



VERBATIM REPORT

SESSION THREE

Sunday, February 22, 2009

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The Youth Parliament of Pakistan met in the Hotel Margla, Islamabad at five minutes past ten in the morning with Madam Deputy Speaker, (Kashmala Khan Durrani) in the Chair.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَّةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِّنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ.

ترجمہ: اللہ کے سوا کوئی معبود نہیں زندہ ہے سب کا تھامنے والا نہ اس کی اونگھ دبا سکتی ہے نہ نیند آسمانوں اور زمین میں جو کچھ بھی ہے سب اسی کا ہے ایسا کون ہے جو اس کی اجازت کے سوا اس کے ہاں سفارش کر سکے مخلوقات کے تمام حاضر اور غائب حالات کو جانتا ہے اور وہ سب اس کی معلومات میں سے کسی چیز کا احاطہ نہیں کر سکتے مگر جتنا کہ وہ چاہے اس کی کرسی نے سب آسمانوں اور زمین کو اپنے اندر لے رکھا ہے اور اللہ کو ان دونوں کی حفاظت کچھ گراں نہیں گزرتی اور وہی سب سے برتر عظمت والا ہے۔

(سورۃ بقرہ آیت نمبر 255)

Madam Deputy Speaker: جزاک اللہ We have the honour of hosting of his excellency Mr. Tariq Fatimi, former Ambassador to the US and the EU with us to speak on the subject of Pak-US relations. He has had the privilege of serving successive Pakistani Governments in varying capacities. He has also served as a Principal Officer on the Staff of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif with responsibilities that included oversight of Pakistan's Strategic Programmes and its foreign policies. We are delighted to have Ambassador Fatimi here with us today at the Youth Parliament of Pakistan.

(Desk thumping)

Mr. Tariq Fatimi (Ex-Ambassador): بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ Madam Speaker, Members of the Parliament, it is a matter of great privilege for me to have been invited to speak to all of you. You embody the hopes and aspirations of my generation and the generation that are going to come because you represent the very finest amongst the young men and women

of the country. And we all look forward to the privilege of seeing you a step into the real world and I think the weeks that you spend in this forum will better enable you to meet the challenges that lie ahead and as you are well aware, Pakistan does face major challenges.

Madam Speaker, with your permission may I now speak on the subject of Pakistan-US relations. I will speak for about thirty minutes so that you have enough time to ask your questions because this is a subject that, I know, has many interests especially to the youth of this country. Before I speak on the subject itself, Madam Speaker, it is important to understand what Pakistan is? Where it is located? What are its strengths and what are its weaknesses? It is with an understanding of this particular background that will better enable you to understand the dynamics that have been at play in the relationships between Pakistan and the United States. Let me take you back to that turbulent period that represented Pakistan in the immediate wake of the birth of the country. Unlike other countries that emerged from colonial rule and there were many in Asia as well as Africa. Pakistan came with a certain amount of baggage and why do I refer to it as the baggage because Pakistan unlike other states was an ideological state. The aspirations of the people of the sub-continent, the Muslims were not merely to establish an independent state but a homeland where they could live in an atmosphere that resonated with the heritage, with the memory of a thousand years. And therefore, the ideological factor in Pakistan and the formulation and execution of its foreign policy became the *sine-qua-non*, the that drove the policy makers. It is very important to understand that.

Second, unlike other sovereign states that emerged from colonial rule, Pakistan came with a major question mark as regards its survivability. At the present moment الحمد لله there are very few Pakistanis that actually fear a disintegration of the country. But at that point in time when Pakistan had emerged on the world's stage, there was this very major concern which was further accentuated by the pronouncements of the Indian leaderships. You would recall that Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru and its colleagues repeatedly claimed that their agreement to the division of the Sub-Continent arose primarily from the fact that they were convinced that this would be a short term experiment. This is not propaganda, this is not make belief, this is reality. If you read the autobiographies of the various Indian leaders, even such secular, moderate politicians like Dr. Radha Krishana, a great philosopher and mathematician, Rajander Pershad who became the first President of India, Raj Gopal Acharia and a host of others, you will see enough evidence in it to make you accept the fact that in the initial few years, there was construable concern in Pakistan as to how we ensure that the country actually survives. What does this mean? It means that unlike other sovereign states whose leadership could concentrate on economic growth, social development, the infrastructure, health, education and the rest of it, for the Pakistani leadership that was not the paramount

consideration because they felt that if the country does not survive, what do we do with roads and schools and colleges? So the most important factor in the minds of the founding fathers of Pakistan was to ensure that Pakistan survives. It is absolutely essential to understand that because it is from this mind set that all other steps in the realm of foreign policy, emerged.

Now, let us for a moment leave Pakistan aside and let me take stock of the ambience that prevailed in the wake of the end of the Second World War. You had a strange situation whereby the world was divided into two bitterly hostile camps; the Imperialist, Capitalist, Western Camps led by the United States. The other was the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had suffered 20 million casualties but yet it was a huge country, with a large population, all the riches of the earth were there and are still there, plus it had an ideology, the Soviet Union had an ideology. Today Marxism may be discredited but to the youth in the early part of the century, Marxism represented the panacea, the cure for all your ills. It had a tremendous attraction, especially in Western Europe, plus Soviet troops were standing on the gates of the Bradon Burg in Berlin. So for the American planners they were already visualizing a time when there would be a super power confrontation. So they were looking for friends and allies in critical parts of the globe. What does it mean? Now you connect the dots. You have Pakistan just emerged, a very poor, underdeveloped country obsessed with its strategic objectives of ensuring its safety, security and independence. And on the other hand, you have a super power, United States which is desperately looking for friends and allies in critical parts of the world. There comes meeting of the minds, a conjunction of national interests. This is the background my dear friends for you to understand that Pakistan's founding fathers were driven by one consideration and that consideration was to ensure the independence and sovereignty of Pakistan. On the other hand you had United States, an emerging super power, looking for friends and allies in a critical part of the globe, especially worried about the rising tide of mark attraction for Marxism. And soon thereafter China went communist on the first of October, 1949 which only added to American worries. The Americans suddenly felt that this was a major negative development because the rest of Asia which was also poor which was also underdeveloped which also agro-based economy would also fall under the influence of Chinese's Communist, Marxism and Maoism. For the Pakistanis to meet their security concerns, they could not go to Beijing, they could not go to Moscow, they could not go to London even though they did because London was a still going through rationing, one egg per week per family. So the British were in no in state to help you. So, they passed us on to their cousins across the Ocean. Now another interesting thing that you must remember because you are all members of the parliament, even though the founding fathers primary concern was to ensure safety and security but the driving force in this particular momentous event was not the political leadership of the country, the

defence forces and General Ayyub Khan in his first visit to Washington soon after he became the Army Chief was already talking to the D.O.D. as to how Pakistan could assist America and when the Prime Minister got to know of it, if he was not very pleased that the Army Chief should have taken this initiative but that was not the first and was not the last either. The important thing to note is that the civilian political leadership even though they understood and appreciated the need to ensure the country's safety but they were bit hesitant. They were not sure how the people of Pakistan would take it, especially those in the other wing. Why, because the other wing had a middle class. The leaders had emerged from lower middle class. There was and there is no feudalism in East Pakistan. So, the political leadership was more in sink with the thinking of the common man. But already early 50s, the first dialogue had begun between Karachi and Washington. By 1953, the rudimentary evidence of understandings had already emerged. By 1954, we already had the first understanding between Pakistan and the United States. By 1955, we had entered not one but two multilateral military pacts organized and orchestrated by the United States;

A: The Baghdad Pact, later called the CENTO and

B: SEATO, South East Asia Treaty Organization.

And why these two? Close your minds and look at the map of Pakistan as it is existed in 1955. You had West Pakistan based at the entrance of the Gulf where South Asia and the Middle East meet, highly important, critical to the flow of oil, to the safety of the Oil Sheikdoms, next to Central Asia and you had East Pakistan, part of South East Asia. Korean war had already taken place. The first simmering of discontent in Vietnam had taken place. The French had already been ousted in 1954 in the battle of Dien dien qianq fu. So that is where East and West Pakistan came to occupy such an important position in the minds of the strategic planners in Washington. And so you had Baghdad Pact so that the Pakistan could take care of the Northern and Western flank of American interests and you had East Pakistan as a member of SEATO to take care of any emerging threat from communist China as represented by North Korea and North Vietnam. I gave you this background because very few people understand why these two countries came together. But it also means and please remember this, that the coming together was for two diametrically different objectives. The Americans were taking us into their embrace to counter the challenge that they felt came from Moscow and Beijing. The Pakistanis had no such misgivings. The Pakistanis wanted arms and assistance to face the challenge that emanated from Delhi. So, you have this divergent objective continuing to haunt you till today. So in 1965 when we had the war with India and the LBJ administration imposed sanctions on Pakistan and India, we cried hoarse, we said, sir it is not fair. They said but it is not fair, you have used arms against India and so we said what do you expect us to do? We were attacked by India. We had to use arms. We could

not keep those arms waiting for the Soviets to come, so that we could use against them. We always knew that these arms would be used against our eastern neighbour if it ever attempted to cross our frontiers. So that particular relationship that began in 1954, early 1955, lasted for ten years. US-Pakistan relationship Madam Speaker, goes through ten years cycle. It is a coincidence but it is a fascinating coincidence. That went on till 1965 because in 1965 we had an India-Pakistan war. The Americans imposed sanctions. We were deeply disappointed. We felt that Americans had let us down. We were after all their treaty partners. They should have stood by us. India was a still a non-alliance country in close embrace of the Soviet Union and we felt that the Americans were not being fair. The Americans felt that we were not being fair because we had taken arms on the assurance that it would be used against the Soviets and we had gone and used it against India. So you had a major difference. In 1965, Americans imposed sanctions which continued in one form or the other for another twelve or thirteen years. In fact even when after the break up of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto came to power, he made two visits to Washington, pleaded first with the Nixon administration, then with the Gerry Ford administration and only in the 1975 visit, he was able to convince the Ford administration to lift sanctions on sale of non-lethal weapons. Then in 1977, Mr. Bhutto was ousted and General Zia came to power, we had additional sanctions slapped on us, you know the ouster of a democratic government and so on and so forth. It was not till the Soviet had invaded Afghanistan on the 27 of December, 1979, that Washington suddenly woke up once again. What has happened? Carter was so shell-shocked that he decided to seek refuge with the almighty in the Church. And I am not being flippant, this is actually what happened. He said that I could not believe that the Soviets would have done such a thing. But they did it and in fact we had already been warning Washington from the time of April 1978, Saur Revolution that took place in Afghanistan when you will recall that Sardar Daud was ousted and the PDPA came to power under Mr. Taraki who was later replaced as you know by Hafeez Ullah Amin. We had already started warning them that this change is not only being sponsored by the Soviet Union but the Soviet Union has long term strategic interests in Afghanistan. Any way, the Carter administration apart from other mistakes that it made also fell a victim to the Soviet invasion and it was succeeded by the Ronald Reagan's administration in January 1981. We were already in negotiations with the Americans and they were making us various offers including one which General Zia, described in very pictorial terms, referring it to as peanuts because he felt that 400 million dollars for the kind of role that America was envisaging for Pakistan, was much too humiliating. In the meanwhile with Reagan coming into the White House, he represented a far more robust, far more militaristic, far more conservative, far more, I would say, confrontational attitude towards the Soviet Union. And therefore, there was also an eagerness on the part the Americans to bring us back into fold. And here in Pakistan, there were two schools of thought. One school of thought felt that the Soviets had gone in because they felt genuinely threatened that

their interests in Afghanistan were threatened but that the Soviets actually had no intention of going beyond of Afghanistan. But there was a school of thought, very well meaning, patriotic, educated, highly scholarly Pakistanis who felt that the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan represented a first step in a global strategic drive towards the warm waters of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean and therefore, willy-nilly Pakistan would also be a victim of Soviet expansion. We debated this and discussed this at considerable length and finally those who felt that the Soviet invasion was a threat to Pakistan, came to dominate the scene and we were finally able to negotiate a multi-year, a five year package, 3.2 billion dollars of assistance and aid to Pakistan roughly half of which came from ESF (Economic Support Fund) and half came from FMSF (Foreign Military Sales Fund). That enabled thus to buy the F-16s and so on and so forth. That five year package brought us deep within the American scheme of things for this part of world. Under Americans behest and the encouragement of the Europeans, with monetary support of the Arabs, Pakistan came to spearhead a global campaign against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. We used to refer it to *Jihad*, they used to refer it to as a global campaign, whatever it was, it was American money, Saudi money, support of the Europeans and the Arabs and the Chinese and virtually everybody else, the courage and fortitude of the Afghans and Pakistan's ability to provide a sanctuary, provide a safe heaven to the Afghan freedom fighters who would launch themselves from Pakistani territory on into Afghanistan. This continued for many years. Till you had Mikhail Gorbachev who came to power in May, 1985, thinking man, intelligent man, he came to the realization that it was no longer possible for the Soviets to continue to stay on in Afghanistan, the price was much too high, not only in terms of men, material and resources but as well as the international opprobrium, the international criticism that the Soviet drew themselves and therefore the process of negotiation with which we were involved at Geneva through the auspices of the United Nations proceeded at a much faster pace after Gorbachev came to power and eventually as you all know in 1989, the Soviet decided to withdraw.

As soon as the Soviets decided to withdraw, there was a dramatic change in American attitude towards Pakistan. From being a frontline state, from being an essential member of the global *Jihad* against the Soviet presence, incidentally by then Ronald Reagan had left the scene and Jorge Bush senior had come to power and you could feel, you could literally sense a change taking place in Washington. In 1989, I personally came to the conclusion that the Americans were about to take a major decision as regards Pakistan which finally culminated in September, 1990 when the Americans informed us officially. I was myself summoned to the White House and given President Bush's demarche letter addressed to our president in which we were informed that as of first October, 1990, why first of October because that is their financial year, October to September is

the American financial year, from first of October, 1990, all American assistance to Pakistan would cease and you have absolutely no idea what all American assistance means, every single bit of equipment or machinery that we were getting, would no longer be received by us even the planes and the ships and the tanks that we have sent to America for repairs would be seized by Americans because they could no longer provide. Why? Because they claim that Pakistan was in violation of an American law known as the Pressler Amendment to American Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. OK. What does this Presser Amendment mean? I do not want to go through a whole history? It will bore you. It simply meant that when the American suspicion about our nuclear programme became very strong in 1985, there was a Senator, Senator Pressler who introduced a Bill, of course, in consultation with everyone which stated that if the administration came to the realization that Pakistan had crossed a particular threshold, American assistance would cease. More specifically, the language said, and I will quote;

“It said that the President of the United States has to provide at the beginning of each fiscal year a letter to the Speaker of the House and a letter to the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate to the effect that the US President was convinced that Pakistan was not,” please note my words, “that Pakistan was not in possession of a nuclear explosive device”.

That is exactly. That the President had to give a certificate to the effect that Pakistan was not in possession of a nuclear explosive device. And we were told that by early 1990, they had been receiving reports from various intelligence agencies and organizations to the effect that Pakistan had crossed that particular threshold. So, he had no other option which I suppose legally and technically was true but there was also a strong element of politics because it just sounded too good to be true that this certificate should be withdrawn or held back just on the time when the Soviets had decided to withdraw from Afghanistan. Once again we were in the lurch, all our assistance programme came to an end and by then you would also remember that we had a civilian set up in Pakistan which as it was under tremendous pressure on account of various factors. So that sanction imposed in 1990, continued for another ten years till you had 9/11 and then the world changed once again. It changed on its very head, because suddenly America was under attack and the 9/11 should not be seen merely in terms of the 3000 plus people that killed but it should be seen in terms of the tremendous hurt and injuries and humiliation that it brought to the United States. The Americans just could not quite figure out how the most powerful nation on the face of this earth could have been exposed and seen as vulnerable to a group of non-state actors. A country that you would recall Madeline Albright and so many other leaders have said that invincible, invulnerable, it is a super power, it is super-super power. The

French Foreign Minister once, who got so cheesed off, he said, it is not a super power, it is actually a hyper power. But whatever it is, it is a power. It is a great power and the Americans could not quite get over this fact and you had coincidentally an administration in the White House that represented the beliefs of a group of political philosophers in America, generally referred to under the rubric of a neo cons. They are republicans and democrats who are extremely conservative, who believe in the supremacy of America and you know, Wolfowitz used to say very frequently, we would rather be feared than be loved. So, with that dictum, they had total contempt for the views of the world, including those of their friends and allies. But once again Pakistan came on the screen and the Americans said well, if we have to take out the *Al-Qaeda*, if we have to take out the *Taliban*, we need Pakistan. And you know the rest of it, Pakistan joined the international coalition on the war on terror and since then we have been receiving huge amounts of money. Of course, we do not know where it has gone but that is another story. And equipments as well, defense equipments and all that. But more importantly, you would see that in all the relationships, there is another factor that never comes on the surface that is the fact, that this relationship provides political legitimacy and international acceptance to a military dictator in Pakistan. General Zia was totally isolated. I was working here. We were desperately looking for friends. We wanted somebody to come to Pakistan and nobody wanted to come to Pakistan. So we were finally able to convince the President of Jaboti and many of you will wonder where Jaboti is? It will take you some time to figure it on the globe but Jaboti is a small country and we said okay, you guys, the short of rice. We will provide you a shipload of rice but please do come and visit us because, you know, we are desperately looking for friends. So that was the stage. And then you would remember that when General Musharraf was in power, he was so very disliked and so very isolated that when President Clinton came on his five hour visit, the instructions to the Americans was; "I do not want to be photographed with this man. I do not want anyone in America to know that I have shaken his hands because it is an awful thing and it will, you know draw tremendous criticism." From that one extreme, which is unnatural because rightly or wrongly the guys, the head of state. He is after all leading a huge country with tremendous resources, that has been a friend of United States for many, many years but from that extreme position General Musharraf became, as President Bush used to describe him a buddy, a friend, I am very tight with him or believe in him and even a week before he was ousted from here, Deputy Secretary Negro Ponte on one of his visit to Islamabad referred to General Musharraf as an indispensable player in the pursuit of American foreign policy. So, these are unnatural extremes which should never take place. But I just thought I would refer to it or pass on so that you have a flavour of how Americans can shift with shifting winds. But coming back to US-Pakistan relations, I began by telling you our requirement, I began by telling you American requirement, how the two came in, how the two objectives which were diametrically opposite, came to meet at a point,

were both felt that they could be of ease to each other. First in the ten years engagement known as the super power, cold war, the next ten years which is known as the global *Jihad* against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and then since 9/11 in the global war on terror.

Now, very quickly let us come to current times. The relationship is once again going through a transformation. I am absolutely convinced of it. Why? Because there has been a change of guard in Washington, there has been a change of leadership in Pakistan as well and as is inevitable in such situation, there is an appraisal, there is a review of policy and for a change you finally have someone in the White House who is what I would call a thinking person. He is an intelligent person. He is a very well read person. He has his views. He is also a person who believes in building bridges, creating consensus and then moving ahead but it also means that a person like this would be a much tougher customer. I feel that President Obama, after the review that he carries out of US relations with Pakistan, will want a relationship that is more natural. That is not based on sentiments. That is not based on emotions. That is not based on feel good factors. He will want Pakistan to perform very specific objectives and tasks and he will seek to measure us against our performance. So it will be a far more pragmatic, far more rational relationship between Pakistan and the US.

Now, I would say that there will be a period of turbulence, there will be a period of disturbance. Why? Because the Americans have certain concerns about Pakistan and what are those concerns, you must know them. Of course, first and foremost is; what role does the Pakistani leadership envisage for itself in the global war on terror? The Obama administration wants to know that. Where exactly does Pakistan fit? In other words, is the Pakistani leadership committed whole heartedly, hundred percent in this task or are there divisions? Are there differences of view within Pakistan? Because their feeling is that at least some of the scholars say so publicly, not the administration that may be there are certain elements of the Pakistani political elite that is not as committed to this particular objective as the Americans would want them to be. So we have to clear upon that. No.1.

No.2, Americans concerns regarding the growth, the expansion of extremist sentiments in Pakistan is deeply worrying to them. Now, for you and me, it may not be such a thing but it is but for the rest of the world, this impression that the extremist forces are coming down the hills, moving into the plains, acquiring greater influence, having a bigger say in affairs, being able to coop more people to their side, is deeply worrying. Earlier this week, I was in Doha, for a conference organized by Washington Brooking institution to which they had invited about 60, 70 scholars and intellectuals from the entire Islamic World and it was a huge agenda but I was surprised that in this huge agenda where I thought the Palestinian cause would take prominent place. Virtually every task force even those that were on

governance, those that were on non-state actors, would willy-nilly come down to discussing Pakistan and it was not either easy or pleasant to participate in these deliberations because some people, of course, were polite but some were not and many people felt that the signs emerging from Pakistan were deeply worrying. Well known scholars were using terms like disintegration, disarray, sliding towards state of a failed state. You know, these are not very pleasant things for any Pakistani to hear but when you have a credible people describe Pakistan in those terms, it is worrying. So the Obama administration is also worrying. They want to know whether the political leaderships in Pakistan is;

A. Capable and

B. Willing.

Is it willing? Does it have its heart in his right place? Is it will to stand up to the extremist? Is it willing to take them on and if so, the Americans would be willing to help and if not, there could be a tremendous reaction in Washington on that score. So, that is one.

There is also a concern about Pakistan, which is not as strong as it was in earlier years but it is there still under the surface that, will Pakistan or individuals in Pakistan be involved in what they refer to “as acts of proliferation”? You know our track record is not too good and some people do get very concerned because the nightmare scenario for the Europeans and Americans is a coming together of terrorism with WMD (Weapons of Mass Destruction). That is a nightmare scenario and you have even credible Think Tanks, talking of scientist working on weapons that can be carried around in brief cases and suitcases and their worry, will Pakistani technology of expertise’s be made available to provide such things to extremists? And that is deeply worrying.

Third is also the factor of relations with India. The Americans believe that Pakistan should soft pedal, should somewhat reduce its support for what we refer to as the national freedom movement in Kashmir which they call a separatist movement or some others even refer to as extremist and terrorist movement. Even though the fact is that I think the Musharraf administration took major initiatives towards normalizing relations with India and even on the issue of Kashmir. I think General Musharraf was very proactive. He was very keen that there should be some understanding, even though it may not be an ideal understanding and recently we have had a number of major Indian authors and writers claim that New Delhi, in fact, missed a gusto opportunity. They should have taken advantage of the initiatives and offers made by Islamabad during that period because that may have resulted in some kind, if not a permanent resolution, some kind of an interim arrangement on Kashmir. That would have not only lowered the temperature between Pakistan and India but also permitted the two countries and the region as well what is known as the SAARK Region to

move forward on economic projects. So, before I conclude, I want to tell you that the relationship has left many Pakistanis disappointed, has left many Pakistanis feelings that we have been used and misused and abused. There is a lot of credence to it but please understand that any relationship between unequals is inherently unbalanced. You cannot, as a small developing country, expect a relationship with a super power, where you would be in the driving seat. That is not going to happen. It is not natural. So obviously as the recipient, as the one seeking Americans political support, economic assistance, and defence equipment, we had to accept certain terms and conditions that were not very palatable. That is the second thing.

Third thing, yes, it is true that the Americans assistance has been very valuable. Let us not kid ourselves about it. The fact that we have not been able to utilize in the right manner and to the right end, is not America's fault, it is our fault. It is the fault of our leaders whether it be the money that came in during the *Jihad* against the Soviet Union or the ten billion dollars that America claims, they provided us over the last 6, 7 years. And the current Government claims that;

- A. They do not have records of it, and,
- B. They are not sure where it has been spent.

But again that is a mistake of our. Pakistan will continue to look to the United States in the coming years as a source of economic assistance, as a source of military equipment and also as a source of support in the international lending institutions. Please note that whether it is the Paris Club, whether it is the IMF, whether it is the IFC, whether it is even the Asian Development Bank, American vote not matters a lot. And you need to carry them along if you want assistance from these agencies.

Finally, and this may surprise and disturb you, many of the friends of Pakistan in traditional areas of the Gulf and the Middle East are also reluctant to extend their hands of support and assistance to Pakistan unless they have a green light from Washington. This is not a very happy situation but that is a reality that is the kind of domination that America has come to enjoy over the past few years.

The task of our own policy makers is to craft a policy;

- A. That enjoys support and sustenance of the people of Pakistan. That is the most important thing because if we are to be a democracy, if we are to be a functional democracy then you can not have a disconnect between what the leaders aspire and what the people ask for. If there can

not be a disconnect, O.K. you have had a military dictatorship that was living in its own world, good or bad, that is a matter of debate but no political system can survive, can thrive, can prosper unless it is in sink with the wishes and aspirations of the people of Pakistan. And the people of Pakistan are not hostile towards the United States, I tell the Americans all the time, in fact, we have a tremendous sense of admiration for the Americans. We do admire them for their great achievement. The problem arises when we feel that Pakistan is being taken advantage of, because of the mistakes or errors of our political leadership. So;

- A. A policy in consonance with the wishes of Pakistan.
- B. A policy that promotes Pakistani national interests. That has to promote Pakistan's national interest. We must never permit Pakistan to become an instrument for the promotion of American national interests. And that is of course our task. It is not the task of the Americans. It is the way our leadership negotiates with them. It is the way our leadership goes and talks with them. So it has to be the policies that promote Pakistan's national interests.
- C. It is absolutely essential that the Government of Pakistan should spread out and not confine itself to relations with the State Department in the White House. America is a multi-centered country. There are multiple centers of power. I want you tell you based on my 11, 12 years living in that country that, for example, the President can promise you anything under the sun. He can come to Pakistan and say I will give you a billion dollar. He can not give you one dollar. He can not give you one dollar. Under the American system, the American President has no power so what the purse. It is as simple as that. To provide you one single dollar, it has to go through a long and torturous process of approval to sub-committees, committees and finally the full House, finally the full Senate and it starts in January, ends in September before you can get a dollar. So you have to establish relationship, our parliament, our Senate must have extensive, regular contacts, exchanges with their counterparts in America.

Again American institutions are very important. You have a half a dozen of these Think Thanks, that play a critical role, whether it is CSIs, whether it is Carnegie, whether it is Brookings, whether it is RAND, our think tanks must also have started. The media is very important in American. Thank God, we now have a vigorous independent media in Pakistan. They need to establish contacts in America as well.

And finally, the Pakistanis living in America are also important players. Why? Because America is a democracy. Every single person who is standing for office is looking

- A. For votes; and
- B. For money.

Where does he get the vote and the money? From people who live in America. The Americans, so called hyphenated Americans. Pakistani Americans, Indian Americans, Greek Americans, Turkish Americans. The Government of Pakistan has to encourage that the Pakistanis living in America even though they now have American passports but their hearts still beat in unison with us and we must take advantage of that. Israelis have demonstrated over the past years. The Turks has done it. Indians are doing it very well. We need to do it very well. I think, an elected democratic dispensation in Pakistan that speaks for the people of Pakistan, is the most effective interlocutor and انشاءالله it will be able to carve a far more meaningful and mutually productive relationship between the two countries. Thank you all ladies and gentlemen.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you very much. Thank you for your valuable insights. We would now have a question and answer session. Syed Mohsin Raza.

Syed Mohsin Raza: *Bismillah-ir-Rehman-ir-Raheem.* Mr. Fatemi, first of all I would thank you for your very insightful discourse and enlightening us with your varied experiences and your indepth knowledge regarding Pak – US relationship. We see that Pakistan has been allied with the United Sates since almost its creation from the Manila Pact, to the Baghdad Pact and then there is a downward cycle and then again there is an upward cycle we see that Pakistan again goes into the US fold in the 80s and then again in the 90s, there is a downward cycle. My question is; considering your knowledge and your experience with the United States and Pak – US relationship ----- or would it in the next ten years or in the next five years, would it be going downhill? Thank you.

Mr. Tariq Fatemi: Thank you Mohsin sahib. I tried to look into the crystal ball and read the tea leafs in the coming years. It is not easy because as I said, there are our factors, there are the American factors, then regional players, global actors as well. There are certain advantages to being a geo-strategically important country and I referred to them initially as to why the Americans withdrawn towards us. But there are also certain advantages and even though Pakistani leaders have repeatedly referred to this geo-strategic importance of Pakistan and tried to take advantage of it. On occasions really over the course of my carrier, I used to wonder whether it may not have been better if Pakistan had been located in some remote little corner of the globe, may be in the Caribbean and you only had lovely beeches and all

you did was to attract tourists rather than to attract global interest. But having said that you cannot shift yourselves, you cannot move away from your neighbours, you have to live in this part of the world and this is a very turbulent region of the world. There is no doubt about it. This is where the great game is being played. The great game of which people are referred to and history books were written in the 19th century, then it was the British Empire colliding against the Russian Empire in their interests. Now you have the super power America, it does not have a counter-wailing force against it but you have non-state actors in terms of Al-Qaeda, Taliban, extremism even in such safe countries as the Gulf, Saudi Arabia and others. So, we shall continue to remain in the vortex of the storm whether we like it or not. I think as I stated much will depend on us. We have to set our own house in order. As I was telling you, during the Doha Conference, people were repeatedly even those traditionally friends of Pakistan were lamenting the fact, were regretting the fact that the events post February 2008 Elections have not been upto the expectation. It is not only the people of Pakistan, who feel a tremendous sense of disappointment at the inability of our political elite to be mature, restrain, to be tolerant of each other, to believe in live and let live policy but even many foreigners are worried about it. So, what does that mean? It means that these people fear that the state institutions are collapsing and you see many Pakistanis also write about this that the state institutions are collapsing, because you know, unlike the Gulf countries, unlike the Middle East, Pakistan was never a sheikhdom or an emirate or a sultanate. We emerged from a long, peaceful and constitutional struggle against colonial rule. All our founding fathers, they were the people who genuinely believed in the rule of law. Mr. Jinnah was very proud of the fact that he had never broken law even during the course of his political career because he believed that the supremacy of the law could never ever be challenged. Now, you have a situation where the most important pillar representing the rule of law is itself under attack, is itself under siege. So, a lot of people are worried about breakdown of governance. Lot of people are worried about the fact that the institutions are fraying at their edges. Lot of people are worried about the fact that the political leadership even after eight, ten years of being out in the wilderness does not appear to show the required degree of maturity and sense of responsibility. Those are worrying elements and as I stated unlike the past when we could play a role whether it was in the global cold war or the jihad or the war against terror. Now, you have all these states around you which are willing to offer their services and they are looking at linkages that are economic, that are commercial, that are intellectual, that are cultural, so those factors have come to play. For example, you send an official delegation to America, I want to tell you that a group of dancers from India, or a group of musicians from India visiting Washington, New York, Chicago, Allay, will have far greater impact on the American thinking than half a dozen of your ministers, with my apologies to the ministers. They are all wonderful people. But that is the reality. When Ravi Shankar goes and plays in the Carnegie Center in New York, there is a buzz in the city.

Everybody is talking about Ravi Shankar because the world is changed. So, these cultural achievements, your sporting achievements, your literary achievements, what you call, what Secretary Clinton referred to in her confirmation hearing, the soft power, the soft power of a state is far more impressive in influencing people's minds than the fact that you have a half a million strong army. So, the reason, I gave you a long answer was to tell you that we suffer from major handicaps and in any relationship, someone who will come and talk to you about China will also say the same thing. Incidentally I have served in China. I know that country very well. We don't have the same relationship with China that we had 20, 30 years ago. There are multiple reasons, many reasons, but one is that the Chinese are misgiving about us. They are not sure exactly what direction we are headed in. They are confused and they are worried. So, if your closest friends are worried and concerned about you, obviously, there is very little room for mistake in relationship with the United States. But yes, the relationship will remain important, it will remain strong because it is essential for Pakistan's own economic good and its own national security that it remains good. There is no other option, you may not like this administration or the previous administration but the reality is that America will continue to dominate the world stage in the coming years. You are all young kids, may be in your life time, it will change, it will not change in my life time. I don't expect a major change in the power equation on a global scale taking place in another 25 years. Thank you.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you sir. Honourable Nishat Kazmi.

Syed Muhammad Nishat-ul-Hassan Kazmi: Thank you very much Madam Speaker. Sir, thank you very much for your extremely wonderful presentation about the Pakistani relationship with the United States over the course of the last sixty years! Sir, in your presentation, you have mentioned about 19th September, 1989 when a letter was handed over to you. Sir, in September, 1989.....

Mr. Tariq Fatemi: It was 1990.

Syed Muhammad Nishat-ul-Hassan Kazmi: O.K. Fine, sir. Sir, Ms Bhutto was in power just before that and in 1989 in July, she visited the United States and addressed a Joint Sitting of the Congress. Sir, why did such a change, such a dramatic change come in the US Administration just after even a year of Ms Bhutto's visit? That is number one.

No. 2, Sir, don't you feel like it is natural for the United States; Americans are changed with the change in winds, you said that they change with the change in winds and it is our weakness, sir, that even after 62 years of our creation, we are still looking for excuses to have been manipulated and misused. We know that there are no permanent friends and foes in

international relations. So, don't you think like that it is our weakness. Thank you very much.

Mr. Tariq Fatemi: Thank you for two very good, very relevant questions. It just shows that you have read your subject and you are knowledgeable. Ms Bhutto came in June. It was a fantastically successful visit. I want to tell you that she was a media star. She combined power, glory, beauty, grace, charm, you name it. I was there, I was in charge of it and I know. It was one of the high points in diplomatic calendar. Here this young, American educated, democratically elected leader who had strived, struggled and sacrificed for democracy, was in power. She was treated at the highest level. She had singular honour of addressing in Joint Session of Congress all of that. But Ms Bhutto was told and now I can tell you because it is no longer a secret, Ms Bhutto was told that she did not know about her nuclear program and she admitted that she did not know. So, in fact, a very secret CIA briefing was arranged for her, it was so secret that none of our ministers knew that she had disappeared for half the day. We had to arrange for her to disappear for half the day, so she could be taken and given a briefing and she was told that some of the things we were doing were not to the American liking and she was told that there was trouble ahead.

Second, in August, she had already been ousted immediately after Saddam Hussain had invaded Kuwait. She was ousted but for the things in Pakistan it had nothing to do with Kuwait. Now, a number of things had taken place in America; (a) The Soviets had withdrawn. (b) There was a growing chorus of Opposition to continuing American assistance to Pakistan because let me take you back to the original waiver that was provided to the application of the Symington Amendment when the multi-year package was signed. It is O.K. to accuse the Americans of betray but the truth is and let me draw you back to the language of that particular waiver. The waiver stated very clearly that Congress is approving this waiver to enable American assistance to go to Pakistan for two reasons, two objectives. What were those? First was that American assistance will provide Pakistan the required degree of political, economic and military strength to stand up to Soviet pressure because of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan which are dead. O.K. but the second equally important objective which the Congress inserted should be put into the language was to deter and discourage from Pakistan from pursuing the nuclear option. So, it was not a secret. Why? Because you say, you knew the nuclear option because of the threat from India but we are providing you conventional weapons and there is now no justification for you to pursue the nuclear route. I mean that is the language. I am not saying that was necessary to what we wanted. That is number one.

No. 2, when the Pressler Amendment was approved in 1985, it was after a major incident that had taken place in Philadelphia where one of our characters had been caught with his finger in their cookie jar. O.K. which had already created a huge stir and we had to engage in all kinds of actions to get him out. O.K.

So, there was a growing anger and annoyance and then whatever justification their administration may have had, look here, O.K. that they are not being good boys, there are transgressions, they are doing wrong things but you know we need them because the Soviets are in Afghanistan. So, the over arching strategic American objective which had justified in the first place. The passage of the assistance to Pakistan was no longer there. Whether it is moral or immoral that is a different point. But I am just presenting to you historical facts. You be the judge of it.

So, in 1990 the situation had changed and in May 1990 I had already addressed a message to Islamabad telling them that assistance was coming to an end. Of course, it was dismay. They said this young boy is getting carried away. Our relationship is very strong and specially people in your sister city were absolutely convinced that they have a very old relationship with their counterpart in America and that relationship will not permit America to bring about an end to American assistance.

O.K. by June – July I was told informally and unofficially that the various American Intelligence Agencies had already reached the joint conclusion that it would no longer be possible for the President to provide the certification as required under the Pressler Amendment because the President of America incidentally unlike our leaders is answerable that is the fact of life. I mean imagine if he had provided a survey theoretically and one of his own officials has gone and informed the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that in fact this is my recommendation. This is what I have told the President. President would have found it very very difficult to justify. So, either he had to convince these intelligence agencies, look here boys, your reading is wrong. This is not reality or he had to accept it. So, by June, the die was cast. In August Benazir went away and it only further strengthen the hands of the Americans because they said whatever minor consideration we needed to make so as not to destabilize a nascent democracy, a fragile democratic system is not there either. So, you see whenever, decisions of this nature are taken, it is not based on a single factor, multiple factors come into play and at that point in time in the last week of September, 1990, the die was cast as far as Pakistan is concerned.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you sir. Honourable members you are just supposed to ask one brief question because there is a long list of people who want to ask questions and we are short of time. Honourable Rahim Bux Khetaran.

Mr. Rahim Bux Khetaran: Thank you Madam Speaker. Thank you Fatemi sahib.

جناب والا! آپ نے فرمایا کہ Pakistanis are not hostile to USA جبکہ ہمارے پاکستان کی اکثریت یہ سمجھتی ہے کہ آج جو کچھ بلوچستان میں ہو رہا ہے اور اس کے علاوہ جو کچھ فاٹا میں ہو رہا ہے بلکہ جو کچھ پورے NWFP میں ہو رہا ہے اس میں امریکہ کا بہت بڑا کردار ہے۔ کیا آپ یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ یہ جذبات عام پاکستانی کے ہیں یا Pakistani Establishment کے ہیں۔ دوسرا سوال میرا یہ ہے کہ کیا پاکستان US کے بغیر survive کر سکتا ہے؟ شکریہ جناب والا۔

جناب طارق فاطمی: آپ کا دوسرا سوال زیادہ آسان ہے۔ اگر آپ کا ایمان پختہ ہے تو آپ کسی کے بغیر بھی survive کر سکتے ہیں۔ جس ملک کی Establishment نے دنیا کی super power کو challenge کیا تھا اور اتنی بڑی majority community کو challenge کیا تھا اور ان دونوں forces کے خلاف جدو جہد اور struggle اور وہ بھی peaceful اور constitutional struggle کر کے پاکستان حاصل کیا تھا تو مجھے کوئی شک نہیں ہے کہ انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ یہ نہ صرف survive کرے گا بلکہ یہ prosper بھی کرے گا۔ I am absolutely convinced.

اب آپ کا پہلا سوال ہے۔ میرے کہنے کا مطلب یہ تھا کہ عوام، پاکستانی عوام کی امریکن عوام کی طرف hostility نہیں ہے۔ دیکھیے امریکن فلمیں، American products, American equipments اور آپ کے جو رشتہ دار اور دوست ہیں جو امریکہ جاتے ہیں، نوکریاں کرتے ہیں، اچھی جگہ کام کرتے ہیں، اچھی تعلیم حاصل کرتے ہیں، ہم ان سے خوش ہوتے ہیں۔ ایک ملک جس کا صدر بش ہو تو پاکستانی کیا، میں آپ کو بتاؤں یورپ میں بھی anti-Americans sentiments بہت بڑھ گیا تھا۔ میں Brussels میں سفیر تھا اور آپ کو یہ سن کر تعجب ہوگا کہ عراق کے invasion سے پہلے اتنی anti-American sentiments پیدا ہو گئی تھی کہ Belgium میں عوام نے ایک demonstration نکالا، اس demonstration کے head پر Loui Belgium foreign Minister تھا۔ آپ سوچئے امریکہ کا NATO partner ہے۔ Belgium NATO Headquarters کو host کرتا ہے مگر Loui Michel صاحب کیونکہ سیاستدان تھے اور انہیں پتا تھا کہ ہمیں ووٹ کے لیے اسی عوام کے پاس جانا ہے۔ تو بیٹھ کر امریکہ کی تعریف کروں جبکہ میرے پورے ملک میں امریکہ کے خلاف لوگ ہیں۔ تو وہ اس demonstration کے head پر کھڑے ہوئے تھے۔ میں نے خود اپنی آنکھوں سے دیکھا۔ اس لیے اس قسم کی sentiments پیدا ہو جاتی ہیں۔ مگر آپ صحیح کہتے ہیں کہ جب امریکہ drone سے attack کرتا ہے، یہ incursion ہوتا ہے، ایک predator آتا ہے تو پاکستانی ناراض ہوتے ہیں، رنج ہوتا ہے اور انہیں غصہ آتا ہے، that is understandable. مگر آپ دیکھیں کہ ایک شخص، ابھی اس نے کوئی policy decisions نہیں لیے، اس کی کوئی major transformations نہیں آئی ہے مگر صرف ایک شخص جس کی speeches, remarks, press comments, debates میں جو comments اس سے ایسا لگ رہا تھا اور لگ رہا ہے کہ شاید وہ دنیا سے engage کرے گا، دنیا سے dialogue کرے گا، دنیا سے peaceful negotiations کرے گا اور پرانے دشمن ملک جس کے ساتھ تعلقات خراب ہیں ان سے بھی بات چیت کرے گا تو آپ دیکھیے کہ کیسی transformation ہوئی ہے۔ جو gallop poll پاکستان میں ہو رہا ہے، جو gallop poll اور مسلم ممالک میں ہو رہا ہے، اس سے پتا چلتا ہے کہ امریکہ کے image میں immediate improvement ہوئی ہے۔ مگر اگر وہ administration نے اسی قسم کی policies کو follow کرنا ہے، جو ان کے predecessors نے کیا ہے تو پھر anti-American sentiments پیدا ہو جائیں گے۔ کیونکہ ہر شخص وہ چاہے چھوٹے سے چھوٹے ملک کا representative ہو اس میں بھی ایک element of pride ہوتا ہے۔ وہ نہیں چاہتا کہ امریکہ اسے contemptuously treat کرے۔ اگر امریکہ reach out کرتا ہے، اگر امریکہ dialogue کی policy follow کرتا تو anti-American sentiments کم ہوں گے، simple بات ہے۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Honourable Mohsin Saeed sahib.

Mr. Mohsin Saeed: Thank you for your kind presence here.

میرا آپ سے یہ سوال ہے کہ پاکستان میں جو American intervention ہے وہ کافی زیادہ ہے خاص طور پر فیصلہ سازی کے عمل میں۔ میں آپ سے یہ سوال کرنا چاہوں گا کہ ہم اس کو کیسے کم سے کم کر سکتے ہیں تاکہ ہماری ملکی خودمختاری بحال ہو۔ شکریہ۔

جناب طارق فاطمی: آپ جیسے لوگ جب Parliament میں آئیں گے تو کم ہو جائے گا۔ یہ ہماری political leadership پر depend کرتا ہے۔ میں آپ کو بتاؤں کہ بھٹو صاحب جب وزیر اعظم تھے اور نیوکلیئر پروگرام شروع ہوا تو آپ اندازہ نہیں کر سکتے کہ کتنا دباؤ تھا ہمارے اوپر۔ اس زمانے کی اگر آپ archives پڑھیں اور اس کی transcripts آپ دیکھیں تو آپ کو یقین نہیں ہوگا۔ بھٹو صاحب نے تو compromise نہیں کیا۔ اگر بھٹو صاحب compromise کر جاتے تو پاکستان کی تاریخ شاید کچھ اور ہوتی۔ انہوں نے نہیں کیا۔ میں آپ کو بتاتا ہوں کہ definitely نہیں کیا تھا اور ایک نہیں، کیونکہ میں خود بہت junior officer تھا مگر مجھے موقع ملا کئی مرتبہ بھٹو صاحب کی meetings میں participate کرنے کا۔ کبھی انہوں نے پاکستان کے national interest پر compromise نہیں کیا، میں آپ کو بتا دوں۔ نہ انہوں نے دہلی میں کیا، ورنہ نہ آپ کے soldiers واپس آتے اور نہ آپ کی territory واپس آتی۔ نہ انہوں نے March 1972 Moscow میں کیا۔ میں ان کی meetings میں موجود تھا۔ نہ کبھی Americans کے ساتھ کیا۔ باوجود یہ کہ Kissinger صاحب ایک مرتبہ خاص اسی کام کے لیے بھیجے گئے تھے، ان کو کہنے کے لیے کہ دیکھیے آپ کی اور پاکستان کی اس میں بہتری ہے کہ آپ compromise کر لیں۔ لیکن انہوں نے نہیں کیا۔ پھر اس کے بعد دیکھیے۔ پھر elected leader میاں نواز شریف آئے۔ انڈیا نے nuclear test کیا، اس کے بعد کی تاریخ تو پرانی نہیں ہے۔ ایک نہیں پانچ telephone calls آئیں صرف صدر کلنٹن کی۔ اور ٹونی بلیر اور Germans and French کا تو کوئی حساب ہی نہیں ہے۔ میں تمام telephone calls پر موجود تھا۔ میاں صاحب نے کہا کہ دیکھیے میرا فیصلہ وہی ہوگا جو پاکستانی عوام چاہتی ہے اور میں آپ کو یقین سے کہتا ہوں کہ اگر اس وقت وہ ہل جاتے تو شاید پاکستان کبھی بھی nuclear weapon state نہیں بن پاتا۔ کبھی بھی نہیں بن پاتا۔ وہ ایک چھوٹی سی window of opportunity تاریخ نے آپ کو دی، وہ اسے grasp کر گیا۔ کیونکہ ان کی thinking it was in sink with the thinking of the people of Pakistan with the common man. یہ میں آپ کو بتا دوں کہ پوری Cabinet, 100% Cabinet ان کے ساتھ نہیں تھی۔ باقی 100% leaders ان کے ساتھ نہیں تھے اور ان کا کمال یہ ہے کہ کلنٹن کی پانچ telephone calls کے باوجود کلنٹن سے تعلقات تلخ نہیں ہوئے اور کلنٹن نے یہ چیز لکھی ہے اور ٹی وی interviews میں یہ کہا ہے کہ میاں صاحب نے میرے ساتھ جھوٹ نہیں بولا۔ انہوں نے ایک دفعہ یہ نہیں کہا کہ میں test نہیں کروں گا اور نہ انہوں نے کہا کہ میں test کروں گا۔ انہوں نے کہا دیکھیے یہ فیصلہ جو ہے یہ میری Cabinet اور میری Parliament کرے گی۔ میں تو ان کا representative ہوں۔ کلنٹن نے اس چیز کو لکھا ہے کہ I appreciated the fact that he never misled me. ہماری history اتنی خراب نہیں ہے۔

I will take you further back to this early 60s my dear boys and girls. We were members of the SEATO. We were members of Baghdad Pact which later became CENTO. We had an American based a few miles from here outside Peshawar. Gerry Powers took off from there. You know that. He was shot and captured by the Soviet Union. The LBJ Administration was so keen to bring Pakistan into the American led coalition against Vietnam. جس طرح عراق adventure پر بش کہتے تھے تھے۔ ویٹنام کے موقع پر انہوں نے کہا آپ ایک نرس ہی بھیج دیں تاکہ وہ State Department کے باہر جو list لگی ہوئی ہے کہ اب 40 سے 41 countries ہو گئے ہیں۔ Token ہی صحیح۔ کسی کو بھیج دیں۔ لیکن Pakistani Political Leadership said نہیں۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ بھئی کیوں؟ انہوں نے کہا ہماری ویٹنام سے کوئی دشمنی نہیں ہے۔ How can we participate in an adventure in which the people of Pakistan are not in it. وہ کہیں گے کہ ویٹنام سے آپ کی کیا دشمنی ہے؟ اور آپ سوچیں کہ کتنی foresight انہوں نے دکھائی کیونکہ اگر آپ ویٹنام adventure میں امریکہ کے participant بوجاتے یا ally بوجاتے تو you know what it could have done? Can anyone tell me?

جناب اعصام رحمانی: جناب والا! اس سے ہماری spices کی import متاثر ہونی تھیں۔

Mr. Tariq Fatemi: Yes but something far more important. It would have destroyed your relationship with China. That is the impact that would have had. Your budding relationship, relationship that was just sprouting in the early 60s. It would have taken you decades to recover from that mistake and the Chinese deeply appreciated it, by the way, let me tell you, the Chinese deeply appreciated it. The Chinese are very smart people, don't ever be mistaken, they are extremely intelligent, well read, knowledge people. They have told me, they have told us a dozen times that we were so impressed by the fact that you were able to withstand American pressure and keep yourself out of the Vietnam engagement. So, if the political leadership is honest and genuinely desirous of promoting your national interests, it can do so. And you also have leaders who don't wait for five telephone calls. They succumb in the first telephone call. We have also those leaders. So, the nation has to judge the character of those leaders who stand up to five and those who surrender in one. It is as simple as that.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Honourable Mudassar Habib.

Mr. Mudassar Habib: Thank you. Sir, do you think like we have compromised the dignity of our nation in this role of war on terror and we continue to do so in the coming days?

Mr. Tariq Fatemi: Mudassar sahib, this question will require a lot of time and effort but my very objective appraisal is that when General Musharraf took the decision which he did in the wake of 9/11. I have thought over it, I have debated over it and I honestly feel that it was the right decision on the strategic plan. You know, when you approach you have two plans, you have the tactical plan and you have the strategic plan and if you ever join the armed forces you will get lectures on it ad nauseam. But anyway on the strategic plan, I really cannot fault him. I think the Pakistan's isolation on multiple fronts because of the elected government had been ousted, because of our nuclear tests and so on and so forth. May be it was the right decision. My problem arises on the tactical plan. I think, this is of course after high insight, please remember, you are always smart with high insight. So, I may be smart after all these years. But I think the manner in which the decision was taken was fault on two counts. (a) The impression was given that we were waiting to be bought and price was immaterial. The other thing is that whenever you enter into in any arrangement you must first of all discuss debate and decide their terms of that engagement. Even when you are taking a shop on hire of your entering into a business relationship. Nowadays, in the States men and women when they are getting married, they have a whole set of terms and conditions regarding property, regarding custody of children. Now, none of that was

done. In fact, since you have raised this question. Let me take you back a little bit to that weekend, the first weekend after 9/11 when President Bush was meeting his principal advisors in Camp David and Woodward has it in his book, if you read the book, he has a reference to it but I have a more detail version from my own friends which I received at that time. It is a very very fascinating portray, they are all sitting in sweaters, the fire places on, it is a very informal setting, Camp David is beautifully romantic place and President comes in and you have Collin Powel, Condoleezza Rice, Donald Rumsfeld, Bob Wolfowitz and the few principals and after they have had a little bit of chat, President says O.K. Collin what was the response of the Pakis and Collin Powel says, "Sir, we have all you wanted." It is not made up by me. It is there in the book, you can read it. And Bush says, "what"? And Collin Powel said, "That is right, sir, we have all you wanted". And now listen to what I am saying. "You have all you wanted and more." To this date no one has told us what the more is. So, now the book says, the writer says that George Bush was quite stunt, he could not believe it, I just told the guy to have a chat and how come he said to me that we have got all you wanted. So, the book says that he winks at Condoleezza Rice, because Condoleezza Rice and he, they have a personal relationship because you know, she works directly for him and Collin Powel is Secretary of State, he has a more formal relationship with Collin Powel. So, he winks at Condoleezza Rice and she turns to Collin Powel and says, "Collin! are we understanding you correctly?" So, Collin Power, he is a General, he is a very impressive person, he speaks in a gruff voice and he said, "Yes Mr. President that is what I stated. We have all you wanted and more." So, Bush says, "In that case we need to celebrate. This is the proudest day in the history of the States. Collin you have done a fantastic job." Which means what? Which means that the Americans never expected us to accept all that they had asked in the manner and with the speed that we did. No consultations in Pakistan, no taking on board the other stakeholders, no coordination with the concerned department and not a thought for what is going to happen in the future. Therein lies my problem. You see I am a civil servant. Civil servant by nature is cautious, careful, on even a simple statement I will read three times before approving it. Because I want to see what its impact will be here, there and elsewhere. So, for a national leader to commit his country to an arrangement, to an engagement of such a strategic dimension that is going to impact not only us, the region and the world for years and years to come in such a cavalier fashion, without a care in the world is I think a wrong approach. I am sorry for this long answer to your short question but I thought you may be interested in it.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Honourable Abdullah Leghari.

Mr. Abdullah Khan Leghari: Sir, my question to you is that, you have talked about war on terror as well. Do you think actually right now, suspension of war on terror partially because of the volatile relationship that is now actually in place and the sentiments that have been shared by

the people of Pakistan right now, a suspension of war on terror partially possible until and unless we get them back on our grounds and you know just actually not dictate or may be just get the voice across them so that they are in opposition to actually hold us on some considerable grounds and second is that the foreign policy. Don't you think that it is the failure of our foreign policy that we have not been able to tell them that we are doing more and the doing more theory that they always tell us. Thank you sir.

Mr. Tariq Fatemi: The second part is a much simpler part. It would be failure of foreign policy if the institutions of foreign policy were used. I just narrated to you. I narrated to you that example and I narrate to you the Islamabad declaration that was issued on the 6th January, 2004 which is now the fulcrum around which Pakistan's relations with India move. Vajpai – Musharraf delcaration is very important. You will be amazed to know, at least I was, that the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan had never seen the draft of that declaration. Is it a failure of foreign policy or is it a failure to use the instruments of available to you? If you appoint half a dozen advisors and never use them and then they say they have failed. So, a 9/11, I already told you that none of the institutions, neither the corps commanders were used nor the formation commanders were used nor the Foreign Ministry nor the Finance Ministry were used. You see, it is not the Foreign Ministry alone, Finance should play a role, EAD should play a role, Commerce should play a role and all the other state actors should also play a role when you are taking a decision of this scale. So, that is the answer of second part.

First part of the question is, I don't think it is possible realistically for us to go and tell the Americans, sorry boys we made a horrible mistake, you got to suspend this operation, we are no longer in it. I don't think that it is possible. It will be too cataclysmic and create all kinds of problem. What we have been advocating people like us is that immediately after the transition in Pakistan with the coming into the democratic Government, we should have taken advantage last year to go to Washington and tell them that look here we now have a representative Government in Pakistan. This representative Government is answerable to the Parliament which is answerable to the people of Pakistan, so we have no problem which Pakistan did in the past but please understand we got to renegotiate the terms of the engagement. We have got to have terms and conditions that are palatable to the people of Pakistan otherwise we will not be able to sustain it. Please understand our problem. We don't have the advantage that the previous regime had. Every time we take an initiative. People would want to know about it. It would not need to be debated. Parliament would have to be taken into confidence. Cabinet would need to be brief. So, please understand our problem. We are with you 100% but we have got to renegotiate the terms of our engagement. O.K. it is as simple as that. For those of my age, there was a Debra Winger Movie terms of endearment. So, those if you have not seen it, you should see it and then we will need to have a new terms of endearment between Pakistan and the United States.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Honourable Waqar Nayyar.

Mr. Waqar Nayyar: Sir, my question is very simple. Do you think that America has had a policy where it treats us like in African nation where it find much easier to talk to dictator rather than political representative and that in a way subconsciously or consciously, it encourages hoodwinking of the political process so that their objectives can be met more easily and in that respect have they played a more negative role than a positive one in terms of democracy and rule of law in Pakistan.

Mr. Tariq Fatemi: It is not a simple question. It is a very profound observation. It goes at the very root of American foreign policy. America has always faced this dilemma between the school that believes in the real politics and the school that believes in moral high ground. You have had exponents of both the schools over the past 200 years and you have had Wilson, you know 14 points for the world and you have had Terri Roosevelt, you carry a big stake while speaking softly. So, you have these various facets of American foreign policy. Any major power, I want to tell you, we should not really throw all the blame at the America. Any major power wants to promote its interests speedily and comprehensively. Now, if the arrangement in Islamabad is such that we agree or accept or endorse American position without doing our homework, of course, the Americans will welcome it. Why should they not? There is no such law of reciprocity between unequal powers. The Pakistani Ambassador in Washington, if he hits his head against the wall, six days a week, he gets to see the Assistant Secretary of State. OK, the American Ambassador in Islamabad picks up the phone and gets to see the President or the Prime Minister any time of the day or night she wants. It is as simple as that. (a) Because she is the envoy of a super power but (b) because it is tremendously pleasing to our own egos that the American Ambassador comes and meets us. But those are our weaknesses. I am quite sure that if the democratic institutions become stronger, as Parliament comes into play, as politicians realize that they actually will have to go to the voters again. They have never gone to the voters. Is it true or not? They have never gone to the voters to seek a fresh mandate. Before they have to go to the voters they are packed off in any case. So, sadly they don't think that it is the time to worry about the sentiments of the people. But if this caravan way to set on the road, I am quite convinced. For example, the Indians are as good or as bad as we are. They are as honest or as dishonest as we are. They are as efficient or inefficient as we are. But the rules of the game are very clearly defined and delineated in New Delhi. Nobody wants to break the rule because the Indians come down with a tap on the knuckles. Assistant Secretary Boucher, such a great friend of Pakistan that we had to give him an award, would turn up every month in Islamabad as if it was his backyard and every month he was dined and fettered and honoured by us. True or not? The Assistant Secretary in Delhi gets to see the Additional Secretary in the Foreign Office. The American Assistant Secretary is between a Joint

Secretary and Additional Secretary. OK, so you came from a foreign country, you are a rep of a super power, so you may be given a courtesy and you go a notch up or two notches up. You don't suddenly go to the head of state or the head of a Government. So, is it our fault or his fault? If I was the Assistant Secretary, if I was the Additional Secretary in Islamabad and I was going to Washington and if President Obama was willing to meet me, I would be in seventh heaven. Would not I be? Of course I would be. So, if we are giving them the kind of access, it is not their fault. It is our fault. So, it is not really fair to blame them. In China, for example, our Ambassador, even though we are a very close friend and ally and the Chinese are extra kind and courteous to us but yes, the Pakistani Ambassador will go a notch higher than the norm.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Honourable Nishat Kazmi.

Syed Muhammad Nishat-ul-Hassan Kazmi: Thank you very much madam Speaker for recognizing me once again. Sir, I have a question regarding what you mentioned about Bob Woodward's book "Bush at War". Sir, you know that this book actually categorize Bush as a hero. But I would actually ask you that don't you think that 17th September, 2001's address of President Bush to the Joint Session of Congress where he said, "I have made the armed forces to alert and I have a message; be ready time will come and you will have to act and make us all proud." That is what he said. And 19th September, 2001 we had a phone call at 1.00 P.M. here in Islamabad. Don't you think that address and the sentiments in New York and Washington were actually contributory to the President Musharraf's swift positive response and consideration what the Americans had to offer. Thank you very much.

Mr. Tariq Fatemi: No I agree with you that on the strategic plan I am not disagreeing with the decision. That is what I said. Pakistan was an isolated country, we had international sanctions on us. No money was coming. In fact, no money was there in our reserves. Our economic situation was extremely poor. We were very vulnerable. The Indians were also getting jingoistic as they do all those factors they have. You miss my point. I am not differing the General Musharraf's decision per se, I am differing with the manner in which he reached the decision. That is all I am saying. So, President Bush says on telephone call very simply, if it had been an elected leader, if General Musharraf was not General Musharraf, if he was President Musharraf, he would have said Mr. President we share your pain, we share your anguish, we our hearts beat with you, this hour of crises for you, for us, for the entire world. We will do whatever you want. We are with you 100% but please give me time. Let me talk to my ministers, let me talk to my parliament, let me ensure that the people are with us. You buy it for time. Time is a great contributor to wise decisions. I have to go to real examples. When immediately after the Indian test President Clinton called Nawaz Sharif. What did he say? He said exactly

what I am telling you. He said we have no intention of carrying out a nuclear test. We were never the first to introduce nuclear weapons in South Asia. Mr. President, you know, that in May 1974 India went for nuclear test. Resultantly, we were moving resolutions in the United Nations. We have been making proposals, we have been coming with initiatives to ensure that the scourge of nuclear weapons is removed from this part of the world. We have been with you. We are 100% with you but the Pakistan is facing a moment of crises. This is a moment that Pakistanis have been haunted about for the last 50 years. You know, people have been roused up, they are angry, they are agitated, they are frustrated and I need to talk to my people, but I am with you. That is all he said, believe me. Do you think President Clinton said, no, I want an answer this minute. No, he did not say this. How could he say this? He said I am with you, I will do exactly what you want but first of all let me talk to my people. So, we played for time. When next call came, he said the same thing. That is all I am saying. O.K.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you very much sir. We are pleased by the presence of Mrs. Tariq Fatemi who is here with us today. Madam, we are indeed honoured by your presence here. Thank you very much for coming and spending your precious time here. Thank you very much sir. Thank you for your valuable insights, indepth knowledge, we indeed honoured to have you.

Mr. Tariq Fatemi: Thank you all very much.

Madam Deputy Speaker: The session is adjourned till 12.00 Noon.

(the session was then adjourned to meet again at 12.00 Noon on the same day)

(The House reassembled at 12.00 Noon after tea break.)

Madam Deputy Speaker: Order in the House. Please be seated.

Mr. Mohammed Essam Rehman: Point of order madam.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Yes.

Mr. Mohammed Essam Rehmani: I would appreciate if the prime Minister of the House could come so we can move on.

Madam Deputy Speaker: He is here actually. We have a Calling Attention Notice as the first item on agenda today by Miss Maria Ishaq and Miss Sor Fabha Alvi.

Ms Sor Fabha Alvi: Thank you Madam Speaker. The House invites attention of the honorable Youth Prime Minister on the statement of Richard Holbrook in which he has expressed doubt on the subservience of Pakistani military to the democratic Government. Well I think the statement of Richard Holbrook is a history conclusion of what is going on right now and before giving importance to specific view, we need to look at the credentials of the individual who has made such claims. Richard Holbrook has never been involved in working in any of the things that are going on in South Asian region and he completely lacks of proper knowledge. In a complex situation that is going on here.

Secondly, Richard Holbrook's first trip was only to ensure that he got a feel of the situation in our region in after just four days of his visit to Pakistan, it is very premature to make such a bold allegation.

Thirdly, the Pakistan Army is doing all it can to descend itself from the national politics and the elections being free and fair was actually the result of the Pakistani Army and it has been acknowledged by the people like Nawaz Sharif who has become quite critic on the Pakistani Army and in the end I would just like to say that someone should ask Richard Holbrook that when incidence like Abughareb was the US Army following the democratic or it followed its own free will. Thank you madam.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Ms Maria Ishaq.

Ms. Maria Ishaq: Thank you Madam Speaker. I would just elaborate with what Ms Sor Fabha has said that Richard Holbrook's statement has been a criticism to Pakistani Military for not sharing Pakistan's commitment to fight the militants.

Militants and military میں فرق کرنے کی جو ضرورت ہے اس کو ہم اس criticism سے meet کر سکتے ہیں۔ There is a pragmatic military and political strategy in reference with the norms set by the Government. not only Holbrook but Robert Gates نے اس کے علاوہ democratically said Government. Washington جو کہ US Defence Secretary تھے انہوں نے بھی کہا ہے کہ Gates would not accept a truce in Swat but a similar agreement between rejection Government and Taliban in Afgahnistan accept سے یہ ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ جو convey کیا گیا تھا by Holbrook کہ سوات کی جو deal ہے that is a tantamount to surrender by Pakistan. However, we would like to bring the attention of our honorable Prime Minister comment کریں اس کے بعد جو doubt express کیا گیا ہے on Pakistanis اس کے اوپر کچھ اظہار خیال کریں۔ شکریہ۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Honorable Syed Mohsin Raza.

Syed Mohsin Raza: Thank you Madam Speaker. First of all I would like to condemn the statement of Mr. Richard Holbrook in which he has questioned the ability of the Pakistani state to control the organs within its domain. However, there is also need some attention given by this august House to the fact that Pakistani Military has a history of being un-

subservient to civilian rule and therefore, these misgivings from foreigners are not entirely unfounded and for this the Pakistani democratic Government should take some concrete measures of bringing the military brass and controlling which in simpler words, it would mean that reigning in the top brass of the military and taking some concrete measures which show not just to the outside world but to the people of Pakistan that now there is civilian control of the country and the will of the people will be done rather than the will of just a few people representing a military janta. Having said that regarding the military operations that are taking place in the northern parts of the country, one also has to look at it that military commanders, in particular, the Chief of Army Staff are visiting those areas whereas the civilian administration has entirely vacated these troubled areas and no politician and very few Government functionaries, civilian Government functionaries are actually involved and most of this campaign is spearheaded by the military. This gives rise to another issue that in most circumstances when the military has intervened altogether and taken over. There was some kind of invitation or should I say some kind of reasons given by the civilian administration to the military government and that was by involving them with everything that the civilian Government was doing. So, the civilian Government should look upon and this House and the Prime Minister should consider these points in which they distance the military top brass from their day to day activities and not be seen consulting with the top brass of the military on matters that could be decided in the Cabinet or could be decided in the Parliament. Thank you very much.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Honorable Mr. Abdullaha Zaidi.

جناب عبداللہ زیدی: بہت شکریہ محترمہ سپیکر صاحبہ۔ جناب سپیکر! عرض یہ ہے کہ بالبروک صاحب اور زیادہ تر policy makers یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ جو problem ہے اس کا واحد حل military solution ہی ہے۔ میں یہاں پر کچھ بات اس طرح سے کرنا چاہوں گا کہ جب یہ ساری wave of terrorism شروع ہوئی تو ہم سمجھ رہے تھے ہم پاکستان میں بیٹھے ہوئے یہ سمجھ رہے تھے کہ American Academy and American Professors of Ivy leagues scholars یہی سوال کریں گے کہ terrorist کون ہیں۔ اسے تناظر میں کیا یہ وہ لوگ ہیں جو اس بات سے پچھتائے ہوئے ہیں کہ American sanctions جب آپ عراق پر impose کرتے ہیں تو اس کی وجہ سے پانچ ہزار بچے ہر مہینے مرتے رہے۔ کیا یہ وہی لوگ ہیں جو فلسطین کے اوپر جو امریکہ کی double games کی پالیسی ہے اس سے پچھتائے ہوئے ہیں یا یہ وہ لوگ ہیں جو نکاراگوا میں کنٹرا گوریلا سے پچھتائے ہوئے ہیں جس میں ایک ruling بھی ہے International Court of Hog کی امریکہ کے خلاف یعنی America v/s Nicaragua. Micheal Cua جو کہ intelligence and analyst ہیں انہوں نے ایک بات بہت اچھی کہی تھی کہ جب یہ wave شروع ہوئی تو it was best gift Usama could have expected. کیونکہ امریکہ ان لوگوں کے پیچھے پیچھے عراق میں آگیا اور اب انہیں بے تحاشہ recruits ملنے شروع ہو گئے ہیں and we are not safer than we were at 9/11. جتنا بھی intellectual discourse terrorism پر اس میں جو ایک fault line آتی ہے وہ orientalist and anti-orientalist theme کی وہ ہے کہ جو لوگ یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ اس terrorism کو contextualize کیا جائے وہ میری نظر میں زیادہ بہتر ہیں

بجائے اس کے کہ جو یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ اس کو contextualize کر کے آپ اس کو justify کر رہے ہیں۔ جب تک آپ اس کو contextualize نہیں کریں گے اور کسی تناظر میں نہیں دیکھیں گے تب تک اس کا حل آپ نہیں سوچ سکتے۔

اس کے علاوہ جو نئی اوہاما انتظامیہ آئی ہے اس سے ہمیں امیدیں یہ ہیں کہ وہ جو military solution ہے اس کو askew کرے گی دوسری طرف آئے گی کیونکہ ابھی یہ economically viable نہیں ہے نہ امریکہ کے لیے نہ ساری دنیا کے لیے اور جو oil objectives ہیں وہ بھی۔ there are second opinion to that as well. ہمیں امید یہ ہے اور نئی اوہاما انتظامیہ کو ہمیں یہ assert کرانا چاہیے جو اپریل میں اپنی نئی policy form bring Talibans to the desk as for military solution کو چھوڑے اور ایک نئی approach اپنائیں اسی global agenda پر۔ شکر یہ۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you, I would request the Honorable Youth Prime Minister to make a brief statement.

جناب احمد علی بابر (وزیر اعظم یوتھ پارلیمنٹ): شکر یہ محترمہ سپیکر! یہاں پر اس سے پہلے کہ میں اپنی policy line بتا دوں ایک طریقہ ہوتا ہے کہ جب ایک ملک کے خلاف ایک media propaganda war شروع کی جاتی ہے۔ اس کے بعد اگر military incursion کرنی ہو اس ملک کے اوپر تو ان باتوں کو justify کر کے اس کے اوپر military expedition کی جاتی ہے۔ محترمہ سپیکر! میں ایک بات واضح کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ پارلیمنٹ کو کچھ دن پہلے in camera briefing دی گئی پاکستانی ملٹری لیڈرز کی طرف سے، پاکستانی democratic leaders کو یہ بات واضح کرتی ہے کہ military leadership subservient ہے democratic institutions کے اور وہ اس کے نیچے کام کر رہی ہے۔ دوسرا، محترمہ سپیکر! Defence Budget Parliament میں پیش کیا گیا جو پاکستان کی history میں ایک rare event ہے۔ یہ بات ثابت کرتی ہے کہ military democratic institutions کے under کام کر رہے ہیں اور ان دونوں کے درمیان ایک resonance موجود ہے۔ I consider this statement by Mr. Richard Holbrook as an infringement on the domestic political sphere of Pakistan اور ان کو کوئی حق نہیں کہ وہ اس طرح کی statement پاکستان کے affairs کے بارے میں pass کریں definitely ایک resonance دونوں institutions کے اندر موجود ہے اور جو democratic institutions کو ایک upper hand military کے اوپر ہے۔ شکر یہ۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you very much. The next item on the agenda today is again a Calling Attention Notice by Syed Mohammed Nishat-ul-Hassan Kazami and Mr. Ahmed Javed. Anyone of you can present it?

Syed Mohammad Nishat-ul-Hassan Kazami: Thank you Madam Speaker. We invite the attention of the honorable Youth Prime Minister towards the Pakistani citizens detained at the Guantanamo Bay, Cuba and to remind the new Democratic United States' leadership, their promise of the closure of the prison in Cuba. Madam Speaker, as we saw that Mr. Obama and the officials on his ticket pledged during their election campaign that they would actually strive for tax cuts, health care, green technology and they will provide all these facilities to the American people. Yet at the same time, at the international arena, they publicly promised to

the entire world that they will strive hard and they will close this prison in Guantanamo Bay. So, that is why,

ہم لوگوں نے جو یہ Calling Attention Notice وزیراعظم صاحب کی خدمت میں پیش کیا ہے اس کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ ہم ان کے اس وعدے کو یاد کرائیں اور ان سے یہ بھی مطالبہ کریں کہ تمام جو detainees ہیں اس جیل کے اندر بالخصوص جو پاکستانی ہیں جن کی تعداد پانچ ہے انہیں فوراً رہا کیا جائے یا ان پر proper طریقے سے trail start کیا جائے۔ شکر یہ۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank You. Honorable Sufian Ahmed.

Mr. Sufian Ahmed: Thank you Madam Speaker. I would appreciate the Opposition members for bringing up the resolution firstly. Then I would say that although Barrak Obama even after becoming the President promised that Guantanamo Bay would be closed down and this resolution should be here because we need to reemphasize on the importance that that prison has to be closed down. The thing is even if the prison close down there is an intense lobbying going on in the media specially BBC, CNN and in other Western media that you close down the Jail but the prisoners would not be allowed to go free. They have to be tried somewhere and if you just shift the prisoners form one place to the other it would not really matter a lot. So we should demand that the prisoners who are there for nothing should be released and I would also at this point bring up the matter of Doctor Afia Siddiqui.

جو ایک پاکستانی خاتون ہے، ڈاکٹر ہے، وہ امریکہ کی جیل میں بغیر کسی وجہ سے ہے۔ میں اس ہاؤس کی opinion چاہتا ہوں کہ ان کو بھی، پاکستانی حکومت کو کوشش کرنی چاہیے کہ ان کو رہا کرنے کے لیے pressure ڈالا جائے اور recently سینیٹ کی ایک کمیٹی comprising a few members امریکہ گئی جس میں سینیٹر مشاہد حسین صاحب ڈاکٹر عافیہ صدیقی سے ملے اور he really claim that she was in terrible state اور ہم یہ justify کیسے کر سکتے ہیں کہ ایک پاکستانی خاتون، جو پاکستانی نیشنل ہے وہ کس وجہ سے کس قانون کے تحت پاکستان میں کس کورٹ نے ان کو try کیا کہ وہ امریکہ چلی گئیں اور آج امریکہ کی جیل میں ہیں۔ اس میں سب سے اہم بات یہ ہے کہ ان کو وہاں بھیجنے والا کون ہے۔ گوانتانامو بی میں جو پاکستانی ہیں وہ وہاں پر کیسے پہنچے۔ ان کو بھیجنے والا جنرل مشرف ہے۔

He himself admits that he sold these Pakistani's to Americans and he took so many dollars for against that. So we must try the main culprit, the man hand behind all that and he is playing golf these days and he is having a nice time. So we should first condemn him and bring him to trail first. Thank You.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Honorable Syed Mohsin Raza.

Syed Mohsin Raza: Sir, this Calling Attention Notice of the Opposition does indeed deserve commendation. However, something to which they could have perhaps invited the Youth Parliaments attention was that these are Pakistani citizens located in foreign territory. They are quite a few Pakistani citizens who are in Pakistani jails and in Pakistani jails I can assure you that the situation and the kind of humiliation that Pakistani

prisoners have to go through is much more severe than what would perhaps happening to them in Guantanamo Bay and there are so many situations which I am aware of, which I could narrate. However, I do not wish to burden you with excessive examples. One other thing is that that despite all the fact that we condemn the United States for their unjust, unjust actions and tortures that they are perhaps inflicting on these prisoners but one must note that they do not violate the rules of their own country unlike our previous Governments in which Pakistani citizens were handed over to foreign governments without any due process, without any trial, without not even a preliminary investigations and the rules of torture and rules of due process do not apply to the places outside the United States and therefore, technically they are abiding by the rules of their country by keeping these prisoners in places outside the United States. So, they have respect for their own laws despite the fact that that does us no justice and the fact that it does not improve the plight of these prisoners but we should also learn that we should also respect the laws of our land and only then outsiders will respect our citizens and their rights. If we violate our own citizens' rights other people will also not have any qualms in violating the rights of Pakistani citizens. Thank you very much.

محترمہ ڈپٹی سپیکر : شکریمہ جی عثمان صاحبہ۔

چوہدری عثمان احمد: شکریمہ محترمہ سپیکر۔ فاضل ممبر نشاط صاحب نے اور احمد جاوید صاحب نے بہت اہم Calling Attention Notice وزیر اعظم صاحب کی میں پیش کیا۔ اس کے بارے میں میں کہنا چاہوں گا کہ ہم ہی وہ لوگ ہیں جنہوں نے اپنے ہی لوگوں کو امریکہ کے حوالے کیا۔ ہم 9/11 کے بعد اور افغان جنگ کے بعد آج تک صرف دیکھتے آ رہے ہیں کہ کتنی زیادتیاں in prisons میں ہو رہی ہیں۔ افسوس کی بات یہ ہے کہ ہم لوگوں سے زیادہ ان کے اپنے میڈیا اور ان کی اپنی کانگریس نے ان چیزوں کو condemn کیا۔ قرآن مجید کے ساتھ بے حرمتی ہوئی جس پر ان کے responsible army men کو investigate بھی کیا گیا اور ان کو punish بھی کیا گیا۔ لیکن افسوس کی بات یہ ہے کہ ہماری طرف سے کوئی ایک single voice بھی نہیں پہنچی کہ وہ ان چیزوں کو condemn کرنے کے لیے۔

دوسرا ایک اور پہلو بھی میں آپ کے سامنے لانا چاہوں گا کہ اگر پاکستان میں مختاراں مائی کا کیس ہوتا ہے تو ہماری NGOs ہماری حکومت اس ایک مظلوم عورت کے ساتھ ہوتی ہے اور پاکستان کے image کو اس سے خراب کیا جاتا ہے لیکن یہی حرکات، یہی treatment اگر ڈاکٹر عافیہ صدیقی کے ساتھ گوانتانامو بے میں ہوتی ہے یا دوسری American prisons میں ہوتی ہیں، she is just a symbol اور بہت سے لوگ جو lime light میں نہیں آئے اور اس کو ایک mental disorder کی state میں لے جایا جا چکا ہے لیکن ہماری پارلیمنٹ کی طرف سے، ہماری قوم کی طرف سے، ہماری NGOs کی طرف سے کوئی ایسا protest کوئی ایسا tough message نہیں گیا کہ جس میں ہم اپنی anger اور اپنے concerns کو show کر سکیں۔ اس Calling Attention Notice کے ذریعے ہماری youth کی طرف سے United States کو ایک message ضرور جا رہا ہے کہ اس کو ہمارے nationals کے ساتھ mal-treatment کرنے کا کوئی right نہیں ہے۔ شکریمہ۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you. In the absence of the Youth Prime Minister I would request the honorable Minister for Finance, Economic and Planning Affairs to make a brief statement on his behalf.

جناب وقاص اسلم رانا: محترمہ سپیکر! میرے خیال میں اس Calling Attention Notice میں as such there is no room for debate appreciate کیا ہے کہ United States نے گوانتاناموبے میں آج تک کیا ہے، اس کو Human Rights condemn نے global community نے بلکہ Groups, legal activist پاکستان میں بلکہ the world over ہے کہ ایک consensus ہے نہ صرف پاکستان میں بلکہ the world over ہے کہ اس کو close ہونا چاہیے اور اس کے لیے نئی امریکن انتظامیہ نے ایک خوش آئند step بھی لیا ہے ان کی طرف سے کہا جا چکا ہے کہ وہ اس کو بند کریں گے۔ After that the question arises کہ وہاں پر جو لوگ قید کئے گئے ہیں ان کے ساتھ کیا ہوگا۔ پاکستان کی طرف سے یہ demand جانی چاہیے کہ جو پاکستانی اس وقت گوانتاناموبے میں ہیں اس کے closer کے بعد یا اس سے پہلے جتنی جلدی ہو سکے ان سب کو واپس پاکستان expedite کیا جائے تاکہ ان کو پاکستانی قانون کے مطابق try کیا جا سکے۔ Since they are Pakistani citizens, there is no justification whatsoever, for them being held in any facility in any other country other than Pakistan. اور یہ تمام ہاؤس اس چیز سے agree کرے گا کہ اس Calling Attention Notice کو base بنا کر ہماری demand یہی ہے کہ نا صرف گوانتاناموبے facility کو جلد از جلد close کیا جائے بلکہ وہاں پر جتنے پاکستانی ہیں ان کو پاکستان واپس لایا جائے تاکہ ہم ان کو اپنے legal process کے ذریعے ان کے ساتھ deal کریں۔ شکریہ۔

Mr. Ahmed Javed: On a point of order madam Speaker.

محترمہ ڈپٹی سپیکر: جی احمد جاوید صاحب۔
جناب احمد جاوید : محترمہ سپیکر! ہاؤس کے consensus سے وزیر اعظم اور قائد حزب اختلاف کی advice کے مطابق there are some reports جو Standing Committee on Finance, Planning Affairs and Economics نے بنائی ہیں based on the things that were referred to us in the last session. So, I would like the opportunity to please present them before the House.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Sure. Please present them.

جناب احمد جاوید: ان رپورٹس کو present کرنے سے پہلے میں تھوڑا سا background دینا چاہوں گا کہ یہ تین different topics تھے جو ہماری کمیٹی کو in the last session refer ہوئے تھے۔
One was on the energy crises in Pakistan, the second was the IMF

Madam Deputy Speaker: Honorable Members please listen to your fellow member carefully.

Mr. Javed Ahmed: Possible alternatives to IMF dependency for Pakistan and the third was the youth fund. Based on that I will be presenting the first one۔ اس پر تین مختلف رپورٹس اس پر ہم نے بنائی ہیں۔ on the energy crises. Mr. Waqas Rana will be presenting the second on the

IMF programme and Umara Hikmat will be presenting the third which will be on the youth fund. Very briefly I will introduce the energy crises report. as most of you Basicly focus اس کے اندر ہم نے report کے اندر جو کیا ہے current potential in پاکستان کا initially اس میں ہم نے must have read by now thermal nuclear power، hydel power میں، discuss کیا ہے all fields and in alternate energy and we have given a comparative costing میں power analysis of what cost we incur in each of these areas and based on that and internal اور ہماری the fact that what our different geo-political situation I will constraints کیا ہیں ان کی بنیاد پر ہم نے کچھ پالیسی recommendations دی ہیں۔ just briefly spell out those. In hydel power what we advocate is that instead of going for large dams like Kala Bagh major disputes بہت اور Punjab Province کا big brother phenomenon اور instead of those big dams we should have a focus یہاں advocate کرتے ہیں کہ on smaller dams which are cost effective, which can be built quickly and which can be a short term solution for the current crises that we are facing. Council of اس کے ساتھ ساتھ کالا باغ ڈیم پر ہماری recommendation ہے کہ Common Interest کے اندر ایک sub-committee تشکیل دی جائے جو چہ مہینے کے اندر اپنا final decision دے Kala Bagh on whether we can or can not implement Kala Bagh and till then an alternative Tarbela Action Plan has been devised جو کہ ایک de-silting کی بنیاد پر تربیلا کی capacity کو increase کرے گا which can cover for the Kala Bagh shortage in the near term. In thermal power Pakistan possesses extremely large resources specially at Thar coal which is common ایک comparison پر یہاں ہے کہ in excess of 185 billion perception ہے کہ that coal is not of sufficient quality to produce power تو اس کا ہم نے comparison دیا ہے with countries like Germany and India lower quality coal is being used to produce thermal power in those countries تو ہم یہ definitely set up کر سکتے ہیں۔ ہم نے یہاں پر کچھ incentives دیئے ہیں۔ which can be given to investors such as tax breaks and duty cuts. ہم نے اس کے ساتھ ایک model present کیا ہے on a pattern similar to Daharki which is again a community very much in the middle of nowhere as a community which is based on develop کرنا چاہ رہے ہیں potential کے علاوہ تھرکول کے this mining and power generation project. کو بھی ہم اسی طرح کو through international shows or international marketing present کیا جائے the world as a potential investment side. Our next long term solution is nuclear power where we feel Pakistan has a lot of potential and where we site declare ایک feel our policy states that in each of the four provinces کرنی چاہیے site اور اس which should be a multi plant site سے صرف اس before any of that energy could be province کی needs کو پورا کرنا چاہیے پہلے province exported to other provinces. So that inter-provincial grievances can be avoided. اس کے ساتھ ساتھ ایک بہت urgent step کی ضرورت ہے because we are planning

such a rapid expansion in the nuclear facilities. So, for the staff training immediately we should have contracts with China which has shown willingness to do this and we should send operational staff for immediate training to China so that in the long run when we have these plants operational we also have the manpower to actually keep these running

because currently our one power plant has been stopped due to operational shortages.

Then on alternate energy, we should make Alternate Energy Board more proactive and we should give it specific targets within a one year period to provide at least three feasibilities on possible sites for development of alternate energy and we propose a setting up of wind power plants in the coastal areas under only Government's supervision with no private interaction so that this can be a test basis before we can actually invite private parties for coming in.

The last three points, I think are very very important and are basically Government actions in the current crisis which can also improve the short term economic situation with reference to the power crisis.

First, which will be a very hard step to take but I think it must be taken and that is that there should be a preferential supply of electricity to industries over households because we have to recognize that we have shortages and I think industrial provision of electricity is much more important than household provision given the state of economy in Pakistan right now.

Second is a complete overhaul of WAPDA and the current grid power structure in Pakistan because our grid losses are upto 25%. So, if we can save that electricity that will be a major step in cutting down the demand/supply gaps that we face.

The last thing which is actually not included in this report currently. Mr. Shahbaz who has recently joined the committee, has given a suggestion. I think that is a very important aspect that we should form an energy development bank which should be set up with funds that are lying unutilized in the OGDC which are upto two billion dollars. If those funds can be rerouted to an energy development bank which will then be a focal point for investors to come in and raise finances for their projects for energy sector projects in Pakistan. So, I think that will be a major boost for improving the electricity in power situation in the country as a whole. So, I would now with the permission of the honourable Prime Minister present this report before the House for the approval. Thank you.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Now I put the report to the House.

(The Motion was carried.)

Madam Deputy Speaker: The report stands presented.

Mr. Waqas Aslam Rana: Honourable Speaker, it gives me immense happiness and pride that the Finance Committee has come up with such a wonderful report on the energy crisis, that was a Motion which I introduced in the first session and the Committee has really done a wonderful job and I would like to congratulate all of them. We have also prepared a report on the IMF issue which was referred to us during the last session. I will just give you a brief outline of the suggestions made by the

Committee. In this report we first have given a brief history of the IMF and its objective, it was basically formed after the Second World War to support newly independent countries and to support the reconstruction effort. Pakistan became a member of the IMF in 1988 and so far we have undergone 11 loan agreements with the IMF including the one that we have now. After that the report basically spells out the conditions for the current agreement which the Government has reached with the IMF specifically they are that it is a loan of a total of 7.6 billion US dollars which will be over a span of two years.

تو یہ دو سال کا loan ہے اور اس کی first tranche 3.1 billion کی ہے اور وہ ہم already use کر چکے ہیں۔ اس کے آگے جو specific economic objectives ہیں وہ بھی اس report میں detail کئے گئے ہیں کہ اس وقت جو ہمارا GDP کا fiscal deficit ہے 3.3% تک آگے دو سالوں میں نیچے لے کر آنا ہے۔ That is one condition for this loan۔ یہ ہے کہ by 2010 the State Bank should act so that inflation is brought down to 6% and third condition ہے کہ ہماری جو social safety net کے اوپر basic spending ہے that should be increased to 0.9% of the GDP۔ However, the important part of agreement کے ساتھ ہیں۔ conditions ہیں جو اس report is the report is sections میں اس کو discuss کیا ہے کہ اس کی actual policy implications کیا ہیں پاکستان کے لیے۔ کیونکہ جو official discourse حکومت کی طرف سے اور IMF کی طرف سے ہوتی ہے اس میں جو negative implications ہیں وہ discuss نہیں کی جاتیں وہ کافی زیادہ ہیں اور بڑی اہم ہیں۔ First of all IMF program میں یہ condition ہوتی ہے کہ آپ اوپر ایک deregulation کی policy آپ کے اوپر enforce کرتی ہے۔ اکثر جو حکومت کے ادارے ہیں جیسے پاکستان میں agriculture کو heavily subsidies کرتی ہے IMF اس کے اوپر stop لگاتے ہیں تو UN world Food Programme کا statistic ہے کہ آج 77 million Pakistanis are food insecure ایسے حالات میں IMF Programme لے کر آنا جہاں پر آپ کو agricultural subsidy cuts لگانے پڑیں گے تو it is a very serious situation۔ IMF Programme میں state enterprises privatize ہوتی ہیں ہمارے سامنے پچھلی حکومت میں سٹیل ملز کا کیس تھا۔ IMF Programme میں wages اور تنخواہوں پر freeze لگتا ہے اور inflation کے ساتھ سب سے poor segment کو hurt کرتی ہیں اس کے علاوہ finally یہ بھی ہے کہ IMF Programmes کو accept کرنا اکثر ایک political decision ہوتا ہے rather than an economic one so ہم نے دیکھا ہے کہ جب یہ deal finalize ہو رہی تھی IMF کے ساتھ تو probably the biggest consideration was that Pakistan was such a close partner in the so called war on extremism with the USA that Pakistan was probably forced in to accepting the IMF option for a loan۔ اور جو پیرس کلب اور جو donor agencies اور جو ہمارے bilateral ties ہیں وہ options شاید ہم نے consider نہیں کئے۔ ان کے ہم دو alternatives بھی اس رپورٹ میں پیش کئے ہیں۔ The first and I feel a very innovative alternative is setting up an Islamic Development Bank which will be an alternative to the IMF۔ Now اس کی ایک مثال پہلے ہی دنیا میں ہے Latin America میں there is a bank of the South جو Hugo Chavez کے initiative سے 2007 میں create ہوا تھا۔ اس کی seven founding countries Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Ecuador تھے۔ اب اس بنک کی workings are such کہ ہر ملک اپنے foreign exchange reserves کا 10% contribute کرتی ہیں اس بنک کی equity اور ہر ملک کا equal stake ہوتا ہے اس بنک کے operation پر اور اس کی oversight پر۔ تو Latin America کا جو initiative ہے جہاں پر انہوں نے آپس میں بیٹھ

IMF کا ایک alternative ڈھونڈنا ہے انہی lines پر ہم نے suggestion یہ دی ہے کہ ایک Islamic Development Bank form ہو کیونکہ پہلے ہی OIC ایک ایسا political forum Muslim countries کو available ہے جہاں پر وہ اگتھے ہو کر اپنی پالیسیاں بناتے ہیں۔ اس کو استعمال کر کے اگر ہم ایک اسلامی بنک بنا لیتے ہیں تو وہ specifically پاکستان کے لیے بہت فائدہ مند ہو سکتی ہے۔ کیونکہ ایک تو پاکستان کی مسلم دنیا میں اہمیت بہت زیادہ ہے ہمارے Middle Eastern States سے بڑے اچھے تعلقات ہیں۔ Who would be a key stakeholder in any kind of Islamic Development Bank. So this is one alternative to the IMF جو ہم نے اس رپورٹ میں پیش کی ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ ہم نے کچھ economic policies بھی suggests کی ہیں جن کو follow کر کے ایسی situation ہی arise نہ کرے جہاں پر آپ کو IMF کے پاس جانا پڑے لیکن وہ reports آپ کو ملیں گی تو آپ دیکھیں in fact کل پورے ہاؤس میں circulate بھی ہوئی تھیں۔

Honourable Speaker, thank you so much for giving my committee and me the chance to present this report and with your permission I would like to put the report in front of the House for approval.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Now I put the report to the House.

(The Motion was carried.)

Madam Deputy Speaker: Consequently, the report stands presented. Do we have another report to be presented? Yes please.

محترمہ ام عمارہ حکمت: میڈم سپیکر Youth fund کی resolution ہمارے پاس پہلے سیشن کے بعد آئی تھی جس پر ہم نے immediately اس پر کام شروع کر دیا تھا۔ Youth fund basically ایک project تھا جو کہ specially design کیا گیا تھا rural children اور youth کو اس میں target کیا گیا تھا۔ ہم نے local communities کو economically and socially empower کرنے کے لیے اور اس کے علاوہ productivity related measures کو promote کرنے کے لیے وہاں مدرسوں، ہائی سکول اور پرائمری سکولوں کا انتخاب کیا اور ہم نے وہاں جا کر flies تقسیم کئے۔ اس کے علاوہ local district governments سے بھی اس معاملے میں بات چیت کی۔ یوتھ فنڈ کا mission statement ہے، by involving youth in the decision making، empowering them economically socially and making them tolerant and progressive. یوتھ فنڈ کا جو vision ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ اگر ہم social infrastructure کو sustained economic growth پر grass root level پر strengthen کرتے ہیں تو تبھی ہم ایک sustained economic growth achieve کر سکتے ہیں۔ ہمیں تقریباً 41 students کے responses آئے ہیں اور ہم نے انہیں income generation possibilities کے بارے میں بتایا۔ اس کے علاوہ skill development پر emphasis کیا گیا ہے کیونکہ پاکستان کی population تو کافی زیادہ ہے لیکن ہماری labour skilled نہیں ہے اگر ہماری labour skilled ہو تو ہماری productivity improve ہوگی اور شاید ہم economically empower ہو سکیں۔

اس کے علاوہ پاکستان کا ایک ایشو یہ بھی ہے کہ Pakistan has the highest school drop out rate in the world. تو ہم نے بہت سے طالب علموں سے یہ پوچھا کہ وہ اپنی تعلیم ادھوری کیوں چھوڑ دیتے ہیں۔ ہمیں یہ response ملا کہ سکولوں میں جو beatings ہوتی ہیں corporal punishments یہ ایک major reason ہے اس کے علاوہ طالب علموں کے پاس کوئی motivation نہیں ہوتی۔ نہ ان کو یہ پتا ہوتا ہے کہ آگے جا کر انہوں نے کیا career choose کرنا ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ سب سے بڑا جو factor ہے وہ lack of finances کیونکہ obviously deal ہم lack of finances نہیں کر سکتے ہم ایک

چھوٹے level پر فی الحال کر رہے ہیں۔ ہم یہی کر سکتے ہیں کہ ہم ان کو convince کریں کہ کس طرح انہیں تعلیم مستقبل میں کام آ سکتی ہے۔

اس کے علاوہ پچھلے سال ایک violence trend youth میں دیکھا گیا۔ جتنے بھی suicide bombers ملے وہ زیادہ تر young لوگ ہی تھے۔ ہم نے مارچ کے آخر میں وہاں کے ناظم صاحب سے بات کی ہے کہ ایک ورکشاپ arrange کریں گے جس میں مدرسے کے اساتذہ کو اور پرائمری سکول کے اساتذہ کو اس کے علاوہ وہاں کے طالب علموں کو invite کریں گے along with their parents اور انہیں بتائیں گے کہ اگر ان کے ساتھ کوئی سکول میں تشدد کیا جائے تو آپ گھر میں بتائیں اور ان کے والدین جا کر سکول میں بات کریں بجائے اس کے وہ اپنی تعلیم چھوڑ دیں۔ اس کے علاوہ مانسہرہ کے علاقے میں ایک جلیل آباد دینی مدرسہ ہے جو ایک گاؤں اہل میں ہے وہاں پر ایک قاری صاحب ہیں جو تقریباً 45 طالب علموں کو پڑھاتے ہیں انہوں نے ہمیں یقین دہانی کرائی کہ وہ ہمیں اپنے طالب علموں کی Youth Parliament progress reports کو وقتاً فوقتاً بھیجتے رہیں گے۔ فضیلت النساء پرائمری سکول ایبٹ آباد کے علاقے کنج جدید میں ہے اس میں تقریباً 70 طالب علم اس وقت پڑھ رہے ہیں۔ یہ 3 نومبر کو میں نے personally visit کیا تھا اور ہم لوگ future youth parliament کی ایک ٹیم لے کر جانا چاہتے ہیں۔ وہاں پر local politicians نے بھی ہمیں یقین دہانی کروائی ہے کہ ہماری ٹیم کے ساتھ جائیں گے اور وہاں teachers اور students کو یقین دہانی کرائیں گے کہ اگر انہیں تعلیم میں کوئی بھی مسئلہ آتا ہے یا وہ اپنا خرچہ برداشت نہیں کر سکتے تو حکومت informally ان کی مدد کرے گی۔ اس رپورٹ پر ہم نے جو ابھی تک کام کیا ہے وہ یہ ہے۔ شکر یہ۔

جناب فرخ جدون: آپ کی اجازت سے میڈم سے point of information پوچھنا چاہ رہا ہوں۔

جناب ڈپٹی سپیکر: جی، جی۔
جناب فرخ جدون: یہ بتائیں گی کہ یہ کن کن politicians سے ملی ہیں اور انہوں نے اپنے علاقے کے بارے میں کچھ نہیں بتایا۔ وہ شمعون مہتاب صاحب سے ملی ہونگی۔ ان کا اپنا علاقہ جو کشمیر کے ساتھ لگتا ہے وہاں کی حالت یہ ہے۔

جناب ڈپٹی سپیکر: جی فرخ جدون صاحب please be seated.

Ms Hira Batool Rizvi: On a point of order.

Madam Deputy Speaker: We do not have the time for points of order. I put the report to the House.

(The Motion was carried.)

Madam Deputy Speaker: Consequently the report stands presented.

Mr. Waqar Nayyar: Madam Speaker, on point of order. I would like to point out the duplication in Resolutions No. 4 and 5 and if the movers of the resolutions and the Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the House can agree, can we merge the resolutions into one because the debate will be very relevant to both these topics and in order to save time and to make the proceedings more efficient and it makes sense to clump them together. Is any one opposed to this?

Madam Deputy Speaker: The Honorable Minister for Education wants to put forward the education policy for youth.

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک : بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم۔ میڈم سپیکر! سب سے پہلے میں سپیکر ٹریٹ کا اور سپیکر صاحبہ کا بھی بہت شکر گزار ہوں کہ انہوں نے مجھے یہ موقع دیا کہ میں یہ پالیسی جو کہ بہت سے لوگوں کے ساتھ مل کر بنائی گئی ہے جن میں یاور شاہ صاحب، ماریہ اسحاق، احسان یوسف، ثور فیہا علوی، اے ڈی طاہر، شرجیل سومرو، احمد نور، صوفیان بچار اور اسد جنجوعہ کا خاص کام۔ باقی تو سب کا ہی کام ہے لیکن ان لوگوں نے بہت محنت کی ہے۔ اب میں پالیسی کی طرف آؤں گا کیونکہ وقت بہت کم ہے۔ ہماری پالیسی کے چودہ باب ہیں اور چودہواں ending note ہے۔ جیسا کہ آپ کو پتا ہے کہ پاکستان میں آج بھی ایک طبقہ ہے کہ وہ تعلیم حاصل نہیں کر سکتا تو جو modern philosophy ہے یہ اس کے مخالف ہے ہم نے ایک chapter دیا ہے کہ history of educational similarities of old philosophy of education with Pakistani philosophy کی system of education. اس کے بعد ہم نے اس میں نئی educational policy کے لیے کچھ recommendations دی ہیں کہ a national commission should be formed for a new national education policy اور یہی بات لئیق احمد خان صاحب کی بھی یہی رائے تھی کہ ایک national education commission بننا چاہیے کیونکہ ضیا الحق صاحب نے بھی بنایا تھا اور وہ کافی کامیاب رہا تھا۔

اس کے علاوہ اس میں اور بھی بہت سے باتیں کہی گئی ہیں

the commission may consists of 50 members, equal representation should be given to all Federating Units and we strongly suggest that this commission psychologist and sociologist form all provinces should be included. Only professors and teachers of the universities and colleges be given representation if they hold Ph.D. and M.Pihl. degree. The Chairman of Standing Committee on Education at the Parliament should also be the member of this commission. Single member representation should be given to all political parties sitting in the Parliament. All the members of the commission may get assistance from psychologists and sociologists in this commission. Government should not be allowed to announce any membership for this national commission.

اس کے بعد five females from the Senate should also be given the membership through computer balloting. اس کے علاوہ دوسرے chapter میں modern educational philosophy کا تذکرہ کیا گیا ہے کیونکہ modern educational philosophy کے کچھ principles ہیں جو پاکستانی system of education میں نہیں ہیں۔ جناب سپیکر صاحبہ اس پر بڑی محنت ہوئی ہے۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Order in the House. Please listen to him carefully.

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: دوسرا باب modern education philosophy ہے جس میں ہم نے the Government should implement the modern educational philosophy in the Pakistan in its true spirit وہ lack کرتا ہے۔ education system common for all. یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ ایک ایسا نظام تعلیم ہو جو modern philosophy of education کے مطابق ہو اور جو industrial revolution کے بعد پورے مغربی ممالک میں اور جنوبی ایشیا میں اپنائی جا رہی ہے۔ پاکستان میں بھی اس کے true spirit پر عمل ہونا چاہیے۔

Third chapter is objectives of Pakistan. Educational policy of Pakistan should be similar and in accordance with the educational ideology of Pakistan and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's educational philosophy that was as following consciousness of Islamic Ideology of life protection of Pakistan, character building, must membership of society, realization of national unity being an agricultural economy, Pakistan educational policy must aim at improving the agricultural system of Pakistan. Training of scientific and technical education, teaching of Pakistan studies and politics,

ایک اس میں یہ بھی objective ہے جو یوتھ پارلیمنٹ کا بھی objective ہے کہ to inculcate democratic culture in the youth of Pakistan. یہ بھی پاکستان کی

educational policy کا مقصد ہونا چاہیے تاکہ یوتھ میں جمہوری روایات پیدا ہو سکیں۔ اس کے علاوہ 1971 کا جو بنگلہ دیش crisis ہے وہ بھی نصاب تعلیم کا حصہ بننا چاہیے تاکہ جو بنگلہ دیش کا سبق ہے، جو آج دوبارہ ہم فاتا اور بلوچستان میں دہرا رہے ہیں اس سے ہمیں سبق ملے۔ اس کے علاوہ the role played by the religious parties in the creation of Pakistan اس کا حصہ بننا چاہیے۔ اس کے علاوہ علامہ اقبال کی philosophy بھی اس کا حصہ بننا چاہیے۔ اس کے علاوہ اس میں general objective ہیں جو بہت ہی general ہوتے ہیں میرے خیال میں انہیں بتانے کی ضرورت نہیں کیونکہ وہ بر educational philosophy میں بہت اہم ہوتے ہیں۔

اس کے علاوہ chapter 4 میں ہم نے literacy rate in Pakistan کیونکہ بہت سے لوگ سوال کرتے ہیں کہ literacy rate جو پاکستان کا ہے وہ بہت کم ہے اس کے لیے ہم نے چند تجاویز دی ہیں۔ ان تجاویز میں سب سے پہلی جو تجویز ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ family is the initial and the basic institution in the formation of a society, family is also regarded as non-formal education agency and institute. ہمیں کہ family کسی بھی بچے کا پہلا institute ہوتا ہے۔ حکومت کو چاہیے کہ اس institute سے بھرپور فائدہ لے کیونکہ educational behavior and conduct of family وہاں سے اس کو ملتا ہے۔ اور transfer of hereditary characters اس میں character building ہوتی ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ training of congregational and collective consciousness ہم نے آخر میں suggest کیا ہے حکومت کو کہ enhance the literacy level of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan should take full advantage and use of this informal institution, mass media and print media should be utilized for the awareness of education special dramas and ads should be made and must be broadcasted on PTV. Pakistan holds almost 70% of its population in rural areas and in rural areas peak time of watching TV is from 7.00 p.m. to 10.00 p.m. In the above mentioned time special dramas should be made and telecasted and special transmission should be placed in peak time for educating masses through media for the awareness about education.

اس کے علاوہ people watch PTV News in the rural areas very carefully so special news should be made as a propaganda which should impact the psychology of parents.

Mr. Usman Chaudhry: Point of order.

Madam Deputy Chairman: Usman Sahib let him complete what he has to say.

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: یہاں پر student of international relations بہت کم بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں۔ بہت سے ممالک international relations میں propaganda کو use کرتے ہیں۔ achieve their objectives. یہاں پر بھی حکومت کا objective ہے اور وہ achieve propaganda کے ذریعے ہو سکتا ہے۔

The voice of Imam and religious personalities in the society of Pakistan attracts everyone. We suggest that Imam Masjid should be given special incentives for making the parents aware about the education. Till matriculation all over Pakistan education should be made free.

اور جناب سپیکر! ادھر ایک بہت خاص بات کی گئی ہے۔ شاید یہ ساٹھ سالوں میں پہلی بار بات کی گئی ہے اور وہ بھی بلیو پارٹی کی طرف سے کی گئی ہے بلکہ Youth of Pakistan کی طرف سے کی گئی ہے،۔۔۔ ذرا میں سالار قافلہ کی بھی توجہ چاہوں گا کہ we also suggest that the student agricultural card should be introduced in rural areas of Pakistan. The aim of that agricultural card should be that if any student in a rural area is studying in school or college the Government of Pakistan should give his/ her father a special subsidy on seeds and urea. اس کے علاوہ اس کارڈ کے ذریعے ہم نے ایک اور suggestion دی ہے، چونکہ rural areas میں machinery بہت expensive ہوتی ہے for agriculture purpose حکومت کو چاہیے کہ ہر یونین کونسل کو machinery فراہم کرے اور جن والدین کے بچوں کے پاس وہ agricultural card ہے اس کو free of cost وہ machinery ملے۔

Mr. Mohammed Essam Rehmani: Point of Order.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Essam sahib, let him complete what he has to say.

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: اگر وہ کہنا چاہتے ہیں تو کھڑا ہوں کوئی مسئلہ نہیں ہے وہ بیان دے سکتے ہیں۔

میڈیم ڈپٹی سپیکر: جی بولیے۔

جناب محمد اعصام الدین: یہ جس کی بات کر رہے ہیں اس کی ذرا وضاحت کر دیں کہ یہ Blue Party یا Youth Parliament کی طرف سے یہ Benazir Support Programme کا ایک حصہ ہے۔
جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: یہ Benazir Income Support Programme شروع ہی نہیں ہوا وہ Income Support Programme ہے۔

Mr. Ahmed Javed: Madam it is Benazir Income Support Programme and not Income Support Programme.

اگر وہ پارٹی کی باتیں کرتے ہیں تو ان کو معلومات بھی رکھنے کی ضرورت ہے۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Please order in the House.

(مداخلت)

میڈیم ڈپٹی سپیکر: آپ اپنی بات مکمل کر لیجئے ضمیر صاحب۔

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: یہ تو روڑھے اٹکاتے رہیں گے۔ Special weeks should

be

announced in schools, colleges and universities in which cultural activities should be done and special programmes of Pakistani culture on Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan and NWFP should take place. Union council authorities should be made responsible for checking schools. Special charges and punishments should be made if any parents do not send their child to school at primary level. Only female teachers should be allowed to teach and the female teachers should be recruited from the same locality. There must be at least one college for females and one for males in every union council depending further on population. In every union council one computer library should be made having computer teacher, students may be allowed to visit any time and special courses should also be conducted free of cost. Every child at primary level should be given stipend and also to those who secure position at secondary level.

اس کے بعد پانچویں chapter کی طرف چلوں گا۔ Increasing enrolment at primary level. ذرا واضح کر دوں اس سے پہلے والا جو chapter تھا کیونکہ کچھ لوگوں کو اس سے پہلے تھوڑی problem تھی اس میں ذرا میں واضح کر دوں ذرا غور سے پڑھیں، it is increasing ہے chapter یہ جو That is literacy rate in Pakistan and enrolment at primary level.

A commission should be made consisting of educational....

Madam Deputy Speaker: Zamir Sahib, sorry to interrupt you in between but please make it short and brief because we have other item on the agenda as well.

Mr. Zamir Ahmed Malik: OK Madam.

میڈم مسئلہ یہ ہے کہ بعد میں یہ کہیں گے کہ ہمیں کاپی نہیں ملی تو مجھے پوری educational policy تو بتانی پڑے گی۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Did not they get the copies before?

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: سیکرٹریٹ کو ہم نے کہا تھا اور میں نے فون بھی کئے۔

Mr. Mohammed Essam Rehmani: On a point of clarification. Every person from the Green Party has read the copy even though that it was given us 24 hours before today.

Madam Deputy Speaker: That means all of you have the copy of the policy.

Mr. Mohammed Essam Rehmani: Yes and we have read it point to point.

Madam Deputy Speaker: O.K. You have read it.

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: کل ان کے کچھ ممبران میرے پاس بار بار آ رہے تھے شاید ان کا سالار قافلہ سے رابطہ نہیں ہے۔

جناب محمد اعصام رحمانی: ممبران کی وضاحت کر دیجیئے گا۔

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: جناب یہ ایک secret بات ہے۔ A law should be made that if any teacher is involved in giving a physical punishment then his/her salary must be deducted or either he/she must be expelled from job and if any teacher involves in giving extreme punishment to students he/she must be expelled from job.

ایک معزز رکن: انہوں نے اپنی speed تیز کی ہے وہ کم تو نہیں کر رہے۔ تو ان کو آپ بولیں۔

میڈم ڈپٹی سپیکر: Eventually وہ time تو کم ہی use کریں گے۔

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: اس کے بعد motives کی طرف اؤں گا کہ ان کو شاید پتا نہیں تھا اور مجھے بہت سے لوگوں نے بولا کہ آپ نے یہ literature ڈال دیا ہے۔ میں ان کو یہ بتاؤں کہ جو تعلیم پڑھائی جاتی ہے۔ Education in universities پڑھائی جاتی ہے تو motives, interests and motions first, second, third and fourth semester حصہ ہوتے ہیں۔ تو جب تک motives نہیں ہوں گے۔ Motives بہت لازمی ہوتے ہیں۔ ایسی force ہے جو action کے لیے role play کرتی ہے۔ جب تک motive نہیں ہوگا تو ایک student action کیسے لے گا۔ ایسا نصاب ہونا چاہیے جس سے student attract ہو تاکہ وہ action لے سکے۔ وہ اس کو attract کرے وہ اس کی طرف جائے اس وجہ اس میں motives, interests and attention کی بات کی گئی۔

Low cost school programme کی بات کی گئی۔ ہمارے کچھ اپوزیشن کے دوستوں نے کہا کہ low cost schools should be built through public - private partnership تو کہا گیا کہ یہ کیسے ہو سکتا ہے۔ Low cost schools or public - private partnership کا لفظ استعمال ہوا ہے یہ حکومت کے لیے ہوا ہے۔ Public - private partnership is Government, public Government حکومت کے پاس اگر زمین ہے تو وہ کسی private institute کو دے دے کہ بھئی یہ آپ کو زمین لینی پڑے گی اور وہ وہاں پر آسانی سے بنا سکے گا تو یہ low cost ہو جائے گا ورنہ ان کو زمین بھی لینی پڑے گی۔

اچھا madarassas in Pakistan should be transformed in a combined madarassa school. یہ کوئی co-education کی یہاں پر بات نہیں کہی گئی۔ یہاں پر صرف یہ بات کہی گئی ہے کہ مدرسہ کے اندر جو سکولوں میں subjects پڑھائے جاتے ہیں۔ انگریزی، مطالعہ پاکستان اور اسلامیات وہ پڑھائے جائیں۔ اس کے بعد زکوٰۃ، فطرانہ and other funds جیسے کہ آپ کو پتا ہے کہ پاکستان کے اندر جس کا دل چاہتا ہے وہ NGO بنا لیتا ہے اسلام کے نام پر اور زکوٰۃ لیتے ہیں، فطرانہ بھی لیتے ہیں اور پھر وہ کلاشنکوف اور AK-47 خریدی جا رہی ہوتی ہیں تو حکومت کو چاہیے کہ یہ deserving لوگ بہت سارے اداروں میں ہیں جو fees afford نہیں کرسکتے تو Ministry of Education یہ سارے funds collect کرے اور deserving لوگوں تک پہنچنے چاہیں۔

Education budget کی بات کی گئی، at least 7% of GDP should be allocated as education budget کیونکہ مسلم لیگ نواز اور پیپلز پارٹی نے بھی اپنے manifesto میں کم و بیش 7% GDP کی بات کی تھی ہم کہتے ہیں کہ اس کو پورا کرو۔ minimum 20% جو صوبائی اور district level سے revenue generate ہوتا ہے وہ سارا اٹھا کر وفاق کو دے دیا جاتا ہے۔ ہم یہ کہتے ہیں کہ بیس فیصد اس میں سے UC کو district کو اور صوبے کو ملنا چاہیے۔

اس کے بعد ہم نے curriculum پر بات کی it should be revised and one

curriculum should be placed in all over Pakistan. New curriculum should be adopted keeping in view the ideology of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies should be taught to a child or a student in his/her mother's tongue or in provincial languages. Special attention should be given on the education of mathematics and English from primary level. A curriculum should meet international standards and it should be taken into place in a gradual manner i.e. from bottom to top.

اس کے بعد ہم نے vocational and technical education کی بات کی کہ ہر ڈسٹرکٹ میں ہر یونین کونسل میں کم از کم ایک لڑکیوں کے لیے اور ایک لڑکوں کے لیے institute ہونا چاہیے اور ایک ministry بننی چاہیے۔ آخر میں کیونکہ آپ لوگوں نے پڑھ تو لی ہوگی اور مجھے ابھی PM صاحب کی طرف سے بھی یہ directives آئے ہیں۔ آخر میں مدرسہ system پر احمد نور صاحب نے یہ سارا بنایا اور میں بہت شکرگزار ہوں۔ آخر میں، میں ان سے گزارش کروں گا کہ جو سوالات ہیں وہ مجھ سے کر لیں کیونکہ انہوں نے پڑھ لیا۔ یہ اگر پہلے بنا دیتے کیونکہ ان کے لوگ ساری رات آتے رہے کاپی دے دو، کاپی دے دو تو اس وجہ سے مجھے پڑھنا پڑ گیا۔

میڈم ڈپٹی سپیکر: تشریف رکھیں ضمیر صاحب۔ جناب احمد جاوید۔

جناب احمد جاوید: جناب سپیکر! سوالات تو بہت زیادہ ہیں لیکن پہلے کچھ جو بہت اچھے points یہاں پر اس رپورٹ میں raise کئے گئے، ان کو recognize کرنا بہت ضروری ہے۔ ایک تو یہ کہ اس رپورٹ میں ایک بہت significant بات ہے کہ the plight of the poor man has been recognized and it has been addressed or there is an attempt to address it. دو بہت innovative چیزیں سامنے آئی ہیں۔ ایک PTV کا استعمال as a medium of education for the primary sector اور دوسرا جو student agricultural cards کی بات کی گئی۔ Even though again جیسا point out کیا گیا کہ یہ existing policy ہے لیکن including it in the education

policy is a very good step.

اب کچھ جو نکات ہمارے ذہن میں آ رہے تھے اگر اس رپورٹ foreword پڑھا جائے تو اس کے اندر لکھا گیا ہے، the propose of this paper being produced by the Youth Parliamentarians of Pakistan is not to make a policy for education but to give some suggestions.

آخری paragraph کے اندر وزیراعظم صاحب نے کہا ہے کہ This education policy is an effort by the Minister for Education because this is the consensus اس لیے built نہیں کیا foreword کے Government's right to present a policy on its behalf میں ہی لکھا جا رہا ہے کہ this is not a policy to begin with.

دوسرا اگر ہم 7 chapter میں آجائیں تو point No. 4 لکھا گیا ہے There must be a board or committee be a board, I think consisting of representatives from the Opposition and other walks of life to regulate and keep check on financial matters of the committee. سپیکر! اگر Opposition کو involve کرنے کا اتنا ہی شوق ہے تو تھوڑا پہلے ہمیں بھی involve کر دیتے۔ تھوڑا ہمیں بھی بتا دیتے کہ کیا کرنا چاہ رہے ہیں تو ہم بھی کچھ اپنی suggestions دے دیتے۔

اب جب suggestions دینے کا موقع آ ہی گیا تو کچھ جو ہمارے ذہن میں نکات آ رہے ہیں وہ آپ کے سامنے رکھ دیتے ہیں۔ زیادہ تفصیل میں نہیں جاؤں گا۔ Start کرتا ہوں کہ یہ جو national education commission جو propose کیا جا رہا ہے اس پر ہمیں جو

تھوڑا سا اعتراض یہ ہے کہ اس میں پچاس ممبران کا کہا گیا ہے۔ ہم نے پہلے، پچھلے session میں resolution میں دیکھا جو یہاں پر ساٹھ ممبران کے سامنے پیش ہوئی صرف اس میں ایک چھوٹا سا issue تھا uniformity of education system کا اس پر consensus develop نہیں ہو سکا تو آپ پچاس لوگوں کو ایک کمرے میں، ایک نیشنل ایجوکیشن پالیسی بنانے کے لیے بٹھا رہے ہیں۔ Why not curtail that number? Why not keep it to a few prominent, eminent educationalists in Pakistan or sociologists, whoever you may be.

دوسری بات جو کہی گئی جس پر ہمیں سخت اعتراض ہے۔ یہ National Commission for Education ہے اور اس میں لکھا جا رہا ہے کہ only professors and teachers of universities and colleges if they hold Ph.D. and M.Phil. degrees to be given representation primary, secondary and F.Sc. جو طالب علم ہیں ان کو کیوں representation نہیں دی جا رہی۔

اس کے بعد اس کمیشن کی membership پر ایک جو بہت زیادہ اعتراض کی بات ہے point No. 10 members of this commission should come through computer balloting experience, qualification and education کی کوئی اہمیت نہیں ہے۔ کیا ہم computer balloting کی basis پر elect ہونے لوگوں کو آپ کہیں گے کہ آپ ہماری ایجوکیشن پالیسی بنائیں۔

اس کے بعد ایک اور بات کہ اس میں شروع میں کہا گیا کہ پچاس ممبران ہیں اور پچاس ممبران میں equal representation of provinces ہونی چاہیے اور پھر یہ Ph.D. M.Phil. اور sociologist or physiologist کی بات کی گئی جس میں اس میں we want this to be a professional organization کہ یہ دیا جا رہا ہے کہ impression wants this to be a professional organization کہ میں experienced لوگ آئیں جن کو اس چیز سے relevant experience ہو۔ جبکہ اسی report کے اندر، انہی points کے اندر upto 25 seats of these 50 have been given to politicians. اسے politician کے ہاتھ میں یہ سارا کچھ ڈالنا چاہ رہے ہیں کیوں ہم پھر سے وہی غلطی کر رہے ہیں۔ اس کو کیوں ہم professional organization, independent of party affiliation بنانا نہیں چاہ رہے؟

جناب سپیکر! تھوڑا سا وقت اور چاہیے ہوگا۔ تین چار منٹ اگر آپ دے دیں۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Ahmed Javed sahib, we can not give you three or four minutes because I have five more speakers on the same topic and then we have another item on the agenda.

Mr. Ahmed Javed: I will try and make it very brief one or two minutes with your permission.

اس کے بعد objectives of education پر ہم آجاتے ہیں اگر یہ ایک Pakistan studies کا نصاب زیادہ لگ رہا ہے اور یہ شاید ایک broad base education policy لگ رہی ہے میں briefly بتاؤں گا اگر ہم شروع ہوں ان points پر تو to inculcate democratic culture, the purpose of creation of Pakistan, the 71 Bangladesh crisis, the role played by religious parties in creation of Pakistan, Pakistan's defence and Allama Iqbal's philosophy. Allama Iqbal's philosophy is genuinely a broad based point. اس کے علاوہ باقی تمام Pakistan studies کے نصاب میں پہلے سے included ہیں۔ آپ 71 کی بنگلہ دیش جنگ کو English یا Maths کے course میں کس طرح لے کر آسکتے ہیں۔ General objectives should be generalized and they should include the totality of your education system.

اس کے بعد ایک جو بہت major نقطہ ہے اور اس پر میں وقت کی قلت کی وجہ سے ختم کروں گا۔ بار بار اس پالیسی کے اندر ایک تو repetitions بہت زیادہ ہیں ایک مکمل chapter ہے جو باقی تمام chapters کو combine کر کے مختلف جگہوں سے

چیزیں اٹھا کر repeat کیا گیا ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ ایک لفظ جو بار بار استعمال کیا گیا ہے special incentive should be given. جس شخص کا نام آتا ہے چاہے وہ farmer ہو، چاہے وہ educationist ہو، چاہے وہ امام مسجد ہو، چاہے وہ جو مرضی ہو اس کو special incentives دینے چاہئیں۔ تو یہ special incentives کو اگر ہم define کر دیں کہ ہم کس direction میں جانا چاہ رہے ہیں کیونکہ بڑی باتیں تو ہمارے سیاستدان بھی کر سکتے ہیں ہم یہاں پر شاید practical actions لینے آئے ہیں تو اگر یہ practical طریقے سے describe کر دی جائیں تو بہتر ہوگا۔ شکر یہ۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you.

Mr. Waqar Nayyar: Point of order Madam Speaker.

وزیر صاحب اس سے پہلے کہ جواب دیں ایک سوال اور پوچھنا چاہوں گا کہ HEC کا اور Higher Education Commission کی policy کا کوئی ذکر نہیں کیا گیا کیونکہ پالیسی میری نظر سے نہیں گزری تو کیا یہ اس کا جواب دیں گے؟

محترمہ ڈپٹی سپیکر: ضمیر صاحب let all the speakers speak وہ سارے سوالات جب pile up ہو جائیں گے تو پھر آپ end میں سب کے جواب دے دیں۔

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: میڈم! آپ مجھے ایک بار بولنے کا موقع دیں پھر یہ کہیں گے کہ صحیح مطمئن نہیں کیا۔
محترمہ ڈپٹی سپیکر: نہیں نہیں ضمیر صاحب your speech would be final and no cross questioning after that.

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: میں یہ چاہ رہا ہوں کہ ان کو میں clear کر دوں کیونکہ they lack information about education ان کو پتا ہی نہیں ہے کہ -----

محترمہ ڈپٹی سپیکر: ضمیر صاحب آپ تشریف رکھیں۔ Your speech would be final.

After your speech, we will put it for the voting. Let us get all the questions first. Honorable Allah Ditta Tahir.

Mr. Allah Ditta Tahir: Thank you madam Speaker. I will be elaborating chapter 11 and chapter 12 of the policy very briefly in 2 minutes. We suggest that the Government of Pakistan.....

Madam Deputy Speaker: Allah Ditta Tahir sahib we are just looking for questions actually. Thank You very much. Honorable Sor Fabha Alvi. You do not have any question. Honorable Sufian Ahmed. If you have any question regarding the policy.

Mr. Sufian Ahmed: I do not have the question but I would like to add on something. I respect the Opposition comments on this and they are obviously valuable.

بات یہ ہے کہ ہمارے وزیر تعلیم نے مہینوں پہلے ایک email کی تھی کہ everyone give their recommendations. اس وقت کتنے اپوزیشن کے لوگوں نے email کا جواب دیا تھا۔ اپنے inputs دیئے تھے وہ ایک سوچنے کی بات ہے۔ دوسری جو اہم چیز ہے کہ ہم نے جو پالیسی بنا لی ہے in place of infighting and all that. Why do not we consider

ہم اس کو کیسے useful بنائیں۔ ہم سیکرٹری تعلیم کے پاس جائیں۔ ہم وزیر صاحب کے پاس جائیں اور ہم کیسے کریں کہ اس میں سے جو اچھی چیزیں ہیں وہ implement ہو سکیں۔

Mr. Umair Zafar Malik: Point of personal clarification.

میں آپ کو clarification پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ بحیثیت چیئر پرسن قائمہ کمیٹی برائے تعلیم، مجھے ضمیر صاحب کی ایک بھی ایسی email موصول نہیں ہوئی جس میں انہوں نے suggestions مانگی ہوں اور یہ بات میں record کے through prove بھی کر سکتا ہوں۔

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: میڈم جو record net پر ہوتا ہے وہ آپ out box and in سے delete بھی کر سکتے ہیں بات یہ ہے کہ غلط بیانی سے کام لیا جا رہا ہے۔ سپیکر صاحبہ! میں نے جب email کی اس کے بعد چیئر مین صاحب کا مجھے message آیا کہ حکومت نے یہ فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ وہ خود پالیسی بنائیں گے۔ ان کو کہاں سے علم آگیا تھا کہ حکومت نے یہ فیصلہ کیا ہے۔ اس کے بعد میں نے message کیا۔

محترمہ ڈپٹی سپیکر: ضمیر صاحب تشریف رکھیں۔

جناب محمد اعصام رحمانی: میڈم سپیکر! ان کو کہیں کہ اپنے جذبات ذرا قابو میں رکھیں۔

This sort of behavior should not be presented. Nobody has presented this behavior from our side.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Before I put it to the Green Party please do not repeat what honorable Ahmed Javed has said. Do not repeat those same points if you have any new question you can ask him. Honorable Gul Bano.

محترمہ گل بانو: شکریہ محترمہ سپیکر۔ جہاں تک اس پالیسی یا جو suggestions انہوں نے نیشنل ایجوکیشن پالیسی کے لیے دی ہیں تو کافی حد تک تو یہ صحیح ہے لیکن کچھ ایسے points ہیں جو بالکل سمجھ سے باہر ہیں۔ جیسے انہوں نے کہا ہے کہ psychologists and sociologists اس کمیشن کا حصہ ہونا چاہیے۔ میں یہ پوچھنا چاہوں گی کہ ان کے شاید علم میں نہیں ہے کہ جب بی ایڈ اور ایم ایڈ کیا جاتا ہے تو اس میں psychology and sociology کے subjects already موجود ہوتے ہیں۔ اس کے ساتھ میں ان سے ایک سوال یہ بھی پوچھنا چاہوں گی کہ ان کی جو suggestions ہیں اس میں انہوں نے لکھا ہے کہ uniform syllabus تو کیا یہ explain کرنا چاہیں گے کہ uniform syllabus کس way میں کہنا چاہتے ہیں۔ کیا مدارس کے اندر سارے کے سارے مضامین اردو، انگریزی، سائنس اور سندھی سارے subjects پڑھائے جائیں یا مدارس کے subjects سرکاری سکولوں میں پڑھائے جائیں۔ ساتھ میں ان کا ایک جگہ point ہے کہ domicile based admission نہیں ہونے چاہیے۔ ایک طرف تو آپ provincial autonomy کے اوپر بہت زیادہ بحث کرتے ہیں۔ دوسری طرف آپ کہتے ہیں کہ ڈومیسائل کو اہمیت ہی نہیں دینی چاہیے۔ اگر ڈومیسائل کو اہمیت نہیں دی جائے گی تو آپ مجھے یہ بتائیے کہ بلوچستان کی یونیورسٹی میں کراچی کے طالب علم چلے جائیں گے۔ بلوچستان اور NWFP کے علاقے کے لوگ سب کراچی لاہور اور اسلام آباد میں آ جائیں گے تو ان علاقوں کی development کس طریقے سے ہوگی۔ آپ جب agriculture subsidies کی بات کر رہے ہیں تو میں آپ کے علم میں بات لانا چاہوں گی کہ یہ education policy ہے۔ یہاں پر agricultural development کی بات یہاں پر نہیں ہو رہی۔ آپ 70% لوگوں کی بات تو کر لیتے ہیں جو کہ agriculture field سے relate کرتے ہیں لیکن جو باقی 30% لوگ رہ جاتے ہیں ان کے لیے آپ کس قسم کی subsidies دیں گے۔

Madam Deputy Chairman: Miss Gul Bano, if you could kindly wind up your speech.

مس گل بانو: جی، just few points ساتھ میں ان کے کچھ points ایسے ہیں کہ special charges and punishments should be made if any parents do not send children to school تو کوئی law یہ بتانا پسند کریں گے یا آپ بتائیں گے کہ constitution میں یہ بات کہاں لکھی ہوئی ہے۔ اس کے ساتھ یہ کہ پرائمری سطح پر صرف خواتین اساتذہ allow ہونی چاہیے۔ آج کا دور جو کہ ہم دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ economic de-stability پاکستان میں اتنی زیادہ ہوئی ہے۔ باقی جو مرد ہیں ان کے لیے آپ کس قسم کی employment announce کریں گے۔ وہ چیز آپ نے explain نہیں کی ہے۔ ایک جگہ آپ کہتے ہیں کہ five girls school ہونے چاہئیں five boys schools union council ہونے چاہئیں۔ It means that separate schools ہونے چاہئیں۔ باب نمبر ۶ میں آپ کہتے ہیں کہ madarassas and schools combine ہونے چاہیے۔ یہ سمجھ سے باہر ہیں کہ ایک طرف تو آپ لڑکوں اور لڑکیوں کے سکول الگ کر رہے ہیں پھر آپ کہہ رہے ہیں کہ مدرسوں کے اندر combine education ہونی چاہیے۔ یہ کس قسم کی پالیسی ہے۔ آخر میں cash award کی بات کر رہے ہیں physiology اگر آپ نے پڑھی ہو کیونکہ ---

Madam Deputy Speaker: Madam Please strictly follow the time. We have strict instructions from the secretariat as well and obviously we have another item.

مس گل بانو : لیکن میڈم یہ education policy ہے اور یہ پوری Youth Parliament کی behalf سے جائے گی تو میرے خیال میں۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Actually I believe you people have ample of time to discuss it in the standing committee meetings. All of your suggestions and your arguments, you have ample of time to discuss it there and during the session we have very limited time and we have multiple items on the agenda to discuss. Please if you could kindly wrap it up.

مس گل بانو: آخر میں، میں کچھ یہ کہنا چاہوں گی کہ license to the teachers to teach at the school and college level, international level کے اوپر بھی اس کی کچھ acceptance ہے جو آپ لائسنس کا لفظ استعمال کر رہے ہیں۔ Curriculum کی جہاں بات آتی ہے تو آپ نے curriculum نہیں بتایا ہے کہ آپ primary, secondary and higher secondary level کے اوپر کس قسم کا curriculum design کریں گے۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Honorable Farrukh Jadoon. You have to strictly follow the time length. You have three minutes to speak and please do not repeat what has already been said.

جناب فرخ جدون: انشاء اللہ میڈم میں بڑا appreciate کرتا ہوں میرے جو Blue Party کے ممبران ہیں اور خاص طور پر ضمیر صاحب نے بہت اچھی رپورٹ بنائی ہے۔ میں ایک دو points کی طرف ان کی توجہ دلانا چاہوں گا۔ مجھے اس پوری report میں equity in education کہیں بھی نظر نہیں آئی۔ شاید ہو میری عقل ناقص ہے۔ اس میں gender dimension نہیں ہے اس کا کوئی خاص ذکر نہیں ہے کہ in gender dimension, male and female کے لیے آپ کیا کریں گے۔ Rural, urban divide کی وجہ سے جو ایک social gap society کے اندر وجود میں آ رہا ہے اسے آپ کیسے cater کریں گے۔ Provincial area disparities جو کوہستان کے علاقہ ہے اس کو آپ پنجاب میں

وہاڑی کے ساتھ کیسے compare کریں گے؟ کیسے uniform system لے کر آئیں گے؟ اس کے بعد uniformity کی بات کی گئی۔ Uniform system دیکھیں جو draft education policy 2008 ہے وہ 61 pages پر وہ مشتمل ہے حکومت نے نو سال لگا کر یہ بنائی ہے۔ آپ کے جو top کے دماغ ہیں وہ بھی formula دینے سے قاصر ہیں۔

میٹم ڈپٹی سپیکر: جدون صاحب وہ already uniform education system پر بات کر چکے ہیں۔ He has to answer that question. If you could kindly move on۔

جناب فرخ جدون : اس کے بعد Quality of Provision پر کوئی خاص بات مجھے نظر نہیں آئی۔ Resource commitment میں کچھ نظر نہیں آیا۔ میں تمام باتوں کو describe نہیں کر سکتا کہ یہ کیا چیزیں ہیں۔ اس کے بعد دو بڑے مسائل پاکستان کے ساتھ ہیں۔ ایک ہے commitment gap ایک ہے implementation gap اس میں مجھے ان کی کوئی بات نظر نہیں آئی کہ یہ commitment کو کیسے fulfill کریں گے۔ Implementation کے آگے چہ points ہیں۔ وقت نہیں ہے میرے پاس کہ میں آپ کے سامنے تمام کو بیان کروں۔

اس کے بعد early childhood education ہے، جہاں سے social education start ہوتی ہے، اس کے بارے میں صرف briefly بتایا گیا ہے کوئی detail میں بات نہیں کی گئی۔ جیسے میرے کسی بھائی نے بات کی کہ higher education کے بارے میں کوئی بات نہیں بتائی گئی higher education کے بارے میں آپ کیا کریں گے۔ جو tertiary growth بہت بڑھ گئی ہے جو Ph.Ds. واپس آ رہے ہیں ان کے لیے آپ کیا approach لے کر آئیں گے۔ میں آخری بات پر sum up کروں گا کہ ہماری جو Green Party ہے وہ ہمارا جو next session ہوگا اس میں اپنی research report پیش کرے گی، early childhood education اور جو آپ کی basic primary education پر۔ انشا اللہ ہم اس کو phases میں لے کر چلیں گے۔ یہ دو دن میں کرنے کی چیز نہیں ہے، یہ ماما جی کی ہٹی نہیں ہے کہ آپ رات کو بیٹھیں اور اپنی education policy بنا لیں۔

میٹم ڈپٹی سپیکر: جدون صاحب تشریف رکھیں جی ضمیر ملک صاحب۔

Chaudhry Usman Ahmed: On a point of order.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Usman sahib, we can not take any point of order. We are just out of time.

Chaudhry Usman Ahmed: I am among of very few persons if not though only one who is a father and who was a boy and جس کے future کے بارے میں ہم یہاں پر بیٹھ کر بات کرتے ہیں۔ ایک بہت چھوٹی سی بات اگر یہ بھی ہو جائے۔ I will just take one minute. اگر ضمیر صاحب مجھے اجازت دیں۔ میں ایک contradiction کے بارے میں پوچھنا چاہوں گا کہ initially انہوں نے Islamic ideology کی بات کی اور بعد میں انہوں نے یہ کہا کہ مدرسوں میں sciences کو پڑھایا جائے یہ نہیں کہا کہ مدرسوں کے فقہ یا شریعہ بھی ایسے سکولوں میں لائی جائیں جہاں پر سائنس پڑھائی جا رہی ہیں۔

دوسرا انہوں نے ایک propaganda کا لفظ استعمال کیا جو کہ ایک critic کے منہ سے تو اچھا لگتا ہے ایک policy maker کے منہ سے اچھا نہیں لگتا۔ ہم نے propaganda نہیں کرنا ہم نے یہاں پر تعلیم کرنی ہے۔ ہم free of cost کی یہاں پر بات کریں۔ جہاں پر ہم پیسے دے رہے ہیں وہاں پر بھی ghost schools ہیں بچے نہیں جا سکتے پہلے اس سسٹم کے بارے میں بتائیں کہ اس کو کیسے یہ counter کریں گے۔ Then on there should be one physical punishment salary deduction کی بات کرتے ہیں

warning and then expulsion of the teacher. Salary deduction which can mitigate the situation. Thank you very much. نہیں ہے

Madam Deputy Speaker: Zamir sahib, the floor is with you now.

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: محترمہ سپیکر! میں ان کی باتوں کا جواب دینا چاہوں گا کہ انہوں نے کہا کہ اس پر لکھا ہوا ہے کہ education policy اہم نہیں۔ اس کی وجہ یہ تھی کہ یہ 20 chapters میں سب باتیں نہیں آئیں۔ جیسے فرخ جدون بھائی نے commitment gap کی بات کی تو commitment gap کا لفظ ان کو پتا ہی نہیں ہوگا انہوں نے کہاں سے لیا میں وہ بھی بتا دیتا ہوں۔ جو educational policy انہوں نے net سے download کیا اس کا ایک chapter تھا جس میں یہ تھا۔ مجھے کہنے دیں اگر ان کو میرے کسی لفظ سے ----

میڈم ڈپٹی سپیکر: ضمیر صاحب! personal criticism نہ کیجیے please۔ جو پالیسی سے regarding باتیں ہیں ان پر بات کریں۔ Personal criticism سے صرف Parliament کا time waste ہوگا۔ کس نے کہاں سے information لی ہے that is not that important.

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: چلیں sorry اچھا اس کے بعد انہوں نے کہا کہ chapter 7 میں Opposition کو انہوں نے کہا اور ہمیں یہاں نہیں دیا تو پھر میں اس بات پر نہیں جانا چاہتا۔ ہم تو چاہتے ہیں کہ Opposition ہمارے ساتھ آئے۔ جمہوری روایات میں اپوزیشن کو ساتھ لے کر چلا جاتا ہے لیکن اس وقت جب Opposition constructive بات کرے۔ مجھے یہاں پر ایسی کوئی constructive بات نظر نہیں آئی۔ یہ ہم نے یہاں پر آپ کے لیے نہیں کہا۔ جو ہماری پارلیمنٹ میں لوگ بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں ان کے لیے ہے کہ keep on check ہونا چاہیے جو funds raise ہوتے ہیں کیونکہ آپ کو پتا نہیں ہوگا کہ UC ناظم کا کیا کام ہے۔ وہ بیٹھا ہوا ہوتا ہے اور اس کے علاقے میں fees hike ہو رہی ہوتی ہے۔ جس کی مرضی ہے پانچ سو لیتا ہے، کسی کی مرضی ہے ہزار لیتا ہے تو UC ناظم کا کام ہے اس کو control کرے اور جو fund release ہوتا ہے اس کے اوپر keep on check اسی وقت رکھا جا سکتا ہے جب اپوزیشن اس میں شامل ہو۔ یہاں پر funds کی بات ہو رہی ہے۔ کسی پالیسی کی بات نہیں ہو رہی۔ پالیسی ہمیشہ حکومت ہی بناتی ہے۔

اس کے بعد National Education Commission میں انہوں نے کہا کہ M. Phils. and Ph.Ds. کی بات کی گئی اور politicians کی بات کی گئی۔ At the end جو کچھ بھی ہو گا وہ Parliament policy میں آئے گی اگر پہلے سے ان کے لوگ اس commission میں ہونگے، کہنے کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ political parties کی representation دینے کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ کل کوئی پارٹی یہ نہ کہے کہ ہمیں اس پر اعتراض ہے۔ وہاں پر ایک consensus develop کیا جائے اس وجہ سے ان کو representation دی گئی ہے۔ احمد صاحب اگر آپ last point پڑھیں یا last سے تھوڑا اوپر والا اس میں یہ بھی ہوگا کہ حکومت یہ اختیار نہیں دیا جا سکتا کہ وہ کوئی بھی بندہ اس کے لیے announce کرے کیونکہ ہم یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ جتنی بھی پالیسیاں آئی ہیں، ابھی کی پالیسی بقول لٹیک احمد خان ایک انکم ٹیکس آفیسر بنا رہا ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ اس سے پہلے جو پالیسیاں بنتی رہی ہیں وہ دماغوں نے بنائی ہیں مجھے کوئی بتا دو کہ کونسے دماغ نے بنائی ہے۔ اس کے بعد psychologist کی بات کہی گئی اور sociologist کی بات کی گئی تو پھر میں وہیں پر آؤں گا کہ education subject جب تعلیم آپ نے دینی ہے تو society کو پڑھنا پڑے گا۔ معاشرہ کیسا ہے۔ آپ فاٹا میں جا کر communism or capitalism پڑھا رہے ہوں کیونکہ sociologist آپ کو بتائے گا کہ society کہاں ہے اور society کا status کہاں ہے۔ اس وجہ سے کہا گیا ہے کہ psychologist اور sociologist سے آپ مدد لے سکتے ہیں وہ آپ کو اچھے مشورے دیں گے۔ بہر حال آپ اگر کہتے ہیں کہ نہیں مشورہ لینا چاہیے۔ مشورہ لینا کوئی بری چیز ہے تو پھر جمہوریت نہیں ہے۔

اس کے بعد computer balloting کی بات کی گئی۔ Computer balloting کی بات اس وجہ سے کی گئی کہ پھر بات اٹے گی کہ حکومت نے بندہ announce کر دیا اور ہمارا بندہ رہ گیا جب computer balloting کے ذریعے آئیں گے تو پھر کوئی یہ نہیں کہہ سکے گا کہ یا حکومت نے کسی کی side لی ہے۔ اس کے بعد جیسے گل بانو صاحبہ نے کہا کہ یہ مدرسے اور سکول میں co-education کو اکٹھا کر رہے ہیں تو اس وجہ سے میں نے کہا تھا کہ اگر اس کو صحیح پڑھا جاتا، اس نیت سے کہ اس میں کیا اچھی بات ہے اور اس بات کی logic کیا ہے۔ اس بات کی logic یہ ہے کہ مدرسے ہمیشہ separate ہوتے ہیں females and males کے۔ اس پالیسی میں کسی بھی لکھا ہوا نظر نہیں آیا کہ مدرسوں کو co-education کر دو مطلب مدرسے ایک ہو جائیں۔ یہاں پر یہ لکھا گیا ہے کہ کوئی بھی اگر مدرسہ ہے تو اس کے اندر انگریزی، مطالعہ پاکستان اور ریاضی کے مضامین پڑھائے جائیں۔ میرا خیال اگر یہ اس کو غور سے پڑھ لیں تو میرا خیال ہے کہ مجھے بتانے کی بھی ضرورت نہیں پڑے گی اگر اچھی نیت سے پڑھ لیں۔

اس کے بعد فرخ جدون بھائی نے کہا کہ equality تو ہم uniform syllabus کی جو بات ہم کرتے ہیں۔ میں سندھ سے آیا ہوا۔ اگر میں پنجاب میں آجاتا ہوں تو پنجاب میں جو مرکزی حکومت نے propose کیا ہوا ہے مجھے وہ پڑھنا پڑ رہا ہے۔ میں نے اپنی پانچ سالہ تعلیم سندھ میں حاصل کی ہے۔ اب سندھ پنجاب سے تعلیم کے معاملے میں ایک سال پیچھے ہے۔ یہ وجہ تھی اور آپ کو یاد ہوگا کہ ایک بار سندھ میں سیلاب آیا تھا اور پنجاب میں چھٹیاں دے دی گئی تھیں۔ کیوں دے دی گئی تھیں اس کی وجہ یہ تھی کہ اگر سندھ میں، ٹھٹھ میں سندھ میں سکول بند رہتے تو ظاہری بات ہے کہ پنجاب تھوڑا اور آگے نکل جاتا۔ ہم کوشش کر رہے ہیں کہ وہ ایک سال کا gap cover ہو جائے۔ equality ہم اس وجہ سے چاہتے ہیں کہ تمام صوبوں میں ایک جیسا syllabus ہو تاکہ کوئی کہیں سے بھی آئے اور ہم یہ نہیں چاہ رہے کہ ایک دن میں implement ہو جائے۔ آہستہ آہستہ ہو جائے تو equality کا مقصد ہے کہ ایک جیسا ہو اور uniform کا مقصد بھی یہی ہے کہ تمام صوبوں میں ایک جیسا syllabus ہو۔ آپ نے کہا کہ rural and urban divide ہے تو that is not the Minister for Education's concerned وہ تو جو rural and urban divide ہے وہ تو commission سے جب کوئی resolution آئے بات کریں۔ Rural and urban divide ہے، حقیقت ہے اس کو اگر ختم کرنا ہے تو یہ تھی ہو سکتا ہے کہ تعلیم شعور دے گی تو یہ ختم ہوگا۔ اس کے بعد میں نے اس میں یہ بھی لکھا ہوا ہے کہ ایک دم نہیں، gradual مطلب آرام سے جتنا ہو سکے، حکومت کے لیے ممکن ہو سکے۔ فرخ جدون بھائی نے کہا کہ پہلے جو پالیسیاں بنائی گئی ہیں وہ دماغ نے بنائی ہیں اور ابھی یہ جو حکومت کی پالیسی آرہی ہے نو سالوں سے چل رہی ہے۔ میں ان کو بتانا چاہوں گا کہ جو ہم نے net سے download کی تھی 2006 میں کوئی resolution آئی تھی اس پر بات ہوئی تھی اور اس پر work ہو رہا تھا اور 2008 میں وہ net پر آگئی۔ یہ حکومت تو آئی ہی 2008 میں ہے تو اس حکومت نے اپنا ایک انکم ٹیکس لگایا ہے بقول لئیق احمد خان کے ایک انکم ٹیکس آفیسر بنا رہا ہے۔ فرد واحد ابھی بھی بنا رہا ہے اور اس سے پہلے بھی ضیاء الحق صاحب نے بھی اپنی policy implement کروائی۔ ایوب خان نے بھی اپنی policy implement کروائی۔ آپ نے جو بات کی ہے ہم نے اس میں سے commission کی بات کی ہے تاکہ اس میں تمام افراد کو equal representation ملے گی اور تمام افراد کی consensus سے ایک اچھا نظام تعلیم بن سکے گا۔

اس کے بعد آپ نے کہا کہ early childhood پر کوئی بات نہیں کی گئی اگر آپ پڑھیں تو پورا ایک chapter ہے اور وہ تین چار صفحات پر ہے، early childhood سے بھی پہلے ہم چلے گئے ہیں کہ جو ماں کی گود ہے وہ سب سے پہلی درس گاہ ہے۔ جب تک ماں باپ aware نہیں ہونگے تو اس کس طرح ہوگا اگر آپ پڑھیں جو ہم نے motives اور interest کی بات کی گئی ہیں تو وہ انہی لوگوں کے لیے ہے۔ اس کے بعد وقار بھائی اور آپ نے کہا کہ HEC کی بات کی گئی تو میں آپ کو بتاتا چلوں کہ اس طرح اگر ہم HEC, Medical universities اور پھر ہمیں بہت کچھ کام کرنا پڑتا تھا اگر اس کے آپ مقاصد دیکھیں تو ہم نے تو تمام نظام تعلیم کی بات کی ہے ہم نے HEC یا Medical ڈالیں، کل

سیکنڈری ڈالیں، کل پرائمری ڈالیں، ہم نے تو over all بات کرنی ہے تو HEC کے لیے بھی جو آپ کی ہے وہ بھی حکومت نے ابھی کچھ دن پہلے اعلان کیا اور انشاء اللہ fund release بھی ہو جائے گا لیکن ہم تو یہ کہتے ہیں کہ HEC ہی کیوں۔ وہ لوگ جن کے پاس نظام تعلیم ہے ہی نہیں ان کی بات کیوں نہ کی جائے۔ ہر سال تین فیصد graduate نکلتے ہیں اور وہ جو باہر جا رہے ہیں ان کی بھی بات کرتا ہوں کہ اچھی بات ہے ہم support کرتے ہیں لیکن اگر اس طرح کی بات کی جاتی کہ educational policy میں ہم یہ کہیں کہ باہر جانے کے لیے تو پھر ایک بات آتی کہ باقی لوگوں کی بات کیوں نہیں کی گئی۔ ہر بندے کو باہر بھیجنا چاہیے۔ ہم تو یہ بھی کہہ رہے ہیں اس میں یہ بھی لکھا جائے کہ اساتذہ کو ڈگری کے لیے باہر بھیجا جائے۔ میرے خیال میں ان کو چاہیے کہ اس کو صحیح پڑھیں اور یقیناً کچھ چیزیں رہ گئی ہیں اور بہت وقت چاہیے education policy بنانے کے لیے اور میں نہیں چاہتا تھا کہ Youth Parliament یا پاکستان کی جو ideology ہے اس کے درمیان کوئی اختلاف ہو کیونکہ education policy ایک بہت بڑی term ہے اس کے لیے میرے خیال میں ساٹھ صفحات نہیں، چھ سو کیا چھ ہزار صفحات کی پالیسی بنے تو تب جا کر cover ہوگا کیونکہ education is each and every thing. یہ جو بول رہے ہیں کہ وہ چیز نہیں، وہ چیز نہیں ہے یقیناً وہ چیز نہیں ہے تو بہت سی چیزیں ہیں تو جو چیزیں ہیں ان پر بھی بات کر سکتے ہو۔ بہت بہت شکریہ۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Now I put the education policy.....

Mr. Mohammed Essam Rehmani: Point of order.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Yes.

Mr. Mohammed Essam Rehmani: Before you put this education policy to the House for voting.

میں بتانا چاہ رہا ہوں کہ یہ 19 pages کی جو education policy ہمیں دی گئی ہے 24 hours کو ہم لوگوں کو without page numbers, without appendix میں نہ صرف تو یہ پڑھنی پڑی بلکہ پاکستان کے کافی statistics and facts نکالنے پڑے اس کے باوجود ہم لوگ ایک ایسے conclusion پر پہنچے ہیں کہ انہوں نے پہلے بات کی diplomatic cultural کی قائد اعظم کے فرمان کی بات کی تو اس بارے میں بتانا چاہ رہا ہوں کہ یہ true essence diplomatic cultural کا نہیں جانتے If this policy had been given to us a week before hand in time, we would have been party to some agreement.

دوسری بات یہ ہے کہ یہ جس forum سے پالیسی آ رہی ہے we do not want to

own

it in any forum. We cannot own these papers. The Green Party will not own these papers. This was exclusively prepared by the members of the Blue Party and this is what it says over here and the Minister for Education. Then I suggest that the voting should take within their party and I stage a token walk out.

میرا آئینی حق ہے کہ میں اس پر token walk out کروں۔

Mr. Waqar Nayyar: I remind Mr. Essam Rehmani that it is the prerogative of the Party and we have the right to formulate the policy. The Prime Minister will agree with me that if the Party agrees and the party does agree on this policy. They have no right to walk out on this.

(At this stage the Opposition staged a token walk out.)

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: میڈم Diplomatic cultural کی تو بات ہی نہیں ہوئی،
democratic cultural کی بات ہوئی ہے میں پھر کہوں گا کہ اس کو پڑھو، پڑھو۔

میڈم ڈپٹی سپیکر: جی وزیر اعظم صاحب۔

جناب احمد علی بابر: شکریہ جناب سپیکر! اپوزیشن جو ہے یہ بات میری سمجھ سے
باہر ہے کہ کل جب Standing Committee کی meetings ہوئی تھی تو ہمارے پارٹی کے
پانچ لوگ یہاں پر موجود تھے۔ اور واحد اعتراض اعصام رحمانی نے اس meeting میں
اٹھایا تھا وہ یہی تھا کہ اس کے اوپر صفحہ نمبر نہیں لکھے ہوئے تھے۔ بہت عرصے پہلے
تک Secretariat کے پاس یہ policy آئی ہوئی تھی اور سیکرٹریٹ نے ان کے کہنے پر یہ
policy ان کو نہیں بھیجی۔ میری سمجھ سے باہر ہے کہ Secretariat اس طرح کی حرکتیں
کیوں کر رہا ہے کہ یہ policy news کے لیے تو چلی جاتی ہے لیکن یہ policy ان کو
کیوں نہیں جاتی۔ اب اگر بات کھل کر یہاں پر آئی ہے تو بات مجھے کھل کر کہنے دیں کہ تین
ہفتے پہلے یہ policy میں Secretariat کو بھجوا چکا تھا اور میرے بار بار کہنے کے
باوجود، چلیں suggestions کے ہی سہی، approval کے لیے نہ سہی انہوں نے Green
Party کو کیوں نہیں بھیجی، کس کے کہنے پر نہیں بھیجی۔ یہ بات میرے سمجھ سے باہر ہے
کہ کیوں اس طرح کی حرکتیں ہو رہی ہیں۔ ہم جب تین ہفتے بعد یہاں پر آئے ہیں تو کہتے ہیں
کہ ہمیں دو دن پہلے یہاں پر دی گئی۔ تین ہفتے پہلے on the record میں جودت کو یہ
بھجوا چکا تھا اور وہ پالیسی کسی بھی گرین پارٹی ممبر کو اور نہ ہی بلیو پارٹی ممبر کو آئی
ہے۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Honorable Youth Prime Minister, you cannot take the name of any member of the secretariat.

Mr. Ahmed Ali Babar (Youth Prime Minister): Sorry Madam Speaker.

یہاں پر پھر میں بات واضح کر چکا ہوں کہ بجائے اس کے کل رات تک ہم لوگ یہ چاہتے
تھے کہ کوئی نہ کوئی recommendations آجائے لیکن انہوں نے چاہا تھا کہ یہ بات
پارلیمنٹ میں ہی ہو اور before hand ہم کسی قسم کی changes نہ لے آئیں اور کسی قسم
کی recommendations اس کے اوپر نہ دے سکیں۔ جناب سپیکر! ہماری حکومت کی یہ
پالیسی ہے چونکہ یہاں پر یہ نہیں ہیں تو یہ unilaterally approve ہوتی ہے اور ہماری
education policy stand کرے گی۔ ہم چاہتے تھے کہ suggestions دیں لیکن چونکہ
suggestions نہیں آئیں اس لیے پالیسی approve stand کرتی ہے۔ شکریہ۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Any of the Ministers who take the initiative.

Mr. Waqar Nayyar: Madam Speaker, in the light of the behavior which is not suited to any democratic forum from the Opposition side also
..... party to pass the policy that is understood.

ضمیر صاحب کی پالیسی اور بہتر ہو سکتی تھی اگر تھوڑی سی اس کی base اور broad
ہوتی اور میں appreciate کرتا ہوں کہ آپ نے اس بات کو مانا کہ اس میں کافی room for
improvement ہے تو یہ opportunity جو ہمیں ملی ہے اس میں ہم یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ
this policy is pending further annexures اور وہ annexures اس پالیسی میں ہم

attach کر دیں گے جب اس پر consensus develop ہو جائے گا اور اس consensus میں amendment we can bring other people on board also. تو اس میں اگر آپ ابھی Some changes and recommendations اور annexure کا HEC پر اس کے کردیں کہ اس پر HEC کا annexure attach ہو جائے گا تو I think شاید Opposition بھی اس سے تھوڑی سی They can attach annexures to it which the policy does کہ on board refer to. So, I think this is a further room for improvement. سے suggestion ہے۔ آگے وزیر صاحب کی discretion ہے کہ وہ اس کو adopt کریں یا نہ کریں۔

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: محترمہ سپیکر صاحبہ! میں رات کو ان کے پاس خود گیا اور ان کے لوگ میرے پاس آتے رہے کہ education policy دے دو اور میں نے خود فوٹو کاپی کروا کر کچھ لوگوں کو بھی دی ہے۔ پاکستان میں بندے کو کبھی سچ بولنے کا موقع ملتا ہے تو بول لینا چاہیے۔ بات یہ ہے کہ ہم emails کرتے رہے۔ Student Unions میں بھی یہی ہوا کہ ہماری پارٹی سے دو تین بندوں نے emails کا جواب دیا اور وہ لگے رہے اور سارا draft بن گیا تو at the end ہمیں black mail کیا جا رہا ہے۔

میڈم ڈپٹی سپیکر: پرانی باتوں کے بارے میں ضمیر صاحب نہ بات کریں۔

جناب ضمیر احمد ملک: چلیں میں نئی بات کر لیتا ہوں۔
جناب احمد علی بابر: میڈم سپیکر! اس سے پہلے کہ Opposition آجائے میں ان تین لوگوں کا شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں کہ انہوں نے democratic traditions کو uphold کیا۔

(اس مرحلے پر اپوزیشن واپس ہاؤس میں آئی)

جناب احمد علی بابر: محترمہ سپیکر! کیا ہی اچھا ہوتا اگر Opposition ہمیں یہ کہتی کہ ہمیں یہ چیزیں اس میں add کرنی ہیں اور یہ چیزیں نکالنی ہیں۔ آپ بتاؤ لیکن کیا صرف تنقید کرنے کے کہ اس میں یہ غلطی ہے اور یہ غلطی ہے انہوں نے کوئی بات نہیں کی۔ کوئی suggestion ان کی طرف سے آئی کہ یہ چیز add کرنی ہے۔ ہم کتنے عرصے سے ان سے درخواست کر رہے ہیں کہ آپ اس پالیسی میں کوئی suggestion وغیرہ رکھیں۔

جناب اعصام رحمانی: یہ time period define کریں کہ یہ کتنے عرصے سے suggestion کے لیے بول رہے ہیں۔

میڈم ڈپٹی سپیکر: تشریف رکھیں۔ Let him complete his speech.

جناب احمد علی بابر: محترمہ سپیکر! میں جو بات پہلے دہرا چکا ہوں کہ ان تک کیوں کاپی نہیں پہنچی۔ میں اس کی تفصیل میں نہیں جانا چاہتا۔ محترمہ سپیکر! ابھی ہم لوگوں نے Federal Education Minister کے پاس یہ پالیسی لے کر جانی ہے تو میں چاہوں گا کیونکہ ان کے پاس بہت اچھے educationists ہیں تو وہ اس کے اوپر کام کریں اور ہمیں ایک یا دو دن کے اندر ابھی بھی suggestions دے دیں تاکہ ہم اس میں add کر کے اور باقی چیزیں جن پر اگر اعتراض ہے تو ان پر debate کر کے اس کو نکال دیں۔ ہمارا آپس میں contact رہے گا اور ہم بالکل suggestions کو welcome کریں گے لیکن suggestions آئی تو چاہئیں سوائے اس کے کہ debate کی جائے کہ اس میں کیا غلط ہے کیا ٹھیک ہے کچھ مثبت قسم کی suggestions paper پر ہمیں پہنچے تو سہی۔ محترمہ سپیکر! آپ کا بہت شکریہ آپ نے ہمارے Education Minister کو موقع دیا اور ہم اس پالیسی کو یہاں پر stand کرتے ہیں۔ شکریہ۔

Mr. Waqar Nayyar: In the meanwhile Madam Speaker with your permission I would just like a brief follow up from the Minister for Information about the suggestions that were made yesterday by Bilal sahib on the newsletter and on the other things that were assigned to him. So do we have a time line on that and when will we see any progress on that front and if the Minister needs any support, he can out line but we would definitely like some follow up and we would definitely like some concrete results at the end of this. We do not want this to get buried in the proceedings later on.

جناب یاور حیات شاہ: میڈم سپیکر جیسا کہ کل بلال صاحب نے جو بھی task ہمارے ذمہ لگایا تھا اس کے بارے میں ابھی ہم Secretariat سے session کے بعد coordinate کر لیں گے۔ پھر time line پر ممبر کو email کر دی جائے گی جس میں further outline ہوگی۔

میڈم ڈپٹی سپیکر: شکریہ۔

جناب وقار نیر: میڈم سپیکر! اگر ابھی وہ list float کر دی جائے جس میں ہر کوئی اپنا institution بتا دے جہاں وہ جا کر out reach کریں گے about the Youth Parliament

Madam Deputy Speaker: Actually all of you can write it down and forward it to the Information Minister so that it is easy for him to present it to this Secretariat.

Yawar Hayat Shah sahib, it is your responsibility that you assign someone who can make a list, go to each one of them.

جناب یاور حیات شاہ: میں نے Secretariat سے بات کی ہے انہوں نے کہا ہے کہ آپ اپنی party whip سے کہیں دیں کہ وہ list تیار کریں تو ہم تیار کر رہے ہیں۔

جناب محمد معین اختر: میڈم ہم already یہ list بنا چکے ہیں۔ تمام پارٹی ممبران نے اپنی اپنی ذمہ داری لے لی ہے۔

میڈم ڈپٹی سپیکر: چلیں آپ سیکرٹریٹ کو forward کر دیجیئے گا۔

Mr. Zahid Ullah Wazir: Madam, may I say something?

Madam Deputy Speaker: Yes, Zahid Ullah.

Mr. Zhaid Ullah Wazir: Thank you Madam Deputy Speaker. We are here to learn democracy. It is democracy in practice but the parties are becoming increasingly fascistic and communist in nature. The decisions are taken by Pilot Bureau a few selected persons and we are not taken on board. Secondly, we prepare a solution, we give time and we put resources in that.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Please order in the House and listen to him carefully.

Mr. Zahid Ullah Wazir: Yes, listen to me. Then we give time and we put our resources and then we send our names but the names are changed. When we send a list of those who will put questions.....

Mr. Waqar Nayyar: Point of order madam, with reference to Zameer sahib. I have seen him speaking quite a lot on this forum. So, I think speakers list - میں کم از کم اعتراض نہیں ہونا چاہیے -

Mr. Zahid Ullah Wazir: No, no, some people are given two chances and today I sent my name then one was given to ask two questions and I was not given a chance to even put a single question.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Zahid Ullah sahib we are out of time. You can put or forward your suggestions to the Secretariat after the session is over. Let us move to the Resolution.

The last item on the agenda today is a Resolution by Mr. Umair Zafar Malik.

Mr. Umair Zafar Malik: Thank You madam Speaker. Madam the two resolutions are in fact being merged into a single that goes like. This House should discuss the prospects of a paradigm shift in Pakistan's policy in the global war on terror and redefine its current relationship with the U.S. and establish a long term relationship encompassing defense, economy, and diplomatic support in Kashmir without compromising its sovereignty and national security.

I will try to be very brief considering the time constraints of the august House. I will establish three points before the House. First of all the point is that we have to discover true importance in the world or standing in the world. We have been bestowed with a fantastic geo-strategic location which makes us a very potent ally of the US. It is not just that Pakistan needs the United States of America, it is moreover two way things without the help of Pakistan, the United States of America can never achieve its grand strategic objectives in the region and in the world at large. We have to make that very well reminds of our own people to start with. Once that is established that we are important for the US in every possible way, the war in Afghanistan, the war on terror, the success of the Obama administration and all this would be decided through the help of Pakistan, it would depend on the help that Pakistan extends to the US. So, once we have decided that we are so important, why do we always end up on the wrong side of the bargain? That is the question that this Resolution is actually asking. The idea is that our leaders put their own personal interests before the interests of the state and the interests of the people. They have seen illegitimate rulers getting legitimacy for their own regimes at the cost of the national security, national sovereignty and integrity of the state of Pakistan. The Resolution is actually asking for that the next time which obviously is the

current time, any time that Pakistan enters into a contract with the United States, all personal interests need to be put aside and the only interest in the consideration of the leader should be the interest of the state of Pakistan and a few examples you have mentioned; our defence, economy, diplomatic support in Kashmir and no compromising stance on sovereignty and national security. In the past we have had interest of the people pull such contracts off. We can do that again, the only idea is that we have to put our personal interests aside and put national interests at the forefront. Thank you.

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Honorable Sameer Butt.

جناب سمیر انوریٹ : جناب سپیکر! صرف چھوٹی سی بات کرنا چاہوں کہ paradigm shift کا جو لفظ استعمال ہوا ہے میں صرف یہاں پر اس ایوان کی توجہ دلانا چاہوں گا کہ ابھی تک ہم we have been spending millions of dollars on this whole project, this whole war on terrorism کے سارے negative ہیں الٹا جو war on terrorism سے زیادہ فروغ مل رہا ہے۔ میں اس کی طرف توجہ دلانا چاہوں گا۔ اس کے علاوہ yet we continue to support this policy of war on terror اپنے لحاظ سے internal factor کے طور پر سامنے رکھ کر اس کی restructuring اور یہ جو پیسہ ہم ابھی تک جنگ پر خرچ کر رہے ہیں اس سے ہم long term economic حالات بہتر ہوں گے اور خود بخود foreign policy زیادہ بہتر ہوتی چلے جائے گا میں اپنی تقریر یہاں پر short کرنا چاہوں گا اور یہاں پر احمد نور صاحب ذرا سا اس میں add کرنا چاہیں گے I would request the Chair to please give my time to him.

میڈم ڈپٹی چیئرمین: جی احمد نور صاحب۔ Please be very brief.

جناب احمد نور: میڈم سپیکر! میں زیادہ بولنا نہیں چاہوں گا لیکن صرف کچھ facts and figures سامنے لانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب cold war end ہوئی تو اس وقت کے foreign defense secretary اور ٹیک چینی اور زلم خلیل زاد نے ایک رپورٹ تیار کی جو New York Time کو leak ہوئی اور اس کے مطابق امریکہ کا new mission تھا اور آغا شہابی کی کتاب Emerging World Order اس میں آیا ہے کہ American mission was to ensure that no rival super power emerge in any part of the world. میڈم سپیکر! امریکہ افغانستان میں آنے کے لیے کچھ اور مقاصد نہیں لایا تھا وہ طالبان کا issue نہیں تھا۔ وہاں پر ایک world war on terror نہیں ہے بلکہ میں تو کہتا ہوں کہ یہ ایک bloody game ہے جو Caspian sea کے resources پر قبضہ کرنے کے لیے وہ یہاں آئے ہوئے ہیں۔ جناب سپیکر! میں صرف یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ترکمانستان میں 6.5 million tons of oil ہے اور 5.5 trillion cubic meter gas کے resources ہیں اور یہ جو Caspian area میں total available exploration کے لیے جتنا بھی تیل ہے وہ ایک سو سے دو سو بلین ٹن تیل ہے۔ اس کی جو موجودہ قیمت ہے اس کے مطابق دو سے چار ٹریلن ڈالر اس کی قیمت بنتی ہے۔ امریکہ کا یہاں پر آنے کا مقصد ایران پر نظر رکھنی تھی اور چائنا کو contain کرنا تھا اور وہاں پر Caspian resources پر قبضہ کرنے کے لیے یہ آئے۔ وہ ہمارے interest میں نہیں ہے اور نہ war on terror ہمارے مفاد میں ہے۔ میں ایک phrase repeat کرنا چاہتا ہوں جو اس وقت ہمارے media میں circulate کر رہا کہ 9/11

ایک بہانہ تھا، افغانستان ایک ٹھکانہ ہے، پاکستان نشانہ ہے۔ اس لیے ہمیں چاہیے کہ ہم اپنی پالیسی پر نظر ثانی کریں۔

جناب سپیکر! امریکہ یہاں پر آنے کے لیے گواڈر پر ان کی نظریں ہیں اور وہاں سے Caspian sea کے جو resources ہیں وہ three routes ہیں اور three routes کو نکالنے کے لیے جو shortest route جو بلوچستان کے راستے گواڈر کے راستے Mediterranean کے ذریعے America continent تک جاتا ہے۔ امریکہ کی نظریں اس پر ہیں۔ ہمیں اپنی پالیسی کو revise کرنا چاہیے۔ ہمیں اپنے interest کی بات کرنی چاہیے نہ کہ امریکہ کے interest کو promote کرنے کی کوشش کرنی چاہیے۔ شکریہ جناب سپیکر۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Thank you. We are out of time I would request the honorable Youth Prime Minister to develop the consensus of the House if we want to refer it to the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs or they want to poll for it?

جناب احمد علی بابر: شکریہ محترمہ سپیکر! کل بھی اس کے اوپر debate ہوئی تھی اور آج ہم نے اس پر debate اسی وجہ سے رکھی تھی کہ Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence کو refer ہو۔ Motion میں جو wordings ہوتی ہیں وہ clear نہیں ہوتی کہ آپ نے paradigm shift لے کر آئی ہے تو کس direction میں لے کر آئی ہے۔ میں آپ سے request کروں گا کہ یہ Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence کو refer ہو تاکہ وہ ایک assessment report with actual practical solution کے ساتھ اس پر لے کر آئیں کہ کس direction میں ہم نے اس کو shift کرنا ہے اور پھر وہ پارلیمنٹ میں پیش ہو سکے۔ شکریہ۔

Madam Deputy Speaker: Now I read out the prorogation order. In exercise of the powers conferred upon me I here by prorogue the third session of Youth Parliament Pakistan after the conclusion of its sitting held on Sunday, February 22nd, 2009.

Signed by
(Kashmala Khan Durrani)
Deputy Speaker,
Youth Parliament Pakistan