my opinion. (Interruptions.).

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, please.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon Alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** On a Point of privilege, Sir. Under Rule 62 of the Rules of Procedure, which reads: "At any time after a question has been proposed, a Member rising in his place may claim to move 'That the question be now put', and unless it shall appear to the Chair that such motion is an abuse of the rules or an infringement of the right of the minority, the question 'That the question be now put' shall be put forthwith, and decided without amendment or debate.

**Mr. Speaker :** You leave it to me.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon Alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** My point of privilege relates to this part of the rule which deals with the "infringement of the rights of the minority". Sir you had promised Mr. Chandu Lal.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please resume your seat. You are not his advocate.

**Dr. Saiduddin Swalleh :** On a point of order, Sir. I want to ask as to whether or not you are going to allow me to speak. If you are not going to allow me, then I will leave in protest.

**Mr. Speaker :** It is open to the honourable member to do what he likes. The question is:

That the question be now put.

The Assembly divided. Ayes 109, Noes. 6.

AYES.

Abdul Ghani, Chaudhri.  
 Abdul Ghani Ghuman,  
 Chaudhri.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti,  
 Sardar.  
 Abdul Jabbar Khan Dadukhel  
 Tarakzai Muhammad, Malik.  
 Abdul Qayyum, Mir.  
 Abdul Wahid, Al-Haj Mian.  
 Abdullah Jan, Syed.  
 Abdullah Khan, Amir.  
 Abdullah Khan, Haji.  
 Abdus Sattar Abdur Rehman  
 Pirzada, Mr.  
 Aisha Muhammad Abdul Aziz  
 Arain, Begum.  
 Ali Ahmed Khan Mir Haji Nabi  
 Bakhsh Khan Talpur, Haji  
 Mir.  
 Ali Bilawal Khan Shah Ali  
 Khan Dombki, Mr.  
 Ali Mardan Khan Mir Ghulam  
 Raza Khan Talpur, Mir.  
 Allah Bakhsh Khan Abbasi, Mr.  
 Allah Dino Muhammad Hassan  
 Sial, Mr.  
 Allah Diwaya, Qazi.  
 Altaf Mohy-ud-Din Qadri,  
 Syed.  
 Amir Ali Khan, Subedar Raja.  
 Amir Muhammad Khan, Malik.  
 Bagh Ali, Malik.  
 Bashir Ahmed Cheema,  
 Chaudhri.  
 Dharamdas Motumal, Mr.  
 Faiz Hussain, Malik.  
 Faqira Khan Jadun, Khan.  
 Fateh Muhammad Khan, Khan.  
 Fateh Muhammad Khan  
 Tiwana, Malik.

Fazlullah Ubedullah, Qazi.  
 Fazl-ur-Rahman, Sheikh.  
 Ghulam Ali Haji Abdullah  
 Memon, Haji.  
 Ghulam Qadir Khan, Jam Mir.  
 Ghulam Rasul Tarar,  
 Chaudhri.  
 Ghulam Shah Bukhari, Pir  
 Syed.  
 Habib Ullah Khan, Khan.  
 Habib Ullah Khan Torikhel,  
 Wazir Sardar Fakhr-i-  
 Kashmir.  
 Hamid-ud-Din, Makhdum.  
 Hassan Bakhsh, Pir Haji.  
 Hassan Mahmood, Makhdum-  
 zada.  
 Jamal Dar, Major-General.  
 Jamil Hussain Rizvi, Syed.  
 Kadir Bakhsh Ilahi Bakhsh  
 Tunio, Mr.  
 Kamran Khan, Khan.  
 Karim Bakhsh, Hafiz.  
 Khair Shah Imam Ali Shah,  
 Syed.  
 Khan Sahib, Dr.  
 Khuda Dad Khan, Khan.  
 Khudeja G.A. Khan, Begum.  
 Khurshid Ahmed Muhammad  
 Yaqub, Sheikh.  
 Mahboob Ali Shah *alias*  
 Mahboob Shah Gilani, Pir  
 Syed.  
 Mahmood Shah, Syed.  
 Mashal Khan, Khan.  
 Masood Sadiq, Sheikh.  
 Mir Azam Khan, Chief of  
 Daurs.  
 Mir Rehman Bar Qamberkhel.  
 Mohabat Ali Khan, Khan.

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

- Mohsin Shah, Makhdum.  
 Muhammad Afrin Khan, Khan.  
 Muhammad Afazl Bajwa, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Afzal Khan, Khan.  
 Muhammad Ahsan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Akbar Khan, Khan.  
 Muhammad Ali Khan Afridi, Nawabzada.  
 Muhammad Amin Khan Shamankhel Mahsu, Khan.  
 Muhammad Aslam Khan of Turbela, Khan.  
 Muhammad Aslam Khan of Began, Khan.  
 Muhammad Ghulam Jilani Gurmani, Mian.  
 Muhammad Jaffar Khan Gul Muhammad Khan Buledi, Sardar.  
 Muhammad Khan Leghari, Sardar.  
 Muhammad Nazif Khan, Khan.  
 Muhammad Sadiq, Mahr.  
 Muhammad Saeed Akhunzada, Haji.  
 Muhammad Shamas Khan, Khan.  
 Muhamad Umar Khan, Khan.  
 Muhammad Yar Chishti, Mr.  
 Muhammad Yousaf Khan, Khan.  
 Muhammad Yusaf Khan Qasamkhel Tarakzai Mohmand, Lieut, Khan.  
 Mumtaz Hussan Ahmed Jan Qizalbash, Mirza.  
 Musa Khan Allah Bakhsh Khan Bughio, Mr.  
 Nabi Bakhsh Naich, Malik.  
 Najm-ud-Din Fateh Khan Laghari, Haji.  
 Nasrullah Khan Jatoi, Sardar.  
 Nasrullah Khan, Nawab.  
 Nasrullah Khan Turi Hamza-khel, Haji.  
 Nazar Hussain Shah, Syed.  
 Nur Muhammad Khan of Kuleka, Khan.  
 Nur Muhammad Khan of Mayar, Khan.  
 Nur Muhammad Khan Sher Muhammad Khan Bijarani, Sardar.  
 Pir Muhammad Khan, Khan.  
 Rukhan Zaman Khan, Sultan Raja.  
 Safiullah Khan, Khan.  
 Sai Muhammad, Chaudhri.  
 Saifullah Khan Mahboob Ali Khan Mangsi, Mr.  
 Sajjad Ali Khan, Rukan-ud-Daulah Shamsheer Jang Al-Haj Nawab.  
 Sakhi Jan Khan, Khan.  
 Saleh Muhammad, Chaudhri.  
 Saleh Muhammad Khan Mandokhel, Khan.  
 Shad Muhammad Khan, Khan.  
 Shafqat Hussain Shah Atta Hussain Shah Musavi, Mr.  
 Shah Nawaz Jamal-ud-Din, Pirzada.  
 Sher Afzal Khan, Arbab.  
 Shirin Khan, Khan.  
 Sikandar Shah, Syed.  
 Sobharo Khan Faiz Muhammad Khan Banbhan, Mr.



Sultan Ahmed, Chaudhri.

Usmar Din Khan, Malik.

Wali Muhammad Khan, Khan.

Wattan Radshah Khan, Khan.

Zaffar Ali Shah Muhammad

Ali Shah, Syed.

Zeenat Fida Hassan, Begum.

**NOTES [TOTAL NO. 6]**

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mr.

Mahmood A. Haroon, Mr.

Muhammad Aslam Khan, Khan.

Muhammad Hashim Gazdar,

Al-Haj.

Muhammad Yusaf, Chaudhri.

Mazaffar Khan, Mr.

ڈاکٹر خان صاحب - (چیف منسٹر) - صاحب صدر میں اردو میں بولنا چاہتا ہوں تاکہ تمام سببان کو معلوم ہو جائے کہ میرے خیالات اس مضمون پر کس قسم کے ہیں - ان لوگوں نے مجھے criticise کیا ہے سوائے غالبوں کے انہوں نے کچھ نہیں کہا ہے - میں سب سے پہلے میاں محمد شفیع سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ اپنے آپکو خود ملاحظہ کریں اسکے علاوہ میں انکے بارے میں اور کچھ نہیں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کیونکہ مجھے اپنا حال معلوم ہے اور انہیں اپنا حال معلوم -

دوسرے میرے بھائی (مجھے معلوم نہیں) اپنے آپکو کیونٹ کہتے ہیں یا سوشلسٹ کہتے ہیں یا کچھ نہیں کہتے ہیں انکو مجھ سے اس بارے میں لگے ہے - یہ بہت ناخوش ہوئے ہیں کہ میں لوگوں کیساتھ ہاتھ ملاتا ہوں - تو اس قسم کے سوشلسٹوں کو خدا ہدایت کرے کہ وہ اپنے بھائیوں کیساتھ ہاتھ ملانے سے غصہ نہ ہوں میں اس پر اور کچھ criticism نہیں کرنا چاہتا - انہیں صرف اتنا کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اپنے آپکو خود ملاحظہ کریں - (قطع کلامی)

اسکے بعد میرے ایک اور بھائی ہیں (مجھے معلوم نہیں کہاں سے منتخب ہو کر آئے ہیں) لیکن وہ اس گھر (معزز ہاؤس) میں بہت بولنے والے ہیں انکو میں نے سنا کہ کس نے کہا کہ وہ پیپیر منٹ کی گولی کھانے والے ہیں ان کو بھی میں کہتا ہوں کہ آپ اپنے کو خود ملاحظہ کریں اسکے بارے میں اسکے علاوہ میں اور کچھ نہیں کہنا چاہتا - میرے ایک اور بھائی جو شریعت پر قربان ہیں ان سے بھی میں اتنا عرض کرونگا کہ جو بات وہ کہیں اسے قرآن مجید سے پڑھ کر پہلے سمجھ لیا کریں - اور پھر اس ایران میں کچھ کہا کریں - میں ان سے بھی یہی کہونگا کہ وہ اپنے آپکو ملاحظہ کریں تاکہ انہیں معلوم ہوئے کہ انکی حالت کیا ہے -

میں آپکو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ اسلام میں پہلی چیز self criticism ہے - ہمیں اپنے آپکو ملاحظہ کرنا چاہئے اور دیکھنا چاہئے کہ ہم میں جو خرابیاں ہیں اور جس طرح آپ نے مجھے میری خامیاں بتائیں ہیں میں آپکو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ میں اپنے آپکو

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پوری طرح ملاحظہ کرونگا اور جو خرابیاں مجھ میں ہیں انہیں دور کرونگا۔ ان باتوں سے میرا مطلب یہ نہیں ہے کہ میرے دل میں اپنے معزز ممبران کے بارے میں کچھ غلط فہمی ہے۔ میرا وہی رویہ ہے اور میرا وہی نظریہ ہے اور میں ان سے اسی طرح اتفاق کرونگا جس طرح پہلے کرتا تھا۔

مسٹر الاء نے تقریر مکمل کی۔ انہوں نے خوب explain کیا۔ سب باتیں مانتا ہوں اور انہیں بھی میں کہتا ہوں کہ اگر میرے بارے میں کچھ غلط فہمی ہے تو وہ کہیں میں انہیں سمجھا دوں گا۔

آخر میں میں کچھ عوامی محاذ کے لیڈر کی خدمت میں عرض کرتا ہوں میں انکو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ انکی مدد سے یہ گورنمنٹ قائم ہوئی ہے اور انکے ساتھ میرا یہ وعدہ ہے کہ Election free اور honest ہونگے۔ (نعرہ ہائے تحسین)

میرے دوست جنہیں میں کہتا ہوں the man from fairy land کو میں ایک بات کہتا ہوں کہ وہ باتیں تو بہت کرتے ہیں لیکن وہ ہمیشہ تہذیب کے دائرہ کے اندر رہتے ہیں۔ بعض لوگوں کا خیال یہ ہے کہ میں نے اپنا رویہ بدلا دیا ہے میں نے اپنی Opinion بدلا دی ہے۔ میں انہیں یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں اور خاص کر مسلم لیگ والوں کو اگر انکی عرشیں مجھے نہیں بدل سکتی تو دنیا کی کوئی چیز مجھے نہیں بدل سکتی۔ (نعرہ ہائے تحسین)۔

صاحب سپیکر :- آپ شور کرنا بند کیجئے۔ انکی تقریر سنئے۔

You must bear in mind that the honourable Chief Minister is speaking and he must be given full opportunity without any interruption to express his views.

Rana Gul Muhammad Noon *alias* Abdul Aziz Noon : Sir, . . . . .

Mr. Speaker : Please sit down.

Rana Gul Muhammad Noon *alias* Abdul Aziz Noon : Sir, I want to ask him simply one question.

Mr. Speaker : Yes, the Leader of the House to proceed, please

ڈاکٹر عاصم صاحب :- minority community کے متعلق بعض باتیں میں نے سنی ہیں یہ کہا گیا کہ وہ میرے پاس آئے اور میں نے ان سے کہا کہ میں joint electorate

جو favour کروٹا - یہ میرے پاس آئے تھے - انہوں نے کہا کہ ہم joint electorate with reservation چاہتے ہیں - میں نے کہا تھا کہ اس سے آپکو کیا فائدہ ہوگا اسکے بعد انہوں نے جو باتیں کی ہیں وہ نواب ممدوٹ کے ساتھ کی ہیں میرے پاس نہیں کی ہیں - لیکن الگ الگ ان میں سے بعضوں نے کہا ہے کہ وہ separate electorate کے حامی ہیں مجھے پتہ نہیں کہ انہوں نے جرقوں میں کیا طے کیا ہے لیکن یہ اصلیت ہے - باقی یہ میں آپکو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ آپ میرے لئے جتنی گالیاں چاہیں استعمال کریں ایک چیز جسکے لئے میں یہاں آیا ہوں یہ ہے کہ پاکستان سے تمام Black-marketees اور intriguers کو ختم کر دوں - ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اس ریزولوشن کی تائید کرتا ہوں -

with these few words I support the amendment

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, it will be only one question, parts (a), (b) and (c). The honourable the Chief Minister has said that "I have not changed any of my opinion". I wanted to know from him whether he is still in favour of undivided country, one country. Will he stand in favour of joint electorate as he has always been.....

**Mr. Speaker :** No question can be put to the honourable Leader of the House. You cannot take him back ten years? It is an irrelevant question.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** I want to ask him whether he is in favour of joint electorates or separate electorates.

**Mr. Speaker :** Your opinion is more valuable to you.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** I want him to express his opinion.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, we want to be enlightened by his opinion.

**Speaker :** Order, Order. If you interfere, the proceedings will go on upto 6 o'clock.

مسٹر جی - ایم - سیج - جناب صدر - جہاں تک جوائنٹ الیکٹریٹ کا تعلق ہے آپ کو معلوم ہی ہے کہ اس ایران میں چند لوگ ہی اسکی تائید کرتے ہیں ورنہ سارے کا سارا ہاوس اس کا مخالف ہے اور جوائنٹ انتخاب کا حامی ہے -

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اگرچہ میں اردو میں اچھی طرح تقریر نہیں کر سکتا تاہم چونکہ بہت سے ارکان میری انگریزی تقریر کے مفہوم سے آگاہ نہیں ہو سکتے اسلئے اور وہ چاہتے ہیں کہ اردو میں تقریر کروں تاکہ بیشتر ارکان میرے خیالات سے واقف ہو سکیں اس لئے میں اردو میں تقریر کرنے لگا ہوں -

اب میرے لئے دوسری مشکل یہ آپڑی ہے کہ اپنے مجھے (Brief) اختصار کا حکم دے دیا ہے ان دونوں مشکلوں کے باوجود میں اس نکتہ چینی کا جواب دینا چاہتا ہوں جو مغلوط انتخاب کے حق میں میری تقریر میرے منصب کے خلاف کی گئی ہے - اس معزز ایوان میں مغلوط انتخاب کے خلاف بہت سے دلائل دیئے گئے ہیں اور جداگانہ انتخاب کے حق میں بے شمار دلیلیں پیش کی گئی ہیں - مگر میرے نزدیک ما سوائے دو اراکین کے باقی ارکان کی نکتہ چینی قابل جواب نہیں ہے - جیسا کہ قائد مقلد لیڈر آف دی ہاوس نے فرمایا ہے چونکہ مسلم لیگ والوں کا نظریہ ہی یہ ہے کہ جداگانہ انتخاب ہوں اسلئے مجھے یہ امید نہیں کہ ان پر میرے دلائل کا کچھ اثر ہو - کیونکہ مسلم لیگ ایک منظم پارٹی ہے وہ کسی دوسرے کے کہنے سننے پر اپنی بنیادی پالیسی میں تبدیلی نہیں کر سکتی - لیکن میرے ذمے ایک فرض عائد ہوتا ہے اور مجھ پر ایک ذمہ داری ہے - جسکو نبھانے کے لئے کہ کسی پر اثر ڈالنے بغیر میں اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کر دینا چاہتا ہوں - میں اپنے مسیر کی آواز ہاوس میں بلند کرنا چاہتا ہوں - اس لئے نہیں کہ یہ لوگ میری بات مان لیں گے - بلکہ محض اسلئے کہ تاریخ ایک شہادت رہ جائے کہ کسی نے اپنے صحیح آواز قوم کی بھلائی کے لئے اٹھائی تھی لہ اسکو صحیح راستہ دکھانے کی کوشش میں اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کیا تھا -

جناب والا میری دوسری وجہ ان خیالات کے اظہار سے یہ بھی ہے کہ ملک میں سیاسی شعور اور رائے عام پیدا کرنے اور بلحاظ کرنے کا یہی ایک طریقہ ہے خواہ لوگ آپ کے ساتھ متفق ہوں یا نہ ہوں پھر آپ صدائے حق بلند کرتے چلے جائیں -

جناب والا - مسٹر جی - الانا نے تیرہ چودہ نکات جداگانہ انتخاب کے حق میں پیش کئے تھے جن کا جواب مجھ پر لازم تھا لیکن اس تھوڑے سے وقت میں مفصل جواب دینا محال ہے اس لئے میں صرف چند ایسی باتوں کے متعلق اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کر دوں گا جن کو میں سب سے زیادہ اہم اور ضروری سمجھتا ہوں - سب سے پہلے بات جو انہوں نے کہی ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ یہ پاکستان ایک اسلامی مملکت ہے مگر میں اسکو نہیں مانتا - میں اس سلسلے میں کوئی بات اپنی طرف سے نہیں کہنا چاہتا بلکہ پاکستان کے علمائے کرام کی رائے بیان کر دینا چاہتا ہوں جنکو تذکرہ پاکستان کے فیڈرل کورٹ کے چیف جج صاحب نے اپنی رپورٹ میں قلمبند کیا ہے -

سردار عبدالحمید خان دستی - وہ قرآن تو نہیں ہے -

مسٹر جی - ایم - سید - آپ کا کہنا بھی قرآن نہیں ہے (قہقہہ)

اب جناب والا - منی وہ quotation حرف بہ حرف پڑھ کر سناتا ہوں -

"Quaid-i-Azam's conception of modern national State, it is alleged, became obsolete with the passing of Objectives Resolution on 12th March 1949, but it has been freely admitted that this Resolution though grandiloquent in words, phrases and clauses is nothing but a hoax and that not only does it not contain even semblance of the embryo of an Islamic State, but its provisions, particularly those relating to Fundamental Rights, are directly opposed to the principle of an Islamic State."

یہ ان علما کی رائے ہے جو بڑی سلا سچھے جاتے ہیں اور جن کو آپ جھٹلا نہیں سکتے - میں خود کوئی عالم نہیں مگر یہ رائے علمائے کرام کی آرائیں ہیں جس میں کہا گیا ہے کہ پاکستان ایک اسلامک سٹیٹ نہیں ہے اور نہ ہی اسکا کانسٹی ٹیوشن اسلامی ہے کیونکہ اسلام کا دستور تو قرآن ہے اور وہی دستور مسلمانوں کے لئے کافی ہے - آپ اس دستور اساسی کو بدل نہیں سکتے - اسکی موجودگی میں آپ کوئی اور قانون بنا ہی نہیں سکتے - علمائے کرام کی رائے کے مطابق اسلام میں غیر قرآنی قانون سازی کا دروازہ بند ہے - آپ زیادہ سے زیادہ اسکی Interpretation توضیح و تشریح کر سکتے ہیں - یعنی نہ تو نئے قوانین بنائے جاسکتے ہیں نہ پہلے قوانین کے ترمیم و تنسیخ ہو سکتی ہے جو قانون اسلامی دستور میں نہیں وہ اس میں داخل بھی نہیں کیا جاسکتا -

اب میں دوسری بات مولوی مودودی صاحب کے فرمان کے مطابق بھی پیش کرتا ہوں کہ اسلام موجودہ ڈیموکریسی کے برخلاف ہے کیونکہ مولوی مودودی صاحب کہتے ہیں کہ موجودہ جمہوری نظام ایک کافرانہ نظام ہے - یہ ایک مشرکانہ طریقہ ہے جو دینیت پر مبنی ہے اور اسلامی نظام ایک خالص دینی نظام ہے جو انبیاء کی شریعت پر مبنی ہے - یہ شہادتیں اور دلیلیں پاکستان کے اپنے علمائے کرام کی ہیں جو فاضل جج نے اپنی رپورٹ میں درج فرمائی ہیں جن سے ثابت ہے کہ ہمارا اسلامی دستور جمہوری و عمومی دستور نہیں ہو سکتا - اسلامی قانون تو کامل و مکمل صورت میں قرآن میں موجود ہے جس کو تبدیل نہیں کیا جاسکتا - مولوی مودودی صاحب کے نزدیک اسلام میں "امیر" یعنی ڈکٹیٹر کا مترادف حکم ہے - اس میں آمرت کی بتری گنجائش ہے -

قاضی مرید احمد - پوائنٹ آف آرڈر - جناب والا - یہ غلط کہہ رہے ہیں - یہ اسلام

کا غلط مفہوم پیش کر رہے ہیں -

صاحب سپیکر - آرڈر - خاموش -

قاضی مرید احمد - جناب والا یہ اسلام کے متعلق غلط رائے پیش کر رہے ہیں -

صاحب سپیکر - ان کو بات کرنے دیجئے - یہ اپنی رائے ظاہر پیش کر رہے ہیں -

آپ کی رائے تو نہیں بتا رہے ہیں آپ اپنی رائے محفوظ رکھئیے -



## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

مسٹر جی - ایم - سیج - جناب والا - اسلام ایک ایسا مذہب ہے جس کی تشریح ہر شخص کر سکتا ہے اور اپنا نقطہ نگاہ اسے متعلق پیش کر سکتا ہے - کسی خاص قزوہ میں اسکی تشریح کا نجی حق محدود نہیں ہے مگر مولوی مودودی صاحب فرماتے ہیں اسلام کی تشریح و تعبیر فقط صالحین کر سکتے ہیں ہم اور آپ اسلام کی تشریح تک بھی نہیں کر سکتے - کیونکہ جمہوریت میں مجھے اپنی رائے ظاہر کرنے کا حق حاصل ہے اور یہ اس کو اس لئے رد کرتے ہیں کہ یہ چیز ان کی ٹھیک داری ہے لیکن میں عرض کر دوں کہ ان کو یہ ٹھیک داری حاصل نہیں ہو سکتی - جناب والا یہ مسئلہ ایسا ہے کہ اس کی وضاحت کے لئے قہنوں چاہیں تب ہی جاکر اس کے متعلق تفصیل کے ساتھ بحث ہو سکتی ہے لیکن چونکہ وقت نہیں اسلئے میں اسے یہیں چھوڑتا ہوں -

دوسری بات مسٹر جی الاٹا نے یہ کہی ہے کہ جذاۃ انتخابات جمہوریت کے مخالف نہیں ہیں - ان کی یہ بات درست نہیں - جذاۃ انتخابات جمہوریت کے بالکل مخالف ہیں - جمہوریت کا مقصد یہ ہونا چاہئے کہ سب کو برابر کے حقوق حاصل ہوں یکسانیت حقوق اس کو نہیں کہتے کہ ایک قزوہ کو دائمی اقلیت میں رکھا جائے - اس طرح آپ ان کو دائمی اقلیت میں رکھ کر اور عوام سے جدا کر کے اور انکو ان سے اختلاط نہ کرنے دے - جمہوریت کے بنیادی اصول یعنی ایک قوم بننے کی مخالفت کر رہے ہیں اور اس طرح سے آپ چاہتے ہیں کہ آئندہ چل کر اقتصادی بنیادوں پر جو پارٹیاں بننے کا امکان ہے وہ باقی نہ رہے -

تیسری بات جو انہوں نے کی ہے یہ ہے کہ اقلیتوں کو متناسب تحفظات دئے گئے ہیں یعنی جو حقوق ان کو دئے گئے ہیں وہ ان کے لئے کافی ہیں - میں کہتا ہوں کہ آپ متناسب تحفظات کس کو کہتے ہیں - آپ تو عوام کو ایک قوم بننے کا سب سے بڑا عمومی حق نہیں دیتے - اس کے علاوہ اور متناسب تحفظات کیا ہونگے - سب سے بڑا حق اپنے آپ کو ایک قوم میں ضم کرنے کا حق ہے یعنی قوم کو یہ بتانا ہے کہ ہم سب ایک ہیں دو علیحدہ چیزیں نہیں - ان کو آپ اچھوتوں کی طرح علیحدہ رکھنا چاہتے ہیں اور پھر کہتے ہیں کہ آپ نے ان کو متناسب تحفظات دئے ہیں - آپ یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ یہ پانچ ممبری ہی منتخب ہو کر آئیں اور ان کے دس لاکھ ووٹوں سے ڈاکٹر خان صاحب مسٹر قزلباش نہ چنے جاسکی تاکہ ذمہ دار لوگ اگر ان کی بہتر طور پر نمائندگی نہ کر سکیں بلکہ وہی چند ممبران کے نمائندہ ہو کر آئیں خواہ وہ ان کی مزد نہ بھی کر سکیں - ہمارا مقصد تو یہ ہے کہ جو بہترین دماغ ہو وہ چنا جائے اور جیسا کہ سنٹرل اسمبلی میں ہندو ممبروں نے کہا تھا کہ یہ ضروری نہیں کہ ہندو منتخب ہو کر آئے یا مسلمان منتخب ہو کر آئے بلکہ بہترین آدمی منتخب ہو کر آئے جس کے ذریعہ ہمارے حقوق کا تحفظ ہو سکے -

جناب والا انہوں نے چوتھی بات یہ کہی اور بہت سے دوسرے ممبر صاحبان نے بھی یہی کہا کہ اقلیتوں کے آدمی یہاں چن کر ہی نہ آئے اگر ہم ان پر یہ مہربانی نہ کرتے یہ تو ویسی ہی دلچسپ بات ہے جیسا کہ انگریز کہا کرتا تھا کہ ہندوستان کے لوگ حکومت

کے اہل نہیں اور جب وہ اس کے قابل نہ ہو جائیں گے وہ ان کی خدمت کرنے کیلئے یہاں رہیں گے۔ اسی طرح سے آپ بھی کہتے ہیں کہ یہ ختم ہو جائیگا اور ہم تو ان کو بچانے کیلئے یہ کوشش کر رہے ہیں۔ لیکن ان سے کوئی پوچھے کہ اگر وہ نہیں بچنا چاہتے تو آپ کو اس کی فکر کیوں پڑی ہے۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ نہ چن کر یا چن کر آنا اتنی بڑی بات نہیں جتنا کہ قوموں کا بنانا۔ میں نے پہلے دن بھی کہا تھا اور اب بھی کہتا ہوں کہ آپ کی غلط رائے سارے پاکستان کو سخت محدود حلقوں میں بانٹ دے گی۔ کل کسی صاحب نے صحیح کہا تھا کہ آپ بھی تو ہر وقت سندھی سندھی کی رٹ لگاتے رکھتے ہیں اس کے سوا آپ پاکستان کی کیا خدمت کرتے ہیں۔ آپ تو پاکستان کو مانتے نہیں۔ میں کہتا ہوں آپ سب سلمان الگ الگ اپنے ملک کو مختلف طبقات میں بانٹ دینے کو تیار ہیں۔ آپ بڑا گناہ کرتے ہیں تو مینے اگر چھوٹا گناہ کر لیا تو کیا ہوا۔ اگر آپ گناہ نہ کریں تو میں بھی گناہ نہ کروں لیکن یہ کوئی اصول نہیں ہے کہ آپ تو گناہ کریں اور مجھے آپ منع کریں کہ میں گناہ نہ کروں۔

خان فقیرا خان ان - اے۔ پروائنٹ آف آرڈر۔ جناب والا ہاوس میں سیگریٹ پینا اور نسوار لینا تو منع ہے لیکن کیا پان چبانا جائز ہے۔ میری بائیں جانب جو ڈپٹی منسٹر صاحب بیٹھے ہیں انہوں نے رضوی صاحب کو پان دیا ہے۔ کیا میں پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہ ہاوس میں پان چبانا جائز ہے۔

قاضی مرید احمد۔ صاحب سپیکر ان کے لئے پروائنٹ آف آرڈر اٹھانا جائز ہے اور ہمارے لئے ناجائز ہے۔ مجھے نہایت افسوس ہے کہ مجھے تو آپ نے یہ حکم دیا کہ پروائنٹ آف آرڈر نہیں اٹھا سکتا لیکن اس کے پانچ منٹ بعد جب دوسری پارٹی کے ایک ممبر نے پروائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کرنے کی اجازت چاہی تو آپ نے اپنے پچھلے حکم کی پررا نہ کرتے ہوئے اس کے پیش کرنے کی اجازت دیدی۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ میں نے کوئی اجازت نہیں دی۔ پروائنٹ آف آرڈر اٹھانے والے خان فقیرا خان آف جڑوں ہیں اور وہ کسی کی کہاں سنتے ہیں۔

قاضی مرید احمد۔ انہوں نے اپنا پروائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کر دیا لیکن آپ نے انکو روکنے کی سعی نہ فرمائی۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ انہوں نے شروع ہی اس طرح کیا تھا کہ ہاوس میں سیگریٹ پینا منع ہے اور بعد میں وہ بڑھتے ہی چلے گئے اور بات کچھ بھی نہ نکلی۔

قاضی مرید احمد۔ جناب میرا پروائنٹ آف آرڈر سن تو لیں۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ ابھی اجازت نہیں۔

مسٹر جی۔ ایم۔ سیلا۔ اگر آپ اجازت نہیں دیتے تو میں بھی یہی کرنا نہیں کرتا۔

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

قاضی مرید احمد - مجھے پرائنٹ آف آرڈر پیش کرنے تو دیجئے -

صاحب سپیکر - آپ بعد میں پیش کر سکتے ہیں -

مسٹر جی - ایم - سی - جناب والا پانچویں بات جو مسٹر جی الانا نے کہی یہ تھی کہ لیگ نے انگریز شہنشاہیت کے خلاف جنگ اور جہاد کر کے پاکستان لیا ہے - بات یہ ہے کہ میں خود بھی لیگ میں رہ چکا ہوں اور جب کوئی کسی گھر سے نکلتا ہے تو اس کے لئے اس کے دل میں کچھ عزت ضرور ہوتی ہے اس لئے میں کوئی ایسی بات نہیں کرونگا جس سے میرے بعض دوستوں کی جو لیگ سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں کوئی دل شکنی ہو - لیکن اس کے باوجود میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ حقائق کو چلا آویزی باتوں سے مٹایا نہیں جاسکتا - جناب والا ہم سب کو معلوم ہے کہ لیگ کی بنیاد ۱۹۰۶ء میں پڑی تھی جب لارڈ مینٹو نے سر آغا خان کو بلا کر کہا تھا کہ جرائد حلقہ انتخاب کا مطالبہ کیجئے - اس کے بعد ۱۹۰۷ء میں نواب سر سلیم اللہ خان کی قیادت میں اس کی بنیاد ڈالی - لیگ کی بنیاد ہندو کی نفرت کے انگریز کی یہ پرانی پالیسی تھی کہ جب وہ کسی قوم کو کمزور دیکھتا تو وہ اسے دوسرے قوم کے انگریز کی یہ پرانی پالیسی تھی کہ جب وہ کسی قوم کو کمزور دیکھتا تو وہ اسے دوسرے قوم کے مقابلہ میں کھڑا کرنے کیلئے ابھارنے کی کوشش کرتا تھا - مثلاً ۱۸۵۷ء میں جب اس نے دیکھا کہ ہندو کمزور ہے اور مسلمان طاقتور تو اس نے مسلمان کو کمزور کرنا شروع کر دیا اور ہندو کو تقویت دینے لگا اور جب اس نے یہ دیکھا کہ ہندو اب طاقتور ہو گیا ہے تو اس کو بھگا دکھانے کیلئے مسلمان کی مزہ کرنی شروع کی اور اس طرح لیگ معرض وجود میں آئی - اور جیسا کہ میں قبل ازیں عرض کر چکا ہوں کہ اس کی بنیاد دو باتوں پر مبنی ہوئی - ایک تو اس بات پر کہ ہندوؤں کے خلاف نفرت پیدا کی جائے اور یہ ڈر پیدا کیا جائے کہ مسلمان کمزور ہیں اور ہندو مضبوط یعنی اس طرح ان میں احساس خوف پیدا کیا جائے - اور ان کو مصیبت سے بچانے کیلئے کوئی منصوبہ بنایا جائے جیسا کہ جرائد انتخابات - دوسری بات یہ ہے کہ انگریزوں کی سرپرستی ہی انکو بچا سکتی ہے تو یہ بنیادی چیزیں تھیں جن پر لیگ کی بنیاد ڈالی گئی - پھر جب پاکستان کا ریزولیشن آیا اور قائد اعظم اس کے لیڈر بنے - قائد اعظم بھی پہلے کانگریس میں تھے اور وہ لیگ کے مخالف تھے لیکن بعد میں وہ کانگریس سے علیحدہ ہو گئے تو حالات بدل گئے -

لیکن بعد میں جب ایسے حالات پیش آ گئے کہ ہندو جو سرمایہ دار تھے انہوں نے مسلمانوں میں اقتصادی خطرہ پیدا کر دیا تو مسلمانوں کی ایک بڑی جماعت انکی مخالف ہو گئی - بعد میں جب دونوں قوموں کا سمجھوتہ نہ ہو سکا تو یہ تقسیم ہوئی پڑی - لیکن یہ کہنا کہ انہوں نے سخت جبر و جہد کی ہے جیلوں میں گئے ہیں - لالہ لیاں کھائی ہیں - یا انکا سارا ریکارڈ جو ہے وہ برٹش گورنمنٹ سے لڑنے کا ہے تو یہ تاریخی حقائق کے مطابق نہیں ہے -

اور صاحب صدر پھر انہوں نے یہ بات کی ہے کہ یہ قائد اعظم نے جو کہا ہے ایک دیشن ہو جائے تو یہ بالکل ٹھیک ہے مگر انہوں نے کہا یہ ہے کہ کسی وقت کے بعد ایسا ہونا چاہئے - آٹھ برس ضرر چکے - اب بیس یا چالیس برس کا وقت کون مقرر کریگا - مسٹر

الانا کریڈیٹ یا لیگ والے یا ہم یا اور کون؟ اسکا آغاز کب ہوگا؟ میں ان سے یہ بات کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب کوئی اصول وضع کیا جاتا ہے تو اسکی ابتدا اسی دن سے شروع ہونی چاہئے۔ قائداعظم نے نہ صرف یہ کہا تھا بلکہ انہوں نے مسلم لیگ کی صدارت چھوڑتے وقت یہ بھی کہا تھا کہ اب مسلم لیگ کو بھی ختم ہونا چاہئے۔ (قطع کلامیاں)۔ میرے پاس ثبوت ہے۔

مسٹر الانا نے ایک اور جو سلا پیش کی ہے وہ ڈاکٹر امجدکار صاحب کی ہے۔ وہ بڑے قابل اور عالم آدمی ہیں۔ مگر انکو ایک "فروپوائے" کر کے دکھایا گیا۔ اس لئے انکی سلا کو ہم ماننے کے لئے تیار نہیں۔ ہم اسکو سلا نہیں سمجھتے۔ ہمارے لئے قائداعظم کی سلا ہے۔ قرآن کی سلا ہے۔ عقل و ذراعت کی سلا ہے۔ لیکن امجدکار کو سلا نہیں مان سکتے مسٹر الانا نے یہ بھی کہا ہے کہ صرف اقلیت کو حق نہیں بلکہ اکثریت کو بھی حق ہے۔ جداگانہ انتخاب منوانے کا۔ میں اسے نہیں مان سکتا۔ وہ اسلئے کہ جداگانہ انتخاب کے پیچھے جو چیز ہے وہ ڈر ہے۔ شک ہے۔ نفرت ہے۔ جو قوم دوسروں کے ساتھ روادارانہ سلوک کرنا چاہتی ہے۔ جسے ڈر نہیں ہے۔ جو دوسروں کے ساتھ ملکر رہنا چاہتی ہے۔ اسے کبھی یہ لازم نہیں کہ ۱۲ فیصد سے یا مغربی پاکستان میں ایک فیصد سے ڈر کر ایسی پالیسی اختیار کرے جو آگے چل کر ہمارے قومی مفاد اور یکجہتی کے لئے نقصان رسان ثابت ہو۔

صاحب صدر اسنے بعد اس نے ایک بات یہ کی ہے کہ قائداعظم کی ڈھانک کی تقریر جو تھی وہ عام باشندوں کی یا شہریت مجانب میں تھی۔ یہ نساہات جو ہوئے تھے انکے متعلق آپ نساہات کمیٹی کی رپورٹ پڑھ کر دیکھیں اس سے پتہ چلیگا کہ آٹھ برس تک آئین سازی نہیں ہونے پائی۔ اسکی وجہ کیا تھی اگر ہم ایک دوسرے کے بھائی ہیں تو پھر ہم میں یہ اختلاف کیوں ہیں۔ اگر ہم بھائی ہیں تو پھر ہماری مرکزی حکومت وحدانی ہونی چاہئے۔ یہ دو صورتیں اس بات کا ثبوت ہیں کہ چند لوگوں میں خوف ہے۔ جسے وہ ظاہر کرنے کے لئے تیار نہیں ہیں۔ دلوں میں چھپا کر رکھتے ہیں۔ (تالیان)۔

صاحب صدر پھر انہوں نے مجھے یہ طعن دیا ہے کہ میں سندھی بلوچی وغیرہ کو تو الگ قومی قرار دیتا ہوں مگر یہاں ایک فیض کی بات کرتا ہوں۔ اسلئے اس سے میرا کوئی مقصد رہے ہے۔ یہ حقیقت نہیں ہے۔ (مسٹر الانا)۔ ہم نے "الٹی ریٹر موٹو" نہیں کہا۔ وہ کہتے ہیں حقائق اس بات کا تقاضا کرتے ہیں کہ جب تک حالتیں درست نہ ہو جائیں ہم کوئی اکٹھی بات نہیں کر سکتے۔ مخلوط انتخاب نہیں کر سکتے۔ میں صرف یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر حقائق اسکے مخالف ہیں تو کیا حقائق اسکے مخالف نہیں ہیں کہ مختلف خطوں کے آدمی اپنا علیحدہ کلچر علیحدہ زبان علیحدہ قومی روایات کو برقرار رکھنے کے لئے علیحدہ رہنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اپنی جداگانہ حیثیت برقرار رکھنا چاہتے ہیں تو آپ کیوں زبردستی اسے ختم کرنے کے ذریعے ہیں۔ کیوں آپ ون یونٹ کی بات کرتے ہیں۔ اگر یہ ملک کے لئے ضروری ہے تو مخلوط انتخاب کیوں ضروری نہیں۔ آپ ایک اصول کو مانتے ہیں دوسرے کو نہیں مانتے۔ اگر ایک قوم بنانا ضروری ہے۔ اور بہت سے قوموں میں ملک کو بانٹ دینا غلط ہے تو پھر یہ جو در رنگی ہیں یہ بھی ملک کے لئے مفید ہیں۔

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

اب صاحب مسٹر الانا کی ایک رہ گئی ہے - انہوں نے کہا ہے کہ ڈاکٹر خاں صاحب جو ہمیشہ مخلوط انتخاب کے حق میں تھے انہوں نے اب اپنا نکتہ نگاہ بدل لیا ہے - اور وہ جراثیم انتخاب کے حامی بن گئے ہیں - ممکن ہے اس سے انکا مقصد یہ ہو کہ اس کا کریڈٹ ڈاکٹر خاں صاحب کو نہ جائے - اسکا کریڈٹ وہ خود لینا چاہتے ہیں - مجھے اسکی فکر نہیں کہ کریڈٹ ایک کر جاتا ہے یا دوسرے کو - حقیقت میں وہ دونوں ایک ہیں - قالب دو ہیں دل ایک ہے - مگر ہم جو عوامی محاذ والے ہیں ہم جراثیم انتخاب کی مخالفت کریں گے - ہم چند لوگ ہیں ہمارے ساتھ کچھ اقلیتوں کے آدمی ہیں ایک ڈرائیڈپنڈنٹ بھی اس معاملہ میں ہمارے ساتھ ہونگے - امیر حسین شاہ ہیں - شفیق صاحب تو یہاں نہیں ہیں - وہ باتیں کرتے ہیں - ووٹ نہیں ڈالتے - انکا دل مسلم لیگی ہے - ہم اپنی پالیسی کی وضاحت کرنا چاہتے ہیں - ہم نے پچھلی دفعہ ریپبلکن پارٹی کو جو مدد دی تھی وہ اسلئے نہیں دی تھی کہ ہم چند آدمیوں کو پسند کرتے تھے یا چند آدمیوں کو نا پسند کرتے تھے - ہماری پالیسی خواہ یہ غلط ہے یا صحیح ہے ایک عرصہ سے کسی حد تک ایک جیسی رہی ہے - ہم اس ملک میں فرقہ وارانہ اختلافات نہیں بنانا چاہتے - ہم سیاست کو جذبات کی بنیادوں پر نہیں رکھنا چاہتے - اقتصادی بنیادوں پر رکھنا چاہتے ہیں - اسلئے ڈاکٹر خاں صاحب نے جو کچھ کیا ہے ہم اسے پسند نہیں کرتے - وہ ہمارے بہت ہی پرانے کارکن ہیں - جن کی نسبت ایک وقت میں یہ خیال رکھتا تھا کہ انہیں اپنے لئے آگے بٹھایا بنا کر رکھوں - اب اگر وہ کوئی غلط بات کرتے ہیں تو میرے لئے یہ مناسب نہیں کہ انکے اوپر کوئی الزام لگاؤں یا انہیں برا بھلا کہوں - یہ میری شان کے مطابق نہیں ہے -

لیکن کم از کم میں یہ تو کہنے کا تو حق رکھتا ہوں کہ جو لوگ تکلیف میں یا مشکل کے وقت ساتھی ہوتے ہیں طاقت حاصل ہو جانے کے بعد ان سے مشورہ تو لیا جائے لیکن وہ تو مشورہ تک نہیں لیتے - جب ان کو آگاہ کرتا ہے وہ اپنی جلاتے ہیں اور جب ان کو آگاہ نہیں کرتا تو ہم سے شخصی تعلقات کی بنا پر مدد کا تقاضا کرتے ہیں اس لئے میں یہ واضح کر دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ کہنا کہ ہم ہر صورت اور ہر حالت میں ان پارٹی کی مدد کرنے والے ہیں یہ غلط ہے اگر وہ ہمارے اصولوں کے مطابق چلیں گے تو ہم انہیں مدد دیں گے - لیکن اگر انہوں نے نامناسب کردہ تو ہم مدد نہیں دیں گے - یہ ہے حقیقت اور حقیقت کے اظہار سے میں کبھی دریغ نہیں کروں گا -

صاحب صدر ! اس کے بعد میں چند لفظ اپنے دوست اور عزیز قبیلانی صاحب کے متعلق کہوں گا - انہوں نے بہت سے حقائق پیش کئے اور ان کے دلائل بھی خاصے موثر تھے لیکن انہوں نے جس انداز سے اور جس طریق سے ہماری دل آزاری کی ہے ویسے میں نہیں کرنا چاہتا - ہمیں اسبابی میں ایسا طریقہ اختیار کرنا چاہیے کہ مخالفت بھی ہو تو ایک حد کے اندر رہ کر ہو - اس لئے اگر میں نے ان کی باتوں کا جواب دیا تو ان کے جذبات مجروح ہونگے - انہوں نے میرے جذبات کو ضرور مجروح کیا ہے لیکن میں ان کے جذبات کو مجروح نہیں کرنا چاہتا - ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اس ایوان کے ممبران کی خدمت میں عرض کروں گا کہ ان پر ایک بڑی ذمہ داری عائد ہوتی ہے اور خاص طور پر ڈاکٹر خاں صاحب سے کہوں گا کہ ان پر بالخصوص بڑی ذمہ داری عائد ہوتی ہے کیونکہ ان کا ایک ریکارڈ ہے - ہمارے جیسے



بہت سے لوگوں نے تو کئی پارٹیاں بدلی ہیں۔ ہم پہلے کانگریس میں تھے پھر لیگ میں آگئے اور اس کے بعد لیگ سے بھی نکل آگئے اور ہماری کچھ ایسی چیزیں بھی ہیں جن پر اعتراضات ہو سکتے ہیں۔ لیکن ڈاکٹر خانصاحب کا ایک مخصوص ریکارڈ ہے جو بالکل ایک جیسا رہا ہے۔ ان کی عمر اس وقت ۷۶ برس کی ہو چکی ہے اور ان کے لئے اب دنیا میں کوئی ایسی خاص چیز نہیں ہے جس کے لئے وہ اپنا ریکارڈ بدلیں اور ان کے اثاثہ ان کی خدمات ہیں۔ اب میں ان سے کہوں گا کہ وہ کوئی ایسا کام نہ کریں جس کی وجہ سے ان کی بے لوث خدمات کے ریکارڈ پر کوئی دہمہ آئے۔

Caesar's wife must be above suspicion,

اس لئے میں آپ کے ذریعے سب ممبران کی خدمت میں عرض کروں گا کہ انہیں ایک دفعہ پھر سوچنا چاہئے کیونکہ اس مسئلہ پر قوم کے مستقبل کا دار و مدار ہے۔ ہمیں ایسا طریقہ اختیار نہیں کرنا چاہئے جو ۱۹۰۶ء میں انگریزوں کے کہنے سے اختیار کیا گیا تھا اب پاکستان کو مضبوط بنانا ہے اس کو بانٹنا نہیں ہے۔ لیکن میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ

ابنِ راہ کہ سی روی بہ ترکستان است

موجودہ طریقے سے پاکستان کا فائدہ نہیں ہوگا بلکہ اس کا نقصان ہوگا اور اس کے لئے تاریخ کے سامنے آپ ذمہ دار ہوں گے۔ ہم نے تو جو کچھ عرض کرنا تھا کر دیا۔

”بر رسولان بلاغ باشر و بس“

اب آپ کی مرضی ہے جو چاہیں کریں۔

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan :** May I ask a question from Mr. G. M. Syed?

**Mr. Speaker :** Please sit down. Let the other member speak.

**Mr. G. Allana :** I shall try to be as brief as possible, although the temptation to the contrary is there, I will attempt to meet some of the counter-arguments levelled against us by Mr. G. M. Syed. But to begin with, I shall refer to the speeches made by the representatives of the non-Muslim's representatives of the minority community.

From among the non-Muslims, there are three members who have spoken. Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din, representing the Christian minority community has demanded separate electorates. I was trying to take a sort of unofficial gallup poll. So I met these three non-Muslim members, both within the House and in the lobbies, I also contacted Mr. Chandu Lal, also representing the Christian minority. He has assured me that he and the Constituency that he represents advocate separate electorates. I could not contact Mrs. Singha, another representative of the Christian minority community. She is not here but I understand that she also is in favour of separate electorates. Therefore, it stands beyond any shadow of doubt that in so far as the Christian community is concerned, the Christians are for separate electorates.

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

Only two representatives of the Hindu minority have spoken, namely Mr. Variani and Mr. Madhavji. I heard with attention what they said. There is only one argument in their speeches which needs to be refuted, which I would like very respectfully to bring to their notice. They have said that the Muslims must look around and see if there are separate electorates in other Muslim countries, and if in other Muslim countries there are no separate electorates, why then are we going to have separate electorates in Pakistan? Now, Mr. Speaker, once again that would involve my going into detail in the first argument which I advanced on the first day of my speech, namely, the constitution, complexion and the genesis of political parties in this sub-continent of India and Pakistan. Secondly, the complexion of the political parties in Pakistan as it is today. I shall not go into it again. But may I respectfully request them to please read my speech, if they so desire, and they will understand that in view of the complexion of the political parties, we feel that separate electorates are in the best interests of the minority community itself. In no other Muslim country, Mr. Speaker, are there political parties based on the same consideration on which they are based in Pakistan, which we have unfortunately inherited as a result of past conditions that existed when the whole sub-continent was one country.

After honourable member Mr. Variani finished his speech, I had a word with him and I asked him a direct question. I asked him whether he was for joint electorates, and if so, without reservations or with reservations. He told me that he is for joint electorates, but with reservations. I asked the same question from honourable member Mr. Madhavji. His answer was that he is for joint electorates without reservations, but only for the first ten years, and after ten years the experiment will be reviewed, if the majority community so desires. This leads me to the conclusion, which I think is inescapable, that there is no unanimity of opinion among the minority communities that they do want joint electorates.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai:** I agree to the principle of joint electorates, but subject to the condition of ten years.

**Mr. G. Allana:** If I made an incorrect statement, I would certainly welcome an effort on the part of the honourable member to correct it.

He said that he wants joint electorates but subject to the condition of ten years, which means, Mr. Speaker, that the opinion held by him is neither emphatic on his part, nor very very definite—that is the point I wanted to go on record. In so far as we have been able to understand the minds of the minorities, they are neither unanimous nor are they firm in their convictions that they do want joint electorates.

Now, I come to the observations made by the honourable Chief Minister. He made, in the first portion of his remarks, certain scathing criticism against independent members. They are competent enough, stronger than myself as a member of this House, to defend themselves when the opportunity arises and I leave it at that.

I wish to express my deepest thanks to honourable the Chief Minister for saying some nice things about my speech on separate electorates.

Now, when I come to criticise his statement, Mr. Speaker, I am torn between two conflicting sentiments, or if you wish, two conflicting loyalties. My first loyalty, namely, my upbringing, demands that I respect age. And the honourable Chief Minister is a venerable old man, and that I try to be as polite to him as I possibly can. My loyalty as a Party member demands that as he is the Leader of the Party diametrically and politically opposed to us, I should continue to criticise him severely. I wish to exercise my latter right as a member of a political party in opposition. But, on the personal level, I shall say nothing against him. The honourable the Chief Minister was kind enough to say that if there are any faults, which I observe in him. (May I have the attention of the Chief Minister; I am trying to explain to him). The honourable the Chief Minister was good enough to say that if I observe any defects in him, I should walk up to him and point out to him his faults. I shall take such an opportunity on questions other than separate or joint electorates in future. But since this subject is a matter of public controversy on the floor of this House, I would like to point out his defects to him on his stand on this issue. Whatever, Mr. Speaker, his conviction today, all his life he has advocated joint electorates. But in this session he has changed his opinion and is advocating separate electorates. Why? Well, Mr. Speaker, the angels of rumour move about with their wings fluttering in the lobbies of every Parliament. And they have been fluttering their wings very busily during the last 4 or 5 days in the lobbies of this honourable House. And some of these angels whispered in my ears that the Honourable the Chief Minister was confronted with a dilemma and he did not know what to do. If he adhered to his convictions, deeply felt, on joint electorates, then the Republican Party members—the Muslims—had told him that they will have no truck with him and they would leave him. On the other hand, the same angels whispered in my ears that the Hindu Members had told him that if he advocates separate electorates, they would leave him. I have seen that they have definitely left him. They are having separate meetings on this question. They have refused to attend the meetings of the Republican Party. And then again the same angels whispered in my ears... (Interruptions).

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister):** The honourable member is having ilham again..

**Mr. G. Allana:** Sir, I respect the honourable the Chief Minister's age, and therefore I shall not retort—of retort I am absolutely capable otherwise. Then, Mr. Speaker,.....

**A Member:** Sir, the honourable member just now said that we, the minority Representatives, have left Dr. Khan Sahib. I would like to understand the meaning of these particular words; what he means to say and how have we left him.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Sir, I would request the honourable member not to read more than what meets the eye in what I have just said.

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

The same angels of rumour whispered in my ears that the honourable Chief Minister was not only subject to a dual pincer movement, but it was actually a triangular pincer movement on him on this issue. He was also, it seems, told, or at least realized, that if he advocated separate electorates, he would lose the support or at least the sympathy of the Awami Mahaz. It is a matter of record of this debate, and all the political parties I have named are a party to this debate. Honourable member Mr. G. M. Syed, Leader of Awami Mahaz, in his concluding remarks has said—and he has said something in which I would request the honourable member to read more than what meets the eye—and if the session lasts for a little longer and, I hope it will, the history of divisions on the floor of this honourable House will be quite different from what they have been before this. We will ask for a division at the crucial and ripe moment. Honourable the Chief Minister has said that all his life the Muslim League pressure has not been able to change him in his views. I agree. None the less on this issue he has definitely changed. Why? Not because of the pressure of the Muslim League—we are too far from him to bring any pressure on him. But he has definitely changed because of the pressure that has been brought to bear upon him by our erstwhile comrade of the Muslim League, who are with him now. They told him that if he advocates joint electorates they would quit him and so he has changed his life long conviction. And therefore.....(Interruptions).

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister):** May I just say something about what the honourable member has just now said. He is too far from me and he tried to come near me, but I won't have him.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Mr. Speaker, I had upto now shown great respect for the honourable the Chief Minister. Believe me, I have never known him from close quarters. But when he says this and by insinuation tries to damage my reputation, I only scorn at what he has said. I assure honourable members that honourable the Chief Minister is a habitual offender in indulging in terminological inexactitudes, as I cannot use the word lies for what he has said, because it is unparliamentary. (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I thought there was still some sense of honour left on that side of the House, Mr. Speaker. But it seems to be missing in the very corner where it was most likely to be found, namely, where honourable the Chief Minister is sitting.

Mr. Speaker, the honourable the Chief Minister is tempting me to retort to him in his characteristic manner; and his characteristic manner is to loose temper and then to reply. Believe me by what he has said about me, he has given me enough cause to lose my temper and to tell him what I think of him.

**Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister):** You are angels!



**Mr. G. Allana:** On the day of judgment we shall be both there. We will all be there. God will be there to judge whether the conduct of the honourable Chief Minister on this issue, the change that has come over him, is due to his personal convictions, or a desire to stick to office at any cost.

Now I come to the remarks of Mr. G. M. Syed. I wish to thank him also for what he has said about my speech. I have very deep respect for his sincerity, for he has his own political views, how much so ever we may differ from him. He is sincere; he is not a turn-coat, and does not change his opinions.

He has gone into the subject of Islamic theology. He has said that this un-Islamic Constitution is unchangeable, because the Article of the Constitution says that under no conditions the Constitution can be changed. I would again refer him to what I have said on the subject of catholicity of the principles of Islam, and I have quoted from the report of the Commission on Marriage Reforms.

There is one point which he has made which, in my opinion, needs a reply. He said that separate electorates would convert the minorities into permanent minorities, and therefore they will never be able to influence the inner counsels of the country. I completely differ from him on that point. Let us study what is the position of political parties in the National Parliament. We know very well that today the balance of power in the National Parliament is with the Hindu party. In spite of the fact that they are in a minority, they are able to very deeply influence the formation and breaking up of Ministries in the Central Government, as the party position stands today. This is possible, Mr. Speaker, because they have been returned by a communal electorate. They have stood apart as a party. Again, I ask, what would have been the fate of this Ministry here, if in the first division on the election of the Speaker, the Hindu minority had stood apart as a party and remained united and firm? The balance of power in this House would have been entirely in their hands. Therefore, I think the Hindu minority and the other minorities are in a better position to influence the decisions of the honourable House. This argument of honourable member Mr. G. M. Syed presupposes that in every Legislature there is complete unanimity among the Muslim members. That is not so. If that had been true, then the argument of honourable member Mr. Syed would have more weight. If, for instance, in the Central Legislature, in East Pakistan Legislature, and in West Pakistan Legislature all the Muslim M. L. As. were standing together as one Party, then, of course, his argument would have greater force. But the Muslims are so badly divided—and such division is in the interest of healthy democratic functioning—that the minorities are bound to have an effective influence in the inner counsels of the country.

**Mr. Madhawji Dharsibhai:** We do not do that; we are incapable of it.

**Mr. G. Allana:** It is for them to decide, when the issue will come to the Hindu community at the time of general elections.



## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

Sir, honourable member Mr. G. M. Syed has distorted history in one respect. He said the Muslims never fought against British imperialism. Now I do not know how to reply that. If a man of the standing of honourable member Mr. G. M. Syed, who at one time was a member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, today says that the Muslim League never fought against British imperialism, it is difficult to believe one's ears. I think it is complete distortion of history. It is a different matter, if the ideology of the Muslim League differs from that of honourable member Mr. Syed after, probably, 1940. That is a different matter. But the fact remains that before 1940 and, even after 1940, the Muslim League continued to struggle against foreign domination, against British imperialism, on the one hand and on the other we carried on the struggle against Hindu imperialism also.

I quote Dr. Ambedkar to show.....

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** One thing I want to tell him if he yields. In 1942 I moved the Pakistan Resolution in the former Sind Legislative Assembly and it was carried and therefore his information is incorrect.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I said probably in 1940. I did not know the exact year. It may be 1945.

So, Sir, I wanted to show that to say that the Muslim League did not fight British imperialism is a complete distortion of history.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I had quoted the authority of Dr. Ambedkar, honourable member Mr. G. M. Syed said that he had no respect for Dr. Ambedkar, as he was the product of British imperialism and was a mere show-boy. May I remind him that his own comrades of the Indian National Congress took up Dr. Ambedkar as a Minister for Law after independence, and he was charged with the important task of piloting the whole Constitution in the Indian Parliament. Honourable member Mr. Syed, therefore, cannot say that Dr. Ambedkar's authority has no value and that he is a show-boy. Sir, the book that I have quoted has been written by Dr. Ambedkar after the independence of India.

Mr. Syed has mentioned one point which I think, is rather important and I would like to express my views about it. He said that we like to take credit for ourselves. He is trying to put meaning into our words that is not there at all. The question of credit does not arise. We were for separate electorates, before we met here. The Republican Party was divided. They only decided for separate electorates after they met in Lahore. They did so because of some overpowering circumstances, for the solidarity of their own party. The attitude that the Muslim League Party has taken regarding the question of separate electorates is out of deeprooted conviction, and is not dictated either by expediency or by any desire to come to office or to stick to office.

Sir, Mr. G. M. Syed has expressed the attitude of his party. We are very happy, Mr. Speaker, that he has after all realised that the Muslim League Party, sitting to his right, is not so bad as he had once thought. And I

remember, Mr. Speaker, what he said in the last session about members sitting to his right and the members sitting to his left. I am glad that after all he has realised that there is more honesty and sincerity among the people on his right than the people on his left. With us at least he knows where he stands.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** Sir, on a point of explanation, honourable member Mr. Allana in his speech referred to non-Muslim members Mrs. Singha and Mr. Sunderdas. Mrs. Singha was a signatory to a statement for joint electorates with reservation of seats and when we met the Chief Minister, Mr. Sunderdas was also there and he supported us in that demand. Mrs. Singha is not present in this House and she is not in lobbies also. I do not know how Mr. Allana came to know that Mrs. Singha has changed her views.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law and Agriculture):** Sir, I want to make clear at the very outset that I accept that the elections should be by separate electorate and I base this, not on the reasoning to which the members of the Hindu community have been ascribing, but on the principle that whatever the Muslims had asked for themselves when they were in a minority, they should give to the minorities when they are in power themselves.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** Muslims wanted it, but the Hindus do not want it.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** This is the difference.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** It is only the caste Hindus who want it in order to dominate the Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Castes do not want it.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** If Scheduled Castes and Hindus are different than Shias and Sunnis are equally different.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** The Scheduled Castes have made that clear and that is why Mr. Gandhi went on fast in 1922 and still failed to bring them together. They are different.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** At least these differences do not exist in Pakistan.

**Mr. Speaker :** This duel of words cannot be allowed.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** Sir, I will have reply to this point. Why this desire by the caste Hindus for joint electorate has continued. It is the desire to dominate; it is the desire to have power which has all along been there and even in the present condition of being a minority of 24 per cent. in East Pakistan and 20 per cent of the whole, they have not forgotten that idea. The idea of domination is still there, which is egging them on all the time to press for these joint electorates, the objective being to dominate the Scheduled Castes.

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

Sir, as I submitted, the question of separate electorates and joint electorates started in 1892 when first the right to elect their representatives was given to the Indians. At that time, Sir, the concept of Muslims being a class by themselves was accepted, but they were not given a separate right of election or separate number of persons who were to be elected. This was not satisfactory to the Musalmans and, therefore, from that year they started a fight until in 1907 a declaration was made which was put into the form of a Pact, what is known as Minto-Morley Reforms. The domination of the caste Hindus was broken in that respect for the first time when Mussalmans were able to achieve their separate electorates. The fight did not stop there. Soon after that other communities, about whom also the caste Hindus insisted that they should be with them, started agitation, and the result was that in 1919 in the Act which is known as Chelmsford Reforms the Sikhs asked for separate representation. At that time no objection was raised by caste Hindus because the Sikhs did not detract them to such an extent as to make their power to rule really less. But soon after this the Scheduled Castes started the agitation. Sir, this was an alarming matter for the Caste Hindus because of the large number of Scheduled Castes in India. Therefore an agitation against this demand was started. Then there was the first fast by Mr. Gandhi against untouchability. The objective of that was political and nothing else—to see that their number was not reduced and they were able to rule. So, Sir, this demand of joint electorate is not based on any other idea except to conserve their power, to conserve their numbers to be able to rule. But, Sir, with all the efforts against untouchability, the untouchability did not go.

The Scheduled Castes continued to press as they are pressing up to the present day. I will prove it. They continued to press in spite of Mahatma Gandhi's fast and therefore the Communal Award came. The Simon Commission had come in 1929. Then came the Communal Award by which the Scheduled Castes were recognised as a separate caste and they were given separate representation. Mr. Madhavji gets up in annoyance and anger when I say they are a separate nation. He says, they have never been separate from them. But this is what the Scheduled Castes have been asking for. They say that they are separate from the Caste Hindus. They are not with them. That is what the Communal Award was based upon. Mahatma Gandhi saw this and felt that the strength of the Hindus was being reduced. Then finally came the Poona Pact of 1932 after Mahatma Gandhi's fast. Under the Pact the Scheduled Castes and the Caste Hindus decided that they are to have joint electorates but seats were to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes, and a higher number of seats about ten or fifteen per cent. higher than their number had been given to the Scheduled Castes. But, Sir, how this was achieved I will just read out a passage to you from the evidence of one of the members of the Scheduled Castes who was present at the time when the Poona Pact was being signed. How unwillingly and under what circumstances they have done that . . . .

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Since when have you become the champion of separate electorates ?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** If you had been vigilant in reading the reports, you should have been aware that I have all along supported separate electorates.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** We have always taken you to be a supporter of joint electorates.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** Probably you have not read my views. I shall now quote from page 50 of the Indian Delimitation Committee Report, Vol. III. This relates to the evidence of Mr. J. Shiva Shanmugham Pillai of Madras, one of the Scheduled Castes :

“Representatives of the Caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes met at Poona and arrived at a settlement. There was much higgling and haggling about the seats. Even after two days deliberations no compromise was arrived at. On the day at about 8 p.m. Mr. Devi Das Gandhi rushed to the room where the representatives were sitting and made a scene. In the presence of the representatives he began to weep. Mr. Rajagopalachari and others comforted him. Then he stood up and with tears in his eyes addressed Dr. Ambedkar as follows :—

‘Oh Doctor, is your heart made of stone? My father is in a precarious condition. He is vomiting and his head is shaking. You do not know what he is going to do for your community. He is going to take another fast for the sake of the depressed classes. Please save his life.’

There was no soul in the hall which was not moved by his painted speech. On the next day the Poona Pact was concluded.”

So, Sir, this is how this Poona Pact, which conceded joint electorate with reservation of seats, was ultimately signed. Even now the Scheduled Castes of East Pakistan, who are about fifty lakhs, say that they want joint electorates but with reservation of seats. They never want to be with you. They want safety from you. They are aware of it that the Caste Hindus are going to swallow them.

**Mr. Madhavji Dharsibhai :** May I correct the honourable Minister? In joint electorates domination will not be by Hindus but by Muslims, not only of the Scheduled Castes but of Hindus themselves.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** My friend has completely misunderstood me. Separate electorates are not only for Muslims and Caste Hindus alone. As a matter of fact, they are for every caste—Muslims, Christians, Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Buddhists and others. Sir, Mr. Madhavji must know that in 1952, when the Government of India Act was being amended and separate electorates were being given to these non-Muslims of East Pakistan, the Buddhist with whom Mr. Madhavji must be claiming close fraternity, came with a definite requests that they wanted separate electorate. That also annoyed some of my friends at that time, when



## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

the Muslim Government conceded their request. The Government conceded this request because they felt that what the minorities have been asking for must be given to them. The Buddhists have been separated from you, the Scheduled castes have been separated from you and still remain separated from you. They are still asking for reservation of seats, that means that they want guarantees. There is not much difference between separate electorate and joint electorate with reservation of seats. Whether it takes the form of separate electorate or joint electorate with reservation of seats it makes no difference. It is better to be straightforward and ask for separate electorate. It is only because the Caste Hindus want joint electorates, they say all communities want joint electorates. I may tell you that a great majority, say three-fourths, of the non-Muslims in Sind belong to the Scheduled Castes and they have got only one representative here. You will find that their seats have been taken away by the Caste Hindus because there was no reservation of seats, because there was no separate electorate. So, it is for these reasons that Caste Hindus want that joint electorates should be held, not because they want that by holding joint electorates with reservation of seats some seats should be guaranteed to the Scheduled Castes also. You see, Sir, as to what has actually happened in Sind. Only one person from the Scheduled Castes has been elected; whereas according to their number, the Scheduled Castes should have four or five seats and the Caste Hindus should have only one or two seats. This is, Sir, what is going to happen by holding joint electorates. So, it is not only the minority community who should decide this; after all the responsibility falls on the majority community also who have got to decide in the case of each community and come to some agreement before the champions and the sole representatives of the minorities come and say: "We want this, and, therefore, this should be done". Therefore, Sir, on that account I would submit that because it is the responsibility of the majority community, then separate electorates is the only answer for them.

Then, Sir, one point only remains to be answered and it is that reference has been made to the speeches of Quaid-i-Azam and different interpretations have been placed on it. I have got arguments to prove that before partition and after, he had been championing the cause of separate electorates. You will find this as one of his Fourteen Points.

A passage was read from the speech of the Quaid-i-Azam—I do not know whether it was read by Mr. Madhavji or somebody else. I think it was Mr. Variani. What Quaid-i-Azam said in that passage was that in order to get independence, he had to make some sacrifices. Therefore, it should not be misunderstood from this that he was changing the principle or he had different principles. The principle was there. He was for separate electorates which the Congress people were not prepared to accept. This, Sir, was Mr. Jinnah's greatest contribution in earning the independence of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. That is the correct interpretation of the speech, Sir. In his speech that he made on the 11th of August, he had this idea in his mind, that we should create the sense of "one nation". Little did he know at that time as to what would happen after fifteen days in the Punjab and other places. After the partition



he tried to do his best to have one nation in Pakistan and weld the different communities into one nation and make them feel that they are equal citizens of Pakistan. The other communities were not of the same opinion. What happened in East Punjab is very well-known to you. What happened in other places is also very well-known and what has been happening now in East Bengal is also very well-known.

We have to see as to what has been happening over there; we must see as to how people are being accused in East Bengal; what influence is being brought on the people over there? Certainly, the ideals that you preach will come later, but we have at the moment to consider the circumstances in which we are placed and study all that has happened.

Quaid-i-Azam's speech of the 11th August made it very clear that: unless and until the differences are settled and you really become one nation and fellow citizens, whether you are Hindu or Muslim, Christian or Parsi, then you will not have joint electorates". With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Question is:

"That in the proposed amendment by the Chief Minister, in line 2, the following words be deleted:—

"in view of the demand of the minorities in West Pakistan to have separate electorates";

*The Motion was carried.*

The amendment moved by Major General Jamal Dar is to the same effect. So his amendment becomes redundant.

We now proceed to discuss and recommend to the Parliament that the election to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies should be held on the principle of separate electorate.

**Mr. G. Allana:** May I have one minute, Sir. An amendment to the same effect is there from myself as well. I would, therefore, like to know the procedure as to whether, if an amendment is carried, the other amendments similar to that are automatically lost.

**Mr. Speaker:** As the amendments are worded differently, they may have to be put to the House.

**Mr. G. Allana:** I do not understand, Sir, how.....

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no question of "how". The first amendment is that of Chief Minister, the second is that of Mr. G. M. Syed, the third amendment is yours and the fourth amendment stands in the name of Mian Muhammad Shafi. They are all worded differently.

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

The question is that the amendment moved by the Chief Minister be adopted and become part of the main Resolution.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, we want to record our votes because it is a very important thing. You may adopt any procedure. The votes may be recorded.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Well, after the adoption of the amendment, we can record the votes.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** I would suggest that it would be better to have an agreed resolution on separate electorates from both the parties. I request that the House be adjourned for ten minutes so that we can have an agreement.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawazali Shah :** I think it is too late.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, are you going to put my amendment after this amendment is adopted, although the amendment is the same.

**Mr. Speaker :** After this amendment is adopted, I am not going to take up any other amendment.

**Mr. G. Allana :** You just now said that you will be doing so.

**Mr. Speaker :** I am advised that your opinion is correct that the other amendments being of the same nature need not be put.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Mr. Speaker, it is really a great national issue, in so far as the minorities are concerned. I, therefore, request you that in framing such a resolution, you should see to it that it really reflects the consensus of opinion expressed by the House. In order to understand that, you must give the movers of all the amendments an opportunity to have their say. You must give us a fair chance so that our point of view is recorded.

You, Sir, definitely said that you will put to vote all the amendments, beginning with the amendment of Dr. Khan Sahib. I said "allright" and resumed my seat. Now you say that you are not going to put the other amendments to vote. You should have said that at the very outset. I will, therefore, request you, Sir, not to make us deliberately to take false steps. You should make up your mind before you take a decision and then stand by it.

**Mr. Speaker :** The position is this. My own opinion was that after the first amendment is put and carried, no other amendments will be put, but I was advised by the Secretary that all amendments are to be put. So when

you stood up, I told you that all amendments may have to be put. But, later on, the Secretary agreed with my original opinion. So I said that they will not be put to vote.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Sir, if you have any proposal to which the other side does not agree then there is no grievance against you. But I would wish that the Government agree. I say that the honourable members on the other side also, like us, want separate electorates. Let us then bring to the House an agreed Resolution on separate electorates.

**Mr. Speaker:** They are not agreeable.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Sir, even otherwise it is against the rules.

**Mr. Speaker:** They do not agree; it is also against the rules.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Sir, what is against the rules? We have always done so, what is now proposed, in the past. If our proposal is not agreeable, let the Chief Minister get up and say, no. That would be the right procedure, and we would accept it.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am always open to conviction. This is the correct procedure, but do you mean to say that I should stick to the wrong procedure.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Sir, may I know what the Chief Minister has to say.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is (the amendment moved by Dr. Khan Sahib):—

That for the third paragraph of the motion beginning with the words "I hereby move" and ending with the words "of separate electorate", the following be substituted:—

"This Assembly therefore do now proceed to discuss and recommend to the Parliament that the election to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies should be held on the principle of separate electorate."

*The Assembly divided: Ayes 122; Noes 10*

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

## AYES.

Abdul Aziz, Malik.	Altaf Mohy-ud-Din Qadri, Syed.
Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mr.	Amir-ud-Din, Mian.
Abdul Ghani, Chaudhri.	Bashir Ahmed Cheema, Chaudhri.
Abdul Ghani Ghuman, Chaudhri.	Faiz Ahmed, Chaudhri.
Abdul Ghani Hari, Chaudhri.	Faiz Hussain, Malik.
Abdul Halim, Qazi.	Faqira Khan Jadun, Khan.
Abdul Hamid Khan, Soofi.	Farzand Ali, Chaudhri.
Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti, Sardar.	Fateh Muhammad Khan Tiwana, Malik.
Abdul Jabbar Khan Dadukhel Tarakzai Mohmand, Malik.	Fazl-i-Ilahi Piracha, Shaikh.
Abdul Lateef, Mian.	Fazlullah Ubedullah, Qazi.
Abdul Lateef Khan Zakakhel, Malik.	Fazl-ur-Rehman, Sheikh.
Abdul Qayyum, Mir.	Ghulam Ali Haji Abdullah Memon, Haji.
Abdullah Jan, Syed.	Ghulam Muhammad Khan Muhammad Hashim Khan Wassan, Mr.
Abdullah Khan, Amir.	Ghulam Nabi Dur Muham- mad Khan Pathan, Mr.
Abdullah Khan, Haji.	Ghulam Qadir Khan, Jam Mir.
Abdus Sattar Abdur Rehman Pirzada, Mr.	Ghulam Rasul Shah Pir Jahan Shah, Syed.
Aisha Muhammad Abdul Aziz Arain, Begum.	Ghulam Rasul Trar, Chaudhri.
Ali Gohar Khan Haji Khan Mahr, Sardar.	Ghulam Sabir Khan, Rana.
Ali Gohar Shah Muhammad Khuhro, Mr.	Ghulam Shah Bukhari, Pir Syed.
Ali Hussain Shah Gardezi, Syed.	Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon, Rana.
Ali Mardan Khan Mir Ghulam Raza Khan Talpur, Mir.	Habib Ullah Khan, Khan.
Ali Sher Khan, Chaudhri.	Habib Ullah Khan Torikhel, Wazir Sardar Fakhr-i-Kashmir
Allana G., Mr.	Hamid-ud-Din, Makhdum.
Allah Bakhsh Khan Abbasi, Mr.	Hassan Bakhsh, Pir Haji.
Allah Dino Muhammad Hassan Sial, Mr.	Hassan Mahmood, Makh- dumzada.

- Ismail Burhani, Mr.  
 Jamal Dar, Major-General.  
 Jamil Hassain Rizvi, Syed.  
 Kadir Bakhsh Ilahi Bakhsh  
 Tunio, Mr.  
 Karim Bakhsh, Hafiz.  
 Khair Shah Imam Ali Shah,  
 Syed.  
 Khan Muhammad Khan  
 Bozdar, Sardar.  
 Khan Sahib, Dr.  
 Khuda Dad Khan, Khan.  
 Khudeja G. A. Khan, Begum.  
 Khurshid Ahmed Qureshi,  
 Al Haj Hakim Mian.  
 Mahbub Ilahi, Sheikh.  
 Mahmood A. Haroon, Mr.  
 Mahmood Shah, Syed.  
 Manzoor-i-Hassan, Mian.  
 Mehtab Khan, Chudhri.  
 Mohabat Ali Khan, Khan.  
 Mohsin Shah, Makhdum.  
 Muhammad Ahsan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Akbar, Malik.  
 Muhammad Ali, Haji.  
 Muhammad Ali Khan Afridi,  
 Nawabzada.  
 Muhammad Aslam Khan of  
 of Turbela, Khan.  
 Muhammad Aslam Khan of  
 Bagan, Khan.  
 Muhammad Aslam Khan,  
 Khan.  
 Muhammad Hashim Gazdar,  
 Al-Haj.  
 Muhammad Hussain Chatha,  
 Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.  
 Muhammad Jaffar Khan Gul  
 Muhammad Khan Buledi,  
 Sardar.  
 Muhammad Nazif Khan,  
 Khan.  
 Muhammad Saeed Akhun-  
 zada, Haji.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Hussain  
 Khan, Malik.  
 Muhammad Yar Chishti, Mr.  
 Muhammad Yusaf Khan,  
 Khan.  
 Muhammad Yusaf Khan  
 Qasamkhel Tarakzai Moh-  
 mand, Lieut. Khan.  
 Muhammad Zafrullah, Sardar.  
 Mumtaz Hassan Ahmad Jan  
 Qizalbash, Mirza.  
 Mumtaz Jamal, Begum.  
 Musa Khan Allah Bakhsh  
 Khan Bughio, Mr.  
 Muzaffar-ul-Haq, Khawaja.  
 Nabi Bakhsh Naich, Malik.  
 Najm-ud-Din Fateh Khan  
 Leghari, Haji.  
 Nasrullah Khan Jatol, Sardar.  
 Nasrullah Khan, Nawab.  
 Nazar Hussain Shah, Syed.  
 Nur Muhammad Khan, Arbab.  
 Nur Muhammad Khan of  
 Kuleka, Khan.  
 Nur Muhammad Khan Sher  
 Muhammad Khan Bijarani,  
 Sardar.  
 Qutab Khan, Captain.  
 Rukan Zaman Khan, Sultan  
 Raja.  
 Sal Muhammad, Chaudhri.  
 Said-ud-Din Swalleh, Dr.  
 Saifullah Khan Tarar, Chau-  
 dhri.  
 Sakhi Jan Khan, Khan.  
 Saleh Muhammad, Chaudhri.



## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION.

Salma Tassaduque Hussain,  
Begum.

Shad Muhammad Khan, Khan  
Shafqat Hussain Shah Atta  
Hussain Shah Musavi, Mr.  
Shah Nawaz Jamal-ud-Din,  
Pirzada.

Sher Afzal Khan, Arbab.

Shirin Khan, Khan.

Sobharo Khan Faiz Muham-  
mad Khan Banbhan, Mr.

Tahira Aijaz Hussain Agha,  
Begum.

Usmar Din Khan, Malik.

Wali Muhammad Khan, Khan

Wattan Badshah Khan, Khan.

Zaffar Ali Shah Muhammad  
Ali Shah, Syed.

Zahid Ali Khan Liaquat Ali  
Khan, Nawab.

Zain Noorani, Mr.

Zari Sarfraz, Begum.

Zeenat Fida Hassan, Begum.

Zubeda Ihsan-ul-Haq, Begum.

## NOES

Abdul Hamid Qadir Bakhsh  
Khan Jatoi, Mr.

Aidan Singh Nagji Sodho, Mr.

Amir Hussain Shah, Syed.

Chander Singh Sodho Rajput,  
Rana.

Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah,  
Pir.

Ghulam Murtaza Shah, Syed.

Gulji Raronji, Menghwar, Mr.  
Imam Ali, Haji.

Lal Chand Siroomal, Mr.  
Madhavji Dharsibhai, Mr.

**Mr. Speaker :** The amendment moved by the Chief Minister is carried. The other amendments automatically drop because this amendment forms the part of the main Motion.

**Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzada :** I have got a verbal amendment to suggest.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** After the votes have been taken, you cannot move that amendment, Sir.

**Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzada :** This is a drafting amendment.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** But that drafting amendment can only be moved in the Bill, not in the Resolution.

**Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzada :** Sir, it is perfectly alright. It is a drafting amendment and it can be done at any stage before the Resolution is passed. After all the amendments, the drafting amendment can be moved.

Sir, I beg to move :

That for the words "therefore do now proceed to discuss and recommend", the word "having discussed the question recommends" be substituted. It is only a verbal amendment.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan:** (Gujranwala District): It is a very material change. After the votes have been taken and the amendment has been carried, it cannot be further amended.

**Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzada:** Mr. G. M. Syed does not understand. I am not moving an amendment to the amendment which has been put to vote and carried. I am moving an amendment to the Resolution as a whole. It is perfectly in order, Sir. If the House does not want it, let the Resolution go as it is. I do not press it at all.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan:** Let it go as it is.

Sir, only drafting changes can be permissible at this stage which aim at improving the language. But by such drafting changes, it is not permissible to change the operative clause of the measure before you. Now the resolution as originally presented to the House was merely this "that we now proceed to discuss". The amendment which is now proposed by Mr. Pirzada would change the whole operative part of the Resolution. It would then mean "that we have discussed it and recommend it". We are to discuss the demands; after that we proceed to discuss the Resolution itself. That was the nature of discussion that was going on.

**A Member:** No, No.

**Chaudhri Farzand Ali:** May I point out, Mr. Speaker, that it was only a motion before the House. It was not a Resolution which was moved by the Republican Party. I refer, Mr. Speaker, to Rule 58 which says: "When a motion has been moved, the Speaker may propose the question for the consideration of the Assembly, and if a motion embodies two or more separate propositions, those propositions may be proposed as separate questions. Then sub-rule (2) of Rule 62 comes into operation which says: "(2) When the motion 'That the question be now put' has been carried, and the question consequent thereon has been decided, any further motion may be made with the assent of the Speaker which may be requisite to bring to a decision any question already proposed from the Chair, provided that such motion shall be put forthwith and decided without amendment or debate, but before putting the motion consequent on the closure the Speaker may allow any member any right of reply which he may have under the rules." So, this sub-rule says that when the closure has been made and the question has been decided with the assent of the Speaker a motion may be made to bring into effect the decision which has been taken. It will, therefore, be in the fitness of things that Mr. Pirzada put his amendment when the whole Resolution is before the House. That will be the proper stage.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada:** Perfectly alright.

**Mr. Speaker:** This amendment was moved at the time when the House had not yet discussed this matter and therefore in the amendment it was incorporated that 'the House do now proceed to discuss and recommend to the

## ELECTORATE RESOLUTION

National Assembly that election will be by separate electorate'. Now, after the House has incorporated this amendment that "the election to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies will be held by separate electorate", I think, this change is in the nature of a consequential amendment, because, if we say: "the House do now proceed to discuss", although the House has already discussed, it would be ridiculous. Therefore the amendment of Mr. Pirzada would rather be normal under the rules and would not imply any contravention. It is on the analogy of Rule 103(2), where after a motion is carried or a Bill is even accepted by the House, it may be amended to make certain consequential changes and those consequential changes are made at the end when the Bill is accepted by the House, so this amendment is also on the analogy of the provisions of the Rules. I think, it would rather look ridiculous, even after having discussed it and voted upon it, we still say that "the House do now proceed to discuss" I think the House will have no objection to the modification proposed.

The question is :

That the verbal and consequential amendment proposed by Mr. Pirzada, namely that instead of the words: 'that the House do now proceed to discuss', the following words be substituted: 'that having discussed this matter recommends to the Parliament'.

*The motion was carried.*

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

That the following Resolution moved by Mr. Pirzada be adopted :—

"Whereas Article 145 of the Constitution lays down that the Parliament may after ascertaining the views of the Provincial Assemblies and taking them into consideration, by Act, provide whether elections to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies shall be held on the principle of joint or separate electorate ;

And whereas the Government of Pakistan have in a communication addressed to the Government of West Pakistan requested that the views of the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly on the principle of electorate may be obtained, so that the actual delimitation of constituencies may begin and the electoral rolls are finalised after the required law has been passed by the Parliament ;

This Assembly, therefore having discussed this matter, recommends to the Parliament that election to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies shall be held on the principle of separate electorate.

*The motion was carried.*

Mr. G. M. Syed : Sir, the same names may be recorded against it. Including the names of the movers of amendments.

Mr. Speaker : The amendments automatically drop, because the motion as amended has now been adopted.

WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY [4TH AUGUST, 1956]

Mr. Speaker : The Assembly now stands adjourned to meet again at 8-00a.m. on Monday, the 6th August, 1956.

*The Assembly then adjourned till at 8-00 a.m. on Monday the 6th August 1956.*

# APPENDIX "A" (See page 216).

[LETTER REFERRED TO IN HIS SPEECH BY]  
MINISTER FOR REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION.

No.

August 1, 1956.

My dear,

I wanted to write this letter much earlier but as you were very much affected by the tragic death of your dear father I did not write it earlier. Now that you have somewhat recovered from the shock, I write this letter to you. Please send me a reply to the following questions :

1. Is the daughter of Mirza Sahib's sister married to a son of my wife's sister ? How long have they been married ? Are they happily married and have grown up children ?
2. In addition to this relationship, was not Mirza Sahib a personal friend of mine ?
3. Is it within your knowledge that I ever threatened Mirza Sahib with the cancellation of his allotment ?
4. Was Mirza Sahib in the habit of writing his daily diary for the last over 20 years ? Did he ever write in his diary that I had ever threatened him of the cancellation of his allotment in case he did not join the Republican Party ?
5. Was the total claim of your brother about agricultural land satisfied much before the death ?
6. Is it correct that the garden that stands temporarily allotted in the name of your is in excess of his land claim and land will be reduced in proportion when this is permanently allotted ?
7. What is the income from the share of the cinema that stands allotted in the name of late Mirza Sahib and which has now been transferred in the name of his heirs ?
8. Was Mirza Sahib suffering from high blood pressure for a long time and keeping indifferent health ?
9. Has any of the allotments that stood in the name of your been cancelled or they have all been given to his heirs ?

## APPENDIX—A.

2. Mirza  
Attaullah  
Bog. Sial-  
ket.

10. Did Mirza Sahib sink a tubewell in his land and purchase a tractor also? Did he suffer huge loss of money because of his attempt to have mechanized farming as the tubewell had gone out of order and also the tractor? If so, whether Mirza Sahib became under debt and to what extent?
11. Was not he very much worried because of the loss thus suffered?
12. What is the reason for his committing suicide according to your estimate?

Yours sincerely,

(J. H. RIZVI).

8-A/Abbott Road, Lahore.

1-8-1956.

My dear uncle,

Thanks for your letter to my mother. As she is not well enough to reply the letter personally I am giving the replies as has been directed by her.

1. My cousin Suraya Sultana was married to your nephew S. Saadat Hussain about 25 years ago. Both are leading a happy life with grown up children.

2. Yes.

3. No. He never informed us or my mother of this.

4. Yes. There is nothing about it in his diary.

5. Yes. The claim of rural agricultural land was almost satisfied.

6. My mother is actually not aware of the exact position. We have not been able to find out relevant papers on account of our trouble.

7. Rs. 500 less the rent of residential house. The share has been transferred in our names.

8. Yes.

9. No. The mutation of agricultural land and garden has not been effected as yet.

10. Yes he suffered less about a couple of years ago. As regards his actual debts my mother is not aware.

11. No. Not very much.



12. We had a very happy domestic life and my father was very fond of us all. During his illness he always used to pray God for granting him long life to see us all well established. He had been worried on account of Rehabilitation difficulties since partition especially because the urban garden allotted to him was in place of a rural one and he was always in fear of its being cancelled, but reasons for his ending life in this way is beyond our comprehensive. His last writing is however in police custody.

In the end I would request that our late father is not brought under discussion any more to avoid aggravating our grief.

Yours affectionately,  
PARVEEN AKHTAR.

Lahore, 1-8-1956.

My dear Bhai Sahib,

I have received your D. O. of today and am furnishing the requisite information in respect of various questions put to me, seriatim :—

1. Yes. She was married in 1931 and both are quite happy and have grown up children.
2. Yes.
3. No.
4. Yes for part I. I have no knowledge as regards part II.
5. I am not definite about it.
6. I am not aware of it.
7. I have been told that it is about Rs. 500 and that his share has since been transferred to his heirs.
8. Yes.
9. None has been cancelled. No mutation regarding land and garden has so far been effected.
10. Yes. I am not aware if my late brother was under debt on this account.
11. I have no knowledge about it.
12. He had an exceedingly happy domestic life. He had garden in his name which he was anxious to have permanently allotted and his only rehabilitation worry was as to why that had not been confirmed in his name. This coupled with his illness with blood pressure shattered his health. I cannot say what was at the back of his head which prompted him to end his life. Honestly telling he did not disclose his troubles to me.

Yours brotherly,  
M. ATAULLA BEG.

# WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

## SECOND SESSION OF THE FIRST WEST PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Monday, the 6th August, 1956.

*The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber, Lahore, at 8-00 a.m. of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (Chaudhri Fazal Elahi), in the Chair.*

*(Recitation and translation from the Holy Quran).*

### STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

RATIO FOR BALUCHISTAN, N.W.F.P. AND SIND IN ALL CLASS—I GAZETTED APPOINTMENTS.

**\*496. Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state :—

(a) whether the Government have fixed a ratio for backward areas of the Provinces such as Baluchistan, N.-W.F.P. and Sind in all Class I Gazetted appointments in the Secretariat Departments, attached Departments and other subordinate offices of the Government of West Pakistan ;

(b) if the answer to (a) above be in the affirmative, the ratio thus fixed?

**Begum G. A. Khan** (Deputy Minister) : (a) No, but for the backward areas of the former N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and the Baluchistan State union the intention of the Government is to reserve a number of vacancies in each service for nomination from amongst condidates who qualify in competitive examination.

(b) Does not arise.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** Sir, may I know the definition of "backward areas"? Are there certain areas permanently specified as backward areas or do these areas change with every appointment?

**Dr. Khan Sahib** (Chief Minister) : Yes, they have been defined.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** You do not change them with each appointment? Are they permanently defined?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law) : Yes.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Sir, may I know from the honourable Chief Minister if certain persons, who do not belong to those areas, are also entered in the ratio of the backward areas?

**Chief Minister:** No.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the honourable the Chief Minister whether it is a fact that in the ratio shown in the list and the pamphlet issued by the Publicity Department of the West Pakistan Government, the names of Secretaries, who do not belong to Sind, have been entered in that category?

**Chief Minister:** If the honourable member points out any specific case, I assure him that I will make investigations and find out.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah:** Are there any areas in the former Province of the Punjab defined as backward areas?

**Chief Minister:** Dera Ghazi Khan.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** What about Muzaffargarh?

**Chief Minister:** Muzaffargarh also.

حافظ خواجہ غلام سدید الرحمن - میں یہ دریافت کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آیا ڈیرہ غازی  
خان کو پس ماندہ علاقہ میں شامل کیا گیا ہے یا نہیں؟  
صاحب سپیکر - اس کا جواب دیا جا چکا ہے -

#### RATIO FOR BALUCHISTAN, N.W.F.P. AND SIND IN ALL CLASS—II GAZETTED APPOINTMENTS.

**\*497. Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state:—

(a) whether the Government have fixed a ratio for backward areas of the Provinces such as Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. and Sind in all Class II Gazetted appointments in the Secretariat Departments, Attached Departments, and other subordinate offices of the Government of West Pakistan;

(b) if answer to (a) above be in the affirmative, the ratio thus fixed?

**Begum G. A. Khan (Deputy Minister):** Please see the answer given to Starred Question No. 496.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Is it a fact that in the Secretariat out of ninety-two Class II Officers only thirteen belong to the backward areas?

**Chief Minister :** It is a fresh question ; I require notice.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** May I know from the honourable the Chief Minister what is the ratio fixed for backward areas?

**Chief Minister :** No particular ratio has been fixed.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Is it in accordance with the agreement and promises given at the time of the establishment of West Pakistan Unit that the interests of backward areas will be safeguarded and that they will be given their due share in the administration?

**Chief Minister :** They are given a proper share but there is no ratio fixed.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** How can we know that they are given a proper share? The backward areas have got sixty per cent representation in the Assembly but they have got hardly ten per cent representation in the services. (Voices : Shame, shame) .

**Chief Minister :** I have said also previously in the House that we try to find and nominate fit people. If we cannot find fit people, we cannot help it.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** May I know from the honourable Chief Minister whether it is a fact that the fittest and senior-most persons have been superseded in order to promote persons who have got vested interests? (Voices : Shame, shame)

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order.

**Chief Minister :** If the honourable member points out to me that the fittest men had been ignored, I assure him that I will look into the matter.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** May I know from the honourable Chief Minister if, after his first assurance on the floor of the House, he has received from me a letter which I sent by registered post giving the names of those officials who have been superseded by the Selection Board?

**Chief Minister :** There was a Bengali who was superseded. He was in the Railway Department.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** We are not concerned with the Railway Department. (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker :** Order please.

**Syed Amir Hussain Shah :** The Chief Minister is irrelevant. He is talking about the Railway Department which has nothing to do with this question. He is no longer the Central Minister for Railways nor has this House any jurisdiction over a Central Department.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order please.

**Chief Minister:** I assure you that nobody can persuade me to do anything wrong. If you look into your own ranks, you will find many black-marketeers and intriguers. (Interruption). I am going to remove all these black-marketeers and intriguers.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Sir, the Chief Minister says <sup>a</sup>that if matters are brought to his notice he will look into them. Is he aware that in the case of a Sindhi, who was superseded, he passed orders and the entire file has been misplaced in the Secretariat?

**Chief Minister:** What is his name?

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah:** He is Mr. Abdul Qadir of the Excise Department. He is eleven years senior to the gentleman who has superseded him.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the honourable the Chief Minister that on the recommendations of the Chief Secretary he passed orders promoting that man and that file has been misplaced in the Secretariat?

**Chaudhri Abdul Ghani Ghuman (Minister of Excise):** As a matter of fact, the case was referred to the Selection Board which was not the proper channel. It should have gone to the Public Service Commission. No action could have been taken unless and until the advice of the Public Service Commission had been obtained.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know if this answer has anything to do with my question? My question is definite: Whether the honourable Chief Minister has passed orders promoting that man and that file has been misplaced in the Secretariat; is he prepared to make enquiries? Let him enquire from the Chief Secretary who is an honest man and let him enquire from his P.A. He will give him evidence that the entire file has been misplaced.

**Chaudhri Abdul Ghani Ghuman:** I have not received any orders of the Chief Minister.

**Chief Minister:** I sent the file; I will find out where the file is.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Is it a fact that I had brought this thing to his notice at Karachi?

**Chief Minister:** Yes. When you brought this thing to my notice, I wrote a note on it. But you know it takes time. It has to go to different Departments. As you have been told by the Minister, we have to send these things to the Public Service Commission to get their opinion.



**Mr. G. M. Syed :** My question is definitely quite different. He may have sent that question to the Public Service Commission. I do not accuse the honourable Minister incharge. I am only saying that there are two files. One of the files dealt with his Department; the other file dealt with the relevant papers and this has come to the Chief Minister through Chief Secretary. This particular file has been misplaced. What I am asking is: Where is the other file? Why has it been misplaced; is he prepared to make enquiry? Who is responsible for this mis-conduct?

**Chaudhri Abdul Ghani Ghuman (Minister of Excise) :** I will find out from the Office whether some orders were passed by the Chief Minister.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** I say that orders were passed by the Chief Minister. I think the Secretary of the Department is responsible for this. I request the Minister of Excise to please make an enquiry and find out the person responsible. He should not ask his Secretary to make an enquiry because he may be a party to it.

**Chief Minister :** I assure the honourable member that now I am going to find out. There may be a number of people responsible for it.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan :** Sir, may I ask the Honourable Chief Minister when it was brought to his notice in Karachi by honourable member Mr. G. M. Syed that he should look into this matter, how long ago was it?

**Chief Minister :** I do not remember the exact date.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan :** May I know from honourable the Chief Minister as to whether the former State of Khairpur is declared as a backward area?

**Mr. Speaker :** The former State of Khairpur has been declared as a backward area.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan :** Is th honourable the Chief Minister aware that for the purposes of recruitment to the Weaving Institute, preference is being given to candidates from Khairpur over and above those from other backward parts of West Pakistan in spite of the fact that it has not been declared as a backward area?

**Mr. Speaker :** The main question is about Class I and Class II officers.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** May I tell the honourable the Chief Minister that every part of West Pakistan should have its proper share in the administration.

**Chief Minister :** Of course, I agree. But you see that at times you cannot get people of the requisite standard from one particular part of West Pakistan.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** We agree with the honourable the Chief Minister that fit persons should be provided with proper places. But, Sir, is there only one person from the Province of Sind who is fit to be Secretary in the Secretariat here?

**Chief Minister :** Well, you see I am very sorry to say something about Sind administration. I think it is not very nice to say but I assure you that this Government will try their best to purify the Sind Administration. I, therefore, request all the honourable members that they should sincerely co-operate with me so that I may be able to purify it for them.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** We expect the same sort of co-operation on the part of honourable the Chief Minister.

**Chief Minister :** Yes, yes. It becomes a very easy thing when you co-operate. You do not dictate to the Government and you do not impose on the Government your will. You just give me your advice and it is for me to see—that is the chief thing. The main trouble comes when public men who are willing to co-operate want to dictate.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** May I know from honourable the Chief Minister whether the West Pakistan Government are the servants of the people or the masters of the people?

**Chief Minister :** It is the Government of the people. Unfortunately, some Ministers in the past had made it a Government of the individuals. So, I request you all to let us do our best to make it a fit Government of the people.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** My question was quite different. Perhaps the honourable the Chief Minister has not properly understood my question. What I wanted to ask was : Are Government officials servants of the people or masters of the people?

**Chief Minister :** I assure the honourable member that I have in all my directions to the officials, in my personal contacts with them, clearly explained to them that they must change their mentality. In the old days, they were responsible to a foreign Government which ruled the people. Now, they are responsible to the people in that they are the servants of the people. I will request members of the Assembly as well as those who want to serve the people that they should also consider themselves as servants of the people.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** May I know from the honourable Chief Minister as to whether he is aware that certain officers in Sind have recently refused to grant interviews to M.L.As? They are bound to give interviews to M.L.As. This is a disgrace to the very House. (Shame, shame).

**Chief Minister :** Wait a minute. There is a circular issued by me to all the officers that every member of the Assembly comes above the rank of the Secretary and they must treat him as such. If anything is brought

to my notice that an officer has insulted a member of the House, I assure honourable members that I will take very serious action against him and deal with him suitably.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** May I know from the honourable the Chief Minister whether he is aware that a member of this House, Pir Ghulam Rasul Shah, recently approached the Collector of Hyderabad for three days continuously, but he refused to see him? (Shame, shame).

**Chief Minister:** I have already replied. I should again and again reply the same thing. What could I do? Honourable members are crying "shame, shame". They are responsible for all this. Again, I assure him that if it is brought to my notice, I will go into its details.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** Sir, I want to point out to him whether it has come to his notice that the Deputy Commissioner of Jacobabad refused to see a Member of the Parliament, Haji Moula Bux and other members of this House?

**Chief Minister:** It is only one case. I assure the honourable member that I always deal with these things. In Jacobabad when I went and asked M.L.As. there to come with me into the Circuit House, no one complained to me that they were not allowed to go into this compound by the Commissioner. But I assure the honourable member that the Commissioner will never do it again, because I have dealt with him.

**Mr. G. M. Syed:** This has happened very recently within two weeks' time.

**Chief Minister:** I do not know whether the Deputy Commissioner has done any such thing, but I will get him a little bit polished.

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr. Pirzada Shahnawaz has uttered very defamatory words with regard to an officer who cannot defend himself in this House. He has refused to withdraw those words. I, therefore, ask him to withdraw from the House.

**Mr. Pirzada Shahnawaz:** Yes, I withdraw from the House.

(At this stage Mr. Pirzada Shahnawaz left the House).

**Mr. Speaker:** Certain unparliamentary words were uttered during the course of supplementaries by Mr. Pirzada Shahnawaz with regard to an officer who is not a member of this House. Those remarks, in my opinion, should not form part of the debate.

Is it the wish of the House that those defamatory remarks be expunged?

(Voices: Yes).

(That portion of the debate was by leave of the House expunged).

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** The honourable the Chief Minister expressed that Government servants are public servants. Is he aware that his two colleagues just visited Hyderabad only a week or two back, and your Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner had no courtesy to call on your colleagues : they simply ignored them. Is this the way in which they are serving the people?

**Chief Minister :** It is our concern. It is for Government to see what should be done.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** I have put a definite question. If you are insulted, we are insulted. Don't you feel it, you are one of them.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** May I know from the honourable Chief Minister : Do they feel that they are representatives of the people and as such we have got every right, when they are not properly respected, to draw the attention of the House. If they do not care, we must care that they are respected.

**Chief Minister :** Again and again I have to say that in Sind Khuhroism has been in existence. It will take some time to eradicate it. You know the officials he has spoilt.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, I have stood up several times. I want to put a very important supplementary.

**Mr. Speaker :** The point is that these two questions relate to the recruitment of officers of Class I and Class II for the Secretariat from backward areas and the supplementaries have taken the discussion to another subject, namely, that some M.L.As. are not treated properly by Officers, that some Ministers are not respected. I think we should stop supplementaries of this kind.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Sir, one supplementary only.

**Mr. Speaker :** If it is with regard to recruitment from backward areas, I can allow it. The supplementary must relate to the main question before the House.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Yes, Sir, it is with regard to recruitment.

**Mr. Speaker :** Just arising one supplementary question out of another, we have drifted a long way from the main question. Moreover there are a few minutes left, let us deal with one or two more questions.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Arising out of the answer given by the honourable Chief Minister regarding the ratio fixed for different backward areas, I would like to ask him what does he mean when he says and makes an insinuation against the Sind officials that because the administration in Sind had been corrupted to such an extent that they could find only one Officer fit for the post of Secretary in West

Pakistan Secretariat. It is, Sir, a slur on the Sind officials that the Chief Minister should make such a statement on the floor of this House.

**Mr. Speaker:** This supplementary is disallowed.

PROHIBITION FOR CONSUMPTION OF LIQUOR AND WINE.

**\*241. Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan:** Will the Minister of Excise and Taxation be pleased to state:—

(a) whether the Government intend to introduce total prohibition in the Province, if so, how, if not, the reasons therefor;

£/ (b) The steps the Government have taken to discourage the use of liquor and wine by Government servants; if no steps have been taken, the reasons therefor?

**Chaudhri Abdul Ghani Ghuman** (Minister of Excise and Taxation):  
(a) A draft Excise Bill for the Province of West Pakistan is under active consideration of Government for enactment. Adequate provision exists therein for the enforcement of total prohibition.

(b) Excepting the former Province of Sind and Baluchistan, Muslims including Government Servants are prohibited from possessing and consuming liquor. It can only be possessed and consumed in restricted quantities if permitted by Doctors for medical purposes.

**Khawaja Muhammad Safdar:** Is it a fact that an application for the issue of a license for the installation of brewery and distillery is under consideration of the Government?

**Minister:** No.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Does the honourable Minister of Excise know that the consumption of liquor in the former province of Punjab has increased two-fold?

وزیر - جی نہیں - بات دراصل یہ ہے کہ country liquor کی جگہ اب بیئر استعمال کی جاتی ہے اس لئے ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے -

میاں محمد شفیق - کیا یہ امر واقع ہے کہ سابقہ سال میں ۵۷ ہزار گیلن شراب پی گئی اور اس سال ۵۷ ہزار گیلن شراب پی گئی ہے؟



وزیر - اس کے لئے نوٹس درکار ہے -

میاں محمد شفیع - کیا یہ امر واقعہ ہے کہ ہمارے بڑے بڑے لوگ اپنے ملازمین کے نام پر شراب کے پرمٹ حاصل کرتے ہیں؟

**Mr. Speaker—Disallowed.**

قاضی مرید احمد - کیا میں وزیر متعلقہ سے پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہ جب اس ملک کو جمہوریہ اسلامیہ قرار دیا گیا ہے آیا یہ گورنمنٹ اس مسئلہ کے متعلق سوچ رہی ہے کہ سارے صوبہ میں مکمل طور پر شراب ممنوع قرار دی جائے۔

وزیر - بقینا حکومت اس مسئلہ کے متعلق سوچ رہی ہے۔ اب بھی جو شراب پی جاتی ہے وہ دوائی کے طور پر استعمال ہوتی ہے۔ (قبضہ)

سیّد غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خاں گیلانی - کیا ۷۵ ہزار گیلن شراب دوائی کے طور پر استعمال ہوئی ہے؟ (شور)

صاحب سپیکر - دیکھئے اگر دونوں طرف سے شور ہوگا تو کسی کی بات نہیں سنی جائیگی۔ آپ کم از کم اس بات کو ضرور ملاحظہ رکھیں کہ آپ کس مقصد کے لئے یہاں تشریف لائے ہیں۔ یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ اس بات سے آپ کی تسلی ہو جاتی ہے کہ آپ مزاحمت کرتے ہیں۔ لیکن اس سے اصل مقصد پورا نہیں ہوتا۔

وزیر اعلیٰ - دیکھئے۔ جو ۷۵ ہزار گیلن شراب استعمال ہوئی ہے یہ پہلے ہی بات ہے۔ ہم سب مسلمان ہیں اور خدا کا حکم ہے کہ ہم شراب نہ پیئیں۔ پھر آپ خواہ مخواہ غصے میں کیوں آتے ہیں۔ (شور)

صاحب سپیکر - آپ خدا کے حکم میں بھی شور ڈالتے ہیں۔

وزیر اعلیٰ - میں آپ سے عرض کرتا ہوں کہ اگرچہ حکومت نے شراب کے متعلق قانون بنایا ہے لیکن خدا نے جو قانون بنایا ہے۔ ہم سب کو اس پر چلنا چاہئے۔ انسانی قانون کیا چیز ہے۔

**Mr. Speaker:** The question hour is over.

#### POINT OF PRIVILEGE REGARDING SALARIES OF DEPUTY MINISTER.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Sir, I rise on a point of privilege. My point of privilege is that this House has been deprived of its privilege of discussing the salaries and privileges of the Deputy Ministers. So long as the salaries and privileges of Deputy Ministers have not been voted upon by this House through an appropriate Bill, the payment to Deputy Ministers is contrary to the Constitution of Pakistan.

Sir, I shall now explain my point of privilege in detail. I draw your attention to article 9 of IVth Schedule of the Constitution. It reads as follows :—

“Until a Provincial Legislature by law otherwise provides the remuneration and other privileges of persons holding offices mentioned in column 1 of the table below shall be the same as were admissible, immediately before the Constitution Day, to persons holding offices mentioned in the corresponding entries in column 2 of that table”.

Sir, in Column 1 is shown the “Deputy Minister of a Provincial Government” and in Column 2 is mentioned “Deputy Minister of the Government of the corresponding province” which means of the ‘Punjab’. Now, Sir, the point is that in the former province of Punjab there were no Deputy Ministers at all. The salary and privileges of the Deputy Ministers having been not accepted by the previous House of Punjab are therefore not binding on this House. Therefore, the payment of salaries and remunerations to Deputy Ministers by the Republican Government is illegal and unconstitutional. If the Auditor-General sanctions the salary of a Deputy Minister, I am certain that on a writ he will have to pay the salary of the Deputy Ministers from his own pocket. That is a constitutional privilege that has been denied to this House. The Ministry should have brought a Bill in this House in this regard.

**Mr. Speaker :** How is it a motion for privilege? Any irregularity that may be committed anywhere is not the privilege of this House.

**Mr. G. Allana :** The point is this, Mr. Speaker. According to the Constitution the salaries and privileges of Ministers, Chief Minister, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, Speaker, etc. have to be determined by the House or, if they are previously determined by the province of Punjab, then, of course, they are entitled to payment. Now, my point is that there were no Deputy Ministers in the previous Government of the Punjab and, therefore, the Deputy Ministers cannot be paid. I will elaborate my point further.

**Mr. Speaker :** You are repeating. I have heard your point. I want to know if any irregularity has been committed, I do not know whether it is so but if any irregularity has been committed, as you say by the Government in the appointment of Deputy Ministers, then how does it become the question of privilege of the members of this House?

**Mr. G. Allana :** Sir, the point of privilege arises like this. Before payments are made out of the Public Exchequer, the vote of this House through a legislative measure is to be taken. In the former province of the Punjab there was no Deputy Minister.

**Mr. Speaker :** You are again repeating.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Sir, in so far as the Deputy Ministers are concerned, the honourable House must first determine the salaries and privileges and

if the House has not so determined, then the payment of salaries and remuneration to the Deputy Ministers is illegal and against the Constitution and the Auditor-General will be responsible.

**Mr. Speaker:** There may be considerable force in what the honourable member has said about payment to Deputy Ministers, but I do not really understand how it becomes the question of privilege of the honourable members of this House. There may be instances in which the orders may be illegal and lakhs of rupees may have been paid which should not have been denied to this House. The Ministry should have brought a Bill in this House?

**Mr. G. Allana:** Sir, this honourable House has been denied something which it was entitled to. This House has been denied the privilege of discussing the question of salaries and privileges of Deputy Ministers and, therefore, the question of privilege arises. The House has been collectively denied its privilege. I would like the honourable Minister of Law to throw some light on the point.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will ask him to explain it, before giving my final decision. But personally speaking, I am not of that opinion. (Interruptions).

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** Sir, the problem can be classified into two categories: one, in which the Assembly members are intimately concerned, and the other, in which they are remotely concerned. There are certain problems with which the members of the Assembly are not intimately concerned. Therefore to say that every problem with which the Assembly is concerned could become a matter of privilege, would be very wrong. The question here is not whether that particular act is right or wrong, illegal or unconstitutional: the point here is whether any infringement of the Constitutional provision or other provision could be made a matter of privilege. As I have already submitted, this matter is remotely connected with the affairs of the Assembly and so it cannot form the subject matter of the privilege of honourable members. So it is for you to decide whether this matter is remotely or intimately connected with the duties of this honourable House and the privilege of honourable members.

**Mr. G. Allana:** May I clarify the point? Mr. Speaker, I am thankful to the Law Minister for taking a stand which can in some measure be termed as "absolutely impartial". He has not said that my point of privilege is completely irrelevant. He has merely said, it is admissible as a point of privilege but it is for you to determine whether the point of privilege remotely concerns the House or intimately concerns the House. That is only a point of distinction he has raised. Therefore, the difference between the two is merely a matter of degree. In so far as the principle is concerned, the Law Minister had admitted that the point of privilege should stand and the House must determine the salary of the Deputy Ministers.

**Mr. Speaker :** I would refer the House to clauses (3) and (5) of Article 89 of our Constitution wherein the subject of privilege is dealt with.

Clause (3) says :—

- (3) No member of a Provincial Assembly and no person entitled to speak therein, shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Assembly or any committee thereof.

Clause (5) which deals with the privileges says:—

- (5) Subject to this Article, the privileges of a Provincial Assembly, the Committees and members thereof, and the persons entitled to speak therein may be determined by Act of the Provincial Legislature;.....

Therefore, so long as we do not determine the privileges of the members of this House by an Act of this Legislature.....

**Mr. G. Allana :** Remuneration too.

**Mr. Speaker :** Beyond the privileges mentioned in Article 89, no other privilege is, under the law, given to the members of this House. Apart from this legal lacuna, the question of merits is not relevant. Because if any illegal act of the Government can be the subject matter of a suit or proceedings in any Court, and it is determined by a Court that the Government should have gone to the Legislature and should have got an Act passed by the Legislature and, as they have not done so, the action taken by the Government is illegal; then in that case every irregularity done by the Government can be converted into a sort of a privilege motion.

Well, it is argued that as Government had to bring this matter before the House, and they did not, so the privileges of the members have been affected. This would be a remotely intricate form of arguing that this is a matter of which the question of the privilege of the members of the House could be raised.

After considering all these arguments, the clear provisions in Article 89, and the intricate nature of the connection of this matter with the privilege of members, I rule it out of order. I do not think this is a valid motion for privilege.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, may I point out to you that one day has been fixed for discussion on the flood situation. We have hardly two hours at our

disposal, because the Ministers may be going to receive the President who is coming to Lahore today. In this case the House may be adjourned at 11-30 or 12. Therefore we should immediately start the discussion. I would request members on both sides of the House not to waste time but start the discussion on flood situation immediately.

**Mr. Speaker:** I quite agree with the honourable member that an opportunity should be given to the House to discuss a very important matter which affects the very life of the people living in this Province. Everybody knows the heavy damage that the floods have caused in all parts of the Province. So, if we go on discussing such matters which are not very important, the House will be deprived of the opportunity to express their opinion on this important matter. I think we should proceed to the discussion of the problem of floods, but before we do that, there are some adjournment motions pending in the name of Mian Muhammad Shafi. They are, however, on very trivial matters and I may request him not to press his adjournment motions today.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi:** Do not deny the House that privilege, Sir.

چودھری محمد احسن۔ On a point of privilege۔ جناب والا۔ پرسوں آپ نے فرمایا تھا کہ اخبارات میں میری تقریر کی غلط رپورٹنگ ہوئی ہے۔ آپ نے مجھے یقین دلایا تھا کہ اسکا صحیح version اخبارات کو دیا جائے گا۔ اس بنا پر میں نے in anticipation پریس کا شکریہ ادا کر دیا تھا۔ لیکن دو دن گزرنے کے بعد میری تقریر کا صحیح version شائع نہیں کیا گیا۔ میں آپ سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ آپ اپنے وعدے کے مطابق اور اس اعتبار کے معزز ممبران کے privileges کا احترام کرتے ہوئے اسکو اخبارات میں شائع کرائیں ورنہ مجھے بادل نخواستہ protest کرنا پڑے گا اور ہاؤس سے walk out کرنا پڑے گا اور لیڈر آف دی ہاؤس اور لیڈر آف دی آپوزیشن کو ممبران کے privileges protect کیلئے اپیل کرنی پڑے گی۔ آپ نے فرمایا تھا کہ میری تقریر کی صحیح رپورٹ اخبارات میں شائع ہوگی۔

صاحب سپیکر۔ اخبارات سے کہا گیا ہے کہ وہ درست تقریر شائع کریں۔

چودھری محمد احسن۔ آپ ان سے کہیں کہ اسکو جلا از جلا شائع کریں۔ میری تقریر کا غلط version چھپنے سے غلط نہیں پیدا ہوگئی ہے۔



**Mr. Speaker :** It has been pointed out to the press that the report published is not in accordance with the speech made by the honourable member and they have been requested to published the contradiction and give a correct version of his speech.

خان صفی اللہ خان - On a point of privilege جناب والا - آج ہم نے سیلاب کی صورت حال پر بحث کرنی ہے - لیکن وقت دوسری باتوں میں صرف ہو رہا ہے - آپکو معلوم ہے کہ سیلاب کی وجہ سے ملک کو سقندر شدید نقصان پہنچا ہے اور پہنچ رہا ہے اور ہر شخص کتنا پریشان ہے - ہمارا فرض ہے کہ ہم جلا از جلا ان لوگوں کی مدد کریں بلکہ اپنی مدد کریں - میں عرض کرتا ہوں کہ ان باتوں کو جو روزانہ کے معمول کے مطابق نہیں روک دیا جائے اور اصل مسئلے پر بحث کی جائے -

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I want very respectfully to offer an explanation in respect of allegations made against me by Mr. Pirzada Shahnawaz that I was an agent provocateur. It is a very serious reflection upon me. (Noises).

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, please.

سیز غلام مصطفی شاہ خالز کیلانی - ہمارے نام لگے گئے ہیں اس لئے آپکو ہمارا جواب سنا چاہیے -

صاحب سپیکر - میں نے اسکا کوئی ٹوکس نہیں لیا تھا -

سیز غلام مصطفی شاہ خالز کیلانی - انہوں نے ہاوس میں کہا - ہم نے سنا - پریس کے نمائندوں نے سنا - اب اسکا جواب بھی سنائیے -

صاحب سپیکر - میں جانتا ہوں کہ آپکے ورغلانے کا سوال ہی پیدا نہیں ہوتا - اسی لئے میں نے اسکا ٹوکس نہیں لیا تھا - وہ ایران کے اس حصے میں بیٹھے تھے اور آپ یہاں بیٹھے تھے - اس لئے ورغلانے کا سوال ہی پیدا نہیں ہوتا -

مسٹر جی - ایم - سیز - میں آپکی محبت میں عرض کرتا ہوں کہ سیلاب کا مسئلہ بہت اہم ہے - ہمارے پاس صرف دو گھنٹے باقی ہیں - مہربانی کرے flood  
situation پر بحث کرنے کا موقع دیا جائے -

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS.

## FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT TO LEGISLATE RENT RESTRICT ACT.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I beg to ask <sup>for leave</sup> ~~please~~ to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the failure of Government to protect the interests of urban population by not bringing in legislation on the issue of rent restriction.

Sir, people who live in cities and towns are faced with a very grave situation because of the fact that the landlords charge from them exorbitant rents.

**A Member :** No speech..

**Mr. Speaker :** This adjournment motion is not before me at all. There are only four adjournment motions pending with me.

## FAILURE OF PROHIBITION IN PUNJAB.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, <sup>the</sup> failure of prohibition in the former province of the Punjab as reflected in the staggering rise in the consumption of liquor.

**Mr. Speaker :** This adjournment motion is ruled out of order because the "failure of prohibition" has not been specified. It is just an assertion, and on an indefinite assertion an adjournment motion cannot be in order. The "failure of prohibition in the former province of the Punjab as reflected in the staggering rise in the consumption of liquor" cannot be the subject-matter of an adjournment motion.

## RESTRICTIONS ON MOVEMENT OF IHSAN AHMAD SHUJAABADI.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Sir, I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the restrictions on the movement of Maulana Ihsan Ahmad Shujaabadi, a well-known political leader, into Bahawalpur Division, under the Public Safety Act.

**Mr. Speaker :** Anything done under the provisions of any law, cannot be the subject-matter of an adjournment motion. Besides, the subject-matter is not one of urgent public importance. So this adjournment motion is ruled out of order.

## EJECTION OF TENANTS BY NAWAB OF HOTI AND MARDAN.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the repression by Nawab of Hoti and Mardan against his tenants whom he has ejected without any reason from lands they have been cultivating from generation to generation.

**Mr. Speaker :** If a person is illegally ejected from the land which he possesses or occupies, then the proper course for him is to seek remedy in a law court. So, this adjournment motion is also ruled out of order.

## FAILURE OF STOCK-TAKING IN GOVERNMENT PRESS.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** I ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the failure of Government to carry out five yearly stock-taking in the Government Printing Press which fact has not brought to surface serious irregularities and misappropriations.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan :** This is a very important matter. This adjournment motion is on the subject about which the allegation is that for the last so many years.....

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** Five years.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan :** No stock-taking has taken place. If the Government or some officers of the Government have failed to do anything during the last five years.....

**Mr. Speaker :** Please resume your seat.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi :** On a point of order, Sir. Have you made up your mind not to hear a member's point of view?

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, is this a point of order?

**Mr. Speaker :** You do not seem to realize that the House is so very anxious to proceed with the discussion of the problem of floods but you are going on with your speech.

خان نور محمد خان - جناب والا - آپ پشتو میں بھی سمجھا دیا کریں -  
کیونکہ ہم اردو اور انگریزی نہیں سمجھ سکتے -

مسٹر سپیکر - آرڈر - آرڈر -

خان محمد اکبر خان - جناب عالی یہ (پٹھان) کہتے ہیں - کہ ہمیں پشتو میں  
باتیں سمجھائیں -

صاحب سپیکر :- دیکھئے - یہ تحریک التوا اس چیز کے متعلق ہے کہ گزشتہ پانچ سالوں میں گورنمنٹ پرنٹنگ پریس کے سٹاک کی پڑتال نہیں کی گئی - یہ تحریک التوا قواعد کے مطابق نہیں ہے - کیونکہ سٹاک کی پڑتال کے سلسلہ میں جو کوتاہی ہوئی ہے یہ عوشی کل - پرسوں یا اترسوں کی بات نہیں ہے یہ تو گزشتہ پانچ سالوں سے کوتاہی ہوتی چلی آرہی ہے - سٹاک کی پڑتال کے سلسلہ میں عوشی خاص تاریخ مقرر ہوئی اور اس تاریخ پر گورنمنٹ نے کوتاہی کی اور مناسب پڑتال نہ کی - اگر کل - پرسوں کی کوتاہی کی وجہ سے ۲۵ لاکھ روپیے ضائع ہوئے ہوتے پھر تو تحریک التوا ٹھیک تھی - لیکن چونکہ یہ کوتاہی گزشتہ پانچ سالوں میں کسی وقت ہوئی اس لئے میں اس تحریک التوا کو پیش کرنے کی اجازت نہیں دے سکتا -

### FLOOD SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE.

**Mr. Speaker :** Yes, the Honourable the Law Minister.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law & Agriculture) : Sir, I beg to move that we now proceed to discuss the situation created by the floods in the Province.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Sir, is he going to speak first?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** Yes, Sir. I thought I have still to curtail the debate. First I would give you the details about what has happened, otherwise you will go on speaking without knowing the facts. We have got the latest facts, which you do not possess.

Sir, the damage has been very widespread, and it is all due to rains. Fortunately, this year, there have been no serious breaches in the river bunds upto now, although the damage and risk is very grave, at present, because the discharge in the river Indus at Sukkur is the record discharge, which has never occurred before. Yesterday morning it was 8,75,000 cusecs and it has been reducing, fluctuating, and going up again. So, fortunately, by the Grace of God, there is no mishap. So far as the river bunds, only a small breach in the bund at Sialkot district has occurred which has not very much damaged the area, but the havoc and damage caused by rains is so grave that it cannot be minimised in any way.

Starting, Sir, with the Kohistan area, the border district of the former Province of Sind.....

**A Member :** Sir, there are extensive damages in Baluchistan and in the District of Dera Ghazi Khan.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** Sir, the honourable member is right. There has been very extensive damage caused in those Divisions also, but I will give you the effects in those Divisions and those areas separately, so that you are able to assess the loss properly.

I start with the right bank of Indus, from the hills right upto the Indus because that is a granary that supplies you all the rice and other kharif

crops, which feeds not only West Pakistan, but also East Pakistan. So, I thought I would give you the description of that area first showing what has happened actually.

**Voices :** Speak loudly. We cannot hear at all.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** I am speaking in the mike before me. You can listen only if honourable members do not talk among themselves.

Sir, three districts—Jacobabad, Larkana and Dadu are the border districts, which are very near the hills which are the continuation of the Sulemanki range. Heavy rains have fallen on these hills covering a distance of about 40 to 50 miles. There is a flood protection bund permanently constructed by the Public Works Department. That bund has been breached by the hill torrents and the rain water in number of places has rushed down and entered into settled and cultivated areas fed by the Sukkur Barrage Canals with the result that all the standing crops have been destroyed. This is what has happened in Jacobabad District. The same thing has happened in Larkana and Dadu Districts. These are the areas which produce rice. They give you a surplus from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of tons, which are exported and sent to East Pakistan and all this area which is settled on the Barrage Canals has practically been destroyed.

Now, I come to the Jacobabad District. Jacobabad District has two parts of it—one settled in the Barrage Canal and the other is on the Non-Barrage Canal, the Begari Canal and the Noorwah Canal.

Now what have the hill torrents done? They have rushed on coming to the down of Jacobabad and inundated the rice crop and breached the Begari and Noorwah Canals and entered the canals and caused floods into those areas on Begari and Noorwah canals.

Kalat and Quetta have suffered considerable and extensive damage. There have been unprecedented rains in that region. They have broken Bulan bund and other bunds which have been constructed recently damming the water and holding it up for cultivation purposes. All these dams have been washed away and so the crops and even the stored foodgrains have been washed away. In Quetta and Kalat Divisions you have a system which is called Karazes. They dig channels in and near the hills where water is stored for cultivating the low lying areas in the valley with that water. That means the irrigation system of both Kalat and Quetta Divisions has been rendered absolutely useless and unless something is done immediately it will be of no use for the coming rabi.

Now, I come to the left Bank. In the Sukkur district there is barrage area again which has suffered terribly. There have been torrential rains and the rice area has suffered very much.

On the left bank, in the Rohri division, there have been three sowings of crops, but all have been submerged under water. There have been very heavy rains there. In the Rohri Division you have uncontrolled floods



occasionally when the water rises very high in the river. This means that both parts of the Jacobabad District have suffered.

Similarly, cultivation in the Khairpur District itself has also suffered likewise.

Coming down below to Hyderabad Division, some damage has been done by incessant rains. To what extent the damage has been done, we will assess when we get the report.

All this means that the two divisions of Baluchistan and Kalat and the former province of Sind have been severely affected by floods and large and widespread damage has been caused by floods there.

Now, I come to Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan. There again the hill torrents are causing extensive damage, communications have been cut off and the low-lying areas in Dera Ghazi Khan have been flooded; crops have been destroyed.

In other districts in which there are no hills and no hill torrents, incessant rains have done a lot of damage.

So I will describe it as a calamity, a very widespread one. We do not know exactly what has happened. My friend tells me that in the Tribal areas there has been a lot of damage. Reports are coming. We were not in possession of the facts on the date on which Mr. Syed started this question. Just now I have received a report about some serious damage in Dadu District and other places because the water is not being stopped and is rushing though attempt is being made to divert it to some other place. The water is still coming from the hills.

I may state to the House that the damage is very serious. It was not expected that the damage by floods due to rains could happen to such an extent. The records of floods by rains in these areas, you will find, have all been beaten, beaten 100 per cent to 1000 per cent in some cases.

Now what the Government has started doing straightway? There were certain measures which they have taken in advance and there are some measures which are being taken at present after the floods have actually occurred.

There was a flood in the year 1955. So Government was busy in chalking out certain measures which have actually proved quite useful. First of all they have devoted their attention to the Protection Bunds and as I have already told you they have succeeded in as much as since those orders there has been no breach of the bunds, and the bunds are standing quite in tact, although the water discharges are unprecedentedly very high and have been record-breaking.

They have since then set up about 100 wireless stations on different courses on the river at different places and intimations keep on pouring all throughout the day about flood situation and that information is again

communicated to the Deputy Commissioners and other Officers down below to alert them about what might be happening in that area. Then the Deputy Commissioner of each area has chalked out a flood protection scheme in which all the officials have been given their duty assigned to them as to what they have to do, what stores and other materials have to be collected. I show this for the information of the House one of such Pamphlets which is called "Floods Control Measures for Lahore District, 1956". So you will know in what way schemes have been prepared for each area and how careful they are, and how immediately the whole machinery goes into action.

Then, Sir, legislation has been proposed on the lines of the old National Calamities (Prevention and Relief) Act of Punjab which is being applied to the whole of West Pakistan. This will empower Government to mobilise labour and other things and pass preventive orders about disease and such other things. This Act will be passed very soon.

Many grants have already been made. Five lakhs were originally provided in the budget and in addition to that 25 lakhs have been placed by the Government at the disposal of the Commissioners for gratuitous relief.

Then, Sir 20 lakhs were provided for taccavi loan in the normal course and another 25 lakhs of rupees have been given by the Government in addition thereto.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Last year?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** This year.

There was a provision for 20 lakhs of rupees for taccavi; it has been increased by 25 lakhs, so the total amount of taccavi is 45 lakhs and it is interest free taccavi and the recoveries will be made in six instalments, each after the harvest.

Further, Sir, there are grants from the Famine Relief Fund and the Governor's Fund and I shall be giving you the figures presently.

Sir, I think I will stop here because other honourable members have to speak. I shall supply further details when I give a reply. I may, however, add that an approach has been made to the Centre for one crore of rupees straightway which we hope we will get from the Centre. I have already detailed what we are doing from our own meagre resources. Then there is grant from the Governor's Fund and also grant from the Flood Relief Fund, which are being placed at the disposal of the Commissioners. Any other details that you may require, I shall be glad to give.

**Sheikh Mahbub Ilahi :** Would you please let us know if any action has been taken on the recommendations of last year's Flood Commission?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** I am told there is a Report and I shall place it on the Table of the House.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon :** Please let us know whether the recommendations of the Flood Commission have been implemented.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** That I have told you already. If you heard me I have told you already what precautions have been taken by the Government.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have received notice of three amendments to the motion before the House. One stands in the name of Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan.

یہ جو تحریک ایوان کے سامنے ہے اس میں ترمیم کرنے کے لئے جو نوٹس موصول ہوئے ہیں - ان تینوں ترامیم میں مندرجہ ذیل الفاظ ایضاد کرنے کی تجویز پیش کی گئی ہے -

Mian Manzoor-i-Hasan wants to add the following words in line 2 of the motion :—

“and the inadequacy of preventive and relief measures taken by the Government”.

اب یہ تحریک جو ایوان کے سامنے ہے صرف یہ ہے کہ سیلاب کی صورت حالات کا جائزہ لیا جائے اور بحث کا موقع دیا جائے - معزز ارکان ان امور پر بحث تو کر سکتے ہیں کہ فلاں فلاں جگہ پر اس قدر نقصان ہوا ہے اور فلاں فلاں تدابیر اختیار کرنی چاہئے - یا گورنمنٹ نے کیا کیا کوتاہیاں کی ہیں مگر اس بحث کے نتیجے پر ووٹ دینے کا سوال پیدا نہیں ہوتا - اصل سوال بحث کا ہے ووٹ کا نہیں ہے لہذا جو ارکان گورنمنٹ کو **censure** کرنا چاہیں ان کو ایک **Substantive Motion** لانی چاہئے یہ نہیں ہو سکتا کہ موجودہ تحریک کو عدم اعتقاد کی شکل دی جائے - اس لئے میان محمد شنیع اور میان منظور حسن کے نام جو دو ترامیم درج ہیں وہ بھی اس نوعیت کی ہیں اور اگرچہ وہ میعاد کے لحاظ بھی مسترد کی جاسکتی ہیں مگر میں میعاد کی بنا پر ان پر اعتراض نہیں کرتا البتہ چونکہ وہ اصل موضوع کے **scope** سے باہر ہیں اس لئے میں ان کی اجازت نہیں دے سکتا - لہذا میں ان کو مسترد کرتا ہوں -

ایک معزز رکن - جناب والا - ہر ممبر کے لئے تقریر کی **time limit** مقرر کر دیجئے -

میان منظور حسن - میری ترمیم کا مقصد موضوع بحث کو وسیع تر کرنا تھا اس سے گورنمنٹ کو ملامت کرنا مقصد نہیں تھا - اگر گورنمنٹ کی پارٹی کو اعتراض ہے کہ نوٹس کی بہت ناکافی ہے (شور) تو میں ان کی اطلاع کیلئے کہوں گا کہ میری ترمیم قواعد کے مطابق اندر میعاد دی گئی تھی اسلئے اس ضمن میں میعاد کا سوال نہیں ہوتا - میں مطالبہ کرتا ہوں کہ فلاں (سیلاب) کی صورت حال پر بحث کرنے کے سکوپ کو وسیع کیا جائے اور یہ بھی دیکھا جائے کہ گورنمنٹ نے جو اصلاحی اقدامات کئے ہیں آیا وہ کافی تھے یا ناکافی بروقت تھے یا بعد از وقت - ان تمام امور کو زیر بحث لانا ضروری ہے -

صاحب سپیکر :- میں نے معیار ناکافی ہونے کے بنا پر ترمیم کو مسترد نہیں کیا بلکہ میں نے اس کو اس لئے مسترد کیا ہے کہ اگر استی اجازت دی جائے تو یہ گورنمنٹ کی مذمت اور ملامت کی تحریک بن جاتی ہے جس کے لئے ایک مادی تحریک کا لانا ضروری ہے اور اس کا باقاعدہ نوٹس دینا لازمی ہے ۔

میاں منظور حسن :- میں یہ سمجھا تھا -----

صاحب سپیکر :- اب آپکی سمجھ کا کیا علاج کیا جائے ؟

**Mr. G. Allana :** Sir, I want to know what procedure would be adopted.

**Mr. Speaker :** The procedure is that I call members from all sides of the House to discuss the flood situation.

**Mr. G. Allana :** You do not want a decision from the House on the flood situation at all?

**Mr. Speaker :** The House wanted to discuss the flood situation and the Government gave an assurance that they will appoint a day for its discussion.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Would you not like us to suggest what measures should be undertaken for the relief?

**Sheikh Mahbub Ilahi :** In our speeches can we not make suggestions to Government?

**Mr. Speaker :** Yes, you can make suggestions in your speeches. You can even say that the measures taken by Government are not adequate.

مسٹر جی - ایم - سید - (دادو ڈسٹرکٹ) :- میں سیلاب کے متعلق یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اول تو ملک میں بارش کی وجہ سے جو نقصان ہوا ہے اس پر بحث ہوسکتی ہے اور دوسرے ندی نالوں کی طغیانیوں سے جو مالی اور جانی نقصان ہوا ہے اس کو زیر بحث لایا جائے - ان دونوں میں تمیز کرنی چاہئے سب سے پہلے بارش کی وجہ سے جو سیلاب آیا ہے اس کو لینا چاہئے - بعد میں ندی نالوں کی طغیانیوں پر بحث کرنی چاہئے -

صاحب سپیکر :- اگر ہاؤس کی یہی رائے ہو تو میں ایوان سے اتفاق کرتا ہوں اور ارکان سے کہہ دیتا کہ وہ سیلاب کی تباہی کو خاص طور پر زیر نظر رکھیں اور ۱۵ منٹ سے زیادہ کسی کو تقریر کا وقت نہیں لینا چاہئے -

مسٹر جی - ایم - سید :- میرے خیال میں عام ممبروں کے لئے دس منٹ کافی رہیں گے - لیکن اگر مسٹر سپیکر محرک کو بھی صرف ۱۵ منٹ دیں تو یہ کافی نہیں -

ایک ممبر :- بحث دو دن تک جاری رہنی چاہئے -

ڈاکٹر خان صاحب :- میرے خیال میں ایک ممبر کے لئے ۵ منٹ کا وقت کافی ہوگا -

**Mir Ali Murdan Talpur :** Sir, ten minutes should be the maximum time limit so that all the members who want to speak may be able to do so.

**Dr. Khan Sahib :** (Chief Minister) : Sir, I think the Leaders of Parties should be given fifteen minutes and for other members five minutes each are quite enough.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Sir, Mr. Syed has made a suggestion that the debate should last for two days and the Chief Minister should agree to that.

**Mr. Speaker :** Does the Chief Minister agree to that?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law) :** One day.

**صاحب سپیکر :-** یہ تحریک جو اس وقت ایوان کے سامنے ہے اس پر بحث کرنے کیلئے ایک دن مقرر ہوا تھا - جس طریقہ سے یہ تحریک پیش کی گئی تھی یعنی تحریک التوا کے طور پر اگر اس پر بحث کی جاتی تو آپ دو گھنٹے سے زیادہ اس پر بحث نہ کر سکتے لیکن گورنمنٹ اس کے لئے ایک دن دے رہی ہے - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس موضوع پر اپنے خیالات کا اظہار پانچ سات منٹ میں ہو سکتا ہے اور اگر لمبی تقریریں کی جائیں تو پھر صرف دو چار ممبر ہی اس پر بول سکتے ہیں -

**مسٹر جی - ایم - سی :-** اگر آنریبل چیف منسٹر پریزیڈنٹ صاحب کو ریسرو کرنے نہ جائیں تو ہم اس قرارداد پر ایک بجے تک بحث کر سکتے ہیں - میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس موضوع پر بحث کرنے کیلئے ۱۵ منٹ کافی نہیں ہیں -

**صاحب سپیکر :-** آپ کے خیال میں ۱۵ منٹ کافی نہیں - بہت اچھا -

**مسٹر جی - ایم - سی :-** میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ سیلاب دو قسم کے ہیں - ایک تو بارش کی وجہ سے اور دوسرا ندیوں میں طغیانی آنے کے باعث - میں چونکہ سندھ کے متعلق پورے طور پر باخبر ہوں اس لئے میں اس کے متعلق ہی عرض کرونگا - ڈیرہ غازی خان یا دوسرے علاقوں والے یہ نہ سمجھیں کہ مجھے ان سے ہمدردی نہیں ہے - مجھے ان علاقوں کے لوگوں سے بھی پوری ہمدردی ہے بلکہ ہر سیلاب زدہ علاقہ کے لوگوں سے ہے لیکن چونکہ مجھے ان کے متعلق پوری طرح خبر نہیں اور ان کے متعلق میرے پاس اعداد و شمار نہیں جو میں پیش کر سکوں اسلئے میں اپنے ہی علاقے کے متعلق عرض کرونگا اور اسکے متعلق ہی اعداد و شمار پیش کرونگا - جیسا کہ آنریبل وزیر نے ابھی کہا ہے سندھ میں سب سے زیادہ نقصان بارشوں کی وجہ سے ہوا ہے اسکی وجہ یہ ہے کہ سندھ کا ایک حصہ ایسا ہے جو پہاڑوں کے نزدیک ہے اور اس میں سیلاب آتا رہتا ہے - جس برس بارشیں زیادہ ہوں اسی برس وہاں سیلاب آجاتا ہے - گذشتہ برس بھی وہاں سیلاب آیا تھا کیونکہ بارشیں بہت پڑی تھیں - اور اس برس بھی بارشیں بہت ہوئی ہیں اور اس برس سیلاب کی وجہ سے بہت زیادہ نقصان ہوا ہے - اب آنریبل وزیر نے اپنی تقریر میں سیلاب کے نقصان کے متعلق کوئی اندازہ نہیں بتایا اور انہوں نے صرف یہ کہا ہے کہ سیلاب آیا ہے اور اس سے نقصان چند حصوں میں ہوا ہے لیکن میری گزارش ہے کہ جب تک سیلاب سے متعلق اعداد و شمار نہیں پیش کئے جائینگے اس وقت تک عوام کو اور گورنمنٹ کو پتہ نہیں چلے گا کہ سندھ کے کس علاقہ میں نقصان ہوا ہے - بارشوں کی وجہ سے جو سیلاب آیا ہے اس سے نقصان صرف دادو - جیکب آباد اور لڑکانہ کو نہیں پہنچا بلکہ سارے سندھ کو ہوا ہے - اس کی وجہ سے سندھ میں نقصان زیادہ تر کپاس کی فصل کو ہوا ہے - آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ سندھ میں قریباً دس لاکھ ایکڑ میں کپاس کی کاشت ہوتی ہے اور بارشیں ہونے کے باعث اس میں کھاس پیدا ہو جاتا ہے اور کھاس کی وجہ سے کپاس کی پیداوار میں بہت کمی ہو جاتی ہے - اس وقت یہ اندازہ لگایا گیا ہے کہ سندھ میں اس دفعہ کپاس کی فصل سے کم از کم ۸۰ لاکھ من



کپاس پیدا ہونے کی توقع تھی لیکن اب کپاس کی فصل سے ۲۰ لاکھ من کپاس سے زیادہ پیداوار ہونے کا امکان نہیں۔ آپ اندازہ کر سکتے ہیں کہ اب کم کپاس کی فصل میں ۶۰ لاکھ من کی کمی ہوگی اور اگر فی من ۲۵ روپیے بھی قیمت لگائی جائے تو بھی ۱۵ کروڑ روپیے کا نقصان صرف سندھ میں ہوا ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ اجناس خوردنی کی بھڑی فصلوں کو بھی نقصان پہنچا ہے۔ میری معلومات کے مطابق یہ نقصان دریائے سندھ کے بائیں کنارے پر واقع فصلوں کو نہیں بلکہ دائیں کنارے پر واقع فصلوں کو پہنچا ہے۔ میرے تخمینے کے مطابق یہ نقصان تین کروڑ روپیے سے کم نہیں ہے جو کہ اجناس خوردنی کی فصلوں کو پہنچا ہے۔ آپ نقصان کا اندازہ اس بات سے ہی کر سکتے ہیں کہ میرے اپنے تعلق میں ۵۰ میل تک دریا کے پانی سے طغیانی آگئی ہے۔ پچھلی دفعہ حکومت نے یہ منظور کیا تھا کہ وہاں ایک بند ہونا چاہیے لیکن وہ تعمیر نہیں کیا گیا اس دفعہ دریا اور پہاڑی ندیوں سے اس سارے تعلق میں جتنے شہر یا گاؤں ہیں ان میں طغیانی آگئی ہے اور اندازاً ہے دریا کے دائیں کنارے اجناس خوردنی کی فصلوں کو جو کل نقصان ہوا ہے وہ کوئی تین کروڑ روپے کے قریب ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ بلوچستان اور روڈ کو جو نقصان پہنچا ہے وہ بھی بہت کافی ہے۔ آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ غریب لوگ جو دیہات میں رہتے ہیں وہ کچے مکانات بنا کر رہتے ہیں وہ پکی اینٹوں کے نہیں ہوتے اور نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ بارش پڑنے سے جھونپڑیاں گر جاتی ہیں اور آدمی مر جاتے ہیں۔ میرے تخمینے کے مطابق گھروں اور راستوں کو جو نقصان ہوا ہے وہ دو کروڑ سے کم نہیں ہے۔ اس طرح ۲۰ کروڑ روپیے کا نقصان صرف سندھ کے علاقہ میں بارشوں اور دریا کی طغیانی کی وجہ سے ہوا ہے۔ آنریبل مسٹر بیرزادہ نے کہا ہے کہ ندیوں کی وجہ سے اب تک جو طغیانی آئی ہے اس کی رپورٹ ابھی تک نہیں آئی۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ طغیانی کی رپورٹ آپ تک تب پہنچتی ہے جب کسی بند میں کوئی شگاف ہوگا ہے تو۔

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** I have got report this morning at six o'clock.

مسٹر جی - ایم - سید - آپ میرا مطلب صحیح نہیں سمجھتے۔ میں نے یہ کہا ہے کہ آپ کے پاس طغیانی کی رپورٹ جب پہنچتی ہے جب کسی بند میں کوئی بریج ہو۔ دشمنی علاقے یا ایسے علاقے جہاں کسی بند کے بریج ہونے کے بغیر پانی چلا جاتا ہے اس کی رپورٹ آپ کے پاس نہیں آتی۔ اس لئے میں کہتا ہوں کہ جو رپورٹیں آپ تک پہنچتی ہیں صرف ان علاقوں کی پہنچتی ہیں جہاں کوئی بند ٹوٹا ہو۔

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** We are getting all reports, whether a bund is breached or otherwise.

مسٹر جی - ایم - سید - جناب والا میں جو کچھ کہہ رہا ہوں وہ یہ ہے کہ میں ایک خاص علاقے کی بابت بیان کر رہا ہوں کہ وہاں ندیوں میں طغیانیوں کے باعث ہر برس سیلاب کا پانی پہنچ جاتا ہے اور ریلوے کے کنکشن وغیرہ بھی ٹوٹ جاتے ہیں۔

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** This is inundation of the areas. Do not call them floods.

مسٹر جی - ایم - سید - فلز اور انڈیئن میں کیا فرق ہے۔ اس سے سارا تعلق زیر آب آگیا ہے۔ آپ اس کو جو نام چاہے دیے لیجئے حقیقت یہ ہے کہ سارے کا سارا تعلق زیر آب آگیا ہے اور تو وہ ریلوے لائن بھی ٹوٹ گئی ہے چنانچہ جب میں آیا تھا تو ایک جگہ ٹرین سے اتر کر دوسری طرف سے آیا تھا۔ اس سے آپ اندازہ کر سکتے ہیں کہ کتنی

زمین زیر آب ہوگئی ہوگی۔ میرا اندازہ نقصان کے متعلق بیس کروڑ کے قریب ہے۔ مجھے ایک دو جگہوں سے جو میرے نزدیک ہیں اس سلسلہ میں خطوط آئے ہیں۔ میں ان میں سے ایک چھوٹا سا خط آپکو بڑھ کے سناتا ہوں تاکہ آپکو اندازہ ہو جائے کہ انہوں نے جو فصل اکھٹی کر کے رکھی تھی وہ سب پہاڑی نالے بہا کے لیے گئے ہیں۔ یہ ایک خط ہے جس پر بہت سے دستخط ہیں۔ وہ کہتے ہیں چونکہ آپ ہمارے نمائندہ ہیں اسلئے ہم آپکو یہ لکھ رہے ہیں۔ ہماری پانچ چھ ہزار من فصل جو ہم نے جمع کر کے رکھی ہوئی تھی اسے پہاڑی نالے بہا کے لیے گئے ہیں۔ اسنے بعد انہوں نے کچھ عرصہ اٹھتی پیش کی ہیں جنہیں میں مناسب موقع پر بیان کرونگا۔ اور علاقوں سے بھی تاریخ آئی ہیں۔ مگر انکے نمائندے خود انکو بیان کرینگے۔

اب میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ نقصان جو ہوا ہے وہ تین قسم سے ہے۔ ایک تو بند ٹوٹتے ہیں۔ دوسرے تغیبی علاقے جو ہیں ان میں پانی چلا جاتا ہے تیسرے بند وغیرہ کی مرمت پر زیادہ خرچ آجاتا ہے۔ اسنے علاوہ ریلوے لائنوں اور سڑکیں کا نقصان ہو جاتا ہے۔ اگر یہ نہ بھی ٹوٹیں پھر بھی پانی کے دباؤ کی وجہ سے نقصان ہو جاتا ہے۔ اور خدا نہ کرے یہ ٹوٹ جائیں پھر تو مصیبت آجاتی ہے۔ سیلاب پچھلے سال بھی آیا تھا اس سال بھی آیا ہے اور اب اسنے ہمیشہ آنے کا امکان ہے۔ کیونکہ بعض لوگوں کا نظریہ یہ ہے کہ ایشیہ کے تجربوں کے باعث اب بارشیں سال بسال ہونگی۔ اور جب تک ہندوستان اور پاکستان کے درمیان دریاؤں کی طغیانی کے پانی کو روکنے کیلئے کوئی مشترکہ قدم اٹھانے کے بارے میں سمجھوتہ نہیں ہوگا اس وقت تک یہ سلسلہ چلتا رہیگا۔ اسلئے میں یہ چاہتا ہوں کہ اسنے متعلق کوئی مستقل انتظامات کئے جائیں صرف عارضی ریلیف پر ہی نہ رہا جائے۔ اس بارے میں کوئی مستقل قدم اٹھانے کی ضرورت ہے۔

(اس مرحلہ پر صاحب سپیکر کرسی صدارت سے اٹھ کر چلے گئے اور اس پر پندر الہی بخش رونق افروز ہوئے)

دوسرا سوال یہ ہے کہ یہ جو بارشوں کی وجہ سے طغیانی آتی ہے اسے کس طرح روکا جائے اسنے لئے سب سے مشہور طریقہ ڈیم بنانے کا ہے۔ آئریشل مسٹر بیر زادہ نے جب وہ سندھ میں چیف مسٹر تھے سارے کوہستانی علاقے میں ڈیم بنانے کی سکیم بنائی تھی جسے اب ترک کر دیا گیا ہے۔ اگر اس سکیم کو دوبارہ بحال کر دیا جائے تو بارشوں کے باعث کسی نقصان کا امکان نہیں رہ جائیگا۔ اسنے علاوہ برساتی نالوں کی راہزوری مقرر کرنے کی ضرورت ہے تاکہ وہ آبادی کے علاقوں سے نہ گزریں۔

پاکستان اور انڈیا کے درمیان ایک کمیٹی بنانے کا انتظام کیا جائے جو دریاؤں کے پانی کو روکنے کا مستقل انتظام کرے۔ بندوں کو مستقل کرے ڈرینج کا انتظام کرے۔ تاکہ اگر بند ٹوٹ جائیں تو پانی ایک جگہ اکٹھا نہ ہو جائے۔ اسنے ڈرینج کا انتظام ہو۔ تیسری بات یہ ہے کہ جب تک دریائے سندھ کو سکھر سے کوٹری تک چینیلاٹر نہ کیا جائیگا گورنمنٹ کو ہر سال کروڑ نصف کروڑ روپیہ خرچ کرنا پڑیگا۔ اور محکمہ انجینئرنگ کے لوگ اس میں سے پیسے کھاتے رہینگے۔ یہ ایسی سکیم ہے جس پر حکومت کو غور کرنا چاہئے۔

صاحب صدر اسنے بعد یہ سوال ہے کہ ریلیف کس قسم کی ہونی چاہئے۔ اسکی دو تین قسمیں ہیں۔ ایک تو لوگوں کو انکی ضرورت کے مطابق تقاوی دینی چاہئے۔ تاکہ غریب آدمی جن کے گھر گر گئے ہیں وہ اپنے گھر بنا سکیں۔ دوسرا طریقہ بیج دینے کا ہے۔ انکو بیج دیا جائے تاکہ وہ آئندہ فصل کاشت کر سکیں۔ پچھلے سال سیلاب کے بعد لوگوں کو بیج دیا گیا تھا۔ اس سال پھر سیلاب آگیا ہے۔ اسلئے سب سے پہلے تو یہ ضروری ہے کہ پچھلے سال سیلاب زدہ لوگوں کو جو بیج دیا گیا تھا اسکی وصولی بند کر دی جائے۔

اس سلسلہ میں میں یہ بھی کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ سندھ میں جو ریمیشن کے رولز ہیں وہ پچاس برس پرانے ہیں۔ انکی جگہ وہاں پنجاب کے رولز نافذ کئے جائیں۔ تیسری بات یہ ہے کہ بہت سے لوگ یہ کہتے ہیں کہ جنرل ریمیشن دینا جائے۔ میرے خیال میں ایسا کرنا بہت بڑی بات ہوگی۔ صرف ان علاقوں میں جنرل ریمیشن دینا چاہئے جہاں کپاس کی فصل کو عام نقصان پہنچا ہے۔ اسے علاوہ سیلاب کے علاقوں میں ریمیشن رول ۳۵ کے ماتحت مختارکاروں کے۔ تحصیلداروں کے لئے ہر ایک شہر کا دیکھنا لازمی قرار دینا جائے۔ یہ نہیں کہ جسکی درخواست نہ آئے اسکو وہ چھوڑ دیں۔ کیونکہ انکا عمل بعض دفعہ لوگوں کی درخواستیں ادھر ادھر بھی کر دیتا ہے۔ تھریبار کے کاشن ایریا میں جنرل ریمیشن دینا چاہئے۔ مکانوں کے لئے قرضہ دینا بھی ضروری ہے۔ تاکہ غریب لوگ جن کی جھونپڑیاں اور گھر گر گئے ہیں وہ انہیں بنا سکیں۔ گزشتہ برس ان لوگوں کو کوئی ریلیف نہیں ملا تھا۔ غریب لوگوں کو کپڑے بھی ملنے چاہیں۔ خوراک بھی ملنی چاہئے۔ اس وقت گورنمنٹ کا جو طریقہ ریلیف دینے کا ہے اس سے اسکا ایک تہائی حصہ بھی لوگوں کو نہیں پہنچتا۔ افسروں کی زیادہ تعداد لوگوں کی مصیبت سے بھی فائدہ اٹھاتی ہے اسلئے میری یہ عرض ہے کہ اس کام میں صرف افسروں پر انحصار نہ کیا جائے۔ وہ ناکارہ ہیں۔ غیر سرکاری لوگوں کو بھی اس کام میں شامل کیا جائے۔

اس کے بعد میں یہ عرض کرونگا کہ ایک تو صوبہ کی کمیٹی ہونی چاہئے اور ایک ضلع کی اور تعلقہ کی ہونی چاہئے اور اس کا چیئرمین ڈپٹی کمشنر نہیں بلکہ کوئی اور ہونا چاہئے۔ کیونکہ موجودہ ڈپٹی کمشنروں پر ہمیں اعتماد نہیں ہے وہ Corrupt ہیں اور ناکام ثابت ہوئے ہیں۔ اس کے لئے کسی ڈیپانڈار آدمی کو مقرر کرنا چاہئے۔ پہلے ایک مرتبہ مسٹر جمشیڈ کو اس کام پر مقرر کیا گیا تھا وہ ایسائڈر آدمی تھے اور انہوں نے فلڈ ریلیف کے سلسلہ میں بہت اچھا کام کیا تھا ایک اور ضروری بات یہ ہے کہ اتحاد اور ریلیف فوری ہونی چاہئے۔ ایسا نہ ہو کہ لوگ چیختے چلاتے رہیں اور اصلاح کا کام ”مفتے بعد از جنگ“ ثابت ہو۔

مسٹر چیئر مین (پیر الہی بخش)۔ میں معزز ممبران پر یہ واضح کر دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ دس منٹ سے زیادہ کسی ممبر کو نہیں ملنی گے۔ کیونکہ تقریر کرنے والے بہت ہیں اور وقت کم ہے اسلئے معزز ممبران کو چاہئے کہ وہ صرف معاملہ زیر بحث کے متعلق تقریر کریں اور ٹھوس تجاویز حکومت کے سامنے رکھیں۔

قاضی مرید احمد (ضلع سرگودھا)۔ صبر محترم! میں مناسب سمجھتا ہوں کہ سیلاب کے مسئلے کو قرآنی نقطہ نگاہ سے اس ایوان کی خدمت میں پیش کروں۔ قرآن کریم کا ارشاد ہے۔

ظہر الفساد فی البر والجر بما کسبف الای الناس۔

(یعنی خشکی اور تری میں فساد اور طغیانی لوگوں کی بد اعمالیوں کا نتیجہ ہیں) یہاں یہ سوال پیدا ہوتا ہے اور چند روز پہلے اس ایوان میں بھی کہا گیا تھا کہ اسلام اور قرآن ہر ایک معاملہ میں ہمیں پیش کئے جاتے ہیں۔ میں گزارش کرونگا کہ قرآن ایک مکمل ضابطہ حیات ہے اور اس کے متعلق ارشاد ہے کہ۔

ہذا بیان للناس هذا للناس

(یعنی یہ انسانوں کے لئے ضابطہ حیات بن کر آیا ہے)

اور خاتم بدھن اگر قرآن اور اسلام ہماری زندگی کے ایک ایک منٹ اور ایک ایک قدم پر ہماری رہنمائی نہ کر سکتے تو اس وقت میں یہ سمجھنے میں حق بجانب ہونگا کہ قرآن اور اسلام نا مکمل ہیں۔ لیکن حقیقت یہ ہے کہ قرآن اور اسلام ہماری زندگی کے ہر شعبہ اور ہر پہلو میں اور قدم قدم پر ہماری رہنمائی کرتے ہیں۔ اور یقیناً قرآن اور اسلام مکمل ہیں اس لئے میں دعوے سے کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ اگر آپ کا یہ ملک بے شمار تباہیوں کا نشانہ بن رہا ہے تو یہ آپ کی بد اعمالیوں یعنی قرآن اور اسلام کے احکام کی خلاف ورزیوں کا نتیجہ ہے اور جناب والا یہاں ایک سیلاب ہو تو آدمی اس کا ذکر کرے۔ یہاں کٹی سیلاب ہیں۔ رشوت کا سیلاب ظلم اور بے انصافی کا سیلاب بد دیانتی کا سیلاب۔ بیماری کا سیلاب۔ بیکاری کا سیلاب اور پانی کا سیلاب یہ سب کچھ ہماری بد اعمالیوں کا نتیجہ ہے۔ اب میں اس امر کی وضاحت کرتا ہوں کہ اس میں ہماری کونسی بد اعمالیوں کو دخل ہے۔ یہ ایک واضح اور بین حقیقت ہے کہ جو قومی نمکی اور گمراہ ہو جاتی ہیں اور اللہ تبارک و تعالیٰ کی دی ہوئی نعمتوں کو سنبھالنے کی اہلیت کھو بیٹھتی ہیں تو اس وقت اللہ تبارک و تعالیٰ کی رحمتیں ان کے لئے وبال جان بن کر رہ جاتی ہیں۔ مثال کے طور پر اللہ تبارک و تعالیٰ نے یہ زمین ہماری خاطر بہترین چیزیں پیدا کرنے کیلئے وقف کر رکھی ہے۔ لیکن جب اس زمین سے مناسب کام نہیں لیا جاتا تو اس میں نمکی اور غیر ضروری قسم کی جھاڑیاں آک اور بوٹیاں پیدا ہو جاتی ہیں جو ہمارے لئے مصیبت کا باعث بن جاتی ہیں۔ میں یہ گزارش کروں گا کہ اللہ تبارک و تعالیٰ کی طرف سے جو باران رحمت نازل ہوتی ہے اگر اس کے پانی پر ہماری حکومت مناسب کنٹرول کرے اور اسے مفید کاموں کے لئے استعمال کرے تو ناممکنات میں سے ہے کہ یہ پانی ہمارے لئے تباہی کا باعث بن سکے۔ مجھے نہایت افسوس ہے کہ ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے اور اس افسوس کا اظہار صرف موجودہ دور کے لئے ہی نہیں بلکہ گزشتہ حکومتوں کے لئے بھی ہے کہ قیام پاکستان کے بعد سے ہمارا ملک دن بدن جن مصیبتوں میں پھنستا چلا جا رہا ہے اس کا واحد اور بڑا سبب یہی ہے کہ جو گورنمنٹ بھی قائم ہوئی اسکی کوشش یہی رہی کہ ہر جائز طریقہ سے اپنی کرسیوں کو مضبوط کرے۔ دوسرے درجہ پر کوشش اور توجہ اگر کسی چیز پر مرکوز رہی تو اپنے حاشیہ نشین اور جھک جھک کر سلام کرنے والے حضرات کی دل جوئی اور ان کی خواہشات کی تکمیل۔ جمہوریت کے نام پر جمہورکشی ہماری حکومت کا سب سے بڑا کارنامہ ہے۔ جہاں تک عوامی مسائل کا تعلق ہے وہ اخباری اعلانات اور ریڈیائی سکیموں تک ہی محدود ہیں۔ ملک کے غریب عوام کے گاڑے پسینہ کی کھائی چند درجن وزرا اور چند سو اعلیٰ افسران کے تنور شمع کا ایندھن بن رہی ہے یہاں تک کہ مصیبت زدگان سیلاب اور قحط کے ماروں کے نام پر جو لکھ کھا روپیہ کا خرچ دکھایا جاتا ہے اس میں بھی یہی نظریہ کام کرتا دکھائی دیتا ہے۔ فلڈ ریلیف کمیٹی مقرر ہوتی ہے تو اس کے چیئرمین جناب دستی صاحب کو بنایا جاتا ہے اور سکرٹری شپ کے لئے بیگم جی۔ اے۔ خان کو منتخب کیا جاتا ہے۔ مجھے گورنمنٹ کی نیت پر یقیناً شبہ ہے۔ اور گورنمنٹ کے اس اقدام پر افسوس ہے کہ فلڈ ریلیف کمیٹی کی سب سے بڑی غرض اس کے نزدیک یہ سمجھی گئی ہے کہ ایک ہی پارٹی کے اور ایک ہی گھر کے دو آدمی اس پر مقرر کر دئے جائیں (قہقہہ) ایک ہی گھر سے میری مراد یہ ہے کہ ایک ہی پارٹی کے دو آدمی مقرر کر دئے ہیں تاکہ جب سیلاب زدگان کے لئے کوئی رقم تقسیم کرنی پڑے تو اپنی پارٹی اور پسند کے آدمیوں میں ہی یہ خزانہ تقسیم کیا جاسکے پارٹی کے چیئرمین صاحب اور سکرٹری صاحب جاکر دیکھیں گے کہ کسی خاص علاقہ میں ان کی پارٹی میں سے کون ہے جو مصیبت زدہ ہے۔ اعتراض کرنے کیلئے کہا جاتا ہے کہ مسلم لیگ ہی نے بددیانتیوں کا گھروں بنا رکھا تھا۔ لیکن کیا میں پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہ جو کچھ آپ کر رہے ہیں اس کی بنیاد دیانتداری پر ہے کیا؟ فلڈ ریلیف فنڈز سے اپنا سیاسی مستقبل مضبوط کرنا انسانیت سے بعید نہیں یہ مال ان مصیبت زدگان کا ہے جن کے موٹھے نہیں رہے۔ جن کی فصلیں تباہ ہو گئی ہیں۔ جن کے گھر بار سیلاب کی نذر ہو گئے جن کے پاس پہنچنے کیلئے کپڑا اور کھانے

کیلئے روشنی نہیں دینے کیلئے صاف پانی نہیں اور جن کو علاج کیلئے دوایاں میسر نہیں حضور والا! اس قسم کے قومی حادثات میں کسی قسم کا امتیاز روا رکھنا ملک و ملت کی تباہی ہے وزیر صاحبان ایسے نازک حالات میں بھی پارٹی بازی کو ہاتھ سے نہیں جانے دیتے البتہ اپنا پروپیگنڈا کرنے کے لئے فوٹو گرافروں کو ہدایات دے دی جاتی ہیں کہ آج فلاں منسٹر یا ڈپٹی منسٹرس صاحب فلاں جگہ جارہی ہیں اور جب وہ شلوار پکڑ کر پانی میں اتریں اور ٹکٹوں تک پانی آجائے تو فوراً تصویر لے لینا تاکہ دنیا کو دکھایا جاسکے کہ وہ انتہی بڑی سوشل ورکر ہیں کہ پانی میں جا کر کام کر رہی ہیں - میں کہوں گا کہ اس سے زیادہ ایک قوم کی بد قسمتی کیا ہو سکتی ہے کہ اس کا بڑے سے بڑا لیڈر بھی چاہتا ہے کہ کسی نہ کسی وجہ سے اس کا فوٹو اخبارات میں آ جائے - اور لوگوں کو پتہ چل جائے کہ قوم کی کتنی بڑی خدمت ہو رہی ہے -

وزیر سے شہر یارے چنل - چرا ملک ٹیرڈ قرارے چنل

مسٹر چیئر مین - آپ کا وقت ختم ہو چکا ہے - اب میں پہلے ان لوگوں کو موقع دوں گا جو سیلاب زدہ علاقوں سے آئے ہونگے ہیں اور جن کو سیلاب کی تباہ کاریوں کا علم ہے -

قاضی مرید احمد - مجھے دو منٹ اور دیجیئے میں اپنے ضلع کے متعلق کچھ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں - کیونکہ میرے ضلع میں صرف پانی کا سیلاب ہی نہیں آتا ظلم اور بے انصافی کا سیلاب بھی آتا رہتا ہے اور اس کا تدارک گورنمنٹ کا فرض ہے -

مسٹر چیئر مین - آپ کا وقت ختم ہو چکا ہے -

قاضی مرید احمد - اناللہ وانا الیہ راجعون -

مسٹر چیئر مین - سب سے پہلے میں سیلاب زدہ علاقوں کے ممبران کو تقریر کا موقع دوں گا -

سردار محمد ظفر اللہ - جناب آپ نے فرمایا ہے کہ آپ سیلاب زدہ علاقوں کے ممبران کو پہلے تقریر کرنے کا موقع دیجئے - لاہور بھی تو ان علاقوں میں سے ہے جہاں ہر سال سیلاب آتا ہے -

مسٹر چیئر مین - جی ہاں - میں کوشش کروں گا کہ سیلاب زدہ علاقوں کے زیادہ سے زیادہ ممبران کو تقریر کرنے کا موقع دیا جائے -

مسٹر عبدالحمید قادر بخش خان جتوئی - (ضلع دادو) - جناب صدر - آج ضلع لاڑکانہ اور ضلع دادو پر سیلاب کی وجہ سے جو مصیبت آگئی ہوئی ہے اس کے متعلق میں اس معزز ایوان کو آگاہ کرنا چاہتا ہوں -

جناب والا - سیلاب دراصل دو طرح سے رونما ہوتا اور لوگوں کیلئے مصیبت کا باعث بنتا - ایک تو زیادہ بارش کی وجہ سے جیسا کہ اس وقت سارے صوبے میں ہے اور دوسرے پہاڑی نالوں میں طغیانی کی وجہ سے - اس وقت میں صرف ضلع لاڑکانہ اور ضلع دادو کے سیلاب کے متعلق کچھ عرض کروں گا -



ضلع لاڑکانہ کی ایک تحصیل اور دادو کی دو تحصیلوں میں ابھی تک پانی ہی پانی ہے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر یہی صورت حال کچھ دیر اور جاری رہی تو ضلع دادو کا پانی باقی ضلعوں کو بھی تباہ کر دے گا۔ یہ پانی پچاس ساٹھ ہزار کیوسک سے کسی صورت کم نہیں ہوگا۔ جب یہ سیلاب آیا تو میں وہاں موجود تھا۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ اس سیلاب کا پانی اتنی زیادہ مقدار میں ہے کہ پچاس ساٹھ میل تک جدھر بھی نظر دوڑا سوائے پانی اور درختوں کے کچھ نظر ہی نہیں آتا۔ جب یہ سیلاب ان ضلعوں میں رات کے اندھیرے میں لوگوں کے گھروں میں داخل ہوا تو ان بیچاروں کا سارا اناج اور گھر کا سامان وغیرہ اس میں بہہ گیا۔ اس سے آپ اندازہ لگا سکتے ہیں کہ سیلاب کی وجہ سے صرف فصلوں کا ہی نقصان نہیں ہوا بلکہ لوگوں کے پاس اناج یا سامان وغیرہ کی صورت میں جو تھوڑی بہت بونجی تھی وہ بھی ختم ہوگئی ہے۔

مسٹر چیئر مین :- دیکھئے جو ممبران باہر سے تشریف لائیں انہیں چاہیے کہ بیٹھنے سے پہلے اس ایوان کے آداب بجا لائیں۔

مسٹر عبدالحمید قادر بخش خان جتوئی :- جناب میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ میرے فرد ونواح کے علاقے میں پچاس یا ساٹھ میل تک کوئی ایسا گاؤں نہیں جو سیلاب کی زد سے بچ سکا ہو۔ لیکن اس کے باوجود ابھی تک حکومت کی طرف سے وہاں امداد کا کوئی بندوبست نہیں کیا گیا۔ لوگوں کی حالت یہ ہے کہ انہوں نے بال بچوں سمیت گھر بار چھوڑ کر بنڈوں یا دیگر اونچی جگہوں پر پناہ لی۔ بنڈوں پر حالت یہ تھی کہ ان پر سانپیں نے بھی جو سیلاب میں بہہ کر آئے تھے پناہ لی ہے۔ جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ بہت سے لوگ سانپوں کے کاٹنے کی وجہ سے مر گئے۔ کس قدر افسوس کا مقام ہے کہ اس قدر مصیبت کے ہوتے ہوئے بھی ابھی تک کسی قسم کی امداد کا بندوبست نہیں کیا گیا۔

**Mr. Shah Nawaz Pirzada :** Sir, a letter has been placed before the Chair that I wrote something. This letter is a forgery. I never said that Mian Shafi and Gilani prompted me to do what I did. (Then the member left the House abruptly).

مسٹر عبدالحمید قادر بخش خان جتوئی :- جہاں تک لوگوں کی خوراک کا تعلق ہے حالت یہ ہے کہ وہ بیچارے کچی گندم اور کچے چنے پانی میں بھٹو بھٹو کر کھا رہے ہیں۔ لکڑی تو ان بیچاروں کو دستیاب ہوتی نہیں جسے جلا کر وہ کھانا پکا سکیں۔ اسی ضمن میں میں یہ عرض کر دینا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ ۱۹۴۲ء - ۱۹۴۴ء - ۱۹۴۸ء - ۱۹۵۲ء میں جب سندھ میں سیلاب آئے تو سابق حکومت سندھ نے فوراً سیلاب زدگان کی امداد کا خاطر خواہ بندوبست کر دیا۔ لیکن اب جب کہ مغربی پاکستان کا ایک صوبہ بن گیا ہے۔ جس کی سرحدوں میں چودہ سو میل کا فاصلہ ہے اور جس کی سولہ وزیروں اور چار نائب وزیروں کی ایک بڑی پلٹن ہے۔ سیلاب زدگان کی امداد کا کام بالکل غیر تسلی بخش ہے۔ جس سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ مغربی پاکستان کا یہ صوبہ ان سے چلتا نظر نہیں آتا۔ کس قدر افسوس کا مقام ہے کہ بیس وزیروں کی یہ پلٹن جو اپنے آپ کو لوگوں کا نمائندہ ہونے کا دعوے کرتی ہے خود تو عیش و عشرت میں مصروف ہے لیکن غریب عوام سیلاب کی مصیبت میں گھرے ہوئے ہیں۔ یہ تو وہی بات ہوئی کہ

While Rome was burning and Nero was fiddling

اور پھر اس پر طرہ یہ کہ اس وقت جب کہ ادھر لوگ سیلاب سے بھرے ہوئے زندگی اور موت کی کش مکش میں مبتلا تھے ادھر اسمبلی کا اجلاس بلا لیا گیا۔ ان پر تو قیامت آگئی ہوئی ہے لیکن ہمارے وزرا صاحبان اپنے Air Conditioned بنگلوں میں رنگ

رلیاں منامے میں مصروف ہیں۔ ان بیچاروں کو تو پناہ کیلئے جگہ میسر نہیں آتی مگر یہ وزرا اپنے Air Conditioned کمروں میں بڑے آرام سے بیٹھے ہیں۔ میں وثوق سے کہتا ہوں کہ یہ سیلاب زدگان جس کس میسر کی حالت میں بندروں پر بیٹھے رات دن گزارتے ہیں وہاں یہ وزرا ایک ٹھنڈے گھنٹہ نہیں گزار سکتے۔ ان حالات میں جب کہ وہاں لوگ مر رہے ہیں اس ہاؤس میں بڑی لمبی چوڑی تقریریں کی جا رہی ہیں اور بعض بل پاس کرنے کی غرض سے اسمبلی کے اجلاس میں توسیع کی تدبیر کی جا رہی ہے۔ (ایک آواز - اسمبلی کا اجلاس تو آج ختم ہو رہا ہے -)

جناب والا - ابھی ابھی مجھے ایک تار موصول ہوا ہے جس میں لکھا ہے کہ منیٹر اور ککڑ کے تحصیل ہیڈ کوارٹرز زیر آب آگئے ہیں۔ اور تحصیل جڑی کا سارا پانی ان تحصیلوں کی طرف موڑ دیا گیا ہے۔ اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ تحصیل جڑی کے علاقے میں ڈپٹی کمشنر صاحب کی عجمہ زمین کے ٹھیکے ہیں۔ اس لئے ان کو بچانے کی غرض سے اس تحصیل کے سارے پانی کا رخ نقیبی علاقوں کی طرف کر دیا گیا ہے جس سے ان دونوں تحصیلوں میں سیلاب آ گیا ہے۔ لوگوں کی حالت بہت ہی ابتر بن گئی جاتی ہے۔ اگرچہ وہاں کے باشندوں کو شہروں اور گاؤں سے نکالا جا رہا ہے لیکن ابھی تک وہاں ریلیف کا کوئی بندوبست نہیں کیا گیا۔ میں حکومت کی توجہ اس امر کی طرف خاص طور سے منعطف کرانا ہوں کہ ان تحصیلوں میں جلا از جلا ریلیف کے مناسب انتظامات کئے جائیں۔

(At this stage Mr. G. Allana crossed between the member and the Chair).

**Mr. Chairman :** (Pir Elahi Bakhsh) Mr. Allana, who is an experienced parliamentarian, should not have crossed and come and sat there.

**Mr. G. Allana :** I am very sorry.

مسٹر عبدالحمید قادر بخش جنوٹی - جناب والا یہ ریلیف کی صورتوں میں دیا جانا چاہیے۔ میں اس کے متعلق کچھ عرض کرتا چاہتا ہوں۔ حکومت کو چاہیے کہ ان لوگوں کو جو سیلاب میں مارے ہوئے ہیں اور جن کی حالت بہت ہی بری ہے سیلاب کے تین چار مہینے بعد تک ضروریات زندگی مہیا کرے۔ جیسا کہ ۱۹۴۲ اور ۱۹۴۸ میں کیا گیا تھا۔ ان کو کپڑے، اناج اور مویشیوں کا چارہ وغیرہ مہیا کیا جائے۔ اس سلسلے میں میں یہ بھی عرض کروں گا کہ ریلیف کے کام میں ایسے لوگوں کو شامل کرنا چاہیے جو مفید کام کرنے کے اہل ہوں نہ کہ ان لوگوں کو جو انگریز کی غلامی سے آج تک متاثر نظر آتے ہیں اور جن میں ایمانداری کا نام و نشان تک نہیں۔

جناب والا - اس ملک میں جمہوریت کا نام تو سننے میں آتا ہے لیکن اس کے اصولوں پر عمل کوئی نہیں کرتا۔ ہمارے وزرا لوگوں سے ووٹ لینے تک تو اپنے آپ کو ان کے نمائندے ظاہر کرتے ہیں لیکن بعد ازاں جب عوام ان سے اپنی نمائندگی کا حق ادا کرنے کیلئے کہتے ہیں تو وہ اپنی بے بسی کا اظہار کرتے ہیں۔ ان کو تو اپنی کرسیوں پر متمکن رہنے، ہر حالت میں ان کو محفوظ رکھنے، تین ہزار روپیہ ماہوار تنخواہ لینے اور اپنے خویش و اقارب کی پرورش کرنے سے تعلق ہے۔ ادھر صوبہ تو سیلاب کے پانی میں ڈوب رہا ہے لیکن یہ حضرات اپنی کرسیوں کو قائم رکھنے کی خاطر جوڑ توڑ میں مصروف ہیں۔ ادھر عوام تو سیلاب کی وجہ سے تباہ و برباد ہو رہے ہیں لیکن یہ لوگ اپنی موٹروں پر جھنڈے لگائے بڑے آرام سے سیرو تفریح میں مشغول ہیں۔ جب عوام ان سے مدد کا مطالبہ کرتے ہیں تو یہ ان کو صاف صاف کہہ دیتے ہیں کہ ہم آپ کی مدد کرنے سے معذور ہیں۔

جناب صدر - میں آپ کو ایک رائے دوں گا کہ جو لوگ سیلاب کی وجہ سے بے گھر ہوئے ہیں ان کو خوراک بہم پہنچائی جائے ان کے لئے روزگار کا بندوبست کیا جائے - آئندہ خریف اور ربیع کی فصلوں کے لئے ان کو مفت بیج تقسیم کیا جائے - یہاں بیج مفت نہیں دیا جاتا بلکہ تقاضی پر دیا جاتا ہے - ہمارے ہاں ہزاری اور مزارع خود مہیا کرتا ہے - اس لئے میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ جو لوگ غریب ہیں ان کو بیج مفت تقسیم کرنا چاہئے -

آخر میں میں اپنے وزراء صاحبان سے عرض کروں گا کہ وہ اس سیشن کے ختم ہونے پر ان خستہ حال بھائیوں کی حالت دیکھیں - ان غریبوں کو جاکر دیکھیں جو کس مہرسی کی حالت میں گذارہ کر رہے ہیں - ہمیں روزانہ تاریں آتی ہیں کہ وہاں کے لوگوں کے گھروں میں پانی آگیا ہے - اگر لاہور میں اسی طرح پانی آیا ہوتا تو پھر آپ کو اندازہ ہو سکتا ہے -

(At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed Chair).

سردار محمد جعفر خان گل محمد خان بلوچی - (ایئر سڈرہ فرنٹیر ڈسٹرکٹ) - جناب صدر - میں اپنی مادری زبان کی بجائے اردو میں تقریر کروں گا تاکہ تمام ممبران میری باتوں کو سمجھ سکیں - ہمارے ہاں گڑھی خیرو اور قلات کے علاقے ایسے ہیں جو اتنے تھیب میں ہیں کہ وہاں بارش کا پانی دو دو تین تین فٹ تک گھروں میں آجاتا ہے - سیلاب اور برسات کے پانی کی وجہ سے بے حد نقصان ہوتا ہے - اس کے علاوہ وہاں بیج کی تقسیم سرکار کے مختارکار کرتے ہیں - ان کی نگاہ میں دوست اور دشمن کا فرق ہوتا ہے اور اسی بنا پر وہ اس کی تقسیم کرتے ہیں - یہ کوئی انصاف نہیں -

وہ غریب جن کے گھروں میں بارش اور سیلاب کا پانی آگیا ہے حکومت کو چاہئے کہ ان کی اصلاح اس طریقہ پر کی جائے کہ ایک کمیٹی بنائی جائے - جو تھیم (بیج) وغیرہ کی تقسیم کرے - کیونکہ سرکاری کارڈز اور subordinaue خود ہی کھا جاتے ہیں اور غریبوں کو صحیح طور پر کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوتا اس لئے جیسا کہ میں نے پہلے کہا ہے ہر جگہ چند پیسے والوں یا رئیسوں کی ایک کمیٹی بنائی جائے اس میں اچھے آدمی شامل ہوں تاکہ وہ لوگ غریبوں کی پوری پوری اصلاح کر سکیں - وہ لوگ مزارعین کی تکالیف کو سن کر حالات کے مطابق مدد کر سکیں گے -

جن لوگوں کے گھر پانی میں ڈوب گئے ہیں یا پانی کی وجہ سے جن لوگوں کا نقصان ہوا ہے ان کے لئے خوراک اور کپڑے کا بندوبست کیا جائے اور ان کی دیگر ضروریات پوری کی جائیں - انہیں قرض لینے کی طاقت نہیں اسلئے ان کے لئے کوئی ریٹیف فنڈ قائم کیا جائے - اور ہر شخص سے پوچھا جائے کہ اس کا کیا نقصان ہوا ہے تاکہ جہاں تک ہو سکے ان کی اصلاح کی جائے - پٹواری اور تحصیل دار صاحبان سے ایسی باتیں ناممکن ہیں کیونکہ وہ لوگ زیادہ تر اپنے خاص آدمیوں پر ہی قرض کھاتے ہیں دوسروں کی پروا نہیں کرتے - اور اکثر غریب آدمی محروم رہ جاتے ہیں -

صاحب سپیکر - سردار صاحب آپ کا وقت ختم ہو گیا ہے - آپ تشریف رکھیں - میں چاہتا ہوں کہ ہر ایک کو کچھ نہ کچھ وقت ضرور دیا جائے -

مجھ سیر صاحبان اپنے پاؤں اوپر رکھ کر بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں - میں ان کا نام نہیں لوں گا - مجھے ایسا ہے کہ وہ پاؤں خود ہی نیچے رکھ کر بیٹھے گئے -

حاجی عطا اللہ خان - (ضلع ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان) - صحر محترم - اس وقت اس معزر ایوان میں سیلاب کی تباہ کاریوں کے اہم مسئلہ پر تقاریر ہو رہی ہیں۔ بارشوں کی کثرت اور سیلاب کی وجہ سے مختلف مقامات پر جو تباہی اور بربادی ہوئی ہے اس کے متعلق آپ نے اخبارات میں بھی بہت کچھ پڑھا ہوگا۔ اس وقت میں آپ کی توجہ ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان کے ضلع کی طرف مبذول کرانا چاہتا ہوں تاکہ آپ کو یہ معلوم ہوسکے کہ وہاں بارشوں کی کثرت سے کس قدر تباہی ہوئی ہے۔

ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان میں ایک وقت میں چھ انچ بارش ہوئی جس سے قریباً ایک ہزار مکان گر گئے۔ اس سے زیادہ تر غریب طبقہ تباہ ہوا جن کے مکان کچے تھے اور نشیب میں واقع تھے۔ وہ بڑی مشکل سے صرف اپنے بیوی بچوں کو ہی نکال سکے اور انکا سب اثاثہ اور خوراک کا ذخیرہ مکانات کے ساتھ ہی بہہ گیا اور سب کچھ تباہ ہو گیا۔ اب نہ ان کے پاس خوراک ہے اور نہ پہننے کے لٹے کپڑا ہے۔ اور نہ رہنے کے لئے مکان۔ حکومت کی طرف سے ریڈیو پر اعلان ہوا تھا کہ حکومت نے اڑھائی لاکھ روپیہ ضلع ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان میں تقسیم کیا ہے۔ میں بھی یہ سکر حیران ہوا۔ جب میں دوسرے دن وہاں کے بار روم میں گیا تو وہاں سب لوگ پوچھنے لگے کہ حاجی صاحب وہ روپیہ کہا تقسیم کیا گیا ہے۔ میں نے کہا کہ میں نے کوئی تقسیم نہیں کیا۔ میں نے بھی صرف حکومت کا اعلان سنا ہے۔ جیسے آپ کو لاعلمی ہے ویسے ہی مجھے لاعلمی ہے۔ اس کے بعد ہم نے اخبارات میں یہ پڑھا کہ ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان کیلئے بیس ہزار روپیہ بطور امداد دیا جائیگا اور دو لاکھ روپیہ بطور تقاضی دیا جائیگا۔ ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان اس وقت ایک جزیرہ بنا ہوا ہے۔ یہ شمار مکانات کر چکے ہیں۔ سارا علاقہ زیر آب ہے اور کسی طرف سے نکلنے کو راستہ نہیں ہے۔ کشتیوں کے پل تباہ ہو چکے ہیں۔ دو سال کا عرصہ ہوا کہ ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان اور دریا خان کے درمیان دریائے سندھ پر ہی - ڈبلیو - ڈی نے جو کشتیوں کا ایک پل بنایا تھا اس پر ایک لاری ڈیرہ اسماعیل کی طرف سے آتی ہوئی دریا میں گر گئی۔ اس میں ۳۲ سواریاں تھیں جو سب کی سب جان بحق ہو گئیں۔ ان کو دوسرے روز دریا سے نکالا گیا اور ان کے وارثوں کو کوئی معاوضہ نہ دیا گیا حالانکہ حال ہی میں ضلع ہزارہ میں جو ایسا واقعہ پیش آیا ہے حکومت نے مردوں کے وارثوں کو دو ہزار روپیہ عورتوں کے وارثوں کو ایک ہزار روپیہ اور بچوں کے وارثوں کو پانچ سو روپیہ بطور ہرجانہ دیا ہے مگر ان غریبوں کے وارثوں کو آج تک کچھ نہیں ملا۔ ان کی بیوائیں در بدر بھیک مانگتی پھر رہی ہیں اور ان کے گھرانے کی کوئی صورت نہیں ہے۔ یہ حادثات اس وجہ سے ہوتے ہیں کہ ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان میں آبپاشی کا انتظام نہایت ناقص ہے۔ محکمہ آبپاشی والوں نے رشوت ستانی کا بازار گرم کر رکھا ہے۔ ان لوگوں کو بھی یعنی محکمہ آبپاشی کے چیپراسیوں کو چونکہ چھ ماہ تک تنخواہ نہیں ملتی لہذا وہ رشوت لینے پر مجبور ہوتے ہیں اور اگر زمیندار لوگ رشوت نہ دیں تو ان کا دفعہ ان میں چالان کرنے کی دہائی دی جاتی ہے۔ آخر ایک دن ہم نے اللہ کے سامنے بھی اس چیز کا جواب دے دیا ہے۔

خلق الموت والحیات لیبلوکم ایکم احسن عملا - ایک دن ہم نے رب العزت کے سامنے بھی حاضر ہونا ہے وہاں ہر ہمارے اعمال دیکھے جائیں گے۔ ہمیں بڑی مصیبتوں کے بعد آزادی کا یہ دن دیکھنا نصیب ہوا ہے۔ اب اللہ تبارک و تعالیٰ ہمارا امتحان لے رہا ہے۔ وہ فرماتے ہیں کہ ولیلوکم بفتگی من الخوف والجوع ونقص من الاموال والا نفس وشرات وبشر الصابرين انذین اذا اصابتم مصیبت قالو اناللہ وانا الیہ راجعون -

اللہ تعالیٰ فرماتے ہیں کہ ہم تمہیں آزمائش میں ڈال رہے ہیں۔ ہم تم پر سیلاب عوف - بھوک - مال کے نقصان اور پھلوں کی کمی بزریم سیلاب کرینگے۔ اور تمہارا امتحان

لینگے - یہ ہماری حکومت کا امتحان ہے اگر وہ امتحان میں پوری نہیں اتر سکتی تو اسے یہاں رہنے کا کوئی حق نہیں چاہیے کہ وہ اس حکومت کو چھوڑ دیں - ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اپنی تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں -

**Mr. Jaffar Ali Shah (Chitral):** Sir, according to the messages I have received, never before in history such havoc has been caused by floods as has been caused by the recent floods. Scores of people have lost their lives and hundreds more are rendered homeless. Besides great damage has been caused to standing crops and numerous cattle have been lost. Food-grains in godowns have been washed away. This aggravates the situation all the more. In the extreme North-West of the Province the situation is alarming.

All paths leading to that part of the country are blocked by snow during winter. There are no such facilities of transport there as in other parts of the country. It, therefore, requires special attention of the Government. I would request the Government, through you, Sir, that it should take early steps to supply free grants of food grains to that area to relieve the food situation there and also to implement the various irrigation schemes in order to make those areas self-sufficient in food in the shortest possible time.

**Mr. Nasir A. Shaikh (Sialkot District):** Sir, the province of West Pakistan has two diverse problems. We have the problem of shortage of water; we have the problem of floods which have become a permanent feature of our Province of West Pakistan. I have been applying my mind to this problem and I think that time has come when we should give up that attitude which I can explain by a Punjabi saying:

”کار آئی جنگ تے ونوہری دے کن“

This means that when the emergency comes, then you start making preparations for the emergency. I am not making a suggestion that when there is an emergency, we should not take relief measures. I am not making a suggestion that in times of emergency, no emergency action should be taken. What I mean is that the stage has come in our Province when more serious thought should be applied to this flood situation. I have before me many countries which have the problem of flood and I am reminded of the Tennessee Valley which is in America. In America, they have two rivers, one is the Mississippi and the other is the Tennessee river. Not very long ago, when the floods were not only a source of trouble to the people there but they were a *menace*, it was impossible to have any vegetation there, it was impossible to exploit the resources of the Tennessee valley rich as it was. At that time, the American Government applied its mind and came to the conclusion that unless a serious effort is made, nothing would be possible to achieve. As a result of that today we find in the Tennessee valley a great experiment. Tennessee valley has not only been able to control the floods but has been able to take advantage of the flood situation. Floods have become a sort of blessing for the country. I am not going into details because the time at my disposal is very short and at the same time I do not claim myself to be an expert in this subject. But I want to make a suggestion to the Government and I would request particularly the honourable



Chief Minister that he should apply his mind seriously to this problem and bring in legislation to form a Flood Authority in West Pakistan. I am not concerned with the name; he can have any name, but there should be an authority which should be semi-autonomous and the semi-autonomous character of that authority is of first-rate importance. Whenever, Sir, an emergency arises, political issues are made and advantage is taken of that emergency to suit the ends of the party in power. One party, Sir, can be in power today, another tomorrow; I am not concerned with the party in power today or tomorrow or of yesterday. My point is simply this that if the authority is semi-autonomous and if it is charged with the responsibility of taking both long-range and short-range measures, I think a day can come and I can prophesy this—when these very floods which are today a source of menace to our country will become a source of blessing.

In West Pakistan, we have a serious situation of shortage of water rather than misuse of water in flood days. In our country, experiments have been made by the Central Government; semi-autonomous authorities are constituted and they are given powers. Notwithstanding the shortcomings of such a semi-autonomous body, concrete results have been achieved. So, Mr. Speaker, I would like to make an appeal to all the Members in this House and, particularly to the party in power, that they support me. It is allright to go on saying that the flood damage is very much, this should be done, that should be done; I think it is necessary for me to repeat here that unless long-range arrangement is made, this country, God forbid, is doomed for ever. Even a backward country like Afghanistan has taken advantage of the flood situation. I have myself seen in that country that they have made up in the hills certain reservoirs where the water is reserved in the flood days, and when there is shortage of water, this water is led into the river. I must make it clear—though I am not saying this as an expert that this is something which can be done and which should be achieved. Believe me, Sir, that I am saying this with authority and confidence. Sir, with this concrete proposal, I would just sit down because I do not want to take up any more time of the House.

حافظ خواجہ غلام سدید الزین - (ضلع ڈیرہ غازیخان) - جناب والا - میں ضلع ڈیرہ غازیخان کے چار ممبروں میں سے واحد ممبر ہوں جو یہاں پہنچ سکا ہوں - مجھے اپنے ضلع کی تمام داستان غم بیان کرنی ہے -

جناب والا - خدا ہی جانتا ہے کہ ضلع ڈیرہ غازیخان میں رود کوہی اور بارش سے کتنی تباہی ہوئی ہے - انسان اسکا انحراف نہیں کر سکتا - سب سے زیادہ مصیبت رود کوہی کی شکل میں آئی ہے - ایک تو مکانات - دوسرا زمین - تیسرا فصلیں - چوتھا انسان - اور پانچواں حیوانات سب اسکی زد میں آئے - یکم اگست تک جس نقصان کا مجھے پتہ ہے وہ میں آپکو بتاتا ہوں - ایک دن میں سات انسان دس ریچھ اور پندرہ اونٹ پانی میں بہہ گئے اور کم از کم دس ہزار کی قیمت مکان جو تونسہ میں برباد رود کوہی تھے گر گئے - کمشنر صاحب ۲۷ تاریخ کو تشریف لائے تھے - انہوں نے خود رود کوہی کا معائنہ کیا - وہاں جو بے پناہ نقصان ہوا آپ وہاں جاکر اپنی آنکھوں سے ملاحظہ فرمایا - جب پچھلی دفعہ محرم میں تونسہ شریف میں سیلاب آیا تھا تو اس وقت کراچی جاکر مرحوم مسلم لیگی گورنمنٹ تھی اسکو بیان کیا لیکن اب تو ریپبلکن پارٹی کی حکومت ہے -

جناب والا - میں نے اپنے ضلع کی مصیبت جو معروفہ شکل میں ہے جناب دستی صاحب کو سنائی - اور وہاں میں نے بہت چیخ و پکار کی لیکن انہوں نے بھی میری گزارشات پر کوئی توجہ نہ دی اور میری معروضات کو در خور اعتنا نہ سمجھا - وہ بڑے بلند بانگ دعوے کرتے ہیں لیکن عمل بالکل نہیں کرتے -

اب جناب والا - میں آپ کے سامنے وہ نقصانات بیان کرتا ہوں جو میرے ضلع میں ہوئے ہیں - مکانات تو اس قدر منہدم ہوئے ہیں کہ ان کا اندازہ لگانا بہت ہی مشکل ہے - صرف ترمسہ شریف کے ایک تھانے کے سینکڑوں مکانات تباہ و برباد ہو گئے ہیں - اور تقریباً سات شہروں کو تو یہ حد نقصان اٹھانا پڑا ہے اور میرے خیال میں ترمسہ کا پانچواں حصہ گر چکا ہے اور اس طرح باقی تین تحصیلوں ضلع کا حال ہے -

اس کے علاوہ جناب والا - سینکڑوں جانور مر گئے ہیں - ہزاروں جانور پانی میں بہ کر دریا کو پار کر کے مظفر قڑھ کے ضلع میں چلے گئے ہیں - جن غریب لوگوں کے جانور سیلاب کی وجہ سے ان کے ہاتھ سے نکل گئے ہیں ان میں اب اتنی سکت نہیں رہی کہ وہ دوبارہ اپنی روزی کمانے کے لئے جانور خرید سکیں -

اس کے بعد جناب والا - میں غریب زمینداروں کے متعلق کچھ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں - میرے ضلع کے غریب زمینداروں کے مکانات مال مویشی سب پانی میں بہ گئے ہیں - ان غریبوں کے ان نقصانات کے علاوہ ان کی زمین اس قدر خراب ہو گئی ہے کہ مستقبل قریب میں وہ اپنی زمین کو قابلِ فائدہ نہیں بنا سکیں گے - اور سیلاب اس طریقے سے آیا ہے کہ زمین کی منجلی سطح کا بھی ستیاناس ہو گیا ہے -

جناب والا - میرے ضلع میں رود کوہی نے بہت نقصان کیا ہے - عوام کے نقصان کے ساتھ ساتھ حکومت کا بھی بڑا نقصان ہوا ہے کیونکہ ایسے حالات میں حکومت مالیہ وصول نہیں کر سکتی - میرے اندازے کے مطابق اس سلسلہ میں تقریباً ۵۰ لاکھ روپیہ کا نقصان حکومت کو برداشت کرنا پڑے گا - میں آپ سے استدعا کروں گا کہ کسی منسٹر صاحب کو وہاں بھیجیں تاکہ وہ وہاں جا کر اپنی آنکھوں سے لوگوں کی تباہی دیکھ سکیں - تمام راستے بند ہو گئے ہیں - رسل و رسائل کا سلسلہ منقطع ہو گیا ہے - آپ اس سے اندازہ لگا سکتے ہیں کہ یہاں آنے کے لئے میں نے کشتی میں ۱۱۰ میل دریا کی سفر طے کیا -

اس کے بعد میں عرض کروں گا کہ جب تک پہاڑ میں درہ بندی نہ ہوگی اس وقت تک زمینات برآمد نہیں ہو سکیں گے اور ان کے مالکان ان زمینوں سے مزید مزید تک اناج پیدا نہیں کر سکیں گے -

ان حالات کے پیش نظر میں عرض کروں گا کہ حکومت کا فرض ہے کہ وہ زمینداروں کو تقاضی قرضے دے تاکہ وہ اپنے پاؤں پر کھڑے ہو کر ملکی پیداوار کو کم از کم پہلی سی حالت پر لے آئیں اور جن لوگوں کے مکانات منہدم ہو گئے ہیں ان کو امداد دی تاکہ وہ مکانوں کو آز سر نو تعمیر کر سکیں - حکومت کو چاہئے کہ سیلاب زدہ علاقوں کے لوگوں کو خورد و نوش کی چیزیں فوراً پہنچا کرے کیونکہ آمد و رفت کے بند ہوجانے سے ان پر مصیبت لوگوں کو کسی طرف سے امداد نہیں مل رہی - خدا جانے وہ لوگ اس وقت کیسے گزارہ کر رہے ہیں -

اب میں طبی امداد کے سلسلے میں بھی کچھ عرض کروں گا - اس پر نصیب علاقے میں نہ کوئی ڈاکٹر ہے اور نہ کوئی لیڈی ڈاکٹر ہے - مجھے حیرت ہے کہ مریضوں کا علاج کیسے ہو سکے گا - اگر پنسلین یا کوئی اور دوائی مل بھی جائے تو اس کا کیا فائدہ - مریض اپنے آپ تو ٹیک لگا نہیں سکتا - ڈاکٹر ویسے کوئی نہیں ہے - تو میں حکومت سے پوچھتا ہوں کہ مریضوں کو ٹیکے آسمان سے فرستے آکر لگائیں گے -

نواب افتخار حسین خان آف مہاراجہ - پیر صاحب آپ کی دعا ان کے لئے کافی ہوگی -

حافظ خواجه غلام سید الدین - نواب صاحب آپ بھی کچھ انسانی حق رکھتے ہیں - آپ کو چاہیے کہ خود موقع پر جا کر ان خانہاں برباد لوگوں کی حالت زار دیکھیں پھر آپ کو پتہ چل جائے گا کہ مفسد تباہی و بربادی ہوئی ہے - مہاراجہ والا میں بیٹھ کر تو کچھ پتہ نہیں چل سکتا - اگر یہ رود کوہی مہاراجہ والا میں بہتے تو میں آپکو سلام کرتا اور دعائیں دیتا - (حزب مخالف کی طرف سے تالیاں) - ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں جناب والا اپنی معروضات ختم کرتا ہوں - اور امید کرتا ہوں کہ حکومت میری گزارشات پر مہاراجہ غور کرے گی -

مسٹر غلام محمد خان محمد ہاشم خان وسان - (تھر پارٹر ڈسٹرکٹ) - صاحب صدر - میرے ضلع تھر پارٹر اور سانگھڑ میں سیلابوں کی وجہ سے زبردست نقصان ہوا ہے - ایک تو زبردست برسات کی وجہ سے جو ۱۵ جون ۱۹۵۶ء سے شروع ہے - تقریباً اڑھائی ماہ سے متواتر بارش وہاں ہو رہی ہے - جناب والا - دوسرے پی - ڈبلیو - ڈی - والوں کی لاپرواہی کی وجہ سے بھی کافی نقصان ہوا ہے - وہ اس طرح کہ اس ضلع میں جو نہریں یا distributories ہیں ان میں اس محکمہ والوں نے پانی چھوڑ دیا جس سے بڑی تباہی ہوئی - وہاں کے آبادکاروں نے اس محکمہ والوں کو جا کر کہا کہ خدا کے لئے نہروں وغیرہ کا discharge کم کر دو مگر انہوں نے کوئی پروا نہ کی - یہ بڑی عجیب بات ہے کہ جب ہم ان سے زیادہ پانی مانگتے ہیں تو وہ دیتے نہیں اور جب ہم کم پانی مانگتے ہیں تو وہ زیادہ چھوڑ دیتے ہیں (مترجم) - اس محکمہ کی غلطی کی وجہ سے میرے ضلع کی تمام فصلیں تباہ ہو گئی ہیں - آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ میرے ضلع میں کٹن کی فصل خوب ہوتی ہے اور یہ فصل زیادہ بارش کی وجہ سے تباہ ہو جاتی ہے - چنانچہ اس مرتبہ ایسا ہی ہوا ہے - پی - ڈبلیو - ڈی - والوں کی غلطی سے اور زیادہ بارش سے تقریباً ساری کی ساری فصل تباہ ہو گئی ہے - اگر ساری کی ساری نہیں تو ۷۵ فیصدی تو ضرور تباہ ہو گئی ہے -

جناب والا - ایسی صورت میں وہاں کے لوگوں کو General remission دینی چاہئے - جناب والا مجھے حیرانی ہے کہ میرے دوست مسٹر جی - ایم - سید نے دینے کی مخالفت کیوں کی ہے - پچھلے سال بھی کافی نقصان ہوا تھا مگر حکومت نے جنرل معافی نہیں دی تھی - اگر بعض لوگوں کو ملی تھی تو صرف ان لوگوں کو ملی تھی جنہوں نے متعلقہ محکمہ کو رشوت دی تھی - اس سال میرا ذاتی تجربہ ہے اور میرے ذاتی علم میں ہے کہ جن لوگوں نے رشوت دی ہے صرف ان کو ہی معافی ملی ہے - جناب والا میرے ضلع کے غریب زمینداروں کے پاس کوئی پیسہ نہیں جسے وہ بطور رشوت دے کر معافی حاصل کریں اس لئے میری حکومت سے اپیل ہے کہ وہ جلا از جلا جنرل ریمیشن کے لئے آرڈر کر دے تاکہ عام لوگ اس سے مستفید ہو سکیں - اس کے علاوہ جناب والا - میں یہ عرض کرونگا کہ اگلی فصل ہونے کے لئے ان غریب و نادار زمینداروں اور ہاریوں کے پاس کوئی پیسہ نہیں ہے - پاکستان بننے سے پہلے زمینداروں اور ہاریوں کو تقاضی قرضے ملتے تھے - بینک بھی ان کو قرضے دیتے تھے اور ان کے علاوہ ہندو بننے بھی قرض دیا کرتے تھے - لیکن افسوس کہ پاکستان کے معرض وجود میں آنے کے بعد یہ سب قرضے ملنے بند ہو گئے ہیں - نہ حکومت تقاضی دیتی ہے نہ بینکوں سے قرض ملتا ہے نہ بننے سے قرض ملتا ہے - میں حکومت سے دریافت کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب تک زمینداروں اور ہاریوں کے پاس پیسہ نہ ہونگے وہ اگلی فصل کیسے بوئیں گے اور حکومت کو مالیہ کہاں سے دیں گے - مجھے اچھی طرح معلوم ہے کہ پچھلے سال Land revenue بڑے

ظالمانہ طریقے سے وصول کیا گیا - کسی غریب کی زمین نیلام کی گئی کسی کی زمین ضبط کی گئی اور اس قسم کی دوسری کئی سختیاں لوگوں پر کی گئیں - قصہ مختصر یہ کہ زمیندار جو آپ کی ریڑھ کی ہڈی ہیں تباہ و برباد ہو گئے ہیں -

آخر میں میں ڈاکٹر خانصاحب کی خدمت میں عرض کروں گا کہ اپنے عہد حکومت میں غریب عوام کی فلاح و بہبود کے لئے کچھ کر کے دکھائی تاکہ آپ کے چلے جانے کے بعد عوام یہ کہہ سکیں کہ فلاں خیر کا کام ڈاکٹر خانصاحب کر گئے تھے - اور اگر ڈاکٹر خانصاحب کو یہ خیال ہے کہ ان کی حکومت زیادہ عرصے تک چلے گی تو میں ان کی غلط فہمی کو دور کر دینا چاہتا ہوں اور صاف صاف بتا دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ ان کی حکومت اب چند دنوں کی مہمان ہے - اس لئے انہیں چاہیے کہ وہ کوئی خیر کا کام کر دیں تاکہ عوام ان کو یاد کرتے رہیں -

میں ایک بار پھر حکومت سے اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ وہ General remission کا جلد از جلد آرڈر کر دے تاکہ لوگوں کو فائدہ ہو -

آغا غلام نبی در محمد خان پٹھان - (ستھر ڈسٹرکٹ) - جناب صبر - میں نے سب ممبران کی تقریریں سنی ہیں جو مغربی پاکستان کے تقریباً ہر حصے سے یہاں آئے ہوئے ہیں - اس سے میں اس نتیجے پر پہنچا ہوں کہ ویسٹ پاکستان میں کوئی ایسی جگہ نہیں ہے جہاں سیلاب (چاہے وہ برسات سے یا ندی سے ہو) نہ آیا ہو - سیلاب زدہ علاقوں کے لوگوں کے ساتھ مجھے پوری پوری ہمدردی ہے - لیکن افسوس کہ میری ہمدردی ان کے کام نہ آسکے گی - میرے خیال میں ڈاکٹر خانصاحب اور سردار عبدالرشید صاحب کی ہمدردی ان مصیبت زدہ لوگوں کے لئے زیادہ مفید ثابت ہو سکتی ہے - میری رائے میں ایسے مصیبت زدہ علاقوں کو زیادہ سے زیادہ مالی امداد دینی چاہئے - میں سندھ کا باشندہ ہوں اور اسی لئے مجھے سندھ سے زیادہ واقفیت ہے - سندھ کا کوئی ایسا ضلع یا کوئی ایسی تحصیل نہیں بچ سکی جہاں برسات کے پانی نہ یا ندی کے پانی نے نقصان نہ پہنچایا ہو - برسات یا ندی کے پانی پر ہمارے انجینئر صاحبان کوئی کنٹرول نہیں کر سکتے - یہی وجہ ہے کہ برسات اور ندی دونوں کے پانی نے مل کر ہر جگہ فصلوں اور گاون کو تباہ و برباد کر دیا ہے اور بہت زیادہ نقصان کیا ہے - یہ پانی غریب کاشتکاروں کا وہ اناج بھی بہا کر لے گیا ہے جو انہوں نے اگلی فصل تک کھانے کے لئے اپنے پاس جمع کر رکھا تھا - اب صورت یہ ہے کہ ان غریبوں کے پاس نہ کھانے کے لئے اناج ہے اور نہ پہننے کے لئے کپڑا ہے اور نہ ہی رہنے کے لئے مکان ہے - یہ صورت کوئی دو یا چار ماہ تک نہیں رہے گی بلکہ یہ صورت اگلی فصل کے تیار ہونے تک جاری رہے گی جسکو کم از کم ڈیڑھ سال ضرور لگ جائے گا - میں حیران ہوں کہ اس وقت تک یہ غریب لوگ کیا کر رہے ہیں - ان کی پریشانیوں - تکلیفوں اور مصیبتوں کا اندازہ ہم ہرگز نہیں لگا سکتے - ہمارے صوبہ میں دو مرتبہ بہت زبردست سیلاب آئے - پہلا سیلاب ۱۹۴۲ء میں آیا اور دوسرا ۱۹۴۸ء میں - ان دونوں سیلابوں سے ہم نے جو تجربہ حاصل کیا ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ سیلاب زدہ لوگوں کو دو طریقوں سے ریلیف ملنا چاہئے - ریلیف دینے کا پہلا طریقہ تو یہ ہے کہ ان پر مصیبت لوگوں کو فوراً سیلاب زدہ علاقے سے نکال کر کسی ایسی جگہ پر رکھا جائے جہاں وہ آرام سے رہ سکیں اور جب تک وہ اپنے گھر بنائے ہوئے گھروں میں منتقل نہ ہو جائیں اس وقت تک ان کو کھانے کے لئے مفت غلہ دیا جائے -

دوسری جائینگے انہیں گھر بنا کر دینے کے لئے انکو بیچ بونے کے لئے گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے مدد دی جائے - متاثرہ لوگوں کو immediate relief کیسے ملے - صورت یہ ہے کہ جب تک کوئی تحصیلدار یا ڈسٹرکٹ افسر موقع پر جاکر خود نہ دیکھے - انکو اٹھری نہ کرے کہ کسی کی تکلیف ہے - کاشتکار یا غریب عوام کو کیا مشکلات ہیں - سیلاب



سے انہیں کتنا نقصان پہونچا ہے اور اسکی افیشل رپورٹ نہ دے اسوقت تک ان لوگوں کو امداد نہیں مل سکتی - میرے خیال میں یہ حکومت اور کسی پر اعتبار کرنے کے لئے تیار نہیں اس لئے میں نے خود تکیں یا چار منسٹر صاحبان سے جو میرے صوبہ (سابقہ) سے آئے ہیں عرض کیا - وہ کچھ اور منسٹر صاحبان کو لیکر گئے اور وہاں ان لوگوں نے خود گفت کیا اور اپنی آنکھوں سے دیکھا کہ کیا مصیبتیں ہمارے صوبہ پر آئیں - میں وشرق سے کہتا ہوں کہ ایک بھی افیسر بہ ذات خود اپنی آنکھوں سے سیلاب زدہ علاقہ میں نقصان کا جائزہ لینے کے لئے یا انکی مدد کرنے کے لئے نہیں جاتا ہے - کوئی افیسر Site پر نہیں جاتا ہے بلکہ رپورٹیں ہیڈکوارٹرز سے دیا جاتی ہیں - جہاننگ مجھے علم ہے اور جو کچھ میں نے سنا ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ وہ جب کبھی دورہ پر جاتے ہیں اور لوگ ان سے کہتے ہیں کہ ہمارے صوبہ میں یہ مصیبت ہے تو ان سے کہا جاتا ہے کہ ہمارے پاس فصلی رپورٹ نہیں آتی ہے - میں ڈاکٹر خالصاحب سے کہتا ہوں کہ یہ آپکے لاڈلے افیسر گھر سے نہ نکلیں اور کسی کی مدد نہ کریں تو یہ کیا ہمارا قصور ہے یہ وہ آدمی ہیں جو گاڑی پر نہیں چڑھ سکتے - قری میں نہیں نکل سکتے - ہیڈ کوارٹر سے دور نہیں رہ سکتے - تلب سے کوئی night غیر حاضر رہ نہیں سکتے - یہ افیسر جب تک رپورٹ نہ کریں اسوقت تک immediate relief نہیں مل سکتی - اب میں مختصراً immediate relief کے متعلق کچھ کہونگا - وہ ریلیف جو انکو گھر بنانے کے لئے دی جائیگی وہ بھی جیسا کہ میرے دوست منسٹر جی - ایم - سید نے بتایا ہے افسران کے ذریعہ دی جائیگی - مشاہدہ یہ ہے کہ افسران (میں سمجھنے لگے نہیں کہتا) امداد کی منظوری بڑے حاکمانہ انداز میں دیتے ہیں - وہ مصیبت زدوں کے نام پر جاکر جھوٹے انکوٹھے لکوا کر وہ پیسے جو انہیں امداد کے طور پر دئے جاتے ہیں اپنی جیبوں میں ڈال لیتے ہیں یا پھر کسی نہ کسی کے نام پر وہ پیسہ داخل کر دیتے ہیں - اس طرح امداد کا صحیح مقصد فوت ہو جاتا ہے وہ تو چاہتے ہیں کہ خدا کرے ایسے مواقع نکلیں تاکہ وہ اپنی جیبیں بھر سکیں - لہذا میں ایک بار پھر حکومت کو advise کرونگا کہ وہ غلطی نہ کرے اسے چاہیے کہ وہ پبلک کے آدمیوں پر trust کرے جو میں سمجھتا ہوں بہت مشکل ہے - ان نمائندوں اور افسران دونوں کے تعاون سے جو کچھ ریلیف آپ دے رہے ہیں دیرپجھے تاکہ وہ صحیح آدمی تک پہنچ جائے -

**Mian Muhammad Shafi (Montgomery District) :** Sir, I want to address through you the honourable Chief Minister and want to tell him that since the advent of Pakistan, according to calculations, due to floods, the damage to property and crops amounts to approximately two hundred crores of rupees. The heavy toll of human life and livestock is not taken into consideration when I put forward this figure.

Sir, the problem is colossal. This amount is beyond the budget estimates of Pakistan Government. If the Government had been serious, if there had been a national Government and not a party Government or capitalist Government, we would have seen them acting on a gigantic national scale in order to prevent the recurrence of the calamities and ravages wrought by the floods. Their condition is like the proverbial jackal. A jackal was shivering in the night with cold. He said to himself, next morning I shall make some arrangement for some hearth. And when the next morning came and the Sun had risen and the day became warm, he forgot all about it. When the night came, again he felt shivering with cold, and during the day when the Sun was warm, he again forgot everything, and so was never able to have a hearth for himself. Similarly, when we are faced with devastation, there is terrible loss of life and property, officers



come, improvise some measures and start some kind of works and then they go to sleep. As my honourable friend from Shikarpur pointed out, we must have a long term plan on a gigantic scale so that every drop of flood water is harnessed and reserved and not allowed to go waste into the sea. We should arrange for storage of water. We should have bunds and what is much more important we must remove the silt from the beds of the rivers. It is well known that the beds of the rivers are gutted with silt and any addition caused by unusual rains causes floods and causes havoc. Sir, I want the honourable Chief Minister to get some time and study how the Chinese Government have tried to overcome the menace of floods which, before the present regime came into power, used to cause huge loss of life and property in that country. Sir, unless we do something on that gigantic scale, it would not be possible for us to improve the situation. The problem must be tackled in real earnestness.

Now, Sir, I want to refer to the particular case of my own constituency. It is not rain water, it is not any river that is causing this flood trouble, but the lower Bari Doab is the cause of floods in Montgomery district. Here we have got siphons and they have become gutted. The result is that the discharge of water in the Ravi river is not allowed. Therefore for the last decade or so this trouble has been recurring. I went there myself and saw that about 10 square miles of land was under water and all the standing crops were damaged and the huts of the poor men had fallen down. I brought this to the notice of the honourable Minister for Irrigation and I must thank him that he passed orders to the Chief Engineer by which something in the matter was done.

I want to make one more suggestion. Sir, I ask the honourable the Leader of the House that the Central Government of Pakistan appointed a Flood Commission upon which they spent at least a sum of ten lakhs of rupees. According to me, that report has not seen the light of the day. I do not know if the report was in writing. I hope the honourable the Leader of the House will write to the Central Government and ask them to take steps to publish the report so that they can do something in the light of the recommendations contained in the Report.

As regards the pamphlet which the honourable the Law Minister said they had printed showing how his Government is functioning as regards the flood question, it is meant for the patel, for the constable, the head constable. But look it is printed in English. Do they expect the patel, the constable, the head constable to know English and follow it. I wish he had got it printed in the language of the people.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law and Agriculture): These are instructions to officials.

**Mian Muhammad Shafi**: I wish they had translated it at least in Urdu.

مسٹر عبدالخالق کڈ - (رقبہ جات ضلع کوئٹہ پشین ماسوائے میونسپل و کنٹونمنٹ ایریا) - صدر محترم - میں آج ہی کوئٹہ سے مع درساتہیں کے پہنچا ہوں - کوئٹہ کی جو حالت ہے اس کے متعلق وہاں کے بوڑھے لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ اس قسم کا سیلاب پچھلے سو سال میں بھی کبھی نہیں دیکھا تھا - جیسا کہ پیروزادہ صاحب نے فرمایا ہے بارش کا جو فیصدی اضافہ ہے وہ ہزار تک پہنچتا ہے - حالات یہ ہیں کہ کوئٹہ میں کوئی ایسی جگہ نہیں جس کی زمین برد نہ ہوگئی ہو - جس کے فصلات خراب نہ ہوگئے ہوں - جہاں "کاریزات" بھر نہ گئے ہوں اور اس طرح بیکار نہ ہوگئے ہوں - جہاں کے فصلات ضائع نہ ہوگئے ہوں - جہاں کے باغات کا میوہ سب خراب نہ ہوگیا ہو - جو تھوڑا بہت بچ گیا تھا - وہ ریل اور سڑک بند ہونے کی وجہ سے باہر نہیں نہیں جاسکا - اس سال وہاں بہت اچھی فصل ربیع کی تھی لوگ خواہش رکھتے تھے کہ شاید یہ ربیع کی فصل ہمیں کسی کا محتاج نہیں رہنے دے گی اور اس سال اگر ہم محتاج ہوئے بھی تو بہت تھوڑی حد تک ہوں گے لیکن بعض علاقوں میں جہاں ابھی تک فلم جمع ہو رہا تھا متواتر سوا پہلے سے بارش ہو رہی ہے جو کچھ کسی کے پاس رکھا تھا وہ سب کا سب جل گیا ہے - اسکے بعد یہ پتہ لگے گا کہ وہاں گندم کی قلت کا کیا حال ہے - لیکن اس موجودہ وقت میں بھی وہاں کھانے کے لئے نہ تو ایک دانہ گندم موجود ہے اور نہ باہر سے آسکتا ہے کیونکہ ریل اور سڑک دونوں میں breaches ہیں - اگر حکومت کے پاس غلے کا ذخیرہ ہو تو بھی ممکن نہیں کہ گورنمنٹ غلہ وہاں پہنچا سکے - غلے کا نرخ اسوقت ۱۸ سے ۲۷ روپیے فی من ہے جیسا جیسا موقع ہو ویسا نرخ ہوتا ہے باوجود اسکے کہ گورنمنٹ نے دس روپیے فی من کنٹرول ریٹ مقرر کر رکھا ہے - کوئٹہ ڈویژن کے جو حالات معلوم ہو سکے ہیں وہ یہ ہیں کہ وہاں ایک لاکھ ٹن غلہ برباد ہوا ہے - اور صرف زیارت خان سہترزئی ورشو اور زیارت - کان سہترزئی اور ہراڑی میں - آلو کا جو فصل ہے وہ قریباً پچاس سے پچھتر لاکھ تک برباد ہوچکا ہے - وہاں کی زمینات بالکل برد ہوگئی ہیں بلکہ زمین تو وہاں رہی نہیں - وہاں کئی گاؤں ایسے ہیں جہاں کے لوگ کوشش کرتے ہیں کہ اونچی جگہ جاکر جا آباد ہوں - لیکن اسکے باوجود کئی گاؤں میں پانی آیا ہے کئی گھر اور مکان گر گئے ہیں - قلعہ گلہ کے پاس دو تین چار گاؤں میں پانی گھس آیا ہے اور ایک حصہ گاؤں کا اس طرح سے ضائع ہو گیا ہے - کانوں کا حال اسی طرح ہے - قریباً اس وقت چھ لاکھ روپیے کے نقصان کا اندازہ لگایا گیا ہے اور اس وقت جو گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے کیا جاتا ہے کہ اس علاقے میں مدد دینے کے لئے ۷۵ لاکھ روپیہ دیا گیا ہے اور خدا جانے اصل کتنی رقم دی گئی ہے - مگر سرکاری ذرائع کہتے ہیں کہ بیس ہزار روپیے Immediate relief فوری امداد کے لئے Relief Commissioner ریفیٹ کمشنر کو دیئے گئے ہیں - اب آپ خود خیال کریں کہ بیس ہزار روپیے سے ان برباد شدہ لوگوں کی کیا امداد ہوسکتی ہے - وہ ہزارہا "کاریز" جو بھرے ہوئے ہیں اگر وہ دوبارہ نہ نکلیں اور اس طرح جو چار پانچ چھ فصل سیف کیلئے برباد ہو جائیں گے ان کے معاوضے کے لئے امداد Relief زیادہ مقدار میں چاہئے تاکہ "کاریز" بھی دوبارہ بنائے جاسکیں - اور جو استادہ فصلیں standing crops اور باغات بچے ہوئے ہیں ان کو پانی مہیا ہوسکے -

مسٹر اسماعیل برہانی - (میونسپل کارپوریشن کراچی) - مسٹر سپیکر جہاں تک سیلاب کا تعلق تھا اور اس کو کس طرح روکا جائے اس موضوع پر بہت سے حضرات اظہار خیال کرچکے ہیں - میں صرف ایک علاقے کی طرف اس ہاؤس کا دھیان دلاؤں گا - خاص طور پر چیف منسٹر صاحب کا کہ جس علاقے کی طرف سے وہ پارلیمنٹ کے میبر ہیں یعنی بلوچستان - جس طرح میرے ایک محترم دوست نے بلوچستان - کوئٹہ ڈویژن اور کلات ڈویژن کے سلسلے میں نقصانات کا اندازہ بتایا ہے میں صرف یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک اس علاقے کا تعلق ہے وہاں کوئی بند بھی گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے کسی ندی

نالے پر تعمیر نہیں کیا گیا - لہذا اگر میں یہ کہوں کہ گورنمنٹ فلاں بند کر مضبوط کرے یا فلاں کی مرمت کرے تو اس کا سوال ہی پیدا نہیں ہوتا - اس لئے میں یہ کہوں گا کہ گورنمنٹ سب سے پہلے ان خطیوں پر جو اس علاقے میں پہلی دفعہ بند تعمیر کرے - بلیں اور رسل و رسائل قائم کرے کیونکہ کوئی سڑک ان دونوں علاقوں میں جن کو قلت ڈویژن اور مکران کہا جاتا ہے موجود نہیں ہے - وہاں کوئی سڑک موجود نہیں ہے - کوئی بند موجود نہیں ہے لیکن اس سے پہلے جو یونین گورنمنٹ تھی اس نے وہاں جیسا کہ ریکارڈ میں درج ہے تیس لاکھ روپیے کی لاگت سے سڑک تیار کی تھی جو کاغذات میں تو درج ہے مگر موقع پر موجود نہیں ہے اس لئے میں چیف منسٹر صاحب سے عرض کروں گا کہ وہاں اب سڑکیں تعمیر کرائیے اور اس پر جو پیسے خرچ ہوں ان سے وہاں واقعی طور پر سڑکیں تیار کی جائیں اور پہلی سڑک کے نام سے جو روپیہ غبن ہوا ہے اسے جو افسران کھا گئے ان کے خلاف کارروائی کی جائے - وہاں سڑکوں کے تعمیر کے نام پر تیس چالیس لاکھ روپیے وہاں کے بااثر لوگ خود ٹھیکہ دار بن کر کھا گئے - لہذا میں چیف منسٹر صاحب سے اپیل کروں گا کہ وہاں بندیں تعمیر کرائیں جو سیلاب کے اس پانی کی روک تھام کریں - جو ندیوں میں طغیانی کے وقت آتا ہے اور دوسرے وہاں سڑکیں تعمیر کریں جن سے رسل و رسائل کے واسطے ہوں کہ آپ کوئلہ سے مکران اور مکران سے لس بیلہ قلت جاسکتی جو کہ اسی ایک ہی علاقے بلوچستان میں واقع ہیں حالانکہ وہاں پر نہ آپ ریلوے ٹرین کے ذریعے سے جاسکتے ہیں نہ موٹر کار کے ذریعے جاسکتے ہیں اور نہ کسی بس یا اسٹیشن ویجن پر جا سکتے ہیں کچھ علاقے میں اونٹوں پر سفر کرنا پڑتا ہے اس لئے میں چیف منسٹر صاحب سے اپیل کروں گا کہ اس علاقے میں بند اور سڑکیں تعمیر کرائیں - اور پھر اسکی پڑتال اور تحقیق بھی کرائیں کہ جو پیسے ان سڑکوں پر لگا لئے گئے ہیں وہ کنٹریکٹر وغیرہ خورد تو نہیں کھا گئے - اور دیگر کاریزوں چشموں کو جو سیلاب سے نقصان ہوا ہے ان کی دوبارہ مرمت کی جائے -

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah (Dadu District) :** Sir, I think those honourable members should be given preference who have come from affected areas. Karachi people have nothing to do with it. They have not suffered.

**Mr. Speaker :** I am calling them.

**مسٹر اسماعیل برہانی :** یہ سارا مغربی پاکستان ہے اور ہم سب مغربی پاکستان کے نمائندے ہیں اس لئے ہم سب کو اس موضوع پر تقریر کرنے کا حق حاصل ہے -

**چودھری محمد عبداللہ جاٹ :** لاٹھیپور بھی مغربی پاکستان کا حصہ ہے - آپ وہاں کے کسی ممبر کو بولنے کی اجازت نہیں دیتے -

**ٹھاکر ایجن سنگھ ناگجی سوہو (ضلع تھریارکر اونچی جاتی ہندو) :** جناب والا میں نارا ڈویژن میں اپنے ضلع تھریارکر کی بابت عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں - یہ ڈویژن نشیب میں ہے اور اس کو برسات کی وجہ سے بہت زیادہ نقصان ہوا ہے اور لوگوں کو نہ تو کوئی میڈیکل ایڈ ملے ہے اور نہ ہی کسی اور طور سے ان کی امداد کی گئی ہے - لوگوں کی فصلیں ناس ہو گئی ہیں - ان کا اناج ناس ہو گیا ہے اور ان کی بلڈنگیں بھی ناس ہو گئی ہیں - راستے بند ہو گئے ہیں اور لوگ مر رہے ہیں مگر ابھی تک گورنمنٹ نے ان کی کوئی مدد نہیں کی

میری مودبانہ عرض ہے کہ ان کو میڈیکل ایڈ دی جائے۔ ان کے لئے اس وقت تک جو بذروہست کیا گیا ہے خوراک اور میڈیکل ایڈ کا وہ بہت ناکافی ہے۔ ان بیچاروں کی حالت جہم کے باسیوں سے کم نہیں ہے۔ میڈیکل ڈیپارٹمنٹ نے ابھی تک کچھ نہیں کیا۔ پچھلے چار سال سے وہاں برسات سے نقصان ہوتا چلا آیا ہے اور گورنمنٹ نے اس طرف نہ تو کوئی توجہ ہی دی ہے اور نہ ہی اس ضلع میں کوئی ریلیف کا انتظام کیا ہے۔ پھر میری گزارش ہے کہ کمیشن بھی ان لوگوں کو ملتی ہے جو پیسے خرچتے ہیں اور باقیوں کو نہیں ملتی۔ جیسا کہ مسٹر جی ایم سید نے فرمایا ہے کہ صرف افسروں کو ہی ریلیف کے کام پر نہ لگایا جائے بلکہ نان افشلز کو اس میں شامل کیا جائے۔ اگر کوئی ایسی کمیٹی مقرر کی جائے تو تب ہی صحیح حقیقت ظاہر ہوگی اور ضرورت والوں کو پیسے مل سکے گا۔ ابھی مجھے عمر کوٹ سے ایک تار ملا ہے اور اس میں یہ لکھا ہے۔

Raining since 25th June continuously. Phutty crop mostly destroyed. In Taluka Mahla disease also affected cotton crop. Spraying Party needed badly for Paddy crop.

Zamindars Umarkot.

میں وزیر زراعت صاحب کی توجہ اس امر کی طرف منطقی کراتا ہوں کہ کٹن کی فصل تو بالکل تباہ ہوگئی ہے لیکن پیڑی کی فصل جو ابھی ہے اس میں کیڑے کا مرض لگ گیا ہے اسلئے میری گزارش ہے کہ وہ پلانٹ پروٹیکشن محکمہ کی توجہ اس طرف مبذول کرائی تاکہ وہ پیڑی کی فصل کی مرض کا تدارک کرے جس سے خوراک کی فصل تو محفوظ ہو جائے۔

شیخ خورشید احمد محمد یعقوب - (ضلع حیدرآباد)۔ جناب سپیکر صاحب میں اس سیلاب کے سلسلہ میں چند معروضات پیش کرنے کیلئے کھڑا ہوا ہوں۔ ہمارے حیدرآباد کے ڈویژن میں بے حد نقصان پہنچا ہے۔ اس سلسلہ میں جو آئرنیل منسٹر صاحب نے بیان دیا ہے اس میں انہوں نے یہ خبر تو دی ہے کہ وہاں نقصان ہوا ہے لیکن انہوں نے اس کے متعلق اعداد و شمار نہیں بتائے۔ میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ جب میں نے وہاں کا دورہ کیا تو بارشوں کی وجہ سے لطیف آباد اور دوسرے علاقوں بالخصوص نشیب میں واقع علاقوں میں بہت زیادہ نقصان ہوا ہے۔ میں وہاں خود گیا تھا اور میں نے دیکھا کہ وہاں ایسی حالت تھی کہ لوگوں کے مکانات گرے ہوئے تھے اور وہ بہت پریشانی کی حالت میں مبتلا تھے۔ اس وقت تک سیلاب کے ضمن میں امداد کیلئے جو اقدامات کئے گئے ہیں وہ بہت ناکافی ہیں یہ اور زیادہ ہونے چاہئیں خاص طور پر وہاں ریلیف کمیٹیاں ایسی مقرر کی جانی چاہئیں جن کے صدر نان افشل ہوں۔ اگر ہمارے حکومت نے سارا کام کبھتر یا ڈپٹی کمشنروں کے سپرد کر دیا تو مجھے افسوس کے ساتھ یہ کہنا پڑیگا کہ کچھ کام نہ ہو سکے گا۔ اس لئے ریلیف کمیٹیاں ایسی مقرر کی جانی چاہئیں جن پر افشل اور نان افشل سبر ہوں اور وہ آپس میں تعاون کریں اور لوگوں کی خدمت کریں۔

میاں منظور حسن - (ضلع قوجرانوالا)۔ جناب والا میں اسلئے اٹھا ہوں تاکہ میں ایوان کی توجہ حکومت کی غیر مفتی نیم دلانہ حفاظتی تدابیر کی طرف دلاؤں اور یہ بتاؤں کہ سیلاب کی موجودہ صورت حکومت کی نااہلیت اور ناکردگی کی پوری طرح آئینہ دار ہے۔ ہمارے سابقہ صوبہ پنجاب میں دو بڑی وجوہ ہساری تکلیف کا باعث تھیں۔ ایک تو یہ کہ ریلوں سڑکوں اور نہروں کو پانی کے بہاؤ کے بالکل مخالف رخ بنادیا گیا تھا اور مزید یہ کہ ان کی سطح سطح زمین سے بہت بلند رکھی گئی تھی۔ اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوتا تھا کہ جب طوفان آئے یا سیلاب یا طغیانی آتی تو یہ تیلوں چیلز پانی کے بہاؤ کے راستہ میں رکاوٹ بن جاتیں۔ ان کی تعمیر گذشتہ ۷۰ سال کے دوران میں ہوئی اور اس وقت اس شہرت سے



سیلاب نہیں آتے تھے کیونکہ کچھ منٹ ایریاز یعنی بارش کے منقطعوں میں روٹیرگی کافی تھی۔ اب بارشوں کے ان منقطعوں میں روٹیرگی اور اشجار کے کم ہو جانے کی وجہ سے ۵۰ فیصدی سیلاب زیادہ آتے ہیں۔ ریلوں - سڑکوں اور نہروں کی تعمیر کے وقت ان کے نیچے مناسب طور پر اور سائٹن تعمیر نہیں کئے گئے تھے اور اگر کوئی تعمیر بھی کئے گئے تھے وہ غیر مکتفی تھے اور ایسی جگہوں پر تھے جہاں وہ سود مند ثابت نہ ہوسکتے تھے یا مرور ایام کے ساتھ اب سود مند نہیں رہے تھے۔ حکومت کیلئے لازم تھا کہ وہ محکمہ انصار - سڑکات اور ریل کے ماہرین تعمیرات پر مشتمل ایک مشترکہ کمیٹی قائم کرتی جو مناسب جگہوں پر نئے کلورٹس سائٹن اور پلوں کی تعمیر کی تجاویز پیش کرتا۔ اس کے علاوہ طغیانی کا ایک بڑا باعث موسمی ندیوں کا وجود ہے جو طغیانی کے موسم میں چلتی ہیں۔ جیسے ڈیک ہے۔ یہ ندیاں سال کا معتدبہ حصہ خشک رہتی ہیں لیکن بارش کے موسم میں پانی سے بھر جاتی ہیں کچھ لوگوں نے ان کے پاٹ کو اراضی سمجھ کر ہموار کر لیا ہے اور وہ انکو زیر کاشت لے آئے ہیں بلکہ کئی جگہوں پر ان کی قزراہوں پر آبادیاں بھی تعمیر ہو گئی ہیں۔ حکومت کو چاہیے بلکہ وہ پانی کے راستے متعین کرنے اور مسدود راستے کھولنے اور سلٹ سے پٹھے ہوئے ندی نالوں کو کشادہ کرنے کیلئے سکیمیں تیار کرتی۔ افسوس ہے کہ حکومت نے اس طرف ابھی تک کوئی توجہ نہیں دی۔

**Mr. Speaker:** You were called but you were not here. Now you are taking more time of the House.

**Mian Manzoor-i-Hassan:** I am going to make certain very important suggestions.

جناب والا - حکومت کے لئے لازم تھا کہ ان آبی ذخراہوں کی تدوین کے لئے نئے ڈریئج سکیم اور طغیانی کے موسم سے بہت پہلے فلڈ کنٹرول کا انتظام کرتی۔ لیکن آپ ملاحظہ فرمائیے کہ آزادی کے اس دور دورہ میں اور غلامی کے عہد میں ذرا بھی فرق نہیں آیا۔ ہماری حکومت نے ایسی سامراجی لاپرواہی - سستروی بے حس مجرمانہ غفلت اور حقارت امیز بے توجہی سے کام لیا ہے اور وہ طغیانیوں سے بچاؤ کیلئے کسی مستقل منصوبہ پر عملدرآمد کرنے سے قاصر رہی ہے۔ ہماری حکومت کو چاہئے تھا کہ دریاؤں کے قرب وجوار میں واقع دیہات کی سطح کو فلڈ لیول تک بلند کرتی تاکہ وہ فوری طور پر زیر آب آنے سے بچ جاتے۔ ہماری حکومت کو چاہئے تھا کہ دریاؤں کے قریب بڑی بڑی بستیاں - تجارتی اور صنعتی کارخانوں کے گرد حفاظتی بند تعمیر کراتی اور بند تعمیر کراتے وقت وہ اس بات کا بھی خیال رکھتی کہ وہ پراپرلی ڈیزائن کئے جائیں اور ان کی ساخت پختہ اور مضبوط ہو اور پھر ان کی حفاظت کیلئے مستقل انتظام بھی کیا جائے۔ ایسے دیہات جو کہ...

**Mr. Speaker:** Order please. You are reading.

میاں منظور حسن -

I am going to make a constructive suggestion.

میں یہ کہہ رہا تھا کہ ایسے دیہات جو دریا کے کناروں اور حفاظتی بندوں کے درمیان آجائیں ان کو ان کی موجودہ جگہوں سے منتقل کر کے کسی محفوظ جگہ پر آباد کیا جائے۔ کیونکہ ایسی بستیاں کے باغداد طغیانی کی پہلی آمد پر ہی تعمیر شدہ بندوں کو توڑ دیتے ہیں۔ چنانچہ ہر سال ضلع گوجرانوالہ میں ایسا ہی ہوتا ہے۔

**Mr. Speaker:** Your time is over.



سیاح شفتت حسین شاہ عطا حسین شاہ موسوی - (ضلع سکھر) - جناب والا سیلاب آگے  
 ہیں اور آتے ہیں لیکن ان کی وجوہ پر کسی نے غور نہیں فرمایا کہ سیلاب کیوں آتے ہیں -  
 جناب والا سکھر بیراج ۱۵ لاکھ کیوسک پانی کیلئے بنایا گیا تھا - آج جب ۸ یا ۹ لاکھ کیوسک  
 پانی وہاں پر بہتا ہے تو سیلاب آنا شروع ہو جاتا ہے - اس کی وجہ کیا ہے ؟ وجہ یہ  
 ہے کہ وہاں سلٹنگ ہے - وہاں سلٹ اتنی جمع ہوگئی ہے کہ جو پانی  
 پہلے ۱۰ یا ۱۱ فٹ چڑھتا تھا وہ اب چودہ پندرہ فٹ چڑھ جاتا ہے - اور جہاں پہلے بارہ  
 سے پندرہ لاکھ کیوسک تک سیلاب نہیں آتا تھا وہاں اب ۸ لاکھ کیوسک ڈسچارج سے سیلاب آ  
 جاتا ہے - ہر سال گورنمنٹ اپنے بندوں کو اور اونچا کرتی ہے - مگر یہ بند جب بندائے گئے  
 تھے اسوقت انکی بنیادیں اس لحاظ سے مرتب کی گئی تھیں کہ یہ اتنی اونچائی تک رکھے  
 جائیں گے - اب انہیں ہر سال بلند کرنے سے یہ ہو گیا ہے کہ انکی جو بنیادیں ہیں وہ کمزور  
 پڑ گئی ہیں اور انکے اوپر سے سیلاب کا پانی بہہ جاتا ہے - سکھر اور روہڑی کی حفاظت  
 کیلئے جو دیواریں کھڑی کی گئی تھیں پہلے انکی اونچائی ۴ فٹ کے قریب تھی - اب وہ انکو بار  
 بار اونچا کر کے بارہ فٹ تک لے گئے ہیں - نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ اگر دریا میں ایک در فٹ بھی  
 زیادہ پانی ہوتا ہے تو سکھر اور روہڑی دونوں زیر آب ہو جاتے ہیں - اور نالے جو  
 شہر کا پانی دریا میں ڈالتے ہیں شہر میں واپس چلنے لگتے ہیں - حکومت ہر سال طغیانی  
 کے موقع پر ایک کروڑ کے قریب روپیہ خرچ کرتی ہے - وہ کیوں نہیں ایک ہی مرتبہ  
 خرچ کر کے دریا میں سے مٹی نکال کر اسے اور گہرا کر دیتی -

شیخ ہدایت علی - (ضلع سیالکوٹ) - جناب والا -

چودھری سہیل سہیل - جناب آپ کو چاہئے کہ آپ ایسے سبروں کو  
 تقریر کا موقع دیں جو سیلاب والے علاقوں سے تعلق رکھتے ہوں اور جو زمینداروں کی  
 شکایات بیان کر سکیں -

صاحب سپیکر - شیخ صاحب نارووال کے رہنے والے ہیں جہاں ہر سال سیلاب آتا  
 ہے - اور ان زمینداروں کے مسائل پر جنہیں سیلاب سے نقصان پہنچتا ہے -

شیخ ہدایت علی - میں جناب کی وساطت سے معزز سبر کی خدمت میں یہ عرض کرنا  
 چاہتا ہوں کہ اب زمیندار وہ زمیندار نہیں رہے - اب وہ دیہات چھوڑ کر منڈیوں میں  
 چلے گئے ہیں اور شاہوکارہ کر رہے ہیں - اب انہیں کچھ پتہ نہیں کہ زمیندار کیا  
 چیز ہے -

اب میں سیلاب کے متعلق کچھ عرض کرنا ہوں - اور حکومت کے سامنے کچھ تجاویز  
 پیش کرتا ہوں کہ اسے اس ضمن میں کیا کرنا چاہئے - جناب والا جب سے پاکستان معرض  
 وجود میں آیا ہے کم وبیش ہر سال سیلاب آتے ہیں - اور تباہ کاری کرتے ہیں - لیکن  
 افسوس کا مقام ہے کہ گورنمنٹ نے آج تک اس کے متعلق کوئی پلن یا منصوبہ تیار نہیں کیا  
 جس سے غریب لوگوں کو اس نقصان سے نجات مل سکے - ہوتا یہ ہے کہ جب سیلاب آتے  
 ہیں اس وقت گورنمنٹ سوچتی ہے کہ اس کے متعلق کیا کرنا چاہئے - اور اس طرح جو کچھ  
 تھوڑا بہت وہ کرتے ہیں وہ ہر سال ضائع چلا جاتا ہے - پچھلے بجٹ سیشن میں میں  
 نے گورنمنٹ کو اس طرف توجہ دلائی تھی کہ علی آباد گوجران کے قریب جو دریائے راوی کے  
 قریب ہے اس وقت جبکہ بارشیں شروع ہونے والی ہیں گورنمنٹ بند کی تعمیر شروع کرنا  
 چاہتی ہے - لیکن اس کے باوجود اس بند کی تعمیر کا کام شروع کر دیا گیا - نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ  
 پبلک کے پچاس ساٹھ ہزار روپیے کا نقصان ہو گیا - اور یہ تمام روپیہ ضائع ہو گیا - اب  
 اس بند کا کام و نشان تک موجود نہیں - یہ ہے گورنمنٹ کی کارکردگی اور یہ ہے گورنمنٹ کی  
 پالیسی -

اب میں حکومت کے سامنے ایک اور تجویز رکھنا چاہتا ہوں - اور وہ یہ ہے کہ بارڈر سکیم کے ماتحت لوگوں کو اس علاقے میں زمین دی جائے تاکہ وہ اپنے مفادات کے پیش نظر اس علاقے میں جہاں ہر وقت پانی رہتا ہے رہیں - ورنہ کچھ عرصہ کے بعد سارے کا سارا بارڈر خالی ہو جائیگا - اور وہاں آبائی کا نام نامور نشان تک نہیں رہیگا -

دوسرے یہ ہے کہ علی آباد میں ریلوے سٹیشن کے قریب ایک بند بنایا گیا تھا جو اب بہم گیا ہے - اب نہ تو اسے پی - ڈبلیو - ڈی تعمیر کرتی ہے اور نہ ریلوے - نتیجہ یہ ہوا ہے کہ علی آباد زیر آب آگیا ہے اور تباہ ہو گیا ہے -

**Lieutenant Khan Muhammad Yousaf Khan:** You give me ten to fifteen minutes so that I may be able to explain my point of view.

**Mr. Speaker:** You can say the same thing in five minutes if you want to be brief. If not so, let me call those members who want to speak in two minutes.

لفٹیننٹ خان محمد یوسف خان ترک زٹی مہمند - (مہمند ایجنسی کا قبائلی علاقہ) - جناب والا سیلاب کے متعلق اکثر سب صاحبان نے اپنے علاقے کی مشکلات بیان کی ہیں - اور سیلاب کی تباہی کے زیادہ تر الزامات گورنمنٹ کے ذمہ لگائے ہیں - مگر یہ تجویز کسی نے پیش نہیں کی کہ ان مشکلات کے لئے جو سیلاب کی وجہ سے پیدا ہو گئی ہیں - کیا انتظامات کئے جائیں - انہیں چاہئے تھا کہ وہ ایسی تجاویز پیش کرتے تاکہ ہم ان پر عمل کریں - کیونکہ یہ گورنمنٹ کی طاقت سے باہر ہے کہ اتنے بے حد نقصانات جو ہو گئے ہیں ان پر قابو پاسکے - سب صاحبان کی تقریروں سے پتہ چلا ہے کہ مغربی پاکستان کا کوئی حصہ ایسا نہیں جسے اس سال سیلاب کی وجہ سے نقصان نہیں پہنچا - جناب والا سیلاب کی وجہ سے یہ جو صورت حال پیدا ہو گئی ہے اگر ہم نے اس پر قابو نہ پایا تو نہ صرف ہماری زرعی معیشت کو نقصان پہنچے گا بلکہ ہماری گورنمنٹ کے زیر غور جو پانچ سالہ منصوبہ ہے وہ بھی تباہ ہو جائیگا اور اس پر بھی عمل نہیں کیا جاسکیگا اور اس سے ہمارے ملک کی صنعتی ترقی پر بھی ضرور اثر پڑیگا - قدرت نے اتفاقی طور پر پاکستان کو دو حصوں میں تقسیم کیا ہے - ایک حصہ مشرقی پاکستان میں تو پانی کی کثرت کی وجہ سے ہماری یہ کوشش ہے کہ وہاں پانی کے نکاس یا اسے نکالنے کا کام کریں - یا اسے کنٹرول کریں تاکہ ہماری زراعت کو فائدہ پہنچے -

مگر اس طرف مغربی پاکستان میں گذشتہ مدت میں یہ تکلیف رہی ہے کہ یہاں پانی کی قلت ہوتی ہے - بنجر زمین زیادہ ہے اور پانی کی فراوانی کی ضرورت ہے مگر اب زیادہ بارشوں کی وجہ سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ قدرت ہم پر مہربان ہے کیونکہ موسم برسات میں ہر سال بارشیں ہوتی ہیں اور میرا خیال ہے کہ ہم ان بارشوں سے بھی فائدہ اٹھا سکتے ہیں - میری رائے میں جس طرح مشرقی پاکستان کو زیادہ بارش والا علاقہ قرار دیا گیا ہے اسی طرح اب موسم میں تغیر ہو جانے کی وجہ سے مغربی پاکستان کو بھی زیادہ بارش والا علاقہ قرار دینا چاہئے اور اس کے متعلق وہ انتظامات کئے جائیں جو ضروری ہیں - ہمیں چاہئے کہ ہم ندی نالوں - دریاؤں پلوں اور دیگر ایسی جگہوں کے متعلق جہاں پانی اور سیلاب آنے کا خطرہ ہے خاص انتظامات کریں - بندوں وغیرہ کو مضبوط بنائیں تاکہ ہمیں آگندہ نقصانات کا سامنا نہ کرنا پڑے - لہذا میں حکومت کی محنت میں یہ تجویز پیش کرونگا کہ وہ تالاب اور جھیلیں بنانے کا انتظام کرے تاکہ اگر آگندہ زیادہ بارش ہو تو فالتو پانی جمع کر لیا جائے اور قلت کے وقت ہم اسے استعمال کرسکیں اور بنجر زمینوں کو سیراب کرسکیں -

اس کے علاوہ ایک اور تجویز ہے اور وہ یہ ہے کہ مغربی پاکستان میں ایک فلڈ کنٹرول اینڈ ریلیف بورڈ قائم کیا جائے جو سیلاب سے متعلق کام کا جائزہ لے - سکیمیں تیار کرے - سیلاب کو روکنے کے طریقے بنائے اور سیلاب کے پانی سے جو فائدہ اٹھایا جاسکتا ہے اس کے متعلق اقدام کرے -

آخر میں میں ایک اور تجویز ممبر صاحبان کی خدمت میں یہ پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ چونکہ یہ گورنمنٹ اور پبلک ایک مشترک چیز ہیں اسلئے ہمیں ایسے فنڈز اکٹھے کرنے کی کوشش کرنی چاہئے جن سے ہم سیلاب زدگان کی امداد کر سکیں اور میرا خیال ہے کہ سب ممبر صاحبان اتفاق رائے سے اور خوشی سے اپنی ایک ایک مہینے کی تنخواہ فلڈ ریلیف فنڈ ممبر صاحبان اتفاق رائے سے اور خوشی سے اپنی ایک ایک مہینے کی تنخواہ فلڈ ریلیف فنڈ کو صرف تین سو روپے دینے پڑینگے جو کوئی خاص رقم نہیں ہے لیکن ایک لاکھ روپے سے کسی حد تک سیلاب زدگان کی مدد ہو جائیگی -

الحاج حکیم میان خورشید احمد قریشی (سرگودھا) - صاحب صر ! میں آپ کی وساطت سے حکومت کی توجہ اس امر کی طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جن علاقوں میں سیلاب آئے ہیں ان علاقوں کے ممبروں کی تقریروں پر اسے خاص توجہ دینی چاہئے بلکہ وزراء کو چاہئے کہ تقریروں میں جن شہروں اور قصبوں کا ذکر ہو ان سب کے نام لکھ لئے جائیں تاکہ ان مقامات پر امداد پہنچائی جاسکے -

جناب والا! قیام پاکستان سے پہلے سیلاب کا نام بہت کم سننے میں آتا تھا - لیکن اب تو سیلاب پاکستان کے قریباً ہر ضلع میں آتا ہے اس کے باوجود حکومت کوئی ایسا کام نہیں کرتی جو سیلاب آنے سے پیشتر اسکی روک تھام کیلئے یا سیلاب آجانے کی صورت میں متاثرہ لوگوں کی امداد کے لئے مفید ہو - ایسی سکیمیں بنانی چاہئیں جو اس مسئلہ کا مستقل حل ثابت ہو سکیں -

اس کے بعد میں اپنے ضلع سرگودھا کے سیلاب زدہ علاقوں پر حکومت کی توجہ مبذول کرانا چاہتا ہوں اس وقت سرگودھا میں خوشاب اور ساہی وال کے علاقے زیر آب ہیں - چک نمبر ۱۱۲ - ۱۱۱ - ۱۵۱ - ۸۹ - ۹۹ تمام زیر آب ہیں جہاں پانچ پانچ چھ چھ فٹ پانی کھڑا ہے جسکی وجہ سے وہاں کے باشندے اور ان کے مویشی اپنی اپنی جگہیں چھوڑ کر اونچے مقامات پر آگئے ہیں ان کے پاس نہ غلہ ہے نہ چارہ ہے اور مجھے یقین ہے کہ حکومت نے کبھی ان کی طرف توجہ نہیں دی ہوگی اور نہ یہ جاننے کی کوشش کی ہوگی کہ ان کے حالات کیا ہیں میں نے ڈپٹی کمشنر سرگودھا سپرنٹنڈنگ انجینیر - افسر آبادی اور مال افسر کی توجہ ان لوگوں کی طرف دلائی لیکن وہ یہ کہہ کر ٹال دیتے ہیں کہ ہم نے سکیم بنا کر گورنمنٹ کو بھیج دی ہے - مجھے افسوس ہے کہ یہ صورتحال بڑی غیر تسلی بخش ہے اس وقت چک ۱۱۲ جنوبی جو ہے اس میں چھ چک ہیں جن میں پانی آکر جمع ہو جاتا ہے - اب وہاں سے اگر ایک میل لمبا ٹالا نکالا جائے تو تمام پانی سیم نالے میں چلا جائے اور یہ چھ کے چھ چک محفوظ ہو جائیں اسکیلئے وہاں کے باشندے رضاکارانہ طور پر کام کرنے کیلئے تیار ہیں - اس طرف ڈپٹی کمشنر کی توجہ بھی دلائی گئی تھی اور باقی افسران سے بھی کہا گیا لیکن حکومت نے ابھی تک اس کے لئے ضروری اجازت نہیں دی -

سیلاب زدگان کی امداد کے لئے میرے خیال میں صورت حال یہ ہو سکتی ہے کہ جو امدادی کمیٹی ہو اسکی نگرانی کے لئے اور سیلاب زدگان کی دیکھ بھال کیلئے ڈپٹی مسٹر صاحبان کو جن کے پاس اور کوئی کام نہیں ہوتا - او - ایس - ڈی مقرر کر دیا جائے اور انکی ڈیوٹی لگا دی جائے کہ وہ دیکھیں کہ کہاں کس چیز کی ضرورت ہے اور وہ کیسے وہاں پہنچ سکتی

ہے۔ اسوقت صورت یہ ہے کہ متاثر لوگوں کے پاس (۱) غذا نہیں ہے۔ (۲) چارہ نہیں ہے۔ اور (۳) سب سے بڑی چیز یہ ہے کہ پانی کھڑا ہوئے سے بڑھ کر پھیل رہی ہے اور مختلف امراض پیدا ہونے کا خطرہ ہے۔ لہذا ان کو فوراً طبی امداد پہنچانا ضروری ہے۔

چودھری غلام رسول تارڑ (ضلع گجرات)۔ جناب والا! میں آپ کے توسل سے وزارت کی توجہ اس طرف مبذول کرانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ریلیف جو دی جاتی ہے اور جس کے لئے بل پیش کیا جا رہا ہے وہ ریلیف نہیں ہوتی بلکہ ایک مصیبت بن جاتی ہے اس لئے میں ہر وقت عرض کر دیتا چاہتا ہوں کہ جو ریلیف دی جاتی ہے وہ سیلاب زدگان کی آبادی اور بہتری کے لئے ہوتی ہے لیکن ہم نے دیکھا ہے کہ جو تقاری امداد کے طور پر دی جاتی ہے اسکی جب وصولی کی جاتی ہے تو اتنی سختی سے کی جاتی ہے کہ اس کا اندازہ نہیں لگایا جاسکتا۔ لوگوں کو جیلوں میں دیا جاتا ہے اور اس طرح جو چیز ایک ریلیف کے طور پر دی جاتی ہے وہ ایک مصیبت بن جاتی ہے۔

اگر اب بھی حکومت ایسا ہی ریلیف دینے کا ارادہ رکھتی ہے تو میری گزارش صرف یہ ہے کہ لوگوں کو اس قسم کے ریلیف سے بچنے کی کوشش کرنی چاہیے۔ اس موقع پر میں یہ عرض کر دیتا بھی ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ ۱۹۵۱ ع میں تقاری کے صورت میں جو ریلیف لوگوں کو دیا گیا تھا اس کی وصولی اس سختی سے کی گئی کہ اس سلسلے میں آج تک بہت سے لوگ جیلوں میں پڑے ہیں۔ میرے نزدیک تقاری کا یہ طریقہ ہرگز مفید نہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ حکومت کیلئے یہ بہتر ہو کہ وہ تقاری قرضے دینے اور ہر سال اسی عمل کو دہرانے کی بجائے سیلاب کی روک تھام کا کوئی مستقل حل تلاش کرے تاکہ صوبے کے عوام کو اس تباہی سے ہمیشہ کیلئے نجات مل جائے۔ دراصل دریاؤں میں ریت کی سطح اس قدر بلند ہو چکی ہے کہ معمول سے زیادہ پانی آنے سے بھی نشیبی علاقوں میں میلوں تک ہزارہا بلکہ لکھو لکھو ایکڑ آراضی زیر آب آجائے سے فصلیں وغیرہ بالکل تباہ و برباد ہو جاتی ہیں۔ لہذا میں آپ کی اجازت سے حکومت کی خدمت میں یہ عرض کرونگا کہ کسی جامع پلین کو عملی جامہ پہنائے جس سے دریاؤں کے Beds ٹھہرے ہو جائیں اور طغیانی کا پانی ان کے کناروں سے باہر نکلنے نہ پائے۔

جناب والا۔ میرے فاضل دوست جی۔ ایم سید صاحب نے نئی نالوں کے سیلابوں کے بارے میں جس انتظام کا ذکر فرمایا ہے۔ میں اس کی تائید کرتا ہوں۔ ہمیں ابریم سے غلام کی صورت میں جو امداد ملی تھی اس کی فروخت سے جو روپیہ وصول ہوا تھا وہ بندوں پر لگایا تھا۔ لیکن میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ بند لوگوں کو نئی نالوں کی طغیانی سے بچانے کیلئے مفید ثابت نہیں ہوئے اور لوگ ان بندوں کی موجودگی میں بھی سیلابوں سے محفوظ نہیں ہیں۔ میں نے ایک سوال کے ذریعے بھی وزیر متعلقہ سے اسی امر کی وضاحت طلب کی تھی اور ضمنی سوالوں کے دوران عرض کیا تھا کہ ان بندوں سے لوگوں کو کوئی فائدہ نہیں پہنچ سکا۔ اس سلسلے میں میں یہ عرض کرونگا کہ ریلیف کے سلسلے میں ان بندوں کا انتظام بھی کیا جائے تاکہ انکی حفاظت ہو سکے۔

شیخ محبوب الہی (ضلع لاہور)۔ جناب والا۔ سیلاب کے متعلق اس ایوان میں بہت سی تقریریں کی گئی ہیں جن میں اس نقصان عظیم کا ذکر کیا گیا ہے جو گزشتہ چند سالوں میں سیلابوں کی وجہ سے ہوا ہے۔ اس ضمن میں میں چند تجاویز پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں جو میرے چالیس سالہ تجربے پر مبنی ہیں۔

جناب والا۔ مجھے آٹھ یا دو سال تک قرے کینال کا انچارج بطور انکڑو انجینئر رہنے کا موقع ملا۔ وہاں پر ہر سال میرے چارج لینے سے پیشتر سیلاب آتا تھا۔ جس کی وجہ سے ہر بار شہر والوں پر یہ الزام لگایا جاتا تھا کہ یہ اس سیلاب کا موجب بنتے ہیں۔ چنانچہ

جس وقت میں نے چارج لیا تو میں نے خیال کیا کہ اس کی وجہ دریافت کرنی چاہیے تاکہ ہمیں خواہ مخواہ ہر بار اس مصیبت کیلئے مورد الزام نہ ٹھہرایا جائے۔ اور ریلوے والے اور سول والے محض یہ کہہ کر نہ چھوٹ جائیں کہ یہ نہر والوں کا قصور ہے۔ میں نے اس امر کو چیلنج کیا۔ چنانچہ ریلوے والے میرے اس چیلنج کو مان گئے اور اس پر مصر ہوئے کہ دراصل یہی سیلاب کا باعث ہوتے ہیں۔ جیسا کہ میرے چند دوستوں نے فرمایا ہے۔ جب حکومت نے اس بات سے اتفاق کیا تو مسٹر مرے جو اس وقت چیف انجینیر انچارج انہار تھے یعنی ہمارے چیف انجینیر پنجاب تھے ہمارے ثالث مقرر ہوئے۔ میں نے فوراً ہی یعنی جب کہ طغیانی کی نہروں کا پانی بند ہو گیا اکتوبر سے یہ ثابت کرنے کیلئے سروے شروع کرادی کہ دراصل اس کا کون ذمہ دار ہے۔ چنانچہ وہ سروے ساٹھ دن میں مکمل ہو گئی اور جنوری ۱۹۲۳ء میں ہماری arbitration لاہور میں چیف انجینیر ریلوے کے دفتر میں ہوئی۔ مسٹر مرے ثالث تھے۔ میں نے ثابت کیا کہ جالندھر کی لائن میں جو فیروز پور سے جالندھر تک قائم ہوئی ہے۔ اس پر قدرتی گلی کا جو پل بنایا گیا ہے اس کے water ways کم ہیں اور جو bell مستم کے بند لگائے ہیں وہ اس قسم کے بند لگائے گئے ہیں جس میں سے discharge جب سلع طغیانی میں آتا ہے وہ پوری طرح سے گزر نہیں سکتا۔ اس جگہ میں آپ کو یہ بتا دینا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس وقت بھی سلع - بیاس اور راوی ہندوستانیوں کے پاس یعنی بھارت میں ہیں۔ گو ہمیں ان سے کچھ پانی ملتا ہے لیکن دراصل اس کا کنٹرول ان کے ہاتھ میں ہے اور مکھو کے نزدیک ضلع فیروز پور میں بیاس اور سلع اٹھتے ہو جاتے ہیں جس کی وجہ سے یہ ساری تباہی ہوتی تھی۔ چنانچہ مختصراً یہ کہ جب میں نے اپنا نقطہ نظر ثابت کر دیا تو ریلوے کو سوا لاکھ روپیہ گرانے کیلئے کو دینا پڑا تاکہ وہ بارنسواہ کی شہر کیلئے بند بنائیں۔ میں اس وقت صرف اس سیلاب کا ذکر کرونگا جس کی وجہ سے ہمیں اکتوبر ۱۹۵۵ء میں نقصان کا سامنا کرنا پڑا۔ ہمارے پاس اس کے اعداد و شمار موجود ہیں اور یہ بھی معلوم ہے کہ اس وقت اس کا ایچ - ایف - ایل کیا تھا۔ اکتوبر کے آغاز میں ہمارے وزیر اعلیٰ صاحب نے موٹر کے ذریعے دورہ کرنا شروع کیا اور ایک دفعہ وہ لاہور بھی تشریف لائے۔ میرے خیال میں اس دن انہوں نے چار سو میل کے قریب سفر طے کیا ہوگا۔ لاہور سے لاہور - لاہور سے پیر محل و سندھیلاندوالی اور پھر کمالیہ اور کمالیہ سے کہیں اور۔ دراصل کمالیہ سے آگے وہ چیچا وطنی جانے کا ارادہ رکھتے تھے۔ چیچا وطنی کے پل تک نہ گئے اور واپس آئے۔ میں محترم قاضی صاحب کی خدمت میں جو بندوں اور نہروں کے وزیر انچارج ہیں یہ تجویز پیش کرونگا کہ وہ سروے کیلئے پارٹیاں بھیج دیں اور جیسا کہ میرے ایک دوست نے ابھی فرمایا ہے کہ یہی پانی ہمارے لئے رحمت کا باعث بن سکتا ہے بشرطیکہ رد مکمل سروے کر کے کسی پلین کے ماتحت سکھیں تیار کر لیں۔ اس سروے کیلئے ضروری ہے کہ وہ صحیح ہو اور اس کی سکیمیں بنا کر ایک سیٹ تیار کر لیا جائے۔

جناب والا - میں یہ بھی عرض کر دوں کہ ایک مرتبہ میں نے مسٹر چندریگر کو جو اس وقت پنجاب کے گورنر تھے ان کی فرمائش پر ایک ریٹائرڈ انجینیر کی فہرست دی تھی جس میں بارہ یا پندرہ نام درج تھے۔ وہ لوگ اب بھی موجود ہیں۔ اگر ان کی خدمات بھی بورڈ کے لئے حاصل کی جائیں جس کا مقصد طغیانی کے پانی کو سٹور کرنا ہو تو وہ آپ کیلئے بہت منیج ثابت ہو سکتے ہیں۔ بھاکرہ ڈیم جو اب سلع کا پانی لے رہا ہے اس کی اتنی capacity کی جارہی ہے کہ اس میں سارے سلع کا پانی آسکتا ہے۔ اس طرح ہم بھی شورجیج کا انتظام کریں تاکہ ہر سال آنے والی تباہی سے بھی بچ سکیں اور ہم جس اجناس چارہ کپاس وغیرہ سے محروم ہو جاتے ہیں اس کی بھی بچت ہو سکتی ہے۔ طغیانی کی وجہ سے گورنمنٹ بھی پریشان نہ ہوگی۔

جناب والا - ہماری زمینیں اس وقت تین قسم کی بیماریوں میں مبتلا ہیں جس کی طرف کوئی توجہ ہی نہیں دے رہا۔ ان میں سے پہلی تو زمین کا کٹاؤ یعنی erosion دوسری



سالٹ پٹر salt peter اور تیسری سیم water logging ہے۔ ان کی شرت اس حد تک ہے جس کا کوئی اندازہ نہیں میرے بعض دوستوں نے اس طرف اشارہ کیا ہے کہ دریاؤں کے beds اونچے ہیں۔ میں صرف اتنا عرض کر دینا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس کا علاج ایک سسٹم سے کیا جاتا ہے جسے Dredging سسٹم کہتے ہیں۔ اگر یہاں بھی تھوڑا بہت اسی سسٹم سے کام لیا جائے تو ہمارے سیلابوں کی شرت بہت حد تک کم ہو سکتی ہے۔ اسی طرح یورپ میں جب سمندر نے زمین کا کٹاؤ erosion شروع کیا تو وہاں کے لوگوں نے سمندر میں Dredging سسٹم سے کام لیا۔ ہمارے ہاں دریاؤں اور نہروں میں ایسا نہیں ہوتا ہے جیسا کہ میرے سندر کے ایک دوست نے فرمایا ہے اگر وہ مختلف بیراجوں کیلئے Dredging کرا دیں تو پانی کی سطح معقول حد تک رہ سکتی ہے اور سیلابوں میں کمی ہو سکتی ہے۔ اسی طرح میرے پاس اور بہت سی تجاویز ہیں جو میں حکومت کے سامنے رکھنا چاہتا ہوں۔ مگر آپ تو بولنے کی اجازت نہیں دیتے۔ اچھا اگر آپ بولنے کی اجازت نہیں دیتے تو میں لکھ کر بھیج دوں گا۔ اگر اس قسم کے میرے نوٹ کی وزیر صاحب انچارج کو ضرورت محسوس ہو۔ طغیانی ہمارے ملک کے لئے ہر سال تباہی کا باعث ہو رہی ہے اور اسی پر اگر فوری توجہ نہ دی گئی تو ملک کے لئے بہت تباہی کا باعث بن جائیگی۔ بلکہ موجودہ صورت میں بھی نقصان عظیم ہو رہا ہے۔

سیر غلام مصطفیٰ شاہ خالد قیلائی ۔۔ On a point of privilege, sir

صدر محترم۔ اگلے روز آنریبل صفی اللہ خان نے میرے متعلق یہ الزام تراشا تھا کہ میں نے اپنی تقریر میں ڈاکٹر خاند صاحب کے متعلق یہ کہا تھا کہ وہ ہینگ لائے ہیں یا سلاجیت لائے ہیں۔ میں انہیں یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ اس قسم کے نازیبا الفاظ میری زبان سے نہیں نکلے تھے۔ میرے پاس اپنی تقریر کا سرکاری متن پہنچ چکا ہے جو میں نے اپنی پارٹی کے ایک رکن خان امیر سلطان خان کو بڑھائی ہے۔ انہوں نے اسے دیکھا ہے مگر انہوں نے اس میں اس قسم کی کوئی بات نہیں پائی۔ لہذا میں ان سے اس امر کا مطالبہ کرتا ہوں کہ وہ مجھ پر عائد کردہ الزام کی تردید کریں اور میرے متعلق جو الفاظ استعمال کئے تھے انہیں واپس لیں۔

خان محمد یوسف خان ۔۔ جناب والا۔ ایسی باتوں سے ایوان میں اشتعال پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے۔ ان کی طرف ہرگز توجہ نہ دینی چاہیے۔

خان امیر سلطان خان (مردان) ۔۔ جناب عالی۔ میں نے یہ رپورٹ خود پڑھی ہے۔ اور وہ الفاظ اس میں بالکل نہیں جن الفاظ کا خان صفی اللہ خان نے ان پر الزام لگایا ہے۔

صاحب سپیکر ۔۔ دیکھئے آپ کی تقریر کے متعلق اگر کسی نے ایسی باتیں منسوب کی ہیں۔ جو آپ نے نہیں کہیں تو جب آپ نے کہہ دیا کہ آپ نے نہیں کہیں۔ یہ کافی ہے۔ اب پروٹیکٹ آف پروویج کی ضرورت نہیں۔ علاوہ ازیں انہوں نے کہہ دیا ہے کہ اس کے دہرانے کی ضرورت نہیں پھر آپ کیوں اس بات پر زور دے رہے ہیں۔

خان صفی اللہ خان ۔۔ جناب صدر۔ میں نے تو اسی وقت چیلنج کیا تھا یہ اسی وقت کہہ سکتے تھے۔ کہ انہوں نے نہیں کہا جہانتک مجھے یاد ہے میں نے یہ بھی کہا تھا۔ کہ اب چار دن بعد انکار کے کیا معنی؟

صاحب سپیکر ۔۔ میرے خیال میں اب اس معاملہ کو ختم کرنا چاہیے۔

ارباب شیر افضل خان - (ضلع پشاور) - صاحب صدر اس ہاوس میں اکثر سیران نے اپنے اپنے ضلع کے واقعات اور سیلاب کے نقصانات کے متعلق اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کیا ہے۔ مسٹر جی ایم سید صاحب نے اپنی تقریر میں جو کچھ فرمایا ہے اور جن باتوں کا اظہار کیا ہے وہ صوبہ سرحد کے متعلق نہیں ہیں۔ آپ کو معلوم ہوگا کہ ہمارے ہاں بارش کے پانی سے بعض اوقات اتنا نقصان ہوتا ہے کہ دس سال میں اس کی تلافی نہیں ہوسکتی۔ فصلیں اور باغات تباہ ہو جاتے ہیں۔ اگر کوئی باغ تباہ ہو جائے تو پھر دس سال میں کہیں جا کر وہ بار آور ہوتا ہے۔ اس لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ اس قسم کے سیلاب اور بارش کی وجہ سے جو تباہی ہوتی ہے اس کا انسداد کیا جائے۔ اب دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ سیلاب اور باران تو خدا کی طرف سے آتے ہیں مگر اپنے اعمال کی وجہ سے نقصان ہم کو پہنچتا ہے۔ ہم کو چاہیے کہ باقاعدہ ایک سکیم بنا کر ان کا انسداد کریں۔ خدا اور رسول کے احکام کی پوری پوری تابعداری کریں اور اپنے اعمال کا پوری طرح جائزہ لے کر اس پروردگار کے آگے سر بسجود ہوں۔ جب ہم لوگ یہاں سے واپس جائیں گے تو ہم وہاں کے لوگوں کو بتائیں گے کہ آپ نے ان کے متعلق کیا کچھ سوچا ہے۔ آپ کو ان کا بھی کچھ خیال رکھنا چاہیے۔ ان کی فصل خریف تباہ ہوگئی ہے۔ خاص طور پر گنا کی فصل تو بالکل تباہ ہوگئی ہے۔ مگر حکومت نے کوئی مناسب قدم نہیں اٹھایا۔ اس لئے میری گزارش ہے۔ کہ آپ کو پہلے ہی حتی الامکان بچاؤ کا انتظام کرنا چاہیے کیونکہ جب بارش اور سیلاب وغیرہ آجاتے ہیں تو کچھ نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ جہاں تک ان کی روک تھام کا تعلق ہے۔ یہ حقیقت ہے۔ کہ یہ بات حکومت کے اختیار میں نہیں۔ جو لوگ یہ اعتراض کرتے ہیں۔ کہ حکومت ان کی روک تھام کرے۔ میں پوچھتا ہوں کہ کیا کل کو وہ یہ بھی نہیں گئے۔ کہ حکومت ژالہ باری اور زلزلہ کا انتظام بھی کرے۔

**Mir Ali Mardan Khan Talpur (Khairpur):** Sir, my constituency has been very badly affected by rains and it has created a problem, both in the urban as well as rural areas. In the rural areas, the crops have been flooded. The date crop has been completely ruined. The juar crop also has been completely ruined because the rain came when sowing was taking place. So far as cotton is concerned, there is knee-deep water standing in the fields. As such, Sir, it is very necessary that there should be a general remission. I would suggest that there should be hundred per cent remission so far as date crop is concerned and 75% general remission so far as juar crop is concerned and 50% general remission so far as cotton crop is concerned.

The other thing, Sir, that I would like to state is that all the wheat that the people had stored has been flooded and that wheat has been completely destroyed and it is, therefore, very necessary that wheat should be provided for the persons to eat.

Then, Sir, there is the problem of urban areas. In my district all the urban towns like Khairpur, Kambar, Ranipur and Tando Masti have been affected by seepage and rain. Fifty per cent of the houses have been completely destroyed. Therefore, I want that the Government should give to the well to do persons loans with interest and to the poor people loans without interest.

I would further suggest, Sir, that a Committee of Ministers should be appointed to look after the relief work because you have already heard the views of the honourable members about the handling of this work by

Government servants. I would further suggest that in districts the Government may also associate M.L.As. with the relief work so that the correct picture of the damage caused and the correct estimate of the relief needed may be known. It is necessary that the M.L.As.—peoples' representatives—may be associated with the relief work.

One more point, Sir. There is great danger of diseases like malaria and cholera spreading throughout the country. I would, therefore, request that appropriate measures should be taken to check the diseases.

قاضی عبداللطیف - (قبائلی علاقہ) -

جناب صحر - قبل اس کے کہ میں کچھ عرض کروں اور سیلاب کے متعلق اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کروں - میں یہ گزارش کرتا ہوں کہ ہمارے ہاں تباہی کا باعث بارش اور بجلی وغیرہ ہوتے ہیں - بارش کی وجہ سے جب پانی زیادہ مقدار میں برستا ہے تو اس وقت فصلیں کاٹتے ہوئے سے رہ جاتی ہیں - خصوصاً فصل خریف - اس کا اثر تمام مغربی پاکستان کی غذائی حالت پر پڑتا ہے - تمام مغربی پاکستان کے لوگوں کی صحت اور مالی حالت پر پڑتا ہے اس لئے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ سوال صرف پیڑزادہ صاحب کے متعلق نہیں بلکہ یہ سوال ایسا ہے جو مغربی پاکستان کے وزیر مال وزیر صحت اور وزیر بلایات کے متعلق بھی ہے چنانچہ ان سب وزراء کو چاہئے کہ آپس میں مل کر ایسے حالات کا مقابلہ کریں -

اس کے بعد میں گزارش کروں گا کہ آپ کو یہ اندازہ لگانا چاہئے کہ اس وقت زیر کاشت زمینیں کتنی ہیں - اور سیلاب کی وجہ سے کتنا زیر کاشت رقبہ متاثر ہوا ہے -

میں یہ عرض کروں کہ آپ پہلے یہ حساب لگائیں کہ ہر سال کتنا رقبہ سیلاب سے متاثر ہوتا ہے پھر آپ اس کے مطابق کوئی سکیم بنائیں - میرے خیال میں سب سے ضروری چیز یہ ہے کہ آپ سیلابی نالوں بنائیں اور ان پر بند بنادھن ان سے کوئی مفید کام نہیں تاکہ وہ ہماری فصلوں کیلئے نقصان کا باعث نہ بنیں بلکہ وہ پانی ہم کسی مفید کام میں صرف کریں - ہم ان نالوں کے کنارے پر بیڈلرز ان لگا کر ملکی صنعت کو فروغ دے سکتے ہیں -

صاحب سپیکر - آپ کا وقت ختم ہو گیا -

قاضی عبداللطیف - جناب والا - میں نے اپنے علاقے کے متعلق تو ابھی کچھ نہیں کہا۔ یہ تو جنرل باتیں بیان کر رہا تھا - تو میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ان سیلابی نالوں کی خصوصاً سابقہ پنجاب میں نہ ہونیکی وجہ سے سابقہ صوبہ سرحد کی غذائی صورت حالات پر بہت برا اثر پڑا ہے - ہمارے پشاور شہر میں ہی ساڑھے تین ہزار بوری روزانہ کے حساب سے قندم خرچ ہوتی ہے جو سابقہ صوبہ پنجاب سے آتی ہے اور سابقہ صوبہ سرحد کی گیارہ لاکھ آبادی سے ملحق قبائلی علاقوں کے لوگ سالانہ محنت مزدوری اور پیٹ پالنے کی غرض سے سابقہ صوبہ سرحد میں آکر زندگی گزارتے ہیں - اور اگر سیلاب کی وجہ سے سابقہ صوبہ پنجاب کی غذائی صورت خراب ہو جاتی ہے تو اسکا اثر سابقہ صوبہ سرحد اور قبائلی علاقوں پر بھی پڑتا ہے - لہذا حکومت کو چاہئے کہ منظم طور پر پورے صوبہ مغربی پاکستان کی غذائی صورت حالات کو سامنے رکھ کر کوئی سکیم بنائیں اور انتہائی سنجیدگی کے ساتھ اس سلسلہ میں کوئی پلیننگ کریں اور مختلف ذرائع استعمال کر کے سیلابی نالے بنائے جائیں - جب تک حکومت پوری ذمہ داری اور سنجیدگی کے ساتھ اس اہم مسئلہ پر غور نہیں فرماتی یہ تکلیف رفع نہیں ہوسکتی - ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اپنی تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں -

(اس مرحلہ پر بہت سے سبر صاحبان اپنی اپنی نشستوں پر تقریر کے لئے کھڑے ہوئے)

(پس)

صاحب سپیکر :- دیکھتے وقت تھوڑا ہے ۔ اگر کسی صاحب کو وقت نہیں مل سکا تو میں مجبور ہوں ۔ آخر دو گھنٹہ میں تین سو ممبران کو تو وقت نہیں دیا جاسکتا ۔ اب پیرزادہ صاحب کو وقت دینا ہے (قطع کلامیاں اور شور) ۔

(اس مرحلہ پر ممبران پھر اپنی نشستوں پر کھڑے ہو گئے)۔

صاحب سپیکر :- آپ تشریف رکھئے ۔ میرے خیال میں سیلاب سے پیدا شدہ مسائل میں سے کوئی مسئلہ ایسا باقی نہیں رہا جس کے متعلق یہاں ذکر نہیں ہوا ۔ تقریباً تمام مسائل زیر بحث آچکے ہیں ۔

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** (Minister of Law and Agriculture) : Sir, may I at the outset give an assurance to honourable members that if they had no occasion to speak on behalf of the respective areas they represent, Government will certainly go into the question and fully investigate the areas where damage has occurred and do its utmost to give proper relief.

Sir, with regard to the number of suggestions that honourable members have made, I am very grateful to them because most of them are really very helpful. Some of these suggestions are of a permanent nature while others are of a temporary nature. With regard to the first category Mr. Naseer A. Sheikh followed by Mian Muhammad Shafi made a suggestion saying, that so much of our water was flowing down when we need ourselves so much water. Mr. Naseer A. Sheikh suggested that when we are deficient and short of water why could not floods be used to our advantage. I must tell him that it must be realised that this requires not only tremendous effort but also a tremendous amount of money. To solve, tackle, plan and execute problems like this, Government is shortly setting up, not a Flood Control Permanent Body as he has suggested, but a Power and Water Project Authority which will be dealing with the planning, development and execution of these big problems. Flood control, I think, will be a part of it. I may assure honourable members that Government is alive to this great necessity and they attach the greatest importance to this aspect of the matter. Very soon legislation will be undertaken to set up such an Authority.

Mr. G. M. Syed made a similar suggestion about the hilly areas to stock hilly torrents. I entirely agree with him that to obviate and stop floods in hilly areas this is the only method. Actually, as he knows very well, when I was in charge of Sind, I had this scheme in mind for the hilly areas from Jacobabad district right up to Dadu and Kotri district to store water. These are small schemes. They store water in the hills and thus obviate floods and that water can be utilised for irrigation and cultivation purposes.

A third suggestion was made by Sheikh Mahbub Ilahi and Mr. Shafiqat Hussain, that is dredging. Dredging is a very tedious process. But there are methods which, if found out, would divert the current of rivers in a particular manner. With diversion silt is automatically cleared away. The Power and Project Authority will have to deal with problems like these.



There is an alternative to this dredging also—by controlling the current and flow of the rivers. Silt would be easily dredged away by the flow of waters.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** By canalising the rivers.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** Yes, by canalising the rivers. Government is alive to these things as I said just now. They are setting up this Authority and all these problems will be entrusted to it and will be tackled in a proper manner.

Coming to the immediate measures so far as the damage is concerned, I have already given an account and honourable members know it very well that it is a very serious damage and we have all to put in our efforts together, not only the Government but the public also. All honourable members, irrespective of party affiliations, have got to join together and face this problem. Then only something can be done. Financially, Government sources are very limited. We have got the Flood Relief Fund, the Governor's Fund and the normal revenues of the Province from which grants and allotments have already been made. The Central Government have been approached to give us one crore of rupees. Subsequently full assessment of the damage has to be made because assessment is a very important thing. We cannot be in a hurry: somebody said twenty crores, another forty crores and somebody went to the extent of fifty or sixty crores. We cannot go on by guess work alone. It will have to be properly investigated. I say and feel that it is a very heavy loss. The provincial revenues alone will not be able to bear the expenditure. I think that funds should be raised from public also and then alone we can meet this emergency. Government on their part have so far taken some decisions. Besides these, I have noted down all the suggestions that have been made and Government will certainly consider all those suggestions and incorporate them wherever found feasible and necessary. These are the immediate decisions that Government have taken.

About the allocation of funds for that purpose, it has been decided to give gratuitous relief to certain categories of persons in Khairpur and Hyderabad Divisions. That means that if persons in Khairpur and Hyderabad Divisions are paying five rupees, ten rupees or fifty rupees land revenue. (Interruptions).

بیگم سلمیٰ صدق حسین - اس ایوان کی آپوزیشن پارٹی کے ممبران کا جنٹی اتنی بڑی تعداد ہے حق ہے کہ اس کام میں پہلے حصہ لیں -

پیرزادہ عبدالستار - میں نے سب پارٹیوں کی امداد حاصل کرنے کا اہتمام کیا ہے -

بیگم سلمیٰ صدق حسین - آپوزیشن کا تعاون پہلے حاصل کرنا چاہیے -

مسٹر پیرزادہ عبدالستار - میں نے عرض کیا ہے کہ سب کی مدد لی جائے گی - یہ بڑی عجیب بات ہے کہ ایسے remarks کئے جائیں کہ پہلے اس پارٹی کی مدد لی جائے اور پھر دوسری پارٹی کی - یہ تو بچوں کی بات ہوئی -



**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** What about the people who are starving on bounds? What about their food and clothing?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** May I ask the honourable member to have a little patience. This is free relief, so I am merely mentioning categories. I am coming to food and clothing.

Now, Sir, this is with regard to persons who hold land. Anybody paying five rupees land revenue will be entitled to get gratuitous relief. Landless Haris will get gratuitous relief irrespective of the holding they have.

**Mr. G. M. Syed :** Landless means that they hold no land. Landless Haris have not got any holdings. They are just tenants of somebody else. Therefore, they are entitled to gratuitous relief irrespective of the area they cultivate.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** I correct myself. Food would be distributed free to the poor and destitute persons who have lost their food-grains. The Deputy Commissioners will make arrangements for the free distribution of food.

Somebody made a suggestion for appointing Advisors to these Officers. Certainly Government would be glad to ask some responsible persons to act as Advisors.

Useful work will be done with the help of these Advisors.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Who will be the Advisors?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada :** These persons will be appointed by the Committee. They will guide and work with the District officers.

May I request you to forget for the time being whether you are Muslim-Leaguers or Republicans. Face this calamity as citizens of Pakistan. Be serious for once at least.

Sir, with regard to the irrigation system, it has been found that it has been completely destroyed and the Government has decided to give fifty per cent assistance in this case. As regards the other details, investigations will be necessary. All that will be done as and when the officers and the Ministers will be touring the affected areas.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah :** Has any Minister visited the affected areas?

**Kazi Fazlullah Ubedullah** (Minister of Irrigation) : I had gone to my district.

**Khawaja Muhammad Safdar** : Will the honourable Minister please enlighten the House as regards the anti-flood measures which the Government took before these floods and which they propose to take after the floods?

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** : The honourable member does not seem to be listening with attention. In the course of the debate, I referred to it. I will, however, reply to that because that is an important question. The honourable member is forgetting that the present flood is not the result of the failure of the river bunds or the rising of the river. This flood is the result of excessive rains which nobody could control. You have got hailstorms and other calamities like that which cause all this damage. So far as the river flood control is concerned, that has been completely done for irrigation purposes.

I forgot to mention about the report of the Flood Commission which had been appointed by the Centre. As I think you know it very well that so far as the Provincial Assembly is concerned, I am advised by the Flood Relief Commissioner that whatever suggestions have been made by them have been put into effect.

The present flood was an uncontrollable calamity. You could never know how much rain there is going to be. So far as the Provincial Government is concerned, they have done their best and I must say that they have succeeded in preventing the floods by controlling the rise of water. I hope that by the Grace of God, there will be no such occasion of floods in the future.

**Pir Elahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali Shah** : Will you kindly say something about erosion? The land is eroded very badly by the river.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** : The honourable member is making a very intelligent contribution. He will find that all these things will be included within the purview of that Authority.

Now, Sir, with regard to the future problem. Most of the honourable members of this House have said that they are very worried about the flood situation.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon** : The Government is also worried.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada** : Sir, I would propose that as the Government business is nearly finished, you may kindly adjourn the Assembly sine-die.

## FORMATION OF BRANCH OF COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION.

**Mr. Speaker:** Before I come to the adjournment of the Assembly I have to make an announcement. Please hear it and then you can disperse.

I believe members of this House are aware of the existence of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. This Association was formed in 1911 as the Empire Parliamentary Association when delegations from various Legislatures in the then British Empire attended the Coronation of King George V and the idea of a permanent Parliamentary Association took shape. Later on, the name of this Association was changed from Empire Parliamentary Association to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The objects of this Association are to facilitate the exchange of information, closer understanding and more frequent intercourse between the Parliamentary representatives of the various Legislatures of the Commonwealth. The Association organizes parliamentary conferences and meetings of delegations and provides reduced travel rates to facilitate individual visits by parliamentarians of one country to another, extends hospitality to visiting members and supplies information both individually to members requiring it on some special and collectively through the issue of periodical publications.

The affairs of the Association are managed by a General Council. This Council, on which the main branches of the Association are equally represented, meets once a year in one of the capitals of the Commonwealth Countries.

Branches of the Association have been formed in the fully self-governing members of the Commonwealth. The Provincial Legislature of East Pakistan has already a Branch of the Association which is affiliated to the main branch, i.e. the branch formed by the Central Legislature and to the Association through the General Council. Branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association existed in the former Provinces of the Punjab and Sind before they ceased to exist on the formation of the Province of West Pakistan. I am confident that members hailing from those Provinces especially and other members generally are aware of the objects, activities and privileges of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

I would suggest that a Branch of the Association be formed in the West Pakistan Province as well and that all members of the Assembly become members of the Association. In case, the House decides to form a Branch, the question would arise of the payment of the annual subscriptions towards the general funds of the Association. Each Branch of the Association contributes a certain sum to the General Council, subject, of course, to the agreement of the Government of the Branch concerned.

The Secretary General of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has written to ask whether we intend to form a branch in this Legislature. If the House agrees to form a branch the Secretary General will be asked to let us know the firm figure of the annual contribution which we would be requiring to pay. Roughly speaking, it can be taken that it will be within the ceiling of £ 500/-. In return for this all the members of our Branch will be entitled to receive the publications of the Association post free, that is, the quarterly "Journal of the 'Parliaments of the Commonwealth'", the quarterly "Report on Foreign Affairs" and the "Summary of Congressional Proceedings of U.S.A.". Further than that they could be supplied with a special "Commentary on Foreign Affairs" by air mail to keep them informed up-to-date between the issues of the quarterly Report. The members of the Association will also be entitled to the various privileges mentioned in the Statement of Objects, Activities and Privileges of the Association (which have been circulated to members) including invitations to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences and visits to various countries. It may be added that when delegations go out to attend these Conferences all expenses, both of transport and hospitality are provided by the inviting country.

In case it is the wish of the members of this House to form a Branch of the Association in this Province, I shall place before the House a resolution and after the resolution has been passed, I shall approach the Provincial Government for the grant of the necessary funds to the Assembly Secretariat for the payment of the annual contribution and take necessary action for the affiliation of the Branch with the Association. I will now put the following resolution before the House :—

"This Assembly resolves that a Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association be formed in this Province with all Members of this House as its Members and requests the Provincial Government to grant necessary funds to the Assembly Secretariat to enable it to make payment of the Branch's annual contribution to the Association as may be fixed by the General Council of the Association.

The Assembly further authorises the Speaker to take necessary action for the affiliation of the Branch with the Association".

Now I ask the Honourable Members whether they agree to it.

**Voices :** Yes Sir, We agree to it.

*The resolution was carried.*

**Mr. Speaker :** Now, the Assembly will be adjourned sine-die but the honourable members may meet tomorrow, so that office-bearers may also be elected.

**Mr. G. Allana :** Mr. Speaker, I have been authorized by the Leaders of the Muslim League Party to make statement on behalf of the League Party to the suggestion just now made by the honourable the Law Minister. The way and the form in which he has asked the House to adjourn sine-die is such that it becomes very difficult for the Muslim League Party to oppose

the motion. For then they would like to accuse us that we wanted to keep the honourable members away from their constituencies, where our need was greatest. We would like it to go on record, Mr. Speaker, that the reason which has compelled the Government in moving this proposal is not the reason propounded by honourable the Law Minister. When we met here in Lahore, and when we were called by the Government, the Government very well knew that there were serious floods. In spite of all that we were called to attend this session. We find before us very important legislative measures, in the absence of which there would be utter confusion in the running of the Government of West Pakistan. We find a number of Ordinances which the Government have sought to ratify in this particular session. What has then compelled the Government to change its attitude overnight? I make bold to say, Mr. Speaker, that the reasons which have compelled the Government to take this attitude today to run away from the House is not what has happened on the floor of this House, but what has been happening outside during the last 3 or 4 days among the MLAs, who are utterly disgusted with the present Government. I make bold to say, Mr. Speaker, if the Government feel that they have a majority behind them, let them continue the session, and the coming 5 days will show to them that they have no majority behind them. If for any reason of political expediency they want to run away from democracy; if they want to shut the doors on democracy; if they do not want to abide by the verdict of the majority of this House; what can I say, Mr. Speaker. I can only say with Hamlet: "Time is out of joint, O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it rite". We shall set them right, if they continue this session for one week more. The honourable Law Minister has said that according to rules of procedure the Government withdraws all the measures that they have brought before this Assembly. What can we now do, Mr. Speaker? I want it to be understood very clearly what is the reason that has compelled the Government to ask for an adjournment sine-die. Mr. Speaker, it is not due to the floods, but due to the reason that they want to save their skin by running away from this House.

May I say one word more. Is the Chief Minister prepared to make a categorical statement that within one month he is going to convene another session.

**Chief Minister:** Let the honourable member look into himself. Let me assure him that he will never come to this House after the general election which will be held fairly.

(Interruptions) Well, if they do not like to hear me, I sit down.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Minister of Law):** Sir, I am compelled to get up and answer my friend Mr. Allana.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** On a point of privilege, Sir.



**Mr. Speaker:** Please sit down.

**Rana Gul Muhammad Noon alias Abdul Aziz Noon:** If you will allow me to rise later on a point of privilege, I sit down.

**Mian Amiruddin:** The Chief Minister should make a statement. (Voices from Treasury Benches: He has already made a statement).

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada:** Sir, Mr. Allana knew it very well. (Interruptions). Please have the patience to hear me, the courtesy to hear me. If you do not, that shows the weakness of your case.

**Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada:** This question has been there since the 1st of August when the Assembly has met. Mr. Allana or any one of his colleagues did not have the courage to put up a no-confidence motion. If they had felt strong enough they could very well have given notice of it, but they did not do it. They have been hoping every time, Sir, that they will be able to do something. (Interruptions). Have patience to hear.

Sir, you will remember that the last session also an announcement was made—although the budget was passed and no motion was pressed to a division—the no-confidence motion will be moved at the appropriate stage. That was only a face-saving device. Now, Mr. Allana has given us another device that although for all these days they were not able to move a no-confidence motion, on closure motion they challenged and you ordered division at their challenge and when they found that Mr. G. M. Syed's group was not going to vote in their favour and sat neutral, they also decided to sit neutral. Then our voting was recorded as 109 and the Opposition as 6. They did not want to vote, they did not want to expose their number, they would have been hardly 13. (interruptions). Very well, get up and move no-confidence motion if you can get even 88 persons just now.

**Mr. G. Allana:** Give us one week and we will move the no-confidence motion.

**Chief Minister:** Let me assure him whether the House is sitting or not, even outside, whenever he produces before me a majority, I will resign.

**Mr. Speaker:** ~~The question is~~ Motion moved is:—

That the Assembly do now adjourn sine-die.

*The resolution was carried.*

*The Assembly then adjourned sine die.*

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TO THE  
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF WEST PAKISTAN  
DEBATES**

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**From 1st August to 6th August, 1958.**

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