

ISSUES IN PAKISTAN

Selection of Speeches in National Assembly (1990-1993)

By Benazir Bhutto



Reproduced by

Sani H. Panhwar

Member Sindh Council PPP

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PREFACE

Ms. Benazir Bhutto, the former Prime Minister, and the Leader of Opposition in the National Assembly of Pakistan, is without doubt, one of the finest orators of our times. Whether she addresses one of her massive public rallies or mounts the tribune in the Parliament, her speeches have always been a valuable source of information for all. She is a remarkable improviser of dialectics, she will bring Socrates and Confucius back to life, she will drift into ancient civilizations and come up with prognosis, forewarnings and prophecies, she is an irrepressible democrat and an enthusiastic parliamentarian with an impressive diction to narrate.

Ms. Benazir Bhutto is at her forensic best when she takes the floor in the parliament. With one arm resolutely behind her back and other raised in defiance, her powerful voice resounds in the Hall as she launches her blistering attack on the Treasury Benches. Small wonder then that the galleries are packed to capacity with journalists, bureaucrats and diplomats and twice as many wait in corridors, to hear for themselves the Leader of Opposition express the aspirations and apprehensions of the masses, words that will decide the future of the people of Pakistan.

The speeches that have been chosen to be included here are because of their subject matter that concerns every citizen. Since most of Ms. Benazir Bhutto's speeches are delivered extempore, it became necessary to edit some bits only to transform the spoken form into written text, otherwise, no changes have been made. Special care was taken to preserve her distinct style of oration, short sentences followed by a pause, to let the words sink in, then a quick long sentence to drive her point home. Those familiar with classic Greek art of oratory would appreciate the extra effort here.

As for me, it was a wonderful experience going through the recorded tapes and transcripts provided by the National Assembly Secretariat. I especially enjoyed translating the Urdu portions of her speeches into English and for the benefit of the readers these portions have been printed in italics here. A separate foreword has been given to all speeches to acquaint the reader with the situation under which a particular speech was delivered.

AWAIS J. BANGASH

FOREWORD

SHARIAT BILL

In order to please the fundamentalist and extremist elements in its fold, the IJI Government passed a Bill known as Shariat Bill. This controversial Bill was presented and passed in National Assembly in less than thirty minutes bypassing all Rules of Procedure, without a debate and through sheer brute majority.

Even though the Leader of Opposition, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, was advised not to oppose the Bill because of the religious name given to it, she opposed it. She gave three reasons, one, the Bill was an attempt to weaken **Ijma**, the Supremacy of Parliament, two, her Party's commitment to democracy and three, the Bill was unislamic. This in fact, was the first time ever in the history of Pakistan, after Quaid-e-Azam, that any national leader had the courage to stand up and oppose the combined move of the religious extremists and fundamentalists. Her defiant opposition to this Bill was welcomed by the whole nation who have been groaning under the yoke of religious fanatics.

SHARIAT BILL

May 14, 1991

I rise Mr. Speaker, with a sigh of relief and a sense of apprehension, a sigh of relief because the Opposition is being given the opportunity to present their view on the Shariat Bill before the Parliament and through the Parliament to the nation at large and even beyond the nation, also with the sense of apprehension, because many of us on the Opposition benches are quite puzzled and have yet not been enlightened as to what the hurry is in getting the Bill passed.

I would not like to say that there has been an indecent haste because when we are discussing such an important name given to such a Bill it would not be appropriate, but nonetheless we hope, that at some stage we would be enlightened by the Treasury benches as to the hurry in getting this Bill passed and the significance of getting this Bill passed against the reports of the growing instability which are being presented in the newspapers. I do not always believe the newspapers because I know that they get information from different quarters, sometimes correct and sometimes not, but I do hope that the Shariat Bill is going to be treated as a Bill of importance, as a Bill of substance and is not going to be treated as a P.R. exercise carried out by the Orient Advertisers.

I would like to say on behalf of PDA that WE REJECT THE PRESENT BILL AS UNISLAMIC, SECTARIAN, UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND OBSCURANTIST. We, say this Bill is unconstitutional because we believe, that first the opinion of the Council of (Islamic) Ideology should have been taken. I believe a Minister informed this House that the sense of Ideology Council has been taken but perhaps he was misinformed because my information is, that the Council of (Islamic) Ideology will be meeting sometimes later this month to take up the issue of this Bill and therefore, it may be more prudent to abide by the constitutional provisions and await the advice of the Council of Islamic Ideology. I would also say that this Bill is unconstitutional because it goes beyond the legislative scope of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. We have a concurrent list, and the scope of this Bill goes beyond the concurrent list and thereby threatens to further obscure the differences between the role of the Federation and the role of Provinces in a Federal system. Recently, the Opposition has criticized the Water Accord on the ground that provinces should not have the right to build their own dams. We believe, that if each province is given the right to build its own dam, this will in effect give power to upper riparians to build dams at the cost of lower riparians. Thus we believe, that the Water Accord should have been a national issue. At the same time we feel that the Shariat Bill and many aspects of the Shariat Bill excluding Zakat, Auqaf and Education should have been given to the provinces to consider and to enact.

I was very pleased to hear the Leader of the House say during his forty minutes

televised address to the Nation, I wish my address had also been televised but perhaps another time, I was very pleased to hear the Leader of the House say that he was not a fundamentalist and I have said to him on the occasion that we would welcome a non fundamentalist Bill and he need not fear the clergy because the support he lost amongst the clergy, he would gain amongst all non fundamentalists in this House. Unfortunately, the reasons best known to the Leader of the Treasury benches, despite the fact that he is not a fundamentalist and therefore, I trust that many of his colleagues are also not fundamentalists, we have been given, in effect a fundamentalist Shariat Bill and that is why the PDA upon consideration, believes strongly that a FUNDAMENTALIST SHARIAT BILL CANNOT BE ACCEPTED if the Muslim countries including Pakistan are to go on the road of progress and stability As one non fundamentalist to another non fundamentalist, I assume the Leader of the Treasury benches will appreciate, that a fundamentalist Shariat Bill strikes at the very roots of democratic Government. The essence of democratic Government is built upon the balance of powers. The pillars which constitute the balance of power are essential to the success of the survival of a democratic polity. When I talk about the three pillars of the balance of power, I do not refer to the troika about which the press in Pakistan is fond of writing, I refer instead Mr. Speaker, to the three branches of the Government, the Executive Branch, the Legislative Branch and the Judicial Branch. It is our fear, it is our apprehension that this fundamentalist Shariat Bill threatens to weaken the Legislative Branch of Government and at the cost of the strength of Legislative Branch a Government is threatened to strengthen the role of the executive. (*Minister for Religious Affairs objects to the use of the word "Fundamentalist".*)

Mr. Speaker, I thank the Honorable Member and I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Honorable Member from Mianwali on the point of order which he raised, I would like to give him the pleasant news that I shall be defining what the non fundamentalist is in my speech subsequently. It is very gracious of the Speaker to say that they should not interrupt me but I would not mind if the Honorable Member ... interrupted me just to prove a non fundamentalist point of view, that the woman is not half of the man!

I was speaking Mr. Speaker about the fundamentalist and the non fundamentalist approach to democracy. In a non fundamentalist approach, the non fundamentalists believe that the democracy should have three pillars, there should be a balance of power, there should be a balance of powers between the Legislature, the Executive and the Judicial branches of power, but the fundamentalists unfortunately, and this Bill does not set at rest my fears, do not give as much importance to the Legislative Branch of Government, in fact, this Bill, because it does not categorically give an assurance about the supremacy of Parliament and about supremacy of Legislative work being done in Parliament, threatens to weaken Legislative Branch of Government and give greater powers to the Executive. You may well ask me Mr. Speaker, that why is it when a Bill chooses to transfer power from the Parliament to the

Judicial Branch of Government, it is not the Judicial Branch which is strengthened but it is Executive Branch which is strengthened? The reasons, Mr. Speaker is, that the Executive appoints the Judges, the Executive and in our country by practice though not always by law, the President appoints the Justices and thereby we see that the effective control of the Judiciary goes into the hands of the Executive, and when the Legislative Parliamentary Power is broken and the Judiciary is made captive of the Chief Executive, then one can say we are entering a new form of tyranny, or a new form of Government where the edicts of one person shall be above and beyond the decision of the representatives of the people.

The Judiciary in most countries are answerable to Parliament. I can cite, the example of India where recently a Judge was given notice to appear before the Parliament. Mr. Speaker, also in Turkey if the Judiciary needs to call a Member of the House for a Court proceedings, it first has to go to the Parliament, it has to place its case before the Speaker and the Members of the House, and only if the Speaker and the Members of the House give permission, then is the Member of the Parliament allowed to attend the Court proceedings. I am told that although it is not the practice but in theory, even in England a Judge can be called before a Joint Session of the Lower and Upper Houses, but it is only here in Pakistan that in the form of a Shariat Bill we are threatening to make Parliament which is the sovereign expression of the people of Pakistan, subordinate to the Judicial powers, which the PDA cannot accept. We cannot accept that the Court should have supremacy over the Parliament, in fact, we want the Courts to be subordinate to the Parliament and if there is a search for an Islamic Law, if there is a search for a Law that can reflect the wishes of the Muslim masses, then surely Mr. Speaker, the way to reach that end is to restore the Constitution of 1973.

The Constitution of 1973 was an Islamic document, it is a Democratic document, it was a representative document and it was a document unanimously accepted by the religious and the non religious Members of the Parliament and the parties also. According to the Constitution of 1973 and I would also submit according to the non fundamentalist approach to Law, Supremacy over the Universe belongs to Almighty Allah. Men and women are the agents of Allah, men and women by electing a parliament make the parliament the trustee of God on this earth and as will be elucidated subsequently, all of men and women who are in the fold of Islam are the prophets to the Prophet. We accept the concept of *Risalat*, we accept the concept of *Ijma* and because we accept the concept of *Risalat* and because we accept the concept of *Ijma*, we believe that the elected representatives must determine their own destiny and they must do so through the Parliament and that this power to arrive at *Ijma* or the consensus of the Muslims polity cannot be given to any other body, if such an approach is made and argued that would be a fundamentalist Shariat Bill. We would like to see Parliament as a fountain head of *Ijma* and the last Court in the country, we are being forced to oppose the present Bill because we believe that the present Bill does not give security to the concept that *Jima* or the consensus of the Muslim polity is to be

determined by the elected representatives of the country. Should a Shariat Bill be passed which is fundamentalist in nature, this would lead not only to the collapse of the Legislative Branch of the Government, about which I have been speaking, but, it would also lead Mr. Speaker, and I fear this, to the collapse of the Judicial Branch of Government. You may ask me Mr. Speaker, that how is it then, that when many learned Ulema favor giving more rights to Judges, that the Judiciary will become weaker rather than stronger. Mr. Speaker I will just give you an example of our recent history. You will recall that in 1980 the Federal Shariat Court gave a decision that land reforms were Islamic, this decision was not liked by the elite which ruled and governed this country, so then a new Federal Shariat Court was constituted and, lo and behold, in 1990 the new Federal Shariat Court declared that land reforms were unislamic. Are we Muslims to ask, was the Federal Shariat Court of 1980 right which said that the land reforms were Islamic? Or is the Federal Shariat Court of 1990 right, which said that the land reforms were Unislamic? It is not that Islam changes unfortunately for us, our Ullema can never agree on a single point and that is why for political convenience their interpretation also changes and that is why we cannot make our people, our nation, our future, our destinies subject to the arbitrary whims and fancies. We would like the decision to be taken by this august House. I come again to another Judicial decision. A wise Judge once ruled under *Qisas* and *Diyat*, he said the meaning of *Qisas* and *Diyat* was that, the transporters should pay so much money every time there was an accident. Did everyone run into the streets and shout, hurrah ... hurrah we have Islam? No, Mr. Speaker, that was not the consequence, instead the transporters took to the streets and said 'No' to the Chief Justice, and what had the Chief Justice said, he said this was the Law of Islam. Should we say that our transporters were saying no to Islam? Should we say that our transporters were repudiating Islam? Of course the transporters were not repudiating religion, but this is the danger, this is the danger inherent in a system when power is taken away from where it belongs that is in the Legislature and handed over to the Judiciary which is neither answerable nor accountable before the public opinion. This is the danger Mr. Speaker, a parliament can change a Law, elected representatives can amend a Law but when a Law is made in the name of Islam that means that Law cannot be amended and if that Law cannot be amended, then what are we to tell our children when they say, that one Federal Shariat Court says land reforms are Islamic and another Federal Shariat Court says that land reforms are not Islamic? What are we to tell our children when they say that transporters are coming out on the streets of Pakistan and the Chief Justice is not holding them up for contempt of Court? What are we to say to Our children when they say that Islam has been declared by the Supreme Court of Pakistan but the cartels are meeting the Prime Minister and reaching a compromise and a consensus with him on what the transport laws should be ? I will give you a third example Mr. Speaker, the third example, I will refer to the decision regarding *Rajm* (stoning to death) which was made by the Federal Shariat Court. When a decision about *Rajm* was made by the Federal Shariat Court, our learned friends from the clergy were not pleased with it, they took to the mosques, they took to the minarets, at the call of Azaan first thing in the morning and at the call of Azaan just before we

went to sleep. From every mosque and every minaret, from Khyber to Karachi calls were going out, kill the judges, stone the judges, the judges have given an unIslamic decision. Can we afford to make a State into such an entity that from every mosque and from every minaret it is being shouted death to the Judges . . . ? We have heard a lot of *Murdabad* and *Zindabad Siasatdan* (Politicians) but I think it is time that we saved our nation from bringing about Judicial humiliation, Judicial shame and Judicial collapse and that is the reason why we say that there cannot be Papacy in Islam Islam spelt the death of Papacy. Islam spelt the death of clergy

I do not know from where the clergy has sprouted up to tell us what is a good Muslim and what is not a good Muslim. I believe, that one who believes in the Finality of Prophethood and in the Oneness of Allah is a good Muslim and it is only God who can decide on the Day of Judgment, who has been true to his religion and who has not been true to his religion. I would like to quote you the Quranic verses with references to compulsion, because I feel that when we are making the Shariat Law we are compelling people upon a particular path, we are saying, we are holding a gun to your head and if you do not go on this path we are going to pull the trigger of this gun and I believe it is no business of the State to hold a gun to the head of the citizen and say behave in this way and if you do not behave in this way, we will punish you because in the religion of Islam, in the non fundamentalist view of Islam there is no compulsion is religion. We are proud of the fact that Islam is the religion of tolerance, but does the world know that we are a religion of tolerance?

No ...! They think that we are a religion which discriminates against women, which discriminates against minorities and that I believe Mr. Speaker, is a great disservice to a great religion which came to liberate mankind. I would like to quote; "There is no compulsion in the matters of religion" . . . and I would like to quote; "And if your Lord has pleased, all those who are in the earth would have believed all of them, will you then force men till they are Believers" And I would like to quote; "If God had not raised a group of Muslims, to ward off the others from aggression, Churches, Synagogues and Mosques where God is worshiped most would have been destroyed". Mr. Speaker, we cannot accept a Bill of Papacy, we cannot accept the Bill of compulsion, instead we call upon the Treasury Benches to revise the Bill, to present to the Islamic world and to the Muslim Ummah a Bill of liberalism, of moderation and of tolerance.

Now, I would like to talk about the negative role of the clerics. Except in Iran for its own historic, religious reasons, if we look at the role of the clergy, this role has always been an extremely negative and reactionary one. The clergy is with the crutches of colonial power everywhere, where there was a colonial rule. The clergy have always opposed nationalism, I challenge them to stand up and say that we believe in nationalism I remember when I was in the MRD, I spoke to a fellow party of the MRD and I said to him, I said, "Why did you oppose partition?" and he said "We

opposed partition because in Pakistan there are only Muslims who would be convert, we. did not want partition so we could have Hindus to convert".

They do not believe in nationalism, they do not believe in Pakistan, they did not believe in Pakistan. The clergy were the ones who called Quaid-e-Azam, "Kafr-e-Azam" (Great Pagan), the clergy were the ones who were the biggest opponents of Pakistan, they had the temerity to call our country *na-Pakistan* (Land of unpure). The clergy have always been the supporters of imperialism, they have been the supporters of colonialism, they have sown the seeds of destruction, they have sown the seeds of division amongst the Muslim masses and by sowing the seeds of division, of sectarianism, they have sought to weaken the Muslim countries where they have spread the message of sectarianism.

We are now on the eve of the 21st Century, we, are witnessing around us a New World Order In fact, if you look at the 20th Century Mr. Speaker, it has been a remarkable century. From World. War One to World War Two, to the present decline of Communism and emergence of a New World Order, we have seen tremendous transformation take place all over the world. The attempts to impose the fundamentalist Shariat Bill at this stage, on the eve of 21st Century and in the largest Muslim Country of the Muslim Ummah, to my view is a plan to divide, destroy and weaken Muslim countries starting with Pakistan. I would like to say that the largest block of countries was the block of countries where there was Communism. Now with the decline of Communism, the largest block of countries which have anything in common at all, are the Muslim Countries ..., but do the clergy want us to have something in common? No, they do not, although we are all Muslims, we are united by our religion, they want to divide us, they want to divide us into Shias, they want to divide us into Sunnis, they want to divide us into Bralvis, they want to divide us into Deobandis because they do not wish to see the emergence of a solid block of nations who are united together in one Belief, on Toheed, who all submit before the Will of Allah and who all bend in their prayers before the *Kaaba Sharij*.

Let us look at their role during the Gulf crisis. That was the time when it was demanded, that from the jaws of a military defeat, a political victory should have been sought, that was the time when all the clergy should have united, whether they were the clergy of Pakistan or whether they were the clergy from fighting in Afghanistan or whether they were the clergy in other Muslim countries. They should have all united and put pressure on their Governments to get Iraq to leave Kuwait get Iraq to leave Kuwait before Iraq was destroyed, before Kuwait was burnt, before Saudi Arabia was put into debt, but did our clergy do that? Did they guide the Muslim masses on the path of righteousness? No. . ! All the clergy came out and said, "We are going to fight Jehaad, we are going to send a Lashkar" They built up a fever they built up a tempo they goaded, they pushed they motivated, not only the people in Pakistan but indeed Iraqis for a military showdown which everyone knew that in a military

showdown Iraq simply could not have won ...! Not only in the case of the Gulf crisis, but let's look recently, in the case of Kurds, at a time when the question of national sovereignty was on one side and the question of humanitarian concern for the Kurds was there. Again we did not see any of the clergy come forward and say two countries of the Muslim Ummah, or one country of the Muslim Ummah is having problems, we should come forward and play a role, a role of Brotherhood, a role of peace, after all when we talk of As Salam o Alakim, which every Muslim is supposed to greet another Muslim with, that means, 'Peace be upon you'. Did we talk of peace? I have very rarely heard the clergy talk of peace, but I have often heard them make very aggressive statements and I do not mind making aggressive statements at the right time, but I think what the Muslim World need is peace, it does not need sectarianism, it does not need division and it does not need a clergy which will spread sectarianism and will spread division.

I can see Pakistan adopting a fundamentalist Shariat Bill and becoming increasingly irrelevant. Today, with the decline of Communism two new factors have come forward Mr. Speaker, one is the decline of Communism, first Pakistan was needed to fight the Communists, we used to get a lot of world attention, we used to get a lot of world resources, but today we are no longer needed to fight Communism because Communism is not a threat, and then in the past the United States and certain Western countries had inhibitions about directly intervening in any conflict, and because they had inhibitions about directly intervening in any conflict, they needed proxies, and countries like Pakistan could get a greater leverage or could get a greater advantage. For, the Iraq War has shown that, that inhibition has gone and if need be America or the countries of the West are prepared to intervene on their own. Where does that place us if we now adopt the fundamentalist Shariat Bill, if we now go down the road of reaction? We will get lesser of the world resources and as our people suffer, as our economies decline, so does Muslim Power decline and that is why I say that Pakistan must seek a new relevance in a New World Order and I believe that there is a role, a role which is looking for the leadership and I believe that Pakistan by adopting a non fundamentalist Shariat Bill can become a beacon light for Muslims in Africa, for Muslims in the Middle East, for Muslims in South East Asia and for Muslim in South Asia. All of them are looking for a way to save themselves from the fundamentalists in their own countries and I believe that Pakistan should be bold enough, should be strong enough, Pakistan is the largest Muslim country 110 million people, Pakistan straddles South Asia, Pakistan straddles the Middle East. It is in a position to take a lead, not through being forcible but by its own example, by being a role model, by showing the way for enlightened Islam, by showing the way for liberal Islam, by showing the real message of Islam, by showing the way for liberal Islam, by proclaiming loudly that the real message of Islam is the message of liberty, it is the message of fraternity and it is the message of equality. This is what is needed to save the Muslim masses from the clerics who are threatening to take over and we must remember that these are the same clerics who had played a negative role in history. We

must make sure that Islam is seen as a message of liberation from exploitation, Islam must become the *Jihad* of the exploited against the exploiters, Islam must become the voice of the oppressed against the oppressors, it must be the voice of the middle classes, the voice of the salaried classes, the voice of the working classes against the ruling elite who had denied Muslim masses their share of power and equity in the State structure.

Now, I would like to give some salient features of non fundamentalist Islam or Islamic Social Democracy.

... First of all there must be the Supremacy of Parliament and *Ijma* must mean the consensus arrived at between the elected representatives of the people.

... Secondly, because there is no compulsion in Islam, because Islam guarantees to Muslims and non Muslims equal rights, joint electorates must be reintroduced and separate electorates thrown out as discriminatory and unfair to the minorities.

... Thirdly, because I talk of no compulsion, I think, it is important for us Mr. Speaker, to make a differentiation between sin and crime. Crime is something which the State should seek to eradicate, but the State cannot decide what is sin and what is not the sin, because what is a sin and what is not a sin can only be decided by Almighty Allah and anybody who seeks to interfere in the Workings of Allah, to my mind, is doing no service to our great religion.

We are Muslims because we accept that way of life, we are not Muslims because the State of Pakistan has adopted a particular fundamentalist Bill. If I am in the United States I am a Muslim, although there is no Shariat Bill there. If I am in England I am a Muslim, although there is no Shariat Bill. If I am in France I am a Muslim, although there is no Shariat Bill. My being a Muslim is not contingent upon man's law. My being a Muslim is contingent upon God's Law because I submit willingly and, voluntarily before the Will of Almighty Allah and that is why I say that to be a good Muslim or not to be a good Muslim has nothing to do with the State and it will be best. if the State did not try to impose laws and take over prerogatives which do not belong to man but belong to God alone.

... Fourthly, if we are talking about a non fundamentalist Shariat Bill, we must incorporate into it education, after all the Prophet (Peace be upon him) stressed, again and again the need for education. "Go to China", he said, to seek knowledge and education. Unfortunately, we do not spend enough upon education and I think that Shariat Bill, a non fundamentalist Shariat Bill which makes an unequivocal declaration that a certain percentage increase in education will take place every year irrespective of the strains of our budget, would go a long way in implementing real Islam in Pakistan.

... If we want a non fundamentalist Shariat Bill, then the Shariat Bill must proudly proclaim that the rights of women will be fully guaranteed, that the State will secure and protect the women of this country who are fifty percent of its population, and that the State will ensure that there should be no discrimination against a woman. After all, we have only to lookwe have only to look at the Holy Book and we can see the Quranic references when referring to the rule of Queen Sheeba, it is noted that: "There was a land of plenty". When the Quran Sharif itself can speak so highly of a country where there is a woman's rule, then our clerics have no business to go and tell the women of Pakistan, to stay behind the four walls of their homes.

Along with the role of women in society, a non fundamentalist Shariat Bill must proudly proclaim to the working journalists, to the writers, to the pressmen, go forth and write the truth, you are in the free State of Pakistan.

I was appalled recently to hear about a judgement in which it was said by a Court and these are the Courts to whom we will be giving the interpretation that, "Even if it is the truth it should not be printed, if it causes harm "But public, Mr. Speaker, has a right to know the truth, the journalists have the right to write the truth and a non fundamentalist Shariat Bill must make this commitment with the journalists, it must make commitment with the writers, it must make commitment with the press people and say, go forth and write, we are not afraid of anything, our conscience is clear, as long as you write the truth, I am against false imputation but as long as you write the truth go ahead and write it and they should have security of sources. We should not go and ask them who gave you the sources because if you intimidate them in this manner, then they will be frightened to write about the truth.

Then of course, because Islam is a religion which gives every man and woman the right, that they are the agents of Allah, we must declare boldly that there should be adult franchise in the Northern Areas and Tribal Areas and every man and woman who is an adult can have the right to elect their own Members to represent them.

There is another aspect of the fundamentalist Shariat Bill which is extremely worrying and that is that it talks about *thanedars* being given the power to note whether obscenity is being committed or any vulgar act committed. Mr. Speaker let me submit that, "even a poor man is a king of his home". We cannot take away the right of privacy. We cannot violate *chaddar* and *chardivari*. Every *thanedar* must know that what people do between the four walls of their own homes is their business and the State has no right to look into their homes.

There has been some talk of creating fiscal chaos, of changing interest rate and so on. Of course, we want the fiscal laws to be in conformity with Islam. But may I submit Mr. Speaker that we must do it in a rational way. We must do it in a way which serves the ends of justice, and it would be more prudent for us to change the fiscal laws not in

the shortest possible time as has been proposed in the Bill, but to change it when we can get a single Islamic Monetary Unit. The Islamic countries are joined together in the organization of Islamic Countries and I see no reason why we should not all coordinate our efforts so that fiscal chaos is avoided.

I have many points, but I will not go into all of them because I know the colleagues on the Treasury benches have given a dinner at 8.30. As we all had rather a long day so I will be more brief and say that we must make sure that a non fundamentalist Shariat Bill makes the commitment to Human Rights.

Today, a prisoner is tortured for three weeks before a court hears his case and admits his petition, this must be done away with. Human Right is sacrosanct in Islam and the courts must decide on the very day the person is arrested if there are any charges of torture.

Then there must be a commitment to a Social Welfare Safety Net so the unemployed in our country do not despair, do not become frustrated and do not turn to crime. A commitment whereby the funds of Zakat and Ushr, a reemployment programme started to give fresh skill to the educated unemployed.

We must also have a safety net for the oval in our society, for the aged, for the disabled, for the widows and the orphans. We all pay Zakat and Ushr, at least I pay Zakat and Ushr and I know that a lot of others do too and I think this is an appropriate commitment to be made in a non fundamentalist Shariat Bill.

There must be a commitment to Social Areas, the Muslim masses must learn of the *Fatwas* given by the Ulema of Egypt, given by Ulema of Indonesia, given by the Ulema of Bangladesh and other Muslim countries on population planning because if we are to preserve and conserve our resources, if we are to give better future to our children, then it is important that Muslim teachings and Muslim *Fatwas* on the important question of population planning be made known.

There is a huge social sector programme, I do believe that it is a social sector which needs a commitment from a non fundamentalist Shariat Bill.

Let me say Mr. Speaker that we in the Opposition, consider ourselves to be the heirs to Quaid-e-Azam, to Alama Iqbal, to Quaid-e-Milat and to Quaid-e-Awam. We must and we do say "No" to our Mulla's Bill. We will and we do say "Yes" to a Bill which incorporates Quaid-e-Azam's thoughts and visions, Quaid-e-Azam's programme for an independent Muslim State.

If the Shariat Bill is revised or amended to bring it into line with Quaid-e-Azam's Pakistan and to save it from the known and renowned opponents of Quaid-e-Azam, that Bill will surely have our support.

... We have seen that the Muslim countries have been at the crux ... have been a cradle of crises, if I can use that word. If we look at the last decade, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait occupation, the major world crises affected the World of Islam and it is my fear that if we do not do something about it, the Muslim World may well be beset by future crises. This arch which was once called the arch of fundamentalism has now become the arch of crises. It need not to be so and it will not be so.

Pakistan is a country that can play a vital role and I believe that there is a role, a role in search of a land and in search of a Leader who can lead the Muslim masses into greater unity by acting as an honest broker between intra Muslim disputes and also by trying to bridge the growing gaps which we see between the Christian West and the Muslim East, that role of an honest broker in intra Muslim disputes, that role of the pioneers of non fundamentalist Islam, that is a role that I would like to see Pakistan play and for that role the Treasury benches can be assured of our support.

I thank you, Mr. Speaker.

FOREWORD

PRIVILEGE MOTION

Known opponents of Pakistan People's Party were appointed in Caretaker Government to conduct the General Elections of 1990. While on one hand her opponents, the IJI candidates were provided financial help and free use of other privileges by the government, Ms. Benazir Bhutto and her party had to face adverse propaganda on state controlled Media and References in specially appointed courts. Despite that, she got half a million votes more than what she got in 1988 Election. Still the IJI got an overwhelming majority seats in the National Assembly ...! How did this happen...?

The Elections of 1990 were declared as "rigged" by the various international teams monitoring them. Despite tremendous pressures from within her Party, Ms. Benazir Bhutto decided to sit in the Parliament, rather than take to violent street demonstrations. Nevertheless, the Leader of Opposition called certain members of National Assembly as "Bogus" and the IJI government as, unrepresentative. The IJI Minister for Education moved a Privilege Motion. This speech was delivered by Ms. Benazir Bhutto when the House was debating on the admissibility of the Motion. She not only proved mathematically that seventy members of Treasury were the product of massive rigging but provided documentary proofs of the riggings that took place, to support her claim. After tearing to shreds whatever little representative credibility the IJI Government had, she went on to challenge the Treasury to hold a general debate on the issue in the joint session of National Assembly and Senate a challenge never accepted!

PRIVILEGE MOTION

June 17, 1991.

(In English) I will start by saying on a side note that privilege has to be even handed and I believe that copies of the fraudulent and forged letter allegedly sent by me to Peter Galbraith are being distributed this very moment in the House. Mr. Speaker. You may recall that as part of the dirty tricks campaign launched by the IJI administration during the last elections, a forged letter was released to the press, which was denied both by me and by Mr. Peter Galbraith and the NDI report has contained that letter, to show the dirty tricks that were embarked upon and instead of distributing that letter as part of the dirty tricks campaign, they are trying to breach my privilege and thereby, the privilege of the House, by saying that this letter is a letter that I wrote. So, first of all Mr. Speaker I think you should restrain them from doing that.

(In Urdu) ... *It was to expose the dirty tactics that IJI resorted to by forging documents in the name of former Prime Minister, but this is not being told to those, they are distributing it to.*

(In English) ... So that is why they should not be distributing that letter. It was denied by Mr. Galbraith, it was denied by me, it was a forgery and it is part of the whole rigging campaign to ensure that the People's Party did not win. I would also like to point out the interview in which Mr. Galbraith was asked by The Muslim correspondent and the question is, "It is generally believed in Pakistan that U.S military and economic aid was cut off, due to lobbying by the PPP and there was lot of talk about the much publicized letter written to you by Benazir Bhutto, would you like to say something?" and Mr. Galbraith replied, "First of all, I must categorically state that the letter published in the Pakistani press supposedly written by the former Prime Minister was absolutely fake." Look at the letter, IT IS A PATHETIC FORGERY. I am really disappointed that they did not involve capable people in this forgery business. They did not even know the correct spellings of my name. I mean the forger wrote, kindly get in touch with V.P. Singh the Prime Minister. It was as if I was to get in touch with V.P. Singh a taxi driver at the airport, or V.P. Singh who runs a sweet shop. It was pathetic, truly pathetic, I think that people who used this fake letter had no interest in facts, because when they don't have facts, they prefer to use fabrications. No such letter was ever written to me. I stated this to *The Times* too, but the Pakistani press did not report this because some of them have become biased and they preferred to avoid writing the facts." Then he is asked the second question because it is also part of the dirty tricks. The NDI here mentioned the advertisements that were taken out by the IJI to confuse the public and amongst this unfair bit was also an interview.

(In Urdu) ... *Insinuating that I would compromise on Kahuta in exchange for Power.*

(In English) Another lie, well I would not use the word 'lie' lest you think it is unparliamentarily, but another falsehood that was printed as a part of the dirty tricks campaign. That is why this election is regarded as so controversial because it was not a fair election fought by fair rules. It was the most unfair election where actions were taken and people were hit below the belt and they were not even given the right to reply back on Radio and Television. On Radio and TV seminars were held, that this letter has been written to Peter Galbraith, which was a total fabrication. It is the Treasury benches who have done that and this has been mentioned over here by the NDI which was an observer team, to show the lengths to which the IJI went and in that too, a question is asked by a Pakistani reporter, "Please clarify, do Congressmen get pressurized by any individual as has been said about Nusrat Bhutto, for suspension of military aid?" And the answer was, "First let me say that there is a misconception that Congress has been anti Pakistan on the contrary, it has been pro Pakistan. Pakistan is the third largest recipient of U.S. assistance for a decade. Pakistan has strong supporters in Senate, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee amongst Liberals and Conservatives alike. We do not give aid to many people, as we do not want to give but we provided help to our friends and Pakistan has been a very good friend of ours. Turning to the question of pressure from an individual, I clearly say that there was no lobbying from Begum Bhutto to stop U.S. aid. She was in New York for the purpose of receiving an award given to her daughter, a United Nations award about which the Pakistan Government was very ungracious and protested that, why was the award being given. There were four recipients. One was the former Prime Minister of Norway. The Norwegian Government was very gracious, their Ambassador attended the ceremony but in case of Pakistan, they did not attend the ceremony. The award which was given to Nusrat Bhutto means that two hundred and fifty thousand U.S. dollars will be spent in Pakistan for economic development"This was the fact, I place this on the record.

Just to say, you very kindly gave us lunch today, Mr. Speaker, I went back home, I thought okay, good I can have a nice lunch and return fortified to the Assembly but unfortunately I received a telephone call regarding the Election Commission and regarding what is being done right now, while we are debating whether the last elections were rigged or not. Right now, while this House is seized with the matter of whether seventy members sitting on that side of the bench have a right to be here or not, or are strangers to this House. Right now, in Jacobabad bye elections, more rigging is taking place, more violation is taking place. Mr. Sharyani was our candidate in 1988 and in 1990. There was rigging in his constituency, there was repolling in five constituencies, again rigging took place and Mr. Sharyani got a verdict that there should be a reelection in the whole constituency. We decided, the PDA decided to adopt Mr. Hafiz Pirzada as the candidate because we wanted to induct into the Sindh Provincial

Assembly an individual of stature who could perhaps, heal the wounds of that divided province. Mr. Sheryani received an unusual visitor. There in his house, lo and behold, was none other than the rigged Chief Minister of Sindh. He came to Mr. Sheryani, and he called the Press and said Sheryani had decided to withdraw in favor of the IJI candidate. Sheryani said it was not true but the next day all the Pakistani papers reported Mr. Sheryani had withdrawn in favor of Buledi. Luckily for Sheryani the Budget Session and in the Budget Session Mr. Sheryani said from the floor of the House that "I have not withdrawn in favor of IJI candidate. I have withdrawn in favor of PDA candidate because this has been the direction of the high command of my Party and I support it". The result is that, midnight raids have been carried out on all the residences of Mr. Sheryani in Jacobabad, Ghari Khairo and in Karachi and scores of his supporters have been arrested. This is the manner in which democracy is being eroded. This is the way in which democracy is being destroyed in Pakistan.

Mr. Speaker, I have always spoken the truth and I shall continue to speak the truth, I believe that some Members of the IJI benches have moved this Privilege Motion. I do not know why they moved this Privilege Motion. After all, the Speaker is the Speaker of the whole House and whatever the Speaker decides, if that decision is not respected by the whole Nation, it is the House which loses credibility. In politics there is polemics, in politics certain things are said, in politics Churchill said to Mr. Bevan, "the end is nigh, " but nobody said the Privilege of the House had been violated. More than that, Mr. Amanuel M.P. wrote in the Daily Mail "If an election would be an opportunity to get rid of the crazy Tory wretches the rascals" nobody moved a Privilege Motion. What I am saying is not the voice of one individual, what I am saying is the decision not only of the PDA but many outside the PDA and what I have said does not in my view mean a breach of Privilege. It does not mean a breach of Privilege, nor does it mean a contempt of Parliament. Even in the Judiciary there is contempt of Law and in the contempt of law there are parameters. You say, that if you say certain things that is contempt, and if you don't say certain things that is not contempt. There are signboards, you know where you are going. In Parliament please show me in the Rule book where there is contempt of Parliament. If in the Rule book it was written that Parliamentarians cannot use this phraseology, this is unparliamentarily language, as you pointed out to me the other day about 'lie' I said okay I won't say 'lies' as a Member of Parliament because I respect Parliament not the bogus members sitting over there. Bogus is not an unparliamentarily word, in the dictionary it means

(Speaker asks not to use the word 'bogus.')

You can give what ruling you want because what I have said is based on scientific research and what I have said, I am prepared to pay the price for saying that. I have paid the price in the past and I will pay today. I will

(Speaker withdraws the word 'bogus,')

Well if I am to say why I consider that there are seventy bogus members I will have to use word bogus Mr. Speaker

(Speaker insists)

Alright, I will do that. If you don't like the word bogus well I use another word. I use the word, 'fictitious'. But the reason is that I use the word, they are fictitious because there are seventy people sitting, here who, not only I consider fictitious, but who according to computer analyses, are fictitious

Mr. Speaker, I said, I am going to speak the truth. People who spoke the truth have been persecuted from the dawn of time. Was Socrates riot tried because he spoke for democracy and freedom ? Was Jesus Christ not crucified? Did the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) not have to make Hijrat because the oppressors and the exploiters and those who did not believe in the Divine Message were after him? Did not Imam Hussain have to give his life for speaking the truth in Karbala ? The blood of warriors runs in my veins. I am the descendent of Bibi Khadija. As a women I feel that I am the descendent of Bibi Khadija, of Bibi Aisha, of Bibi Fatima. I am heir to a historic legacy. I am heir to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who gave the Message of Islam. I am heir to Imam Hussain who gave his life and I can give my life, leave alone my seat, for what I believe in.

And I would also like to question the Minister for Education who moved the Privilege. Can those people who are disputed have the moral right to sit in judgment? I have never heard I have never heard of the accused sitting in judgment of the accuser. After all, when somebody is accused, they should get a third party. He and I should both go to a third party and before a third party we should be judged. Can those seventy members, many of whom I see sitting over there sit in judgment and move a Privilege Motion against the person who has been elected in her own right, I have been elected in my own right against the most adverse conditions

(Interruptions)

.... When he spoke, Mr. Speaker I didn't interrupt him and now when I am speaking he should not interrupt me but I am willing Mr. Speaker, because I would like a full fledged report on rigging. I am willing to have a general debate on this issue and in this general debate if Mr. Education Minister wants to say something, he can say, and we will reply to it. We have the facts, if he has got the facts, he should have the courage to have a debate not just a Privilege Motion on the issue of whether fictitious members are sitting in this house or fictitious members are not sitting in this House.

He said that they have been going and shouting from the roof tops and they have been shouting from the house tops. Mr. Speaker, you heard the word 'howl'. I too heard a lot howling, like animals caught in trap, after the PDA report on the fictitious seats was published and I believe there were cries of pain for being caught out in what they have done. The Minister for Education got up and at great length he spoke about the elections of 1977 and how the PNA agitation took place.

It took place because Pakistan was acquiring a nuclear reprocessing plant so that our people have nuclear parity with India, because we were engaged in peaceful nuclear research and because Henry Kissinger had come to Lahore in 1976 and said either Pakistan will have to give up the nuclear program or a horrible example will be made out of you....

(Speaker says that this is not a general debate)

Mr. Speaker, then withdraw his remarks on the elections because whatever any Member has said, I have to speak about what all they spoke.

(Speaker insists)

Mr. Speaker, just hear me for a minute. The other (Opposition) Member did not get an opportunity to speak. If on the Privilege Motion the Minister for Education says that the elections of 1977 were rigged. I have a right to reply to that, but if you expunge his remarks, I am prepared to withdraw it. Whatever has been said, I have to reply to that, Mr. Speaker, I have a right of reply. Today, my mother, the Honorable Member from Larkana, was not allowed to name a friend, other Honorable Members were not allowed to name a friend and now I am getting up and answering directly to what the Minister for Education said, I should surely be given the right to reply in the Parliament of Pakistan. In a Privilege Motion, you are allowed to have a friend move it, the principle is there and if it pleases the Speaker he could have extended the privilege. Now, all I am saying is that everything these people have seen fit to say, I have a right to answer, because in the National Assembly records, my rights should also come. I did not interrupt them when they were speaking and that is why I am saying that because the Minister for Education said that the elections of 1977 were rigged, in our view they were not rigged ... There was a conspiracy to destabilize the elected Government of the people of Pakistan because of nuclear reprocessing plant and after the elected Government was dismissed the nuclear reprocessing plant agreement by France was cancelled, and 'that is one of the reasons why the son of the man who got the nuclear reprocessing plant agreement with France cancelled lost in our scientific studies, not just one seat but in Toba Take Singh and in Rawalpindi and that is the way the nation always decides about the people who do not uphold national interests.

Mr. Speaker, every effort was made to find rigged seats, (Of 1977 elections) every effort was made by Gen. Zia ul Haq the usurper, but despite every effort that Gen. Zia ul Haq made, you know Mr. Speaker, the only case ... The only case in whole of Pakistan that he could find one case, and I challenge any body from that 'side to rebut it, was the case of My Yahya Bakhtiar ... and why did he choose Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar? He chose Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar because he was the former Prime Minister's defense counsel and Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar who is a resident of Quetta had to go to Peshawar at his own expense to fight the proceedings and again it was a Special Court and only one person who is convicted of rigging, which is Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar had to go to Baluchistan High Court. The Baluchistan High Court immediately dismissed the sentence given by the Special Court and upheld the honor of Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar and that is why after exhaustive proof it was found that the elections of 1977 were not rigged. In fact, not only were the elections of 1977 were not rigged, Mr. Speaker, but subsequently Gen. Zia ul Haq went on record to say that he is not going to hold elections because in his words, "Elections would send back the same people to Parliament whom he had dismissed" . . . and then finally he came out and said that, "I will not hold an election until positive results are achieved. I will not hold elections until it is ensured that the Pakistan Peoples Party does not return to Government."

Why the hatred for the Pakistan People Party? Why the attempts from 1977 onwards to use every means, fair or foul, crooked or not, to keep the Pakistan Peoples Party out . . ? Because the Pakistan Peoples Party represents the working classes of this country, the Pakistan Peoples Party represents the labourers of this country, the Pakistan Peoples Party represents the poor peasants of this country. It does not represent the big businessmen, and it does not represent the big feudals. It fights for the rights of the small people of this country and that is why the oppressors have always ganged up against the Party of the oppressed and tried every means fair or foul and that is why even in the last elections, when it was evident that the Pakistan Peoples Party was going to romp home with a landslide majority of two-thirds, every effort was made for pre election rigging and rigging during the elections. Perhaps, we should be happy that in Pakistan they rig elections and don't go and kill the person who is going to become the next Prime Minister. But the fact of the matter was that since 1977 every effort has been made to keep the PPP out of power.

He mentioned that the people rise up. Mr. Speaker, I was in Larkana on October 24th. When the elections took place. Before that, on October 10th my appearance in the Sindh High court was called for and I had gone to Karachi on October 10th in connection with the reference against me. In the evening my husband was arrested. I did not even stay one day in Karachi, I did not stay even half a day in Karachi to make arrangements for lawyers, because I was busy campaigning, and I ended up on the 24th in Larkana. I had not been in my constituency but for twenty four hours' and when I got the news. I announced it to the public, this is a matter of record, that the Government and the Election Commission of Pakistan never reported it. I got reports from my

candidates all over the country, from Khyber to Karachi they were phoning me in and they were saying that last year at 6:30 everybody was returning . . . , last year by 9:30 the results were out . . . , no result has been announced. Mr. Speaker, history will recall that it was Benazir Bhutto who called the Foreign and Pakistani Press and said "The election has been stolen from the people of Pakistan . . . the sanctity of the ballot has been stolen" . . . and I said, "We concede that we have lost the elections BECAUSE THEY WERE RIGGED." This was at 10:30 and all the international agencies carried my report. It was not till 11:02 that Pakistan television came for the first time and announced that in NA-2 of Peshawar, the IJI had won. The results did not come in for another 48 hours, it took two whole days to count it, so obviously these elections were elections that sparked people's emotions, but I flew to Lahore.

Some of our Party men wanted to take to the streets, the people were angry, an election campaign had taken place, many of those colleagues are today sitting over here and they can say to you that it was I who told them, that last time an election result was not accepted, last time when the PNA came in, we ended up with Martial Law for ten years. That is why I told them that, **EVEN THOUGH THEY HAD ROBBED US OF OUR VICTORY, LET THIS NATION NOT BE ROBBED OF ITS DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.** It was I who said, Do not boycott the Provincial elections because if you boycott the Provincial elections it would be a PNA style agitation and that will be the end of this democracy, however deformed it is. Despite that, the people refused to vote in the Provincial elections because they were shocked and they wanted to show their own protest, but the credit for preserving democratic institutions goes to the Pakistan People's Party and to the PDA which did not take to the streets. How could we take to the streets Mr. Speaker, how could we take to the streets when the backs of our youth still bear the scars of the whiplash, not just of our youth but my former Minister for Petroleum Mr. Jehangir Badar, my former Minister for Information Mr. Ahmad Saeed Awan, they have on their back the signs of the whiplash. We were the ones who fought for democracy, we were the ones who fought against the Martial Law and they were the people who collaborated with the Martial Law These were the people who did not want democracy in this country and at every forum defended tyranny in this land. Mr. Speaker, I want you to know that in the MRD movement many of us were sentenced and when we were sentenced what did the charge sheet say .. ? The charge sheet said, that he was raising the slogan:

(In Urdu) ... "*Restore Democracy*" ... "*Restore Democracy*" ... [(In English) ... We were in prison for saying "Restore Democracy "] Who should I speak about Mr. Speaker, the Deputy Leader of Opposition, Mr. Shaban, Aitazaz, Iftikhar Gilani, Faisal Hayat, all of them were taken to Lahore Fort, they were tortured, their family members were brought to them and said "Leave PPP" and they said, "NO", because we want Democracy, we want Constitution, we want democratic institutions. I would like the Treasury Benches to point to one of their Ministers who has on his back the signs of the whiplash. I would like them to point to one Minister of theirs who has been to Lahore

Fort or to Baldia Centre and being tortured because of their convictions. We have always fought for democracy Mr. Speaker, we have fought for the supremacy of Parliament and that is why it pains us that those who have paid the price for Parliament....

(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, I want to make it deal' that not only have we fought for democratic institutions but for the supremacy of the Parliament we have fought for them in the past and it is we, who are fighting for them even today, because they the Treasury benches are doing their best to commit suicide at their own hands but it is the PDA Members who have exercised grave caution. At the time when the elections were rigged, at the time when the Gulf agitation was. on and the peoples emotions were high, it was the PDA that saved democracy in this country.

They have made no sacrifices for democracy and they have not got to this House through a democratic manner and that is why they degrade and try to discredit the democratic leaders. I made the contention and I did not make it alone Mr. Speaker, today let me tell you I am not the only one who has committed that error if such an error has been committed, all the Members of the PDA benches they have all done the same thing, they have all repeated the words and it is not only the elected Members of the PDA benches but it is the people outside the Parliament and we have not done it in a vacuum Mr. Speaker, we have done this on the basis of statistical analysis, the statistical analysis by the NDI, statistical analysis by French Team and our own statistical analysis. I will use the word fictitious because that is what you have advised me to use. The Minister for Education brought this NDI report and he said that perhaps I have not read the NDI report. Mr. Speaker, we in the PDA have said that, that report ... we have said it is too conservative, we said the NDI report does not go far enough in identifying the rigged seats. Minister for Education spoke and he quoted ..., well if he owns this book, as he did in the Parliament today and not only that the Minister for Education owns this book but the Prime Minister Mr. Nawaz Sharif owns this book, because when I suggested to Nawaz Sharif that let us send a joint delegation, Government, Opposition Delegation to observe the elections in Bangladesh, I got a sweet little note back from the Prime Minister saying to me, "Dear Mohtarman it is best that we leave these to the non government organization such as the ND!, which have recently certified that the elections in Pakistan were fair and free." Alas for the Prime Minister, that the same NDI which was saying the elections were fair and free, that same NDI has listed thirty seats which are fictitious and belonged to the Strangers in House. I would like to read that list out to you, had the Prime Minister not written to me personally. I would not have taken up the time of this House in reading the list, and when Mr. Fakhar Imam the Honorable Member began reading from the NDI report, I thought he was going to take the House into confidence about the thirty seats which were rigged but he did not do so. I shall oblige: "Peshawar Benazir Bhutto Seat, NA-3,

NA-6, NA-24, NA-59 Mian Nasir Ali Khan, NA-74 Hamid Nasir Chattha, NA-77 Ch. Muhammad Asghar, NA-80 Ch. Tajammia Hussain, NA-82 Syed Manzoor Hussain Shah, NA-96 Shahbaz Sharif. Mr. Speaker, I will give this list to you. in a minute I won't read more because I place it on the record and all the fictitious members may go up and check their credentials over there, but I will just say Mr. Speaker, (In Urdu) ... *"I don't know what magic the Chaudries of Gujrat perform that the name of Chaudery Shujaat Hussain is missing from this list even"*.

(In English) . . . The NDI report Mr. Speaker, states that the election laws proved inadequate to prevent the occurrence of serious problems:

- Statistical anomalies, reports of irregularities or a combination of both raised questions regarding the election process in approximately fifteen percent of the constituencies.
- The Election Commission whether constrained by law or by custom was unable or unwilling to alleviate the problems that emerged.
- At times the Commission relied too heavily on other governmental bodies to implement its directives.
- These breakdowns in the electoral system are a very serious matter and unless corrective action is taken immediately including the expeditious adjudication of election petitions because in 1988 only sixty out of one hundred ten were decided, which is why people don't file petitions, since one of the Members wanted to know, unless it is done expeditiously, either official, either through incompetence or willfulness tolerated irregular behavior, confidence in the electoral system will be badly damaged.
- The conditions under which the 1990 elections were held, favored the IJI whose leaders formed the Caretaker Government which placed the PPP at a significant disadvantage.
- The news coverage on Government controlled, Television and Radio was unbalanced in favor of the IJI.
- On election day, the delegation observed, it was informed about incidents of violence and intimidation. These incidents which took the form of kidnapping, drive by shooting, disruptions at polling stations and harassment of voters may have resulted in disenfranchisement in the effected constituency.
- Reports indicate that some government officials encouraged the election day irregularities.

- The administrative procedures applied in female polling stations increased opportunities for abuse.
- In violation of law, government officials sought to establish election cells in some areas, these cells would have allowed the reporting of electoral results to unauthorized local officials, thereby creating an opportunity for partisan officials to manipulate the outcome in a particular constituency.
- There is credible evidence that in certain polling stations in several constituencies, Party agents, usually but not always affiliated with the PDA were prevented from observing the count, consequently the results from those constituencies are less reliable".....

...and it goes on, I will place it on your record I just like to give along with, you some of the percentage. There was a huge percentage sweeps and since there was a direct contest in many of constituencies in 1988 and 1990 where there were no third party.....

(Interruption from Treasury Benches)

Mr. Speaker, since a theory has been put forward of a direct contestSince there was direct contest in 1988 and 1990 and there were no third party votes, I will give you some examples where if we grant that even there has been a quantum leap, if there were no third party votes, where then did these votes come from NA-39 Ijaz-ul-Haq the IJI votes increased by ninety six percent ... Mr. Speaker, in 88 and 90 it was a direct contest, where did these ninety six percent (votes) come from and there was no third party. In NA-41 the IJI votes increased by one hundred forty five percent ... again a direct contest in 88 - 90. In NA - 48 Mian Nawaz Sharif, again it was a direct contest in 1988 and 1990, the IJI votes increased by one hundred fifty one percent In NA - 156 Mr. Ilahi Bakhsh Soomro, the IJI votes increased by five hundred percent ... although in 88 and 90 so Mr. Jam Mahooq Ali because he is a little Jam, he couldn't quite keep up with Ilahi Balthsh Soomro, the votes increased by one hundred thirty two percent . So we can assume that Mr. Ilahi Baksh Soomro with the five hundred percent increase gets better chance for Cabinet post than Mr. Mashooq Ali with only one hundred thirty two percent ... Mr. Speaker, I would like to place this on the record of National Assembly. This is the summary of the NDI Report and if this is the summary of the NDI Report on which the Minister for Education has relied and on which Mr. Mian Nawaz Sharif has relied then Mr. Speaker, I believe that it is the moral duty of this Government to resign and allow for the holding of fair, free and impartial elections under a neutral caretaker government. If they have not rigged the elections I am sure they will be confident to accept my challenge, but if there, are Strangers in the House, I am not sure that those Strangers in the House are going to permit any fair, free and impartial election.

Mr. Speaker, as a Speaker of this House, as a Speaker of Parliament and indeed the Chairman of the Senate as the Chairman of the Senate I believe, both of you, if you could call a Joint Sitting of the Parliament of Pakistan and that is what I demand from the floor of the House today, that call a Joint Sitting and in that Joint Sitting let the PDA officials explain to you, how we have reached the conclusion that there are seventy fictitious members sitting on that side of the House, Mr. Speaker, after that you can decide whether what I have spoken has been based on research ... what I have spoken is based on facts or whether it has been some malicious falsehood to bring discredit to Parliament.

I could never bring discredit to Parliament Mr. Speaker, it is because PDA seeks to reform Parliament that we have taken our seats over here, but after this Motion has been moved and before a decision is taken I would request in the interest of justice that a Joint Sitting be called and be televised and let our team give the results because when seventy members sit here who have come here through rigging, then Mr. Speaker, that is a stain which remains on this House, although we would not want it to come on this House. Mr. Speaker one of the Members from IJI who said he was not on the rigged list ... Ch. Ghafoor. The Member from Bahawalnagar said that he was independent and the Member of Bahawalnagar said, "She has said the whole House is bogus." How can I say the whole House is fictitious, Mr. Speaker? Is it possible when you and I adorn a House that it can be fictitious? No, Mr. Speaker, it is not fictitious when people have been elected in their own rights and are taking their place in this House ... but certainly the credibility of this House is called into question when foreign teams and domestic teams have concluded, that rigging took place in this country.

The Minister for Education said, "let the people judge." I only wish he had let the people judge ... but, what about the Caretaker former Prime Minister who has said that rigging had taken place ... ? What about Chief Minister of Baluchistan who said rigging had taken place...? What about the IJI coalition partner PDP, which said that rigging had taken place ? What about the wife of Minister for Education who said that rigging had taken place in the last General Elections ... ? And what about. the Chief Minister of Sindh, the so called Chief Minister of Sindh, Mr. Speaker he is on record in a newspaper of saying that: "Benazir Bhutto should be grateful to the President of Pakistan for being elected, " and in an interview to Jang he stated," be grateful to the President of Pakistan." Mr. Speaker, I got 94,000 (votes) in my constituency. My opponent got 900 votes, and when my opponent got 900 and I got 94,000 the Chief Minister said she should be grateful to the President because if the President has so directed even my seat would have been rigged despite having a majority of 94,000.

Mr. Speaker, I wish the Minister for Education would let the people judge, but if it is not the people who are judging, but if there is another list in which tick marks are being made then it is unfair to criticize those who had raised the voice for democratic

reform. If he was indeed concerned, Mr. Speaker, about privilege, I would respond in a different manner because if privilege is a concern, that concern should be extended to each Member of this House irrespective of their political affiliations. If the IJI Members had extended to PDA Members the privilege that they have a right to enjoy parliamentary rights perhaps our world view would have been different ... , perhaps we too would have been encouraged that we can save this Assembly from the stains that have been put on to it by rigging in seventy seats . . . But they have never spoken on privilege Mr. Speaker, except to target me. When the Sindh Chief. Minister daily calls Bilawal House a den of criminals when it is the home of two MNAs, then it is not a matter of privilege for them ... When the member from Nawabshah whose supporters are arrested, it is not a matter of privilege ... When a dead corpse is put into the drawing room of another Member from Sindh, then it is not a privilege. Either we all play by the rules or we stop being hypocrites. This is no way to say that the Leader of Opposition, a Privilege Motion should be against her, but when other people try and degrade Parliament by degrading the Leader of Opposition or MNAs from the Opposition benches, then the Members from the Treasury Benches do not get up. I can assure you Mr. Speaker, that when an 1W Member had an attempt on his life made, we supported it (his privilege). He did not come to us, he did not come to us and asked for help, but we supported it. Whenever there is a matter of the sanctity, of Parliament Mr. Speaker, when it is a matter of principle we shall be in the forefront. When the Deputy Chairman of the Senate was being elected and when we were approached by a Fundamentalist Party to put up a candidate against her, we said No ..! We will support a lady because we want to see the women of our country given equal opportunity, Mr. Speaker, we upheld a principle. In moving this Privilege Motion, had the Treasury Benches been upholding the principles, surely we would have had more respect for them, but Mr. Speaker, they are not upholding a principle, they are trying to intimidate the Leader of the Opposition. Mr. Speaker, either the truth can be spoken in this country or not. There is research, there are scientific conclusions ... either we have the freedom to speak the truth and if we do not have the freedom, they can go and punish us because if they punish us, that will not be a sentence against us, it will be a sentence against them and that is how history will record it.

Mr. Speaker, I would now like to read to you extracts from the French Report:

- The election campaign was held in an atmosphere of great tension against Ms. Bhutto. The electoral proceedings were held with great care giving the impression of regularity. However, serious irregularities were noticed. Two identical identity cards, that is in the Lahore constituency N.A. 95 where Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Mr. Asghar Khan were candidates.
- "Refusal to give the October 24th election results to the observers that is in the Lahore constituency N.A. 96 where Mr. Shahbaz Sharif and Mr. Jehangir Badar were candidates.

- Hindrance of the representatives of the Parties in the vote counting process, presence of armed policemen during the vote counting process, voters being prevented from casting their votes, their names having already been used for this purpose, number of votes exceeding voters number, that is , PP-128 Mian Khalid Saeed's constituency and on the whole general harassment against PDA representatives."

This is not my report. but I base my findings also on this report:

- "Without the complete official figures more than five days after the General Elections, the Chief Election Commissioner has stated that, "The computer was out of order and there was a lack of personnel to explain this.
- "It seems that the results giving a very large majority to IJI against the deposed Prime Minister can be partly explained by a mechanism of highly sophisticated rigging which could have occurred between the polling stations and the officers responsible for collecting results at the constituency level.
- "PDA states that some Presiding Officers were devoted to IJI before the elections, while they should have forwarded the results immediately to the Returning Officers, some of the Presiding Officers may have stopped at intermediary places held by civil servants and they may have replaced some envelopes adding more IJI voting papers."

The International French Human Rights delegation gave some credence to these explanations as follows:

- "All observers had noticed on election days small turn out which did not add up to the final results.
- "Only the figures of the first two candidates have been announced.
- "The polling stations were closed at 5 p.m. The vote counting ended around 6:30 p.m. but the results coming from the polling stations only reached the Returning Officers around midnight instead of 9:30 p.m. as was the case in the previous election.
- "No official record was given to the Presiding Officers and party representatives."

Mr. Speaker, this too I will place for posterity on the record of the National Assembly. I will also place this preliminary report of state terrorism and gross violation

of Human Rights in the Province of Sindh from August 12th till December 31st To influence the elections many people and supporters of the PPP were arrested, released by the court but not released by the police in Sindh and many of them continue to languish in jails although it is nearly one year since the last elections.

Mr. Speaker, furthermore, the elections Rules clearly stipulate that public funds will not be used manifestly for political purpose. But this was not the case. At least one crore per IJI candidate and fifty lakhs per IJI MPA were given to the candidates to spend freely, to write cheques, to have schemes without any tenders. Mr. Speaker, I produce for your record, a letter from Chief Minister Punjab, not the de facto Chief Minister the de jure Chief Minister, written to Sartaj Aziz in which he says we have an outstanding liability of eighty eight crore rupees for completion of the schemes initiated during the period of August to October, 1990. A large number of these schemes were started on the request of the Members of the National Assembly ... Mr. Speaker, August to October 1990 ? ... Schemes ... ? By the Members of National Assembly ... ? This too I would like to place on the record of the National Assembly.

Mr. Speaker, according to the Constitution, according to the Law, the President only appoints the Election Commissioner in his discretion. He has nothing more to do with the whole election process, but here I would like to place before you, President's Secretariat (Public) Aiwana-e-Sadar Election Information Cell and the money granted for observing the elections. I do not know, why the President would be interested but I place this on your record.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken that there was pre election rigging on election day and I have given you the support of foreign teams. Now I would like to place before you the findings of P.D.A team which has said that seventy seats were rigged.

Here are the seventy seats seventy people, Mr. Speaker, who do not lend the grace that would have come to this House, had there been no dispute over their elections. They include stalwarts such as Mr. Ijaz-ul-Haq, Ch. Nasir Ali Khan, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Malik Abdul Majeed, Mian Nawaz Sharif the Prime Minister himself, Sardar Dildar Cheema, Mian Nasir Ali Khan and whole lot of others, Mr. Hamza, Mr. Ghulam Dastagir Khan, Nazir Ahmad, Humayoon Akhtar Khan, Mian Nawaz Sharif again, Mian Shahbaz Sharif and the whole series of others. I know that there are many I.J.I Members who are also interested in this list, I place it on your record Mr. Speaker, you can have a look at our findings.

Mr. Speaker, Gen. Refaquat Ali was brought back to Pakistan to master mind the rigging of the Elections of 1990 after he had done such a successful job with the rigging of referendum in 1985. Furthermore an official on L.P.R, (Leave Prior Retirement) an official against whom there were serious charges of embezzlement. On August 7th a summary was put up to the President advising that criminal proceeding be initiated

against this official who was on L.P.R, but were the criminal proceedings initiated against him ? No, Mr. Speaker. Instead he was called back from L.P.R, he was promoted from Grade 21 to Grade 22, and asked to conduct the elections. Known PPP haters were promoted from Grade 21 to Grade 22 to manipulate the election results in certain areas. One sided accountability was begun, so that people who were involved in the election campaign could not devote the time they needed. Mr. Speaker, the Administration was made a tool in the hands of the I.d.1. and large scale transfers took place. Mr. Speaker, I will give you this whole report in a minute but I may point out to you that we have a table here which shows that the transfers in the four months before the elections were eleven percent and in the three months during the elections between August and October, it was two hundred seventy five percent Mr. Speaker, we have evidence in the shape of a teleprinter message signed by the Additional Secretary Election Commission, which clearly shows that instructions were given by him to open the ballot papers on the 18th on the pretext of checking them, when ballot papers are never opened in advance and while the pretext may be checking, one could say that it was really the opportunity to tamper with those ballot boxes. I have spoken about the misuse of funds in the elections and now I will come to the methods themselves. Firstly, irregularities in voters registration, provision of supplementary list to IJI polling agents only, shifting and creating ghost polling stations, bogus votes with fake identity cards, looting ballot papers and ballot box stuffing, misuse of postal ballot, use of postal ballot without serial numbers, preventing PDA voters from entering polling stations, arresting, kidnapping, forcibly evicting and threatening PDA polling agents including a PDA candidate in Sindh, refusing to give PDA polling agents the official result sheets, changing election results during their transfer from Presiding Official to Returning Officer, changing the results after declaration, presence of unauthorized police at polling stations, lack of action on complaints of the PDA candidates by police, inducing, pressurizing, forcing, bribing candidates to withdraw.

Mr. Speaker, even before the election results had begun to come in, the establishment media managers stated that it was due to one to one contest and shift in the voter's loyalty, but neither the one to one strategy nor the shift explains the massive numbers that appear. Mr. Speaker, even in 1988 as many as fifty three seats out of one hundred fifteen accounting for half the constituencies in Punjab were contested on one to one basis and out of those seats the PDA had an edge by getting twenty six seats or slightly more than half. Thus in any one to one contest the PDA would have marginally benefitted rather than lost. Out of the one hundred and five seats won by the Iii only thirty seats can be attributed to one to one. The results in the remaining seventy five seats cannot be explained by one to one. The hard data does not support vote shift hypothesis. This is because the PDA polled in 1988 7.75 million votes whereas it increased by half a million in 1990 to 8.25 million votes and the Chief Election Commissioner said on election day, that the voting in 1990 was 'lower than the voting in 1988 Mr. Speaker, if the PDA got a half million votes more and the voter turn out dropped, then from where did all those votes come into the IJI boxes. There is no valid

explanation other than that the new votes arrived through fraudulent means. Then another manner used was Registration Cards or I.D Cards. The registration of thousands of new voters especially in Lahore and Rawalpindi and issue of tens of thousands of new I.D Cards in Jacobabad, Sanghar, Tharparker. Mr. Speaker, the press and the Chief Election Commissioner both reported a lower turn out. Yes, we have seen a higher turnout and not only have we seen a higher turnout but we have seen that all the three top ranking constituencies in terms of voter turnout, the victor has been the IJI. So it is no coincidence that wherever the magic, unexplained votes came from, those magic unexplained votes have gone directly to the IJI.

Mr. Speaker, I will give you some data now on the I.D. Cards. A perusal of the data shows the astronomical rise in the issue rate of Identity Cards in 1990 as compared to 1988. Although in 1988, the I.D. Cards have been introduced (in elections) for the first time, so one would have assumed that all the voters ran to get their I.D Cards in 1988 and since the elections (1990) were (later) held in twenty months' time, there was not such a great need for new I.D Cards, but this was not so. In the four months period from August 1st to November 30th 1988, 250,000 I.D Cards were issued but in the three months period, from August 1st to October 23rd 1990, 550,000 Identity Cards were issued Mr. Speaker, and it is also to be noted where they were issued ? In Sindh out of fifteen districts the I.D cards were issued, mainly fifty per cent of the I.D. cards were issued in only six districts, and those were districts such as Jacobabad and Sanghar where some of the heaviest rigging took place. The highest number of Identity Cards Mr. Speaker, were issued in Jacobabad, seventy eight thousand five hundred Identity Cards were issued in 1990 as against thirteen thousand in 1988 Mr. Speaker, thirteen thousand in 1988, and seventy eight thousand five hundred new I.D cards ... , Mr. Speaker, I would wager that out of these 78500 I.D cards issued, seventy thousands must have been fake.

In Sanghar almost thirty thousand cards were issued in 1990 whereas in 1988 it was only seven thousand cards Statistics Mr. Speaker, these are statistics and Mr. Speaker, we did not wait to gather statistics on our own, our report was delayed because as the French team pointed out, the figures were not released as rapidly by the Election Commission. They released the figures of who came first, they released the figures of who came second, but they did not release the figures of who came third or fourth.

I can see that they are getting a little anxious, so I will try to summarize. Mr. Speaker, the minimum number of rigged constituencies in the Punjab stands at fifty two. These have been won by IJI stalwarts like Mr. Nawaz Sharif, Mr. Ejaz ul Haq, Ch. Nash Ali Khan, Lt. Gen. Majid Malik, Hamed Nasir Chatha, Mr. Humayun Akhtar, Mr. Shahbaz Sharif, Mian Yasin Wattoo, Mr. Javed Hashmi, Mr. Fakhar Imam, Mr. Ghulam Haider Wyne and others. The fact that the IJI President and now Prime Minister is

shown to have won both the seats, NA-48 and NA-95 through fraudulent means speak volumes of the credibility of the entire electoral process. Further, the fact that the major part of the IJI leadership who have won their seats in the National Assembly through fraudulent means were also the leading collaborators of the Military Dictatorship, reflects their lack of respect for the will of the sovereignty of the people.

Mr. Speaker, has the rigging stopped ? The rigging has not stopped. In the bye elections that have taken place in Thatta, in the bye elections that have taken place in Nawabshah, in the bye elections that have taken place in Attock and in the bye elections which have taken place in Muzaffargarh, in each one of these bye elections, rigging has taken place.

Today, the people of the country do not have the right to vote and elect their own representatives. Mr. Speaker, I think, it is a commentary of the time that those who collaborated with dictatorship are today moving Privilege motions against those who battled for democracy in the darkest years of tyranny.

Suddenly, they seem to be distributing '*halwa*', several of the speakers said that a new Army Chief has been appointed as though because of the new Army Chief some great things would happen. I do not know why they were dragging in the Armed Forces in their speeches today Mr. Speaker. We have made known these facts to the nation not because of the Armed Forces, we have made these facts known to the Nation not because the new Chief of Army Staff was to come. After all when my father appointed Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, he appointed him in January to take over in March. I surely know that two months ahead of time, a new Chief of Army Staff designate is going to be named in accordance with the procedure and precedents even if they did not. We have said that this Assembly has been tarnished by the charges of rigging against seventy members and if there is any doubt about what we are saying, we challenge them to hold fresh election under a neutral Caretaker Government.

Mr. Speaker, we have worked for Parliament, we have worked for democracy, we can never consider doing anything against democracy. But I do consider that this very privilege motion moved against the Leader of the Opposition for speaking the truth, for saying that the elections were rigged, for saying that seventy members are fictitious, for saying that even the Prime Minister of this country has come through on a rigged seat.

They are trying to silence my voice. I know why this Privilege Motion has been moved. This Privilege Motion has been moved to censure me, this Privilege Motion has been moved so that tomorrow I cannot go from Khyber to Karachi and say that elections were rigged. But, Mr. Speaker, I will go from Khyber to Karachi, do what they want to ... I will go because I will speak the truth and that is what I have learnt, that one must speak the truth.

We are fighting for democracy in Pakistan, we are fighting for the restoration of the sanctity of the ballot and as I said in my first speech, that we want electoral reforms and unless there are electoral reforms there can be no democracy in this country and the fact that they have moved a privilege Motion which is partial, the fact that they have moved a Privilege Motion which is unfair against the Leader of Opposition, in my opinion, ought to be thrown out Mr. Speaker, because, irrespective

(Speaker points out Article 225)

Mr. Speaker you are saying that we should only go to the Tribunal. Do you know the White Paper under Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, whom it was prepared by? Whom were the elections conducted by ...?

Mr. Speaker, you are saying that we do not have a right to say the elections were rigged. Well, Mr. Speaker, then this House is going to come to an impasse, because not only the PDA but the entire nation, international observers, observers admitted by the Prime Minister are saying that these elections were rigged. I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, that if you look at the statistics, in 1988, only sixty applications were accepted out of 110 petitions filed by the Election Commission.

The remedy is not the Election Commission, the remedy is political action, the remedy is to have constitutional reforms so that the President does not name the Election Commissioner in his discretion, but the Election Commissioner is chosen by the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition in, mutual consultation. The answer lies in having the Secretary and Additional Secretary, the members of the

(Speaker again points out Article 225)

So Mr. Speaker, you swore me under this Constitution, I have the right to try and change it ... Mr. Speaker, I have a right to try and to change it, everybody has right to amend the Constitution and to change it. In fact, I do not want this Constitution, I want the Constitution of 1973 and that is what I was lobbying for. I am against the 8th Amendment, even when I was in the Government but then IJI did not give me support on the 8th Amendment.

If the then IJI had given me support on 8th. Amendment, I would have removed it, but because they did not give me support, I said, by consensus, because I did not have the votes in the Senate. So, we take positions on principal and that is why although you had sworn me under this Constitution, by the very nature of this Constitution, there are legal remedies available for changing the law, for bringing about a fresh law and that is the reason why, Mr. Speaker, from Khyber to Karachi we will be going and saying that seventy members of this House are rigged, are Strangers to the

House, have no right to be here and that the future elections should be held with electoral reforms and the constitutional reforms.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe I have committed contempt of Parliament and the Parliament is something for which I struggled, so the question of my committing contempt of Parliament does not arise, but yes, I have committed contempt in the eyes of seventy members who I believe have no right to be here and who are sitting here and I have done that because I want democracy in Pakistan, I want development in Pakistan, and development cannot come about until we have Constitutional reforms Mr. Speaker. Further, I would like to quote to you some precedents which if you will oblige. Mr. Aitzaz will give you direct incidents and precedents, if not then I will add them as a written part of my statement to you by this evening or tomorrow morning....

(Speaker Refuses)

You see Mr. Speaker, this has to do with Kaul K.A.U.L. and the Rulings that he gave and the Rulings that different people gave, and frankly Mr. Speaker I am not a lawyer so when somebody has to come here and refute a very serious charge then I think I should at least have ample opportunity of laying before you and laying before this House and laying before History, what some of the judgments are in such matters and for that I would like the assistance, if you feel gracious enough you may give me....

(Speaker refuses)

... Alright, it is upto you Mr. speaker as you wish but I have stated what my request is, it is up to you.

FOREWORD

COOPERATIVES FINANCIAL SCANDAL.

Misappropriations in Cooperative Banks in the Punjab were known much before their collapse but since most of the businessmen who ran these Coops were either patronized by the then dictatorial Regime or were themselves part of the Punjab Government since early 1980s, the financial abuse went on unabated. During the twenty month Premiership of Ms. Benazir Bhutto whenever an attempt was made to check the rampant corruption the then Chief Minister of Punjab Mian Nawaz Sharif, raised the slogan of Punjabi nationalism and of victimization by a non Punjabi Prime minister. The result was, these Cooperatives went bankrupt depriving millions of poor citizens of the Punjab of their hard earned savings.

Later as the pressure on Prime Minister increased, a way out was found in setting up a Commission which as expected, "exonerated him." Meanwhile, despite promises by the IJI Government, those affected by this ruthless plunder, still await their money.

COOPERATIVES SCANDAL

Oct. 15, 1991.

Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of presenting before the National Assembly of Pakistan, the story of the loot and the plunder of this poor country. I am grateful to you for presenting me this opportunity to articulate the aspirations of the poor orphans, the widows, the pensioners whose hard earned savings through their sweat, blood and toil have been embezzled, looted and plundered by the Members of the Treasury Benches. Mr. Speaker, I was somewhat bemused to hear the Minister for Cooperatives remark in his opening statement that he hoped that the meeting today, the proceedings today, would not be fiery. He hoped that they would be cool, he hoped that they would be calm, he hoped that they would be relevant and not irrelevant, in other words, he hoped that the Opposition would help the Treasury Benches in a conspiracy of silence over what has happened in this country.

I am sorry Mr. speaker, I cannot reciprocate because there is a Prairie fire blazing in the country for the last two months, the fire is growing larger and larger, the heat is burning up the country. We were expecting that the Treasury Benches would come forward, would try to extinguish the fires that are spreading all over the country but instead of extinguishing the fires, the Treasury Benches are adding fuel to the fire by refusing to pay the poor depositors, the money that they are owed.

This is the money of the widows, this is the money of the orphans, this is the money of the pensioners, jawans, civil servants, small classes, middle classes, lower middle classes, and farmers who kept their money ... and who robbed it? The Prime Minister who doesn't have the guts to be present here today Mr. Speaker. He doesn't have the guts to come over here and answer before this august Assembly, how in violation of all rules, how in violation of all Regulation, he took the money of the poor of this country, he took the money of the laborers of this country and he embezzled it ..! The Minister of Interior, he has not been sacked, I ask you Mr. Speaker, why has the Minister of Interior not being sacked when his Phalia Sugar Mills is responsible partially for the collapse of this? This situation is not going to quieted down Mr. Speaker, because the poor of this country are not orphans, the poor of this country have the Pakistan Peoples Party and the Peoples Democratic Alliance to support them. I am sorry to see the Law Minister stand up and shed crocodile tears, he tried to defend the collapse of the Co-ops. I would have expected the law Minister, being a man versed in legal matters I see before me the four crore rupee cheque, given out to the Chief Martial Law Administrator, come out. His son is leaving, I hope Mr. Speaker there can also be a debate on how a simple soldier was issued a cheque of four crores of rupees by the BCCI bank, otherwise known as the Bank for Crooks and Criminals International.

Mr. Speaker, the Law Minister who should know the Law, he should have at least tried not to shed crocodile tears, he should have at least not tried to defend this plunder, but unfortunately for this country even the Law Minister tried to defend the loot and plunder that has taken place. The Law Minister tried to say, precedence can be quoted. It is unfortunate it has happened but you know,

(In Urdu) "*Such things happen lets forget it.*" *The Minister of Co-operatives is saying the same thing ...,"Granted the Rules were wrong ... you should suggest amendments in the Rules.*"

(In English) What they have done, they think they can digest it, they can swallow it and we are to remain silent. I was interested to see that in quoting the precedent the Minister of Law quoted 1970, 1980 and 1990-91. Mr. Speaker who was in power during those days ? Not the Pakistan Peoples Party and the Peoples Democratic Alliance. Whenever a Cooperative Bank has collapsed, the people who have been in power were the exploiters of this country, the oppressors of this country, those who have sided with every military rule, those who have sided with tyranny, those who have sided with those who divided this country and created a State of Bangladesh, those exploiters and oppressors who for their vested interests watched Siachen Glacier being given away to the Indians but remained silent, and why should they not remain silent, when they were looting the wealth of the poor people of this nation.

Mr. Speaker, you should know that in 1990 I came to know about the Co-ops, I came to know that the Prime Minister who was then Chief Minister of the Punjab and the Minister for Interior who was then in the Opposition and the Minister of the Interior's brother who was an MNA, they were looting the poor people of the Punjab and because I wanted to defend the interest of the people of the Punjab as I have defended the interest of the people of the four provinces of Pakistan, my Finance Minister tried to regulate the Co-ops. My Finance Minister said that they should submit their accounts, this is matter of record, this is in writing, they sent to the provincial government that give us the details because we have come to know of a story of embezzlement, of a story of misappropriation, of a story of loot and plunder, and what did the Chief Minister do when we were trying to defend the interests of the people of the Punjab? The Chief Minister of the Punjab refused ...! The Chief Minister of the Punjab refused because he himself was involved in the embezzlement ... [(In Urdu) ... *Since he could not tell the people that the Banks are collapsing because of his own embezzlements He could not tell the people that the Banks are collapsing because of his own misappropriations ... so he gave a slogan*

(In English) Seductive slogan, let me fool the people that this is the right of the provinces, the Punjabis are being discriminated against a Sindhi Prime Minister acting against the Punjabi Chief Minister. This is what the Chief Minister of the Punjab said, and now everybody knows why he raised the slogans of provincial chauvinism

against the national leader. He raised the slogans of provincial chauvinism, because he knew that he along with his cohorts were looting the poor people, the farmers, the laborers, the middle classes, the lower middle classes, the jawans, the civil servants of the Punjab. They say that they have precedents, I say that precedents are no excuse for the collapse of the Co-ops, I say that the precedents should have prepared us for this collapse and if this Government did not permit my Government to control the Co-ops. In the name of provincial. surely they, should have acted to prevent the collapse of these Co-ops.

Mr. Speaker, I will present evidence to you in the Plunder of Pakistan, a book called the 'Plunder of Pakistan' where the Prime Minister himself knew that NICFC was going to collapse and he tried to take money out of NICFC before it collapsed, but I will come to that later. I may also add that there are many Cooperatives, the Punjab Government itself has written that the Cooperatives which have sound management, which have conservative dealing, the Cooperatives which are not offering high rate of twenty seven percent to lure and seduce innocent depositors are safe, are in good hands, are in sound hands. So it is not the question of Law, it is the question of whether the Law has been abided and it is a question of where the Law has been broken.

The Minister of Cooperatives would have us believe that it is a question of lawthey say:

(In Urdu) You can make a new Law ... but let's forget about this, I want to say that there is Law and there are those who are running the Co-operatives successfully under this Law. But why does not the Law Minister raise his voice against those who flouted this Law ? If he cannot do anything against the Prime Minister or the Interior Minister then at least he can raise his voice for the poor people of the Punjab ... Why doesn't he raise his voice ? Why is he silent ? Maybe, because the Prime Minister has recently given his son a job in D.M.G. (District Management Group) and that is why he is silent. But he should not be silent, because the people of his area have been affected and if he does not raise his voice for those affectees, then they will snatch their earnings from him, from the Prime Minister and from the Interior Minister.

(Treasury Bench objects to the words "Thieves and robbers")

(In English) ... Mr. Speaker, I will request you one thing. Tell me why I am sitting here first. I will seek your clarification. I came here to discuss the greatest bank robbery in history of the world and they say that I can't use the word 'robbery'.....

(A Member of Treasury interrupts)

Mr. Speaker, I think somebody here wants to explain how he got 4 crores of rupees, from BCCI ... Please allow him the floor too.

.... Let him go to States and explain how he got 4 crores of rupees (from BCCI)

(In Urdu) *He wants to explain what welfare work has, been done with. those 4 crores of rupees Let this poor soul explain, Mr. Speaker have sympathy on him*

(In English) Great Bank Robbery..... Great Bank Robbery Great Bank

(Speaker restores Order)

I challenge the Treasury Benches, to produce any cheque the BCCI has offered to me for four crore rupees or even a sum less than four crore rupees. It seems that my mention please show him please show him, I think the Dictator's son feels a little sensitive that the four crore cheque has come out and he should be given a right of reply

(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker he wants a clarification, the Dictator's son wants a clarification that my father was a Chief Martial Law Administrator, he forgets to remember that at the time that his predecessor, another Chief Martial Law Administrator dismembered the country in 1971, there was no Constitution in this country. No constitution has been left under which a dismembered Pakistan could hand over power to what is left of Pakistan.

Now Mr. Speaker, getting back to the speech, the Minister of Cooperatives who is a gentleman otherwise, admits that it is a calamity. It fact he knows it is a calamity, but the question that I would like to ask him is that when the biggest bank robbery in the history of the subcontinent has taken place, what is the Government doing about this calamity ? It is a calamity, he said that it is a calamity, for two months this calamity has been taking place for two months people have been coming out in the streets. They have been imprisoned, they have been beaten, they have been threatened, they are demanding their money back, what is the Minister doing? Mr. Speaker, I put it to you that this Minister cannot do anything, because it is his Prime Minister who has stolen the money, because it is his Minister of Interior who has stolen the money and that the greatest bank robbery has come about because of the IJI's thirst for loot and for plunder.

The solution, I will give you the solution. According to the Cooperative Banking Laws, anybody who takes a loan is a member of that Cooperative and equally responsible for that Cooperative. Therefore, when a bank collapses, the assets of those who are responsible should be seized, should be sold and the money taken from them should be paid to the widows, the pensioners and the orphans That is the solution ...! Can the Minister get up and say that he will take that solution. I will give you in the "Plunder of Pakistan" a list of the Sugar mills and the Textile Mills that these gentlemen

have taken and Mr. Speaker, it is the only solution, that is the only solution that those who were responsible are ...

(In Urdu) ... *Those who stole ... These thieves who had stolen Their assets should be taken and sold and the money collected be given back to the poor ... And if they don't do this, then God willing when there will be Democracy in this country, all these thieves and usurpers will be made accountable.*

(In English) ... I want to give some details Mr. Speaker for the worst financial disaster, let me tell you Mr. Speaker, that one point two million depositors are affected in NICFC along . . . one point two million depositors are affected....

(In Urdu) *Just imagine that when in every family there are six or seven persons, then in Punjab which has a population of sixty million, seven to eight million people have been affected by this. They are wailing and crying that, "What is the Prime Minister from Punjab doing about this. Who is going to solve our problems."*

(In English) ... one point two million depositors have been affected for the last two months, while the Government is busy playing cricket because they can do nothing else. Either they are playing cricket or they are singing songs songs of ignominy.

Mr. Speaker, there are seven to eight million people out of sixty million of the Punjab affected. Number two, there are thirty five thousand employees affected, where are these employees to go to ? This bank controls finances of seventeen billion rupees ...

(In Urdu) *seventeen billion rupees ... when a Bank holding seventeen billion rupees goes bankrupt...*

(In English) Then it is a disaster, not only in the short term, it is a disaster in the long term. I want to inform you Mr. Speaker, and warn the nation through your good offices that the reverberations of the story of deceit, of the story of defraud will have long term repercussion on the economy of Punjab. It will increase inflation, it will increase unemployment, it will discourage investment because NICFC violated all the Rules that existed. They violated the Rules and two Ministers stood up and gave us no *tasaali* (assurance) that those who violated the Rules will be taken to task. That is what I want Mr. Speaker. Are these two Ministers or the galaxy of the Ministers

(In Urdu) ... *there are seventy Ministers sitting there and out of these seventy, is there one with conscience who would stand up and, say that those who violated the law, those who robbed the poor off their hope will be taken to task? They like references, has there been even one reference? When a C-130 was used, a reference was filed ... That C-130 was not used for Indian film stars, it was used for the Members of this House But no, there is no accountability of this Government, it is only meant for Opposition. This Government plunders and the Opposition is*

made accountable, because we speak against the feudals and the capitalists, because we stand by the laborers, the peasants and the poor.

(In English) ... They have admitted that they have assets of three four billions. Mr. Speaker, seventeen billion rupees ... they admit that assets are only of three to four billion rupees. There is a short fall Mr. Speaker.

(In Urdu) ... *there is a shortfall of thirteen billion rupees ... I thirteen billion rupees. Where has this money gone? ... How much is thirteen billions ? Mr. Speaker the Annual Development Fund of whole of Punjab is eight billion rupees ... In 1990 the total tax collected was fourteen billionFrom Khyber to Karachi...*

(In English) the entire taxation effort in the year 1990 was under fourteen billion rupees. Mr. Speaker, the People's Program was three billion ... this is four years of People's Program money that has disappeared.

(In Urdu) ... *Vanished, finished, nobody knows where has it gone ...! Has the Government made any Committee to investigate and find out, that out of seventeen billion rupees, where have thirteen billions gone. . . ? This is the nation's total taxation effort....*

(In English) ... one hundred fifteen million people's taxation efforts. One bank has robbed, one bank has defrauded, where has this money gone ? I respectfully submit that this money has been embezzled and it has been sent overseas.

.... How has it been embezzled? I will tell you how it was embezzled. Mr. Speaker, they would buy a plot for (rupees) five lacs, the value of the plot would be five lacs, then they would sell the same (rupees) five lacs. plot for (rupees) fifty lacs to the NICFC. They would take 50 lacs, the money of the poor, the money of the impoverished. Mr. Speaker, I see Mr. Tajammal Hussain the MNA from Gujrat is here, I request you to ask him for more details because I have been to Gujrat, I have seen with my own eyes where the money was milched.....

(In Urdu). . . . *These people have siphoned off all the money from NICFCPlot worth five lacs was sold for fifty lacs*

(In English) and the difference of forty five lacs, they sent overseas. They sent to Hong Kong, they sent to Korea, they made into seven hundred thousand Pounds which according to the Arab News, one member of the family alone has in BCCI. That is why Mr. Speaker, that although the assets ought to be of seventeen billion rupees, the assets are only of three to four billion and therefore I ask Mr. Speaker, how does the Government intend to return the money ...? When the Prime Minister says the depositors will be returned their money, he is lying because the nation does not have that amount of money, the entire Pakistan State does not have thirteen billion rupees so

that the depositors can get back their money and the only way the depositors can get back the money is by seizing the assets of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Interior, this will equal twelve billion for the Prime Minister, two billion for the Minister of Interior, fourteen billion rupees, that is the only way that the poor depositors of NICFC will ever get their money back.

Mr. Speaker, we want to ask why no action has been taken by this Government so far? This is a question we put to the Treasury Benches, why nobody has been arrested so far, why has the FIA not been let loose on those who have defrauded this nation of seventeen billion rupees? They used to come now, and say, "Don't politicize the issue, don't politicize the issue." I would like to remind them that when there was an honest Government in this country, when there was a clean Government in this country, when there was a Government that brought the rate of inflation down to five point six per cent, when there was a Government which cut the budget deficit to six per cent of the GDP, when there was a Government which had a Rupee/Dollar rate of (rupees) twenty one point forty paise, these Members hurled falsehood upon falsehood, lies upon lies, they invented terms like Mr. Ten per cent, when every drop of our blood, when every sweat of ours, every tear of ours was dedicated to this country. Mr. Speaker, that is why I call this 'Divine Retribution'. Those who had the temerity to cast falsehood against an elected, democratic and clean Government, felt that because the levers of the State were in their hands, they could get away with anything, but they did not know that although they had the levers of the State in their hands, there is something known as Natural Justice, and this is Natural Justice which has caught up with them which has exposed them, because today, 'the Emperor Mr. Speaker, has no clothes'.

The Special Committee Report has come out, it has demanded the release of the list of loanees. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask why the list is not being released. They turn around and they said that we are not the only ones who have taken loans, Senator Guizar Khan of Pakistan Peoples Party has taken loans.

There are two things I would like to say on this. Let us say Senator Gulzar Khan has taken loans, let us say Minister of Finance, Mr Piracha has taken loans, Mr. Gilani has taken loans.

(In Urdu) Then who was responsible for this? If their Than dispensation was not right. Then why did you give them the loans ? Whose Bank it was, whose responsibility was, if the loans were not properly processed?

(In English) It is the responsibility of the Bank, it is the responsibility of the owners to see that every loan that is given has a collateral. Senator Gulzar repudiates the fact that he took loan, he said, he did a joint venture. He has sent them a notice, he has sent them a Legal Notice telling them, that you cannot take from the Federal

Government loan on the properties because these properties do not belong to NICFC, they belong to him. He was doing a joint venture, never has he taken a loan from them, some management facilities, some overdraft facilities . . but I go further than Senator Gulzar Khan: Senator Gulzar Khan says:

(In Urdu) ... that he did not take any loan, but I will go further than that. If Guizar or Mr. Ptacha or Mr. Gilani or anybody had come to your office for a loan, then it was your responsibility to have turn them out because this money belongs to the poor and if there is no collateral, you should have thrown them out Mr. Speaker, when I was the Prime Minister, such people, I threw them out ...

(In English) ... Mr. Speaker they have made a confessional statement. They have come on record to say:

(In Urdu) ... That since Benazir did not give us loans,- that is why we took the money from Cooperatives. Yes, I still say I never gave loans to thieves when I was the Prime Minister, I still say, that those who did not have the collaterals could never take loans during the People's Party Government, never and never. My doors were closed for the thieves I If I had given them the loans, if I had given those privileges to the family of Zia ul Haq, that they were enjoying since 1977, if I had kept the sons in law of Ghulam Ishaq happy, the way they were since 1977, if I had kept the families of Nawaz Sharif and Chaudery Shujaat happy, Mr. Speaker I would never have had any Opposition. I took on the vested interests. During Ayub Khan's period, there were 22 families which monopolized the country's capital ... but during Gen. Zia ul Haq's dark period there are only 4 families who have pocketed the country's total resources . . four families four Robber Barons.

(In English) ... Four Robber Barons, and Mr. Speaker, I draw your attention to the constitutional provision which provides that there should be no accumulation of wealth. I draw your attention to the Constitutional provision which provides there should be egalitarianism, there was neither egalitarianism nor was there any attempt made to disperse the concentration of wealth. In fact the ruling families ruled, not for the national reasons, but for personal reasons, they were businessmen, not politicians.

Politicians come from the people, they are answerable to the people, they go back to the people, they share the burdens of the people, but businessmen, they are there to do business ...! and it is their personal business which today has destroyed this country, this economy and unless Mr. Speaker we step this destruction that is going on, then I fear that they in their greed, will disintegrate Pakistan. Let us remember now on our borders, in the Soviet Union.

(In Urdu) ... It's a neighboring country ... its not far. The whole world knows that.

(In English) Today, the Soviet Union is disintegrating because of economic collapse. Nations have to be held together by a complex web of interests which are national, which are cultural, which are historical, which are political, which are economical. A nation which cannot put together a complex web Of interests such as these, is doomed, and that is why Mt. Speaker I say the nuclear weapons could not save the Soviet Union from disintegration and unless we set an example, unless we catch the crooks, unless we have accountability from those who have robbed this nation, Pakistan will not be able to face the dangers that are engulfing it. The Honorable Member from Gujrat, the Minister of Interior, to finance Phalia Sugar Mills, he took a bank guarantee of 10.2 million dollars from NICFC. The money was not his Mr. Speaker, just because his cousin Tajmmal Hussain had the bank Just because the Bank was run by his cousin Tajamimal Hussain, it did not belong to him, he did not own it, already he has so many Sugar Mills.

(In Urdu) *If during the Peoples Party Government he could not get loan because of collateral and the Pahlia Sugar Mills could not be put up . Then he should have waited, even God asks us to be patient he could have waited, but he had no patience ... One Chaudery went to the other Chaudery and took ten point two million dollars that in fact belonged to the widows, laborers and the poor....*

(In English) ... as bank guarantee, riot to his account. He took that guarantee in Khas Deposits and took it to the City Bank, to my knowledge it is 'still today in the City Bank. It-is these Khas Deposits that have to be taken out and distributed amongst the poor, amongst the affectees, but if they take out the ten point two million dollars given as bank guarantee for Phalia Sugar Mill, then what will happen to Phalia Mills?

(In Urdu) ... *Should we feel bad for the affectees ... or should we feel bad for Phalia Sugar Mills ... Should we help the affectees who belong to our own Province of the Punjab, or the family's industries ...?*

(In English) ... It is a simple question Mr. Speaker, but it is a question to which not only I, but the entire nation is demanding an answer and I did not see the Minister of Law, I did not see the Minister for Cooperatives make this answer and I am sorry to see that the chair of the Leader of the House is empty, at least the Honorable Member from Gujrat has come to the House to face the charges but the Leader of the House did not even have the guts to come and appear. in this Chamber and to answer not only to this House but to answer to the entire nation about the greatest bank robbery that has taken place. What is the spirit of these Cooperatives. The spirit of these Cooperatives is that

(In Urdu) *Money from small depositors will be used to finance small investors ... Had they done this, we would not have objected but here the money belonging to small depositors have been given to the richest families of the country ... money from the small depositors have*

been given to Sharf family who during Zia ul Haq's time, not only of Pakistan but of the Continent has become the richest family.

(In English) . . . What happened to the spirit of the Coops? Why do we need new laws? The old laws make it very clear that the money is to be given to small investor, it is not to be given to the richest man in Pakistan, it is not to be given to the richest man in the sub Continent, and that too, one who became rich overnight because of the privileges and the patronages of State he enjoyed during the rule of the worst Martial Law that this country has witnessed.

They gave interest rate of twenty seven to thirty per cent, how can you give interest rate of twenty seven to thirty per cent for, long term. They couldn't make up their mind.

(In Urdu) ... *They couldn't make up their minds, whether they were Coops or Banks, because Coops can give high interest rates since they give short term loans Sartaj Aziz (Finance Minister) is not here today, he would know For short term loans, one knows that high interest rates are given.*

Cooperatives give short term loans for , small depositors to small investors. The banks go for long term lending, they go for large projects ...

(In English) They are for long term lending, they are for large projects. How could they give interest rate to depositors of twenty seven to thirty per cent when they were setting up Sharif Sugar Mills and Phalia Sugar Mills and were giving out money as long term bankers. I would like here now to quote Mr. Speaker how in July. You see.....

(In Urdu) ... *In 1990 we had asked the Provincial Government to provide us with the details of the account of NICFC of that, of Zulfikar Awan because we had reports that embezzlements were taking place, the money was being stolen by those enjoying political patronage they refused During the election campaign Zulfikar Awan himself said that he gave twenty crores of rupees to IJI. Nawaz Sharif knew that money was being embezzled, the banks were going to collapse, what did he do ? Before the collapse of the Banks*

(In English) Before the collapse of the banks, he tried to take more money from the bank. Knowing as Prime Minister that this bank is going to collapse, instead of taking action against those who are bringing the bank to collapse, the Prime Minister of the nation took more money from the Coops. I quote to you a letter, I think Mr. Speaker, I will give you one copy so you can also be with me. I place it on the record.

The 'Plunder of Pakistan' which is to be released tomorrow at Holiday Inn at 3.30 for those who are interested in more details from the IJI, I know many of them would

like to have a copy. Here is a letter on page 91, Mr. Speaker it is sent from Brother Sugar Mills Ltd and it is sent to Mr. Salahuddin Qureshi, Chairman National Investment Trust Limited. It is dated Mr. Speaker 21st July, 1991 three weeks before the coop banks collapsed and they sayThey need the funds thereby from appropriate sources on a short term basis. The funds thereby obtained amounting to two hundred four million rupees has to be repaid on immediate basis, additionally a debt of two hundred sixty four million rupees payable to IFL for the supply of sugar mills is also required Therefore they ask for a total of five hundred fifty eight million rupees, that means Nawaz Sharif knew as early as 20th July 1991, that NCCI was going to collapse and he tried to take out of that, two loans, amounting to a total of five hundred fifty eight million rupees IS THIS THE WAY THE PRIME MINISTER OF A BANANA REPUBLIC conducts himself, leave alone the Prime Minister. . . so called Prime Minister of hundred and fifteen million proud Muslims? Then Mr. Speaker, when the scandal got out, he couldn't hide it, he couldn't hide it that he has taken this money from NICFC when he couldn't hide that he has taken this money from NICFC so what did he do? He opened two accounts on August 19, one in the name of Brothers, one in the name of Ittefaq, one was opened in five thousand rupees, one was opened with ten thousand of rupees and what did he do ...? In one day on August 20th thirty crores of rupees were deposited! Now the nation wants to know Mr. Speaker, was this thirty crores the commission, the Manshas paid to the Prime Minister...? Are there more installments coming and the nation wants to know Mr. Speaker, how is it possible, how is it possible to process a loan within one day without getting rid of all the rules and all the regulations. They made. these accusations against my Government, they said that I and my colleagues gave loans on telephones, they said we did not observe the rules, they said rules were not referred to in allotting a hotel in Islamabad when it was pointed Out....

(In Urdu) ... *That no hotel has been sanctioned.*

(In English) ... Then they said intends to commit a crime. No crime has been committed, intends to commit a crime. Rules were not observed with the intent to commit a crime sometime in the future. Rules were not observed to give loan.

Mr. Speaker....

(In Urdu) ... *That Old Man who sits on the top.*

(In English) He sent seven references against me, he sent references against my colleagues, that we tried to bend the Rules. What references is he going to send for these black and white documents?

(In Urdu) ... *Can't he see now ...! Can't he hear now . . . I Can't he speak ...! That in one day I am giving documented proofs in the National Assembly....*

(Speaker reminds that conduct of president cannot be discussed)

(In English) ... Mr. Speaker, I am pointing out to you that the question is, there is proof here, there are certain constitutional obligations.

Now I draw the attention of this House that when the President seeks to arrogate to himself the right to send a reference against a Prime Minister conducted by his advisor sitting in the Presidency Judge Jury, both together, and Executioner. When they send a reference against me Mr. Speaker, saying without documentary evidence, that I tried to bend the laws, when they bring frightened and shaking Civil Servants, who nonetheless being honorable men, ninety nine out of one hundred of them, have refused to give false evidence against me, when he sent both Civil Servants to commit perjury against me without documentary evidence, here I am placing documentary evidence of how, within one day a loan of 30 crores rupees was sanctioned through the MCB. Is there Law in this country ...? Is there equality in this country ...? Is there justice in this country ...? Is there democracy in this country or are we all fools living in a fool's paradise because Mr. Speaker, I see no justice, I see around, just conspirators conspiring to steal the wealth of this country, destroying this country, impoverishing this country, bringing this proud nation to its knees. Today our F-16s are grounded at Sargodha, in our docks the Naval ships lie idle, this never happened when the Pakistan Peoples Party was in power. How long are we going to allow these conspirators to destroy us ...?

Now I come to the projects which are bringing collapse Mr. Speaker, these are on page 70. You see Mr. Speaker the banks are all collapsing.

They are collapsing because of greed, let us give you the details of the Sharif Group Project loans which are being dispersed, sanctioned and are in the pipeline. Brothers Sugar Mills twelve hundred million, Ramzan Sugar Mills seven hundred million, Ittefaq Sugar Mills five hundred fifty million, Chaudery Sugar Mills, not to be confused with the Chaudries of Gujrat, seven hundred million, Ittefaq Textiles Unit No.1 one hundred million, Ittefaq Textiles Unit No.2 two hundred forty million, Ittefaq Textiles Unit No. 3 two hundred forty million, Brothers Textiles four hundred million, Khalid Siraj Textiles two hundred eighty million, Ittefaq Foundries thirteen hundred million, Brothers Steel two hundred eighty millions, Ramzan Bakhsh Textiles three hundred million, Mehr Ramzan Textiles three hundred ten million, Abbas Textiles three hundred ten million, Hamza Textiles My voice is going, the list is so long of one family, Mr. Speaker Hamza Textiles three hundred thirty five million. Kulsoom Textiles three hundred million, Sharif Ginning three hundred five million, Al Shafi Sugar Mills seven hundred fifty millions, Al Miraj Sugar Mills seven hundred fifty million, Sardar Buksh Sugar Mills sixty hundred million, Honda Assembly Plant eight hundred million, I am afraid Honda Assembly Plant there was no new Sharif baby

born, otherwise all the mills are named in the names of Sharif babies, mothers, grandmothers, grandfathers and so on.

Mr. Speaker, Sukrand Sugar Mills built at cost of forty six crores of rupees in 1990, this pinches them.

(In Urdu) *It is important Mr. Speaker, that you ask why Sukrand burns their hearts...? Why is it eating them from inside? You must ask this question, in fact, I suggest that it should be investigated by a Committee. Sukrand Sugar Mills was built in 1990 for 46 crores rupees and Brothers Sugar Mills is built in 1986 for fifty four crores. One Mill is built in 1990 for forty six crores and the other is built in 1986 for fifty four crore rupees. Now if you calculate the rate of inflation from 1986 to 1990 and also the Dollar/Rupee Parity. (In English) ... So this means in reality.*

(In Urdu) ... *If Sukrand Sugar Mills can be built in 46 crore rupees which means what 14 crores have gone into their pockets as black money through over invoicing. During Pakistan Peoples Party Government we did not allow over invoicing. These people take loans worth 10 crores, for the project that can be set up for 6 crores. Then that Unit becomes unfeasible. So we put a ceiling on loans for, Sugar, Cement. Fertilizer and Textile to stop over invoicing. But those who earn by over invoicing will of course not like my policy. Mr. Speaker, we not only put the ceiling we employed a Swiss firm to stop over invoicing. This firm was dismissed in June 1991. You ask the Treasury Benches Mr. Speaker, why were they dismissed ...? For the same reason Sukrand Sugar Mills pinches them.*

(In English) It pinches them because they cannot do over invoicing and that is why when I was the Prime Minister, a person who is not a businessman, investment in this country quadrupled, but under a businessman there is no investment taking place in this country than his own and the gang of four, only his own investment has quadrupled and the rest of the nation's has not.

Mr. Speaker, I read to you a list of twelve billion rupees. In ten years in 1981 do you know how much the Leader of the House took in 1991, all these stalwarts, his Honorable Members who want to defend him Mr. Speaker, I ask you to ask them a simple question and I will not speak any further, I ask you to inform this House truthfully.....

(In Urdu) ... *That how much loan did the Prime Minister take in 1981 and now after ten years how much has he borrowed. Mr. Speaker in 1981 his borrowing worth was four crores (forty million) rupees and now in ten years it is twelve billion rupees! Where is this money coming from ...? You tell me that, is there any legitimate way of making forty crores out of 4 crores ... but here four crores have become four hundred crores. Look at their hypocrisy that when they go abroad they claim to bring revolution, outside they talk of Islam, inside this House they talk of Sharia ... They do not even fear God. . . . They talk of Bait ul Maal. I have sent petitions of poor people to the Prime Minister so they can be helped from Bait-ul-MaaJ... Nothing happened.*

(In English) . . . I think it is better we call it Baitul-Sharif rather than Bait-ul-Maal. They say, don't politicize issue, how can we not politicize the issue when politicians run the banks. Who ran Coops ...? The Chauderys of Gujrat ...! Has any action been taken on the Chauderys of Gujrat? No ...! Who ran Services Coop ...? Zulfiqar Awan, an IJI MPA...! This man who was to cheat the nation, this man Mr. Speaker, sooner that I have your attention from that note which you are reading This man was to defraud the Province of Punjab, I show you his picture getting Pride of Performance from none other than Baba Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Mr. Speaker please allow the Members to come and inspect the photographs at your desk

.... Picture of Baba Baba giving the Pride of Performance to a thief! No wonder the nation is saying....

(In Urdu) ... *Till Baba and these thieves are there, there is no respite.*

(In English) ... How can poor people not have put their money in the Services Bank when none other, then the President of Pakistan is giving the Pride of Performance to the man who is a crook. This is what happens when businessmen are given (election) tickets, what were these ... these people had nothing to do with politics, but they were given on the basis of the contributions like twenty crores, that they made to the IJI and that is why I say that when the Services Coop has admitted that twenty crores were given to the IJI, when it is on the list that Nawaz Sharif took loans from the Coops, that the Chauderys took loans from the Coops, that if we are to find the solution then, the IJI, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Interior, must be held accountable. Until they resign there will be no justice. If they are looking for a solution, the solution is that, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Interior and the IJI has to resign because they brought banks down, the Coops in the Punjab. If they are sincere about this debate Mr. Speaker they did not want to give us time because they thought we would not be able to prepare, they knew I was in Peshawar yesterday and that is why although I have given you so many details, the sordid tale is much longer.

Now Mr. Speaker the BCCI bank collapsed Why did it collapse ...? With whom were the associations of BCCI ...? Mr. Speaker, the same group ...! Nawaz Sharif had loans written off, or has a loan with BCCI ... The Minister of Interior has a loan from BCCI ... The President of Pakistan is the President of BCCI Foundation Mr. Speaker, the same Public Relations firm which was hired by BCCI in Washington to lobby of BCCI was hired by the IJI during my Prime Ministership to lobby against me. First they destroyed the BCCI Mr. Speaker, then they destroyed the Coops and unless we put a stop to them Mr. Speaker, they will destroy the DFIs of Pakistan. They already are destroying the DFIs of Pakistan. Twelve billion rupees in loans they have taken from the DFIs of Pakistan, the DFIs are the Development Financial Institutions for Pakistan, not for the gang of four and Mr. Speaker, unless this Assembly can put a stop to it, then

I say more will befall Pakistan more will befall this country, unless we put a stop to the robberies that are taking place around us.

Now I show you a Resolution, in 1987 of NICFC. This is the way, Mr. Speaker, NICFC works. 1987 Resolution No. 1346, these are the loans Mr. Speaker, I draw your attention, these loans are given against the property but they are not even asked.

(In Urdu) ... *thirty crores were given in one day without a single question, as to how this loan will be utilized...?*

(In English) ... Resolution No. 1346, that brought down the Coop, Mian Muhammad Javed Shafi cousin of the Leader of the House ten crores, what is the security? The security is land in Chunian. They bought four thousand Kanals of land in Chunian in 1984 and had it declared an Industrial Estate in 1987, and made a windfall at the cost of the poor farmers of Kasur. So thirty crores dispersed, ten crores to cousin Mian Muhammad Javed Shafi, another ten crores to Mian Muhammad Tariq, another five crores to another cousin Ilyas Enterprises and then, since we got to give a little to our junior partners in power, another two crores forty lacs to Ch. Manzoor Illahi, father of Pervaiz Illahi the uncle of Minister of Interior and another further sixty five lacs rupees of Mr. Manzoor Illahi the father of Pervaiz Illahi the uncle of the Minister for Interior. In one day ... in one day the Coop gives in Resolution No. 1346 in one day Mr. Speaker gives thirty crores.

(In Urdu) ... *Not one question was asked from the Leader of House and Minister of Interior. Is there justice? Is there any answer?*

(In English) . . . Mr. Speaker, the Memorandum of the ICP, which I had referred to you before on pages 4041, if you look at it, it is a Memorandum to the Board of Directors. It is an official request to ICP for funds to pay back to NICFC and it is from Messrs. Phalia Sugar Mills Limited, " Request for revision in sanction for financial assistance of L&M and TFCs by way of refinancing of outstanding loans of three hundred million rupees. Disbursement of funds as follows for repaying the entire outstanding loans of Messrs. National Industries Credit and Finance Corporation. Mr. Speaker this is the way that they have used the financial institutions as their personal property. It is not their personal property and that is why we in the PDA are calling up for justice. We in the PDA are demanding to know what action this Government is taking against the Prime Minister and against the Minister of Interior. We are demanding to know when is this Government going to publish the list of all the loanees. We want to know the names of all the crooks, of all the thieves involved in the great bank robbery. . . and Mr. Speaker we have a solution, I tell the Minister, I tell the Treasury Benches, I tell the entire nation, as Leader of the Opposition, I tell the entire nation there is one solution not new laws, no new laws ... We want old laws implemented.

(In Urdu) ... Every time there is a problem, a new Law is made. What use is the new Law Mr. Speaker, when the thieves are not even caught. This bogey of new Law will not work. There is only one solution and that is that the assets of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Interior should be forfeited, this is what the Law says. According to the law, those who take loans from the Coops are responsible for its return.

They are responsible... They must pay Mr. Speaker, they will pay. This nation will ensure that they will pay and that is when, this poster being distributed outside will come into force, WANTED CRIMINALS. This problem will not go away Mr. Speaker until they are forced to pay back to this nation the money that they have looted in the greatest bank robbery the nation has witnessed. I thank you for your patience Mr. Speaker. I place this on record.

FOREWORD

SINDH SITUATION

The present crises in Sindh started the day Pakistan's first elected Prime Minister was removed through a military coup. Since the former Prime Minister belonged to Sindh, that Province was looked upon as a potential threat to the junta. Successive Operations were conducted into Sindh, either in the name of Law and Order or to curb so called terrorism. Later an ethnic group was created and given a free hand to terrorize the people. During the Premiership of Ms. Benazir Bhutto, this ethnic group was used to destabilize her Government both in the Province and in the Centre. After the removal of Peoples Government, this Group had grown so strong that it in itself became a threat to the Federation of Pakistan.

The most unfortunate part of this sordid drama was, that while Ms. Benazir Bhutto as Leader of Opposition kept on warning the IJI Government of the grave repercussions of their policies in Sindh, the IJI went on persecuting, terrorizing and victimizing their political opponents through this Group. The Government claimed that situation in Sindh was improving, one week later it was announced that the Army had to be called in Sindh, to control the Law and Order situation because the Government of Sindh had collapsed ...!

SINDH SITUATION

May 26, 1992.

(In English) . . Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my gratitude to you for intervening and sending the right signal to the people of Sindh and indeed to the people of this country by saying that the collapse of Civil Administration merits at least a one day's discussion in the National Assembly of Pakistan. Mr. Speaker, as I mentioned earlier today we stand at the cross roads, today we stand at the turning point of history. We have been asked by the Treasury Benches to speak in a spirit of constructive criticism and that is what we intend to do despite the excitement shown by one Member who began criticizing for the sake of criticizing.

Either Pakistan is to be saved or the nightmare of 1971 is to return. We do not doubt for a moment that Civil Government in Sindh has collapsed, that the administrative machinery is paralyzed, as the Interior Minister stated on the floor of the House today. However, just as the situation in East Pakistan did not deteriorate overnight, but began with the language riots of 1955 and finally culminated in 1971 in disintegration, took time, so the crisis in Sindh had taken time.

We in the Opposition from 1977 onwards, in Opposition and out of Opposition have been pointing out that Sindh needs attention, otherwise disaster spells for its drastic message. Unfortunately, all our dire warnings were spurned. In August 1990, the democratically elected Government, the first democratically elected Government on Party basis came into being since 1977. Since 1977 we had no democracy, no representation, no adult franchise, we were a colony, all of Pakistan, not just Sindh, from Khyber to Karachi we were a colony, colonized with no rights. When we said democracy should be -restored, we were lashed. Mr. Mir Hazar Khan Bijrani is today a Minister on the Treasury Benches, he knows the agony because he too spent time in prison. There was hardly anybody from Sindh, aside from the direct and immediate collaborators of the military regime, who did not spend time in prison.

Since 1977 there was no representative Government in Sindh except for a brief period of twenty months. Let me put it on the record today, just sending the Army into Sindh will not solve the problem. It is doing no service to the military and it is doing no service to Sindh, it is doing no service to the Federation of Pakistan, to come up with a half baked notion that the military can clear up the mess which the politicians have created.

A military solution on its own is no answer, we need a political settlement, of course the military needs to be part of the political settlement, the military needs to be part of a political package.

We do not deny the assertion of the Minister for the Interior that there is internal and external subversion in the province of Sindh today. We do not deny the linkage of Kashmir, Khalistan and Sindh, we do not deny it. We know that there is an insurgency. We know that every action has a reaction. We know that as the tempo in Kashmir will increase, the tempo in Sindh will also increase. May I point out, Mr. Speaker that as Prime Minister, in 1989 I was the first national leader in Pakistan to state on the floor of the House and outside the floor of the House that, there is a mini insurgency in Sindh. Instead of taking the warning of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the first elected Prime Minister of Pakistan since 1977, their people who were part of that insurgency were supported. The reason that the PPP Government in Sindh could not deliver the goods was because the provincial Government of Punjab was interfering in the provincial Government of Sindh and not allowing the elected representatives to run the true course of democracy.

(Interruptions)

Yes I will tell you, please ask me....

.... I think the Minister wishes to ask me, let him ask because we must have here a frank, openhearted discussion. Nothing is going to be saved if we score political points. Let us learn where we went wrong so that we know where we can turn right in the future. I give you one example, I said that, 'there are terrorist elements in the MQM'. Why did my agreement with the MQM break down ? It broke down because they repeatedly wanted us to free those members of theirs who were involving themselves in kidnapping and murders. Three students of the Peoples Students Federation were shot down in cold blood at Karachi University and who was there at the time of their shooting down ? They know the answer. When Pucca Qila operation was launched to save Pakistan, to save Sindh, a hue and cry was made that, "No, hundred people have been killed."

(In Urdu) Sindhi dacoits in Police uniform have come Hindus in Police uniform have come There has been a blood-bath hundred people have been killed I then said that we will constitute a Tribunal of Chief Justices of all four Provinces and the Chief Justice of Supreme Court, because we were not talking of one incident, we were talking about the unity of Pakistan because urban terrorists were getting the patronage of elements of government But my Government was removed.

Why my government was removed ? There were two reasons two reasons. One, in June 1990 we had made a Law to expose and to recover all the written off loans of those of Zia ul

Haq era. Among those defaulters were neither Hakim Ali Zardari's name nor of Asif Alt Zardart's . . . as stated in this House yesterday yet another lie. Regardless of this, I want to state that even if Hakim Ali Zardari's name or Asif Ali. Zardari's, or for that matter, my mother's, brother's or even my name I have no right to hide them because it was in the interest of the nation This was one reason. They did not want me to expose all those who plundered Pakistan. The second reason was Pucca Qila, when they realized that, witnesses would be produced before five Chief Justices and the real terrorists will be identified, then, they will not be able to use those terrorists to destabilize the PPP Government . . . When there was Peoples Party Government in Sindh, the incidents of decoities in the interior and of murders and kidnapping in cities decreased,

(A Member of Treasury disputes)

... Yes, these incident decreased. Mr. Speaker, get a report from the Police Liaison Committee and show it to the Members Then they will know the truth and this Committee has not been made by me. When we had effectively controlled and jailed the decoits and terrorists The masked gunmen appeared, these gunmen would stop buses and shoot down the people. It was these masked gunmen against whom I took action . . . I did not order any action against Pucca Qua, but yes, I told them not to spare anyone found violating the law I want to inform you that after the dismissal of my Government, that Tribunal was reduced to the level of Sessions Judge. Hundred people did not die during that Pucca Qua operation only five people lost their lives, and this was stated by the MQM's complainant, their own MPA, but the Peoples Party Government was removed and then all those terrorists were released.

Now I want to inform this House that there is a mini insurgency. In cities there are certain elements in MQM and in interior Sindh there are certain elements in Jeay Sindh. Earlier as a Prime Minister I took the nation in confidence, now as Leader of Opposition I am taking the nation in confidence to state that there is a foreign insurgency. There are two angles to it. One, there are those who talk of Mohajir nationalism and want a separate Jinnahpur State on linguistics basis, they are instigating the people for a separate Mohajfir State and this demand will get more intense in future. Two, in interior Sindh there are those of Jeay Sindh and various other groups which may or may not include Al. Zulfiqar if it exists and other student groups, but we have no proof of that, so we do not know about them, we cannot be sure unless we have proof.....

(Interruptions by Treasury Benches)

Give me the proof Provide us the proof and we will agree with you, we want to save our nation.

(More Interruption by Treasury Benches)

(In English) Yes, give him the floor, I am not frightened of them Give him the floor If he wants to say something, let him be a man and get up....!

(Speaker asks Leader of Opposition to carry on)

Thank you Mr. Speaker, in interior Sindh the Jeay Sindh is instigating the people by talking of Sindhi nationalism. This divide on linguistic nationalism can only be overcome by a political Party which is over and above all this and has the support of Urdu, Pushto, Punjabi, Baluchi and Sindhi speaking people.

But what has happened in Sindh ? The people of Sindh have been deprived of their representation ... This is my basic argument That since 1977 till today, there has been no representation. Genuine representatives were not allowed to decide the destiny of their province or country and who were imposed on the people of Sindh? Those appointed from Islamabad.

When I was the Prime Minister, my home constituency was in Sindh but I did not run that province. Yes, the Chief Ministers of Sindh and Frontier Province used to attend the cabinet meeting in Islamabad every week, one of the Chief Ministers is sitting here now, but there was no interference in the province. Today there is interference. So much so that the whole province has been handed over to a self confessed drunkard. A person who in this very Parliament declared that he drank. and said, "What is law ? What can they do to me?"

(A Member of Treasury Passes a remark)

(In Urdu) *You want to say something about Mr. Bhutto please do say*

(Member of Treasury interrupts)

(In English) Yes . . . Yes get excited Mr. Soomro do you remember England. I will be obliged to tell the Speaker about that you got family ties, but you watch it Also, you should remember you will get as good as you give Mr. Speaker, I would like to make one submission before you give your ruling. I would like to say, that the other day when you were in this chair, the Honorable Member from Pindi got up and he said "What about those martyrs who died of drinking in Paris." Yes, Mr. Speaker, I had a very handsome brother, young and handsome, the promise of this land, he was murdered in Paris, and the postmortem autopsy showed not a drop of alcohol in his body. Today I have not spoken of somebody who drank in secret in his house. I have spoken of somebody who came to the House of Parliament and in the Parliament boldly declared that, "I drink." He committed contempt of this House and those who committed contempt of this House and could declare in this House that they drank then whether they are alive or not does not matter.

The basic problems of Sindh which this paper does not answer, this paper and the Treasury Benches have not identified the basic cause of the turmoil of Sindh. The basic cause of the turmoil of Sindh arises from the fact that since 1977 Sindh has been treated like a colony to be kicked about by Islamabad. That policy is continuing till today. Does Sindh not deserve its own Assembly? Does Sindh not deserve to elect Members to the Federal Government? Does Sindh not deserve representation in all the echelons of the Government? I have been saying time and again and I will repeat it, because they are standing at the doorstep of history. What are they offering Sindh aside from the military operation? Are they saying that they are going to hold elections again so that the people of Sindh elect their genuine representatives, that we do not have to give seats to Elahi Bux Soomro who got the results changed for Jacobabad in the midnight?

They cannot get a Minister from Sindh unless they rig an election. Why cannot Sindh get Ministers of their choice? Let's forget about Ministers, maybe all of Sindh's genuine representatives today sit in the Opposition, and I say this very pertinently. Jam Mashooq rigged his election, it says in the NDI report, Soomro is in the NDI report, not my report, the NDI report. Who from that Cabinet other than the MQM, and I may have difference with MQM but they got elected. Who from that side represents the people of Sindh? Today Sindh is out of Federation or is sitting on the Opposition Benches.

In the province Mr. Qaim Ali Shah, he is the Leader of the Opposition, he had the majority, was he allowed to form a Government? No, Islamabad said we don't care what happens to Pakistan, keep the PPP out.

They put in a man who is a self confessed drunkard, they put in a man who is on our intelligence agencies, as a RAW agent. I knew him, I know Jam Sadiq Ali, he came to me for a ministry, he told me, "Make me Chief Minister Sindh I will handle it." He told me

(In Urdu) *"Qaim Ali. Shah is too decent a person BiBl, you need a person like me. If you cannot make me the Chief Minister of Sindh, then make me the Interior Minister."* But I had an ISI Report which said that Jam Sadiq is a suspect ...!

(In English) I preferred caution, and I did not make him Chief Minister Sindh, although I said he has been in exile, I am a soft hearted person, I did not compromise National Security. Not only have they deprived the people of Sindh of true legitimacy, they put in a man who was as warned, a RAW agent and who posted to the former Education Minister and to a Member of the House, "I will do in Sindh what G.M Syed could not do, I will found independence." Time and again in this House and out, we said that Sindh has been thrown to the brink of disintegration, did they respond ? Till one week ago one week ago, we were told things are well in Sindh, there is no need

to panic, things have improved in Sindh. One week later they come and tell us that things are so bad, they are handing twenty five percent of Pakistan to Army...!

Mr. Speaker, that is what is happening. Today Civil Authority is being abdicated and twenty five percent of Pakistan is being given to the military, this is neither fair to the military nor is it fair to Sindh, nor is it fair to Pakistan.

This utter confusion, I put it to you Mr. Speaker, there is utter confusion in the Treasury Benches, they have no policy on Sindh, it is burning their hands. They do not know what to do, there is no policy and let me tell you Mr. Speaker, after the press reports we got their confusion in this form, we were told; "The command of the Mehran Rangers has been transferred back from civilian to the Army." That is what we were told. When we asked for a briefing, first they told us there is no big deal, there is no operation the rangers are being given to the army. We disputed the claim. Next the Prime Minister said in New York:

(In Urdu) *Army Operation had begun. "But the Prime Minister's Special Assistant was saying*

(In English) We will make the necessary arrangements after the Prime Minister returns. " The Minister of Interior, he told the Jang Forum that, "Action would be under Criminal Procedure 131." This is what the Minister of Interior said, "Action will be under Criminal Procedure 131", but the Press is saying that action is contemplated under Article 147 or Article 245...!

(In Urdu) When the Prime Minister was asked, whether this is an Army action or civilian ? The Prime Minister replied, "They are both the same thing.."

Had the Prime Minister been in the House today, I would have shown him the Constitution. That, when the Civil Government fails like the Minister for Interior has stated that the Civil Government has collapsed.

In English) this is not my word, it is the word of Minister for Interior, and he says, "Law and Order problem in Interior Sindh." I would like to tell him, because maybe he does not know that the Major of Rangers who was kidnapped, was kidnapped from Karachi. A Corps Commander who was going in Karachi on a visit, his car was stopped and he was taunted in Karachi. Since when has Karachi become Interior Sindh? But perhaps Mr. Speaker, the reason this has been chosen is because the Government (a) is confused about Sindh and (b) the Government wants to save its chair. In the GHQ briefing, it has come to my knowledge, that when the military turned around and told the Prime Minister, and I am surprised to see the Defense Minister was not there, turned around and told the Prime Minister that we want to be even handed, give us the opportunity to go after the miscreants. The Prime Minister said, "What will

happen to my Government, the MOM may go ?" It is more important that government go, governments can come and governments can go but countries cannot come and go. This is time we thought of the country. This is the time we didn't think of our own chairs, and what about Chief Minister Sindh, he may be a very decent man, but throughout the GHQ briefing he was jumping up and down on his seat and saying:

(In Urdu) *"What about me what about me."* When he was told you will remain the Chief Minister. He said, *"But I will be under pressure MPAs will be coming to me They will want to be released."* If the public pressure becomes too much for you, then give in your resignationHe was told.

(In English) . . . Now, how can you call in the military for an operation and at the same time be scared that what MOM is going to do, or are they going to leave us or not. 'LET ME TELL YOU THAT THE MQM IS GOING TO LEAVE THEM, NOT ONLY IS THE MQM GOING TO LEAVE THEM BUT THE MQM IS ALSO GOING TO DIVIDE INTO HALF OVER THIS WHOLE OPERATION.' So they better start thinking long terms, and as far as Mr. Muzaffar Shah is concerned, this is what you get when you don't get representation.

I am calling for a package, I am saying Sindh needs a package, I am saying give Sindh, give the country a package. By a package I mean give fair, free elections. Do not give Sanghar where two women are raped in broad daylight, because when you rape the women of Sindh and the Prime Minister of the country refuses to do anything, Interior Minister, the Chief Minister, the Defence Minister and the Election Commission refuses to do anything, where are those women going to go to, who will they turn to...?

Why is Sindh being pushed out of Pakistan. From the floor of this House we offered cooperation.

They said, "We do not want cooperation, we want references, we want political prisoners. Did the military operation of 1981 solve anything? Did the military operation of 1983 solve everything? Did the military operation of 1986 under Mr. Junejo solve anything? Don't get the military involved in isolation, military are a part of this society. Do not send' the military to do something which cannot be done by the military alone.

What has Sindh got since 1977? Repression, more repression and repression. Each time, answer to the anger of Sindh, to the agony of Sindh meant Special Courts, Military Courts, Special Tribunals, Special Actions. The Minister for Interior said that there is lack of funds in the Law and Order. Mr. Speaker, do you know that funds are being spend on law and order.

I gave a half billion rupees to the Sindh Police for the Law and Order, I gave them new Toyota Pickups and wirelesses and Sten guns, because they did not even have Sten guns. All that I gave them, it's no answer. We keep spending on repression, we spend on Courts, we spend on police, we spend on TA/DA of Rangers. How much do we spend on the men and women of Sindh?How much do we spend on sanitation...?

How much do we spend on industry? If we want ... to put industry and I am talking of a package deal, which calls first for democracy for legitimate rule. Second of all, I am saying Sindh must be given its share. Can the Law Minister tell me how many people from Sindh are employed in the Prime Minister's Secretariat? How many people from Sindh are employed in the President's Secretariat? When I was Prime Minister, my Secretaries my Additional Secretaries came from all over Pakistan because I was the Prime Minister of Pakistan not of one province. But today the Prime Minister of Pakistan Secretariat resembles the Secretariat of a province. Every weekend the Prime Minister can go to Punjab which is very good, he should, it is part of Pakistan, but he should also go to Frontier he should also go to Baluchistan, he should also go to Sarhad to see what is happening there, because if all is not well in Sindh, all is not well in Baluchistan or Sarhad about which I am not speaking today. Give representation. What about the Federal Shariat Court? What about the Supreme Court? What about the Senate? What about the National Assembly? Neither the President is from Sindh, Prime Minister is from Si'ndh, neither the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is from Sindh, what about the Sindh Judiciary itself? What about the Sindh High Court? There is no quota even in the Sindh High Court.

What about the jobs ? Do the people of Sindh have their jobs in PIA, in the Steel Mills, in any of the Government Corporations inside Sindh, leave alone Corporations outside Sindh? I suggest Mr. Speaker, that if there has to be a solution, if there has to be a military operation, it cannot be under a dummy Government, it has to be under a Government that reflects the will and aspirations of the people of Sindh. Not only that, I want to know under what Law are they going into Sindh ? In this document it is not clear. Are they going in under 147? Are they going in under 245 ? Are they going under Criminal Procedure 131 ? It is not clear to the Opposition, it is not clear to the Nation, it is not clear to the Government itself, under what Law they are going into Sindh.

If the Interior Minister has stated on behalf of the Government, that administration in Sindh is paralyzed, why has the Sindh government not been sacked. The Constitution, the Constitution which the Ministers have sworn to uphold in a solemn oath. The Constitution states that if Civil Government breaks down then Governor's Rule is imposed If the Civil Government has broken down, why is Mazaffar Shah being propped up? Not only Muzaffar Shah, you cannot, on one hand say Civil Government is paralyzed and on other hand say, that this corpse will continue to stink the whole of Sindh.

We cannot just send in the Army, we must along with the Army give Sindh back to the people of Sindh. We must give to the people of Sindh, jobs as they deserve on quota in all the federal and provincial bodies and we must give Sindh no less than a one billion rupee Developmental Program within twelve months if we are going to win the hearts and minds of people. The hearts and minds must be won, the hearts and minds must not be lost. Today the hearts and minds of the people of Sindh are being lost by their short sighted policies. I can understand their dilemma. I can understand that civil force needs military force to back it up.

I am not a hypocrite. When the situation so demanded, I wanted to call in the military too, I too planned in consultation with the Chief Minister that the military will be called in under 147. So I am not going to be a hypocrite and say that the military is not needed to flush out insurgents, to flush out dacoits and to flush out criminals, but I am going to say that when I called the military under 147, I was clear in my mind, my Government was clear in its mind that what the solution was. We said we want military assistance, we want it under 147 and we want it as a part of a package, a package of development, a package to win the hearts and minds of the people, a package with political consultation.

I went to Sindh and at the Governor's House I called leading Urdu speaking intellectuals, I called them and asked them to make committees of harmony. At the time of Pucca Qila the intelligence agencies came to me and said Prime Minister your life is at stake if you go to Pucca Qila, I replied I will go to Pucca Qila, and when I was in Hyderabad the time of curfew was over, I was told that people are coming to the rest house where I was, and I turned around to the Armed Forces and I said I know my soldiers are brave enough to protect their Prime Minister and I did not leave Hyderabad. I had gone there for two hours I stayed there for eight hours.

I met Sindhi speaking people, I met Urdu speaking people, I met those of my Party and those who were not in my Party because One needs popular participation, one cannot send the military in without popular participation. This Government doesn't know the Law, this Government till one week ago was saying all is well in Sindh. I want to know will this Government arrest those who kidnapped the Japanese because the man who kidnapped the Japanese is today a Provincial Minister in the Government of Sindh? Will they arrest him, or will they only go to Makhdoom Amin Faheem's house because he is unprotected, the protected ones are those who fly the flag and go in ministerial cars?

Will they catch such criminals who have sought refuge ? Will they flush out of Government, those members of Government who kidnapped a Major in Karachi, after all their Government is based on the twin faces of foreign sponsored insurgency, elements of the MQM inside the cities and Jeay Sindh in the rural areas. At every stage

G.M. Syed has opposed me, he has opposed my father and he opposed me and he says, till the People Party is not crushed we will not get independence and who is helping them to crush the PPP. They talk about Al Zulfiqar. I will be honest before this House, I don't know whether Al Zulfiqar exists or Al Zulfiqar does not exist, but if Al Zulfiqar exists I ask the Government to place the proof before us, we will never support any one who is against Pakistan, over our dead bodies will we support anyone who is against Pakistan. Have they presented the proof? I asked for a meeting of the Defence Committee, I wanted to see the Naval Commander and his associates who were involved in the Shah Bandar incident, did they produce the first report ? Did they produce the Navy Commander and his associates? No, Mr. Speaker why did I so ask? I so asked, because I had information that the Navy had an encounter where one person died through accidental shooting then I.B. took over the men, the I.B. tortured them, and the I.B. killed six out of the seven men who were in their custody.

.... Let us say they are terrorists but let the course of Law be applied how can you send back to village corpses of young men whose tongues have been scissored, whose eyeballs have been pulled out, how can you send to that village, those villagers don't know whether this young man is a terrorist or not because that young man was never produced before a Court of Law, because no FIR was filed. If an FIR had been field, if an interrogation had taken place and if he then had been sent to the gallows proven as a terrorist there would have been no objection from anyone in the whole of Pakistan.

Those who violate the law, must face the Law but the Law should be applied, you can't just take young men scissor their tongues apart, pull out their toe nails, pull every single hair and return their decomposed bodies to their mothers and sisters and expect the anger not to spill over. Why can't this House have the full facts about Al Zulfiqar? Why can't, this House be told about the insurgency? We demand to know we need to know, the nation needs to know. So far we only know that the IB took those men and then IB involved the Navy. Is this the way to run national security? Is this the way we tried to make use of the Armed Forces for our own narrow political ends ? The Minister of Interior said we should rise above partisan interest, I agree with him, he said something very reasonable, but saying it is not enough. If we are facing an insurgency, if we are handing twenty five percent of Pakistan to the military, whose head is going to roll? After all the situation did not come about overnight, whose head is going to roll ? Can't we have fixed responsibility ? We have a Parliament, we have Members, we have the Press, they have been writing that MPA's have been kidnapped. One minority Member of Opposition was kidnapped, did we do anything about it? When we said terrorism is on the rise, insurgency is on the rise, there were deaf ears on which our pleas fell.

Whose head will roll and that is what I would like to say. I don't want to take up too much time, I know there is a lot to be said but I did want to know the Law under which the Military Operation is going to go into effect. I do want to know whether there

is going to be a political package, because without a political package there will be no service to the Military, there will be no service to Sindh and there will be no service to the Nation. I do want to know that if a "billion rupee win the hearts and minds", program going to be launched or not. I do want to know whether the Sindh is going to get its quota in the Judiciary, in the Police, in the foreign service, in the civil service, in the Prime Minister's Secretariat and in the Federal and Provincial structures.

I do want to know whether the genuine elected representatives of the people of Sindh are going to be able to make their own Government or whether Islamabad will tell us who 'the Chief Minister is going to be, be it Jam Sadiq Ali or Muzaffar Shah.

Muzaffar Shah may be a decent man, he may give good speeches but a man who is not the authentic representative of the people cannot resolve the province's problems. So, let's face it, there is a problem, let's face it there is an insurgency, but let's us face it also Mr. Speaker, that this Government is confused, and this confusion has served no one but the criminals. They got one week's advance notice, they fled, they have already gone, they have gone to London, they have gone. Lahore, they have gone away, and who is going to take the responsibility for delaying the action to such a great deal. Do we ever take responsibility? Nobody was caught for the Swedes, nobody was caught for the Japanese. Not one week ago, we were told everything is fine, one week later we are told that twenty five percent of Pakistan we are handing to the Military !! Whose head is going to roll because unless some heads roll, disaster stares us in the face. I thank you Mr. Speaker.

FOREWORD

OPENING THE DEBATE ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The President's address to the joint session of Parliament came in the wake of Opposition's Long March in which over twenty five thousand people were arrested. The Opposition boycotted the Presidential address in a protest against the IJI regime's victimization of Opposition and the President's indifference to the unfortunate state of affairs.

Ms. Benazir Bhutto opened the debate by giving this written speech. It is a very important speech in which the Leader of Opposition addressed all national, regional and international issues which concern the people of Pakistan. It is a precise criticism of IJI regime and a concise policy statement. In this speech Ms. Bhutto gives a deep insight into the stand she takes on various issues relating to Pakistan.

OPENING THE DEBATE ON PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. Speaker, Honorable Members,

In the Parliamentary tradition we have the Queen's State of Union. On December 22 1992, the President came before this House to give a State of Union speech.

I am reminded here of many speeches that have been given throughout history and I think the context in which the State of Union speech was given should be noted. Hazrat Abu Bakr the first caliph, when he gave his first address upon the assumption of caliphate, at that time he said that:

"It is enjoined upon all Muslims to rise against the rulers if they feel the rulers are deviating from the right path."

And as the State of Union speech was given here at the joint sitting, the words of Hazrat Abu Bakr reverberated not only outside the Parliament building, but reverberated throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The president gave his address, and the manner in which he gave his address spoke about the sad and tragic affairs in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan two years after the overthrow of an elected, democratic government of people and its replacement by an illegitimate coterie who seized power by rigging the ballot boxes and denying the people the basic, fundamental right to choose their government and determine their own destiny.

The polarization which the dismissal of an elected government and rigging of general elections brought about has deepened in two years, it has not gone away. Not only have the so called economic reforms touted by the IJI failed to bring any dividends, but the IJI itself has fallen apart to remain as a rump Muslim League held together by levers of power rather than the strength of ideology, the commitment to principles and the devotion of a cadre which has seen years of struggle and sacrifice which characterizes the opposition.

The State of Union was given to a House boycotted by more than half the nation. A besieged President spoke before a barricaded Parliament in the cordoned Capital of the country, while riot police with tear gas and lathi charges broke up courageous protestors registering their outrage against tyranny, injustice, discrimination, economic stagnation, corruption, inflation, unemployment, fundamentalism and increasing international isolation.

A former Federal Minister is in hospital while I address you Mr. Speaker, an advocate does not know whether he will lose his eye, a student lies bleeding, fighting between life and death after electric shocks were administered to him in an Islamabad police station. All this brutality and torture happened outside this Parliament while the President spoke.

The spectacle of a besieged President speaking to a barricaded Parliament in the cordoned Capital with the anguished cry of the masses ranting the skies spoke volumes of the inability of the Nawaz Sharif administration to forge a social political or economic consensus in the country. It demonstrated the deep malaise which has divided the Nation, thrown it into a crisis and demonstrated the bankruptcy of the rulers in being able to deal with it.

The State of the Union address was given against the backdrop of two significant events. First the Long March.

The Long March much advertised by the Opposition since January 1992, if not before, took the sleepy regime by surprise. The Opposition had been declaring for some time that if concrete steps were not taken for democratization and respect for fundamental rights as enshrined in the Constitution, it would be forced to focus internal and external attention on the crises in Pakistan.

Yet the regime failed to respond. It was caught in the crazy web of its own corruption and mercenary practices. The Opposition warned that it would not let the people of Pakistan down. Yet the regime slept.

The Opposition warned from this very forum that coercing parliamentarians to switch sides, kidnapping Parliamentarians, treating the Sindh Assembly as a dummy without a Speaker and without members would make a mockery of Parliament. Yet the regime slept.

The regime was lost in its false dreams and hopes that political blackmail would work where a political settlement was needed. Instead of going to the root cause of the political crises, the rigging of 1990 elections, the steps towards authoritarianism, the mockery of law, the mockery of political and the mockery of judiciary which began with the setting up of disqualification tribunals and Special Courts to try political opponents, the regime believed it could get dividends by using the disqualification tribunals, threatening the judicial murder of the spouse of the Leader of Opposition and crushing political opponents in kangaroo courts. Even today the former Deputy Leader of Opposition in Punjab Assembly and the Leader of Opposition in District Council Lahore are behind bars along with scores of others being given special treatment under special laws in special courts with special handpicked judges.

Every time the Opposition spoke of National issues and political issues of Nation's interest the regime responded on a personal plane, with personal attacks, with personal venom, and with personal deals. They got nowhere and will never get anywhere with the language of political blackmail.

We in the Opposition have given our life, our liberty and our happiness for freedom, rule of law and an egalitarian Pakistan. We can never succumb to political blackmail. It is the regime's hopeless effort at political gimmickry and political blackmail which has increased political instability in Pakistan, which has divided the Nation and exposed it to increasing international isolation.

The crisis in Pakistan will not go away until and unless the regime recognizes that the Opposition speaks for more than half the Nation and its demands are the demands of a constituency tested by time and space. The Constitution of the liberal Pakistani who believes in a modern Nation State, free of hunger, poverty, disease, illiteracy. The oppressed and exploited Pakistani who wants to live in dignity. The women and minorities, the working classes, the laboring classes, the farming classes, the small traders, the youth, the victims of the Cooperatives. The ones without hope. They want justice and they support the Opposition.

The Long March succeeded. It succeeded beyond expectation. It galvanized the entire Nation and it panicked the regime.

As the flood tide of the marchers began to gather from the four corners of the country and converge upon the Parliament, the entire government machinery broke down. Twenty five thousand people were arrested without justification. Political leaders were tear gassed, lathi charged and tortured. The ugly, fascist face of the regime was shown on international media such as CNN and BBC. Mr. Nawaz Sharif also, perhaps, saw for the first time the fascist face of his regime for he chose to criticize the Pakistani press and praise the foreign press, which was showing the fascist face of this regime.

The Secretariat of the Opposition was illegally seized and sealed. The former First Lady was fired upon and an octroi clerk killed. A PPP worker from Moro succumbed to his injuries. Another was killed in Frontier according to Police reports by a Federal Minister. Two Former Prime Ministers were tear gassed mercilessly for two hours. The sanctity of Parliament itself was violated as police raided the office of the Leader of Opposition and seized fax machines and other property illegally.

The regime resorted to sabotage and subversion. Communication lines between four provinces were cut off, bunds built, bridges subverted, roads dug up, petrol pumps starved of oil, buses seized, rail and plane traffic interrupted.

The Long March demonstrated the popular support which the Opposition commanded for its demands. It demonstrated that for this regime to survive, it could do so only by unleashing the reign of repression. But by exposing the long arm of repression the regime played into the hands of the Opposition and proved its point:

- That there is no democracy in Pakistan.
- That Human Rights are constantly violated. That there is no freedom of expression.
- No freedom of movement.
- No freedom of press with press corps being intimidated.
- That the South African pattern of internal exile is being followed.
- That the regime has lost the moral right to rule. That in fact the regime has lost the political right to rule.
- That a regime which has to resort, to Draconian measures to stop a Long March cannot govern.

For every Long March the regime seeks to stop it paves the way for yet another call for a Long March. How can a country be governed when its Government and Opposition were caught in a titanic battle of demonstrating popular support and stemming it through the use of repression? We have always believed in People's Power. In the courage of our workers, in the greatness of our cause. There is no stronger power than the power of the people, state power cannot ultimately compete with the people's power. Quaid-e-Azam built a separate state on the strength of People's Power. Quaid-e-Azam overthrew a dictatorship with People's Power.

I led the people of Pakistan to a historic victory against the forces of oppression, of injustice, the tyranny after the decade of military dictatorship with People's Power. The Berlin Wall fell under the weight of People's Power. The powerful King of Kings fled from Persia under People's Power. The Iron dictator Ferdinand Marcos ran from the flood tide of People's Power. No force can quell the flood tide of popular support. The people know it. If you stop us once, we will do it again, and again, and again.

Because a country is not governable and cannot be governed in accordance with the Constitution without the sanction, legitimacy and authority which flow from popular support. And with each crisis, the regime falters. With each wave of repression, it's strength erodes. With its inability to govern, it crumbles under its own weight. This is the lesson of history. And no one can escape it.

I salute the people of Pakistan for the great victory in bringing the regime to a halt from November 10, 1992 when the call of a Long March was given to December 22, 1992 when the State of the Union was read to a besieged, barricaded Parliament and a cordoned capital. This is the first battle won. More victories belong to the people. The Joint Opposition will be meeting -shortly to chalk out a further plan of action.

From the floor of Parliament, I wish to inform the regime, as I did in November 1990. Incidentally, the regime should read the speech that I gave from the floor of this House in November, 1990. Had they followed the advice contained in that speech Pakistan today would not be facing political instability, economic stagnation, social decline and increasing international isolation. If the regime had listened to the words spoken from the forum of the Parliament, but the regime chose not to listen to the voice that was speaking in the Parliament or the voice of Parliament. Let me tell the regime the politics of terror and repression cannot work. Either come forward with a credible political settlement in the light of my letter to the Prime Minister and the APC resolution or be responsible for the consequences.

The Opposition will not abandon the people of Pakistan in the moment of crises and despair. The double talk on dialogue must end. Either the regime takes credible steps to demonstrate its good intentions or else it faces mounting political instability. The legitimate demands of the people cannot be ignored.

The second significant 'backdrop against which the State of the Union address was given was the Round Table Conference. What more proof of a divided Nation can there be than that Mr. Nawaz Sharif is unable to defend the vital security interests of Pakistan. He cannot unite the Nation. He cannot unite the people. He cannot confront the challenge of a crisis. The Indians test his nerves and he falters.

A helicopter gunship is shot down in Siachin. Mr. Nawaz Sharif remains silent. Or is he too busy attacking the Opposition to notice?

Two Pakistani tourists are killed in India and their bodies are not returned. Yet Mr. Nawaz Sharif remains silent. Or is he too busy criticising the Opposition?

A Pakistani diplomat is beaten up in India. Nawaz Sharif remains silent. For two weeks Hindu fanatics gather outside Ayodhya, Nawaz Sharif remains silent. Babri Masjid is martyred. Yet Nawaz Sharif prefers his witch hunt against the Opposition rather than uniting the Nation over Babri Masjid.

He does not have the nerve to confront the Indian Government on high moral ground nor does he have the nerve to negotiate a settlement with the Opposition. Instead of taking the high moral ground after the martyrdom of Babri Masjid, the regime unleashed an orgy of violence, burning, bloodletting and destruction against the

minorities in Pakistan. Its own cabinet ministers and Chief Minister took part in this vandalism.

The Constitution compels a government to safeguard the rights of minorities. Islam enjoins upon us top priority to safeguard the "Zimmies".

Yet we find this regime violating the Constitution. Burning temples and churches. Burning families. Reviving the horrors of partition. How can we condemn what the Indians are doing if we are doing the same in Pakistan? What action has Nawaz Sharif taken against the Ministers who took part in the unconstitutional acts of destruction against minorities ? What action has Mr. Nawaz Sharif taken against Chief Ministers who use government prop to violate the Constitution ? What action has Nawaz Sharif taken against the Ministers named in an FIR for the murder of a political worker in Frontier?

It seems that Law and Constitution exist only in the eyes of the Opposition. Its provisions are torn to shreds by the regime.

Babri Masjid alone does not cry out at Pakistan the largest Muslim Country being misruled by the regime. In Bosnia, 114 mosques have been martyred 30,000 Muslim women raped. Tens of thousands Muslims killed. What has the regime done to help the Muslims of Bosnia. Nothing!

Our regime has no occupation other than corruption, inflation and a witch hunt against the Opposition and the free press.

FUNDAMENTALISM

I turn towards fundamentalism. As its unpopularity grew, the regime became more desperate. In the last one year Pakistan has moved dangerously further away from Quaid-e-Azam's vision of Pakistan to that of myopic fanatics relying on bigotry, persecution and narrow mindedness.

The drift towards fundamentalism began with the hasty passage of the Shariat Bill in July 1991. It was supposed to cleanse the country of crime. Yet the crime rate accentuated to such an extent that Sindh was handed to the army and federal paramilitary troops were called out in the Punjab, the Frontier and Baluchistan.

Next came the famous Fatwaas, where the high priest took it upon themselves to declare who is a Muslim and who is not in clear contravention of the injunctions of Islam. The third measure came in the form of the Blasphemy Law.

The fourth measure has come in the attempt to introduce religious apartheid through separate ID columns.

We in the PDA oppose these measures aimed at distorting the vision of Quaid-e-Azam and Quaid-e-Awam's liberal, modern, moderate, Muslim Nation State. We assure the minorities, liberals, and intellectuals in Pakistan, that we do not believe in separate electorates or in religious discrimination. We call upon the regime to repeal the discriminatory measures taken against the minorities who may practice a different religion but in terms of state ship are equal citizens.

FOREIGN POLICY

Threat of Declaring Pakistan Terrorist State:

During the past two years, Pakistan's relations with the USA have declined and have reached their lowest ebb in our history, leading to the present tensions. Western capitals are humming with reports that the State Department is actively considering to declare Pakistan a "terrorist state". This follows on the heels of the country being denied economic and military aid, which had been agreed upon earlier. Nawaz Sharif will be directly responsible for the horrendous consequences that will flow out from such US decision. Latest reports in the national media indicate that a new law is under consideration in the US Senate, harsher than the Pressler Amendment, to ban not only American aid but also international financial assistance to Pakistan.

AFGHANISTAN

Pakistan has totally failed to achieve any tangible success in Afghanistan, despite the colossal gains that we made earlier on the international scene on this issue. Today, Afghanistan is torn in a civil war as a result of Islamabad's bungling over the last year. While the Afghanistan refugees, repatriation to their country has not been made possible, the international aid for the vast number of three million refugees is fast drying up adding to Pakistan's economic hardship. The Durand Line has virtually ceased to exist on the ground as an international frontier. The writ of the Government of Pakistan no longer applies to that border belt. International observers unanimously agree that after the stepping down of President Najibullah, valuable time was lost in pursuing meaningless negotiations at Peshawar and Kabul by Nawaz Sharif's total inability to read the emergent scenario in Afghanistan.

Here I would like to add that the question of Russian Prisoners of War has not been resolved and nor has Pakistan been able to play a meaningful role in this. Although President Najibullah stepped down to enable the change to come to Afghanistan, Pakistan has not taken up the question of his future or ensured that

having facilitated the change in Afghanistan, he should at least be given sanctuary in a land of his choice.

KASHMIR

Nawaz Sharif's regime has failed to evolve a policy of national consensus on Kashmir. By introducing the offer of the "third option", Mian Nawaz Sharif has not only abandoned Pakistan's traditional stand of adherence to the UN resolutions, but also betrayed the liberation struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, as well as demolished the hopes and aspirations of the people of Pakistan. There are widespread fears that Nawaz Sharif might barter the Kashmir issue in the interest of his personal power struggle. The unprecedented opportunities presented by the indigenous liberation struggle of the Kashmiri people have been missed at national as well as international level. During Kuwait's occupation by Iraqi forces, Mr. Nawaz Sharif undertook several trips to Muslim countries to mobilize world opinion. It is strange that he has taken many foreign trips, he has taken private trips to Saudi Arabia and United States, but he has not taken any whirlwind tour to focus attention on the liberation struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

FAILURE IN THE GULF REGION

Pakistan's foreign policy *vis-a-vis* the Gulf States has proved equally ruinous. We have acquired no gains – material or otherwise at the end of the Gulf War that Pakistan chose to support fully. Other countries who sent troops to the Gulf such as Egypt and Turkey reaped benefits. The retrenchment of Pakistan's workers from the region continues. The latest report indicates that as many as 50,000 Pakistanis are under the threat of being deported from the Emirates and Saudi Arabia. Thousands of Pakistani workers have been forcibly collected by the military in camps in order to be deported by sea. Such a deplorable state of affairs exhibits the incompetence and total lack of diplomatic vision by the Nawaz Sharif Government.

JAPAN

Because of the mishandling of many issues in respect of Japan, including undue favors to private companies from South Korea for ulterior reasons, and dislocation of the diplomatic as well as trade focus, our standing with Japan has greatly diminished. The Prime Minister cancelled his previous visit to Japan at the last moment on the pretext of domestic troubles. That lame excuse led to doubts in Tokyo. The efforts to mend fences now have not borne fruits of the extent that was possible a year ago. Without terming them as "conditions on aid", Japan wants Pakistan to sign the NPT, apart from other pressures. Consequently, due to the Prime Minister's failure of a proper approach towards Japan which was one of our largest donors, assistance from that country has suffered a major set-back.

To cover up his failure at Tokyo, the Prime Minister has adopted the unbecoming, though familiar tactics, of passing on all the shortfalls of his own doing to the former Government of PPP. Nawaz Sharif had no pangs of conscience, by indulging in the naked lie that my NBC's interview was damaging for the country. The whole world knows that I said nothing new. In fact Nawaz Sharif through the Foreign Secretary Shehreyar Khan, revealed nuclear secrets in public statement at Washington and by doing, so confirmed Washington's worst doubts.

FAILURE IN CENTRAL ASIA

In approaching the opportunities in Central Asia, Pakistan has failed in establishing the necessary diplomatic missions or taking trade initiatives. While countries such as Turkey, Iran, India and Israel have established diplomatic ties with all Central Asian Republics and entered into commercial contracts and other agreements. We in Pakistan have failed to establish even the necessary air communications with all these Republics, leaving the much heralded cooperation amongst the Republics and Pakistan as an elusive dream at this crucial moment of a historic opportunity in the region. Pakistan seems to be losing this race of acting as a "gateway" to Central Asia, with all its long, term economic prospects for this country and the responsibility for that surely lies on the failure of Nawaz Sharif regime.

FAILURE IN ATTRACTING FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

As regards the chances of attracting genuine foreign investment, the rampant domestic corruption at the highest levels of the Nawaz Sharif regime and 'his family's open involvement in all such parleys, as well as the absence of transparency in trade and the process of privatization have ruined the country's economy. The visits of the Prime Minister to the USA, London, Switzerland and recently to Japan have all proved total flops. Pakistan has received no major financial benefit from abroad since the present administration embarked upon its so called liberal foreign trade policies.

FAILURE IN MOBILIZING THE ISLAMIC WORLD

Apart from the lip service to Islam and the Umma, Nawaz Sharif has failed to muster the Muslim world in any concrete terms towards the struggle of the Bosnian brethren, the agony of Palestine or of Kashmir. Nawaz Sharif is the first Prime Minister who will be remembered in history for deserting the Kashmiris in their struggle for self-determination in the light of UN resolutions. Even worse, he cannot escape from the verdict of history with regard to the tragic demolition of the Babri Masjid in India. Nawaz Sharif was busy at that time attacking the Opposition through public meeting organized with the express purpose of trying to neutralize the major success achieved in its Long March. Under similar circumstances, when I was Prime Minister and fanatic

Hindus had threatened to demolish the Babri Masjid, I took major initiatives and impressed upon the Government of India about the dangers of possible Shahadat of Babri Masjid. This pressurized the Indian Government into resisting the efforts of the fanatic Hindus in this direction.

Lastly, on the nuclear issue, the Nawaz Sharif regime has during the past two years, exhibited a policy which has brought nothing but public demoralization. While the USA led pressure on this issue in conjunction with European capitals, now joined by Japan, is well known, the Pakistan of Nawaz Sharif has done nothing to re-establish in the eyes of the world, our resolve, no less than our needs, to adhere to a policy of peaceful nuclear program without jeopardizing Pakistan's security. The Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was directly responsible for the irresponsible statements made in this sensitive issue by his Minister for Defence Production and his Foreign Secretary from time to time, including his own.

SIACHIN

The Siachin issue has been bungled in the last two years due to the absence of political direction from the Prime Minister. India has virtually agreed in principle to vacate the Glacier and re-deploy its troops to newly determined positions, during the PPP Government, but the success achieved by the PPP Government was squandered by the incompetence in handling the subsequent negotiations on Siachin at the Secretary's level and the Nawaz Sharif's failure to raise the level to that of Foreign/Defence Ministers which would have facilitated a political settlement in Pakistan's favor.

Mr. Speaker, to sum up my State of the Federation I want to say that the rulers have completely ignored the people and are busy only with making personal gains. The Ministers are only interested in obtaining loans, getting them written off, and installing their factories. No one seems to care about alleviating the problems of the common person, no one seems to care about the price hike of consumer items. We seem to have come under a "culture of greed" which has gripped the whole nation and dominates us today. Far from playing any leadership role in arresting the moral decay, the representatives of Nawaz Sharif miss no opportunity in 'feathering their own nest'. They are in fact developing into a new Brahmanic caste of highly privileged, well above the law of the land. The Nawaz Sharif regime looks upon the Parliament not as a vehicle of public service or fulfillment of democracy but as an instrument of naked political power and economic windfall.

ECONOMIC PICTURE

The financial resources of the country have been diverted from the social sector to show-piece projects such as the motorway, bullet trains, etc. Nawaz Sharif got a special aeroplane which he bought for one billion rupees, where just the cost of one seat

alone was at 35 lacks each. These have a tremendous financial consequences on our own country. All this lavish expenditure has reduced the expenditure in key sectors such as education, family planning, environment, women development and health. Economic bungling, mismanagement and corrupt practices have had serious consequences for the quality of life, as the ordinary Pakistani and the present characteristics do not auger well for the future.

Nawaz Sharifs regime has resorted to deficit financing, resulting in a runaway inflation. The regime now accepts inflation is in double digits, as I pointed out six months earlier during my budget address. Such financing has crowded out the private sectors, except for the cronies of Nawaz Sharif who are badly starved for the needed capital for industrialization.

The steep decline in economy is the result of the uncontrollable spending by the regime, declining exports, reduction in production and sharp rise in the consumer price index.

According to independent economists, in order to widen his political base amongst the people, Nawaz Sharif resorted to short-term borrowings and short term economic policies, which has widened the budgetary gap. According to sources in the Finance Ministry, the regime is now planning to impose fresh taxes on the people of Pakistan. A fresh packing of taxes is to be thrown on the people Pakistan to subsidize and facilitate the lavish expenditures of Nawaz Sharif regime. Instead of taxing the people again and again we need to abandon economic aphorism for fiscal responsibility. It seems that the government economic experts have informed Nawaz Sharif that it is no use continuing in this manner and that appropriate policy adjustments are needed to improve revenue collections and mobilize more resources in the public sector, to control expenditures and bring about moderation in expansion of credit.

I want to ask WHERE HAS ALL THE MONEY GONE? Why should we have to pay taxes? In the first PPP Government, we built huge public sector enterprises, this was the public wealth. This public wealth was sold off. It was given out in the bazaar. Where has the money gone from this public sector? Every day we hear that another public sector enterprise has been sold. Cement which has been going in profit has been sold, Pak-Saudi Fertilizer which has been going in profit has been sold, Ghee plant which has been going in profit has been sold, Zeal Pak cement has been soldAll these profitable ventures belonging to the people of Pakistan have been sold. BUT, WHERE HAS THE MONEY GONE.....??

If we are raising so many revenues from the sale of public sector enterprises, then why should we as citizens have to pay more taxes. WHERE IS THE MONEY? That is the question to ask. We are the people who introduced privatization. With the sale of

fifteen percent of PIA fifteen percent of one enterprise, and that also not a goldmine like M.C.B. or Sui Northern, the feasibility reports of which were prepared by PPP Government, not by them. With the sale of just fifteen percent of PIA we raised thirty crores of rupees. If we could raise thirty crore rupees, where has all the money gone. Advertisements are taken out saying that foreign exchange levels of Pakistan have risen, THIS IS FALSE!! Pakistan today has zero foreign exchange level. When I became Prime Minister, foreign exchange in the country was one hundred fifty million dollars, in June 1990 it was six hundred million dollars and scheduled to go up nine hundred million dollars by June 1991. Today the regime says, we have billions of dollars but these are not Pakistan's !! These foreign exchange deposits belong to the depositors, to private depositors, and if only thirty percent of these private depositors withdraw their money that they have put in foreign exchange accounts, Pakistan's economy will collapse like B.C.C.I. collapsed, like a house of cards.

Nawaz Sharif has failed to grasp the notion that uncertainty is poison for the economy and in its presence no achievement can be made. In fact privatization and deregulation were introduced by the PPP Government. Nawaz Sharif is living off our legacy. Yet he has distorted it to the detriment of labor and to the detriment of open market competition.

An impression has been created that instead of creating a market economy based on the principles of open competition, ii is trying to develop monopolies of a few business houses which are personally loyal to Nawaz Sharif. The charges of corruption are openly aired and I place before you a charge sheet and references against Nawaz Sharif and IJI regime which has been prepared by the joint opposition. The co-operative scandal badly tarnished the image of the regime. Ridden with scandals, the economy could not achieve the breakthrough in two years that Nawaz Sharif has been talking about, which we achieved more in 20 months, that he has not been able to achieve in two years.

His regime has acquired a reputation of total fiscal irresponsibility. During the budget speech. Mr. Speaker, I said this budget means that Pakistan's deficit is going to go up to 100 billion by the end of this fiscal year. The Finance Minister in his response denied it, but the way the present figures are, it seems that my assertions that Pakistan's budget despite deficit the sale of 50 public sectors is going to be 100 billion by the end of the current fiscal year, is going to be unfortunately proven true.

The deteriorating law and order situation appears to be beyond the ability of the regime to manage. One major failure is its inability to take a bipartisan view of the law and order management. His fervent partisan use of administration has rendered the crime management entirely unsuccessful. A crime ridden economy is constantly in a state of uncertainty. Abduction for ransom, daylight robberies, gang rapes and politically motivated violence has thrown the entire economic picture into a state of

chaos and lawlessness. In such a situation no foreign investor is willing to invest in this country. What to speak of foreign investor, even the domestic investor does not want to go in for projects of long gestation, because they do not have the confidence with the present political instability and with the present law and order situation.

ILLEGITIMACY OF IJI REGIME

What a sad review of the state of Pakistan's foreign policy, of its domestic drift towards fundamentalism, of its economic picture and yet few Prime Ministers in history have started with the advantage that Nawaz Sharif started with, when he assumed power two years ago but squandered rapidly. Elected through rigged elections of 1990, with the massive majority, with the open support, of the establishment, the army and the bureaucracy, his regime nonetheless remained eminently fragile and vulnerable. It remained fragile and vulnerable because of its obsession, its phobia with the PPP and PDA and the Opposition and its inability to come to terms with the political opposition.

The regime has been unable to carry through any negotiation with the Opposition – even uphold the one when initiated by itself in April 1991 and then again in January 1992. Mr. Nawaz Sharif's period in office has been a remarkable story of missed opportunities and mismanagement. The greatest missed opportunity has been his regime's inability to convert its broad parliamentary majority into durable political strength. Its proclivity for unstructured governance has much to do with this. Only two years ago Nawaz Sharif started his tenure among the expectations that, as a child of the establishment, he would provide the country political stability and he would provide a political government. He enjoyed three advantages that we in the PPP Government never had. Because of rigged election, he had a two third majority in the National Assembly, he had a majority in the Senate, his Party ran all the provinces either directly or in coalition through horse trading, he had the backing of the President, he had the backing of the army. But, despite all these advantages his mistakes and his misjudgments have multiplied and Pakistan today is paying the price.

The mishandling of the co-operative scam has dimmed Mr. Nawaz Sharif's public veneer. Over seventeen billions were stolen from Punjab Coop. scandal which is nearly two percent of Pakistan's GDP, but despite a year having passed, there is no evidence of culprits being punished or the system being reformed.

I do not need to point out that the recent economic reforms are not the invention of Nawaz Sharif. Deregulation and privatization were introduced by the PPP and its implementation had begun. Nawaz Sharif's special contribution has been to do everything at reckless speed, with little regard for the fact that the purpose of reform is frustrated through imprudence, perversion and lack of integrity. His denationalization policy has meant a dislocation for masses. The promised golden handshake has not

been fulfilled in most cases and when the workers raise their voices for a fair deal, they are transferred, dismissed, demoted and made to face the iron fist of the regime.

On behalf of the PDA I promise the workers

- Reform of the Contract System. No infringement on trade union rights.
- Re-opening of cases where apparent economic fraud has taken place like MCB and UBL.
- Giving labor a fair share in privatization not the hoax of Allied Bank and the cousin of Nawaz Sharif.

The economy is part of socio-political system and it cannot prosper if politics are regressive. Public faith in Government has touched rock bottom. Pakistan will spend sixty two million in freight charges for two point five million tons of wheat in the current fiscal year alone. This is what the people of Pakistan will be paying for Nawaz Sharifs failed economic reforms.

In Sindh, the provincial Government has been unable to maintain law and order and the army has had to be called in now for over six months. There is no public inquiry at all as to why this should have happened.

Resignations of Sindh MPAs were not accepted to keep a dummy government in power. Elections to the Speaker were postponed because it was a secret ballot and that the government in secret ballot would not be able to have a majority. Today, the elections to the Senatorship are being postponed because again it's a secret ballot and the government fears that it will not get a majority.

The Government has failed to make any package for restructuring: There has been a vague talk of socioeconomic package but the reality is there has been no plan of construction, political recovery, economic recovery or social uplift for Sindh.

Meanwhile only today, G.O.C. Hyderabad Maj. Gen. Lehasap Khan's statement published in today's *Nawa-i-Waqat* of 27.12.1992 is a reflection of Pakistan Army views and comments on the civil administration and domestic police of Nawaz Sharif's government. Many political observers regard the G.O.C. Hyderabad's observation as a "Charge Sheet" against the regime, but I will refrain from using such strong language, although had any General commented upon my administration when I was P.M. Mian Nawaz Sharif would have let loose heaven and earth against me.

The gist of what G.O.C. Hyderabad has stated while briefing the Press yesterday is as follows:

1. If the Government patronizes the M.Q.M. again, it will lead to lawlessness.
2. The masses do not have confidence that they can lead normal lives peacefully under the present system of Government. The people are, therefore, worried as to what would happen when the Army goes back to barracks.
3. The Army arrested a former Minister and many members of Parliament who are still in jail. The Army has done its job-but now the evidence is not coming forward. Many known criminals have been released on bail. We are surprised and worried about the situation.
4. In many cases the police is in league with dacoits. Similarly the Patharidars are often instruments of abduction cases. The abduction of Chinese was an example in which the release of Chinese was obtained through Patharidar.
5. The M.Q.M. had obtained such a large number of arms licenses in bogus names that it was difficult to estimate their correct figures.
6. A whole Army brigade can be equipped with the recovered arms.
7. The entire Police system in Sindh needed restructuring.
8. The G.O.C. condemned the education system in Sindh, where a large number of teachers draw salaries without going to school. The G.O.C's observations should be an eye opener not only for the President but for the whole nation.

I have given you the charge sheet so I will not go into further cases of corruption, other than mention the KOT ADDU Power Project, which is a case of accountability with documentary evidence. There is not a single reference filed against myself or my colleagues which are our direct orders, we are facing accountability for decisions taken by the cabinet or taken by the Economic Affairs Committee of the cabinet. In the Kot Addu Project the Prime Minister has twice overruled the award of a contract in clear violation of the recommendations of the ministry, causing loss of billions to the Pakistani Exchequer. But since we have one sided accountability, of course no references against the Prime Minister. I must mention here the denationalisation of Sui Northern, the gross irregularity in the award of one billion dollars in Lahore/Islamabad Motorway and to the sweet deals that the regime struck with Attock Leisure over the two hundred eighty acres of summer resort in Malam Jabba to the privatisation of key banks.

Some fundamental factors seem to lie behind Mr. Sharifs increasingly problem-prone and controversial administration.

1. The unstructured government; He cannot decide on a course of action and then stay on it. One day he makes an offer to the Opposition, the next day he withdraws from it. One day he calls the para military to the Ministry of Interior, the next he sends them back to the 5th Corps. One day he goes on an anti adulteration campaign, the next day he calls it off.
2. Failure to distinguish between haste and speed.
3. There is an official agenda which is out of synchrony with wider realities as well as public concerns.
4. There is the temptation publicity as substitute for performance. Reports of Saatchi & Saatchi for five million dollars. When the PPP had hired Mark Segal and Associates, we were called Zionist agents for employing those who belong to the Jewish faith. Mark Segal & Associates were hired for dollars three lacs a year. But Saatchi & Saatchi alone are being paid five million dollars according to the reports we have received and we wait to get further details on the regime. Besides Saatchi & Saatchi, Lake, Onanaford, Neil and a textile lobbyist are being retained. Which means he has hired five Public Relations firms to try and build the public image of IJI regime worldwide.
5. A tendency to resort to political wheeling and dealing when in trouble rather than address the source of the trouble.

The crucial question is where are we going from here, Nawaz Sharif regime is fragile, the reason is obvious because:

IJI Government is a product of a thoroughly rigged elections, this is now taken to be a truism by everybody, practically all political commentators in Pakistan now accept the verdict of PDA. White Paper on Election 1990 (How An Election Was Stolen) PDA's case was proved beyond doubt by the subsequent admission of those in power at the time of the elections, even the NDI revised its report. The regime, more than anybody else, knows it does not enjoy a popular base or mandate and it, therefore, remains uncertain and vulnerable.

The IJI alliance which "Won" the rigged election no longer exists and therefore, the Nawaz Sharif regime no longer has a political base, nor a moral or legal ground for staying in power. Soon after the IJI took over in November 1990, its Secretary

Information Mr. Agha Murtaza Pooya was the first one to be expelled from the alliance. Subsequently National Peoples Party led by Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was expelled. Jamaat-e-Islami withdrew itself from the IJI recently and its Naib Amir, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed, resigned from the office of the Secretary General of the alliance. Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Darkhawasti group) ceased to exist after February 13, 1991, after it merged with JUI of Maulana Fazal-urRehman. One of the founders of IJI, Maulana Sami-ulHaq has now formed his own group and has distanced himself from the IJI.

Consequently, IJI has forfeited its identity and its objective, since its component parties have left the alliance, which amounts to the withdrawal of the so called mandate it is supposed to have received through the rigged Election of 1990.

The supposed mandate given by the people in 1990 rigged elections is no longer valid as a result of the collapse of the alliance.

MANIPULATION OF ASSEMBLIES AND HORSE TRADING.

Then there has been manipulation of assemblies and horse trading, which has badly affected the process of Democratisation in Pakistan. To maintain its power in Sindh, Nawaz Sharif indulged in gross manipulation:

- a) First, the shenanigans to get Jam Sadiq his majority.
- b) The destruction of all parliamentary norms during the Senate election when the MPAs were kidnapped.
- c) The disgusting pretence that Jam Sadiq was still alive in order to gain time to rig a majority for his successor.
- d) The refusal to recognize the resignations of the MQM legislators to prevent PPP the opportunity to form the Government.
- e) The retrieval of those MQM legislators who had resigned or had been sacked earlier, under different party nomenclature.
- f) The delay in holding local elections; etc.

ATTITUDE TO OPPOSITION

- a) Consistent persecution of PPP in Sindh which is well documented and acknowledged, that it does not warrant any further statement. This persecution also exists in other provinces. It has been highlighted in Sindh because it has been more overt than covert. When no other excuse was

available for political persecution of PPP, a mass pretence of PPP being linked to AZO was given mammoth Goebbels like propaganda (a slipshod video was shown on prime time TV about AZO which only convinced the people of the ill-intention of the Nawaz regime) and was launched in order to defame PPP as a terrorist party. The political victimization of PPP/PDA has been so severe in the last two years the Amnesty International, U.S. Human Rights Report and other International Human Rights groups have all pointed it out.

- b) Use of references and spurious cases to harass me and keep Mr. Asif Zardari MNA in prison without the possibility of bail, which included the passage of two Ordinances in one month, the first repealing the right of statutory bail, the second stripping the superior judiciary of the powers of bail and quashment. [This means that retired judges of subordinate courts have been elevated to senior positions to sitting judges of superior courts. Members of Opposition are being denied a fair trial. Disqualification Tribunals and Speedy Courts are all special courts which do not meet minimum standards of a fair trial. The ordinary courts are not considered good enough for political opponents. This has both vindicated the PPP and has manifested the malafide intention of the regime which is bent upon elimination of Opposition.
- c) Twice the regime has ordered the rearrest of martial - law era political prisoners, who were freed under Presidential amnesty in 1988.
- d) Repeated and slanderous attacks on PPP/PDA using prime TV time to accuse us of being terrorists, and foreign agents, enemies of the country, etc. The politics of Pakistan under the current regime has lost even the semblance of human touch. This is amply reflected in the statements issued every day by the regime. These statements are full of calumny, innuendo and poisonous vituperation, and at times contain extremely indecent and unpublishable remarks.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif and his courtiers should take time off from their ceaseless efforts to vilify the Opposition and think how they are polluting the country's political discourse. The recent spate of public rallies held by the Prime Minister serve as an instructive example of the lowliness of politics this country has acquired under the present dispensation.

Mr. Sharif describes the Opposition as "an insane bunch of terrorists" who are responsible for the breakup of the country and who undertook the Long March at the behest of some external power which wanted to harm Pakistan. The Chief Minister of Punjab threatened to break the limbs of the people who oppose the regime, which is

seen by him as breaking the law. This shows the respect which this regime accords to law and order since this is the right of the judiciary alone which is responsible and authorized to deal with these matters.

STYLE OF POLITICS

The regime is characterized by a lack of consultation with the legislative body or even with its own party. Most decisions appear to be made by the so called "kitchen cabinet". The decision on the inclusion of the religious column in the National Identity Cards is an example of this. The decision was made at a meeting attended by only two ministers and under duress from a handful of ulemas/mullâs, it was never brought to National Assembly. This kind of attitude and practice has caused great damage to the evolution of the democratic system and shows the overall contempt with which Mr. Nawaz Sharif has treated the democratic system. It is a measure of the Prime Minister's disdain for the Parliament that in the course of last two years, he has rarely attended the National Assembly sessions. He did not care to attend the last Senate session even for a single day. None of his political statements have been made on the floor of the House.

The influence of intelligence services both ISI and TB has been the main basis of governance. Even after the devastating revelation of the "Midnight Jackals" no steps have been taken to ensure the sanctity of elected representatives and legislative institutions. The fact that those involved in this scandalous act were not only not brought to trial but were actually given high status in the current running of the country, manifests the commitment to democracy this Government reflects.

This is a regime run by Ordinances promulgated just a few weeks—occasionally even days—before the actual sitting of the Assembly. This forces a legislation on the Parliament which is then pushed through on the basis of brute majority rather than through the normal legislative process. Vital law and order legislation have been passed through this non-legislative procedure and though a clear showing of anti-democratic means.

The regime has consciously confused constructive politics with public relations, using the electronic media at every opportunity to talk about itself without doing anything for the people. The recent floods are a classical example of this kind of corruption to gain political mileage, where announcements of grants or gifts were shown on TV, with no actual budget allocation to back them up. It is also worth mentioning that the September 1992 flash-floods were as much the-outcome of the negligence of authorities concerned, as the investigations conducted by the group of engineers, who designed and built Mangla Dam project, revealed.

PRESS

Nawaz Sharif has avoided the press and utilized the Government controlled electronic media as his political weapon. He avoids the press corps where he is bound to be questioned about the regime's priorities, the directions he has taken and options he had exercised during his political tenure towards a democratic Pakistan. Instead he has constantly attempted to muzzle the press. Attacks on journalists by police have been the most constant way this regime has dealt with the press. A sedition case was filed against The News. Journalists have been subjected to frequent verbal attacks by the Prime Minister himself and his cohorts have given clear direction for physical attacks by the "law enforcing agencies". Since November 17, 1992 alone at least ten journalists have been physically attacked by the police in Islamabad and Lahore, including a senior woman journalist of The News and the editor of The Muslim.

Such is the attitude towards press that even the passengers on PIA are denied their right to read the newspapers and periodicals which this regime does not approve of.

CONCLUSION

The State of the Union address on December 22, 1992 acknowledged the fact that all was not well in the country:

That the nation stood divided

That Parliament could not work with efficacy without quorum or attendance by the cabinet.

That extra-parliamentary activity was taking place, and yet no prescriptions have been offered by the regime.

The regime is caught in an inertia.

There is an ineptness

Lack of direction.

Fickleness of purpose.

The people carry the yoke of police brutality. They endure the despotism of revenue officials.

They know who is manipulating the price of sugar and cement, they recognize the faces behind the screen engineering it all.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif and his colleagues are well aware of their unpopularity.

The rulers hide behind battlements from the very people they claim to represent.

They take refuge from the people of their own country behind barbed wires and road blocks.

The Long March had demonstrated that the Government has lost the right to represent the people of Pakistan.

I Make A Pledge To The People Of This Country:

They have known my father, and they know me.

Neither he nor I shied away from them.

To my father the sweat of every workman toiling at the machine and every peasant ploughing under the burning sun was sacred.

So it is for me.

To me the sweat of every daughter of this soil blowing straight into the smoke and heat of hearth fires, is the essence of life.

I do not shrink away from the people I have their confidence. While barricades protect our rulers from the people, I break the barricades to be with them.

As the daughter of a martyr, I know how to fight for the right of an oppressed people.

As the wife of an innocent prisoner, I know the suffering of the innocent.

And as the mother of children I pledge Mr. Speaker to continue this struggle for the sake of all our children for the sake of the children of Pakistan.

That future is ours to grasp. And grasp it, we will."

THANK YOU