



THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN DEBATES

Official Report

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(7th to 12th March, 1949)

**FIFTH SESSION
of the
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN**

1949

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(Official Report of the Fifth Session of the Constituent
Assembly of Pakistan Debates)

Volume V—1949

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

Monday, the 7th March, 1949

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met in the Assembly Chamber, Karachi, at Four of the Clock, in the Evening, being the First Day of the Fifth Session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Mr. President (The Honourable Mr. Tamizuddin Khan) in the Chair.

The proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan commenced with a recitation from the Holy Quran by Maulana Abdullah-el Baqui.

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS AND SIGNING OF THE REGISTER

Mr. President : Members who have not already presented their credentials and signed the Roll of Members may do so now.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (West Punjab : Muslim) then presented his credentials and signed the Register of Members.

OATH OR AFFIRMATION BY MEMBERS

The following Members then took the prescribed oath or made the prescribed affirmation of allegiance to the Federation of Pakistan : —

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (West Punjab : Muslim).

Sheikh Karamat Ali (West Punjab : Muslim).

MOTION *RE* : AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (East Bengal : Muslim) : Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move the following Objectives Resolution embodying the main principles on which the constitution of Pakistan is to be based :

“ In the name of Allah, the Benificent, the Merciful ;

WHEREAS sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limit prescribed by Him is a sacred trust ;

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan ;

WHEREIN the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people ;

WHEREIN the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed ;

WHEREIN the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the *Sunna** ;

WHEREIN adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures ;

* Traditions of the Holy Prophet.

[The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.]

WHEREBY the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

WHEREIN shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality.

WHEREIN adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

WHEREIN the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured;

WHEREIN the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity."

Sir, I consider this to be a most important occasion in the life of this country, next in importance only to the achievement of independence, because by achieving independence we only won an opportunity of building up a country and its polity in accordance with our ideals. I would like to remind the House that the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam, gave expression to his feelings on this matter on many an occasion, and his views were endorsed by the nation in unmistakable terms. Pakistan was founded because the Muslims of this sub-Continent wanted to build up their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam, because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity today. It is universally recognised that the source of these evils is that humanity has not been able to keep pace with its material development, that the Frankenstein Monster which human genius has produced in the form of scientific inventions, now threatens to destroy not only the fabric of human society but its material environment as well, the very habitat in which it dwells. It is universally recognised that if man had not chosen to ignore the spiritual values of life and if his faith in God had not been weakened, this scientific development would not have endangered his very existence. It is God-consciousness alone which can save humanity, which means that all power that humanity possesses must be used in accordance with ethical standards which have been laid down by inspired teachers known to us as the great Prophets of different religions. We, as Pakistanis, are not ashamed of the fact that we are overwhelmingly Muslims and we believe that it is by adhering to our faith and ideals that we can make a genuine contribution to the welfare of the world. Therefore, Sir, you would notice that the Preamble of the Resolution deals with a frank and unequivocal recognition of the fact that all authority must be subservient to God. It is quite true that this is in direct contradiction to the Machiavellian ideas regarding a polity where spiritual and ethical values should play no part in the governance of the people and, therefore, it is also perhaps a little out of fashion to remind ourselves of the fact that the State should be an instrument of beneficence and not of evil. But we, the people of Pakistan, have the courage to believe firmly that all authority should be exercised in accordance with the standards laid down by Islam so that it may not be misused. All authority is a sacred trust, entrusted to us by God for the purpose of being exercised in the service of man, so that it does not become an agency for tyranny or selfishness. I would, however, point out that this is not a resuscitation of the dead theory of Divine Right of Kings or rulers, because, in accordance with

the spirit of Islam, the Preamble fully recognises the truth that authority has been delegated to the people, and to none else, and that it is for the people to decide who will exercise that authority.

For this reason it has been made clear in the Resolution that the State shall exercise all its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people. This is the very essence of democracy, because the people have been recognised as the recipients of all authority and it is in them that the power to wield it has been vested.

Sir, I just now said that the people are the real recipients of power. This naturally eliminates any danger of the establishment of a theocracy. It is true that in its literal sense, theocracy means the Government of God; in this sense, however, it is patent that the entire universe is a theocracy, for is there any corner in the entire creation where His authority does not exist? But in the technical sense, theocracy has come to mean a Government by ordained priests, who wield authority as being specially appointed by those who claim to derive their rights from their sacerdotal position. I cannot over-emphasise the fact that such an idea is absolutely foreign to Islam. Islam does not recognise either priesthood or any sacerdotal authority; and, therefore, the question of a theocracy simply does not arise in Islam. If there are any who still use the word theocracy in the same breath as the polity of Pakistan, they are either labouring under a grave misapprehension, or indulging in mischievous propaganda.

You would notice, Sir, that the Objectives Resolution lays emphasis on the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, and further defines them by saying that these principles should be observed in the constitution as they have been enunciated by Islam. It has been necessary to qualify these terms because they are generally used in a loose sense. For instance, the Western Powers and Soviet Russia alike claim that their systems are based upon democracy, and, yet, it is common knowledge that their polities are inherently different. It has, therefore, been found necessary to define these terms further in order to give them a well-understood meaning. When we use the word democracy in the Islamic sense, it pervades all aspects of our life; it relates to our system of Government and to our society with equal validity, because one of the greatest contributions of Islam has been the idea of the equality of all men. Islam recognises no distinctions based upon race, colour or birth. Even in the days of its decadence, Islamic society has been remarkably free from the prejudices which vitiated human relations in many other parts of the world. Similarly, we have a great record in tolerance, for under no system of Government, even in the Middle Ages, have the minorities received the same consideration and freedom as they did in Muslim countries. When Christian dissentients and Muslims were being tortured and driven out of their homes, when they were being hunted as animals and burnt as criminals—even criminals have never been burnt in Islamic society—Islam provided a haven for all who were persecuted and who fled from tyranny. It is a well-known fact of history that, when anti-Semitism turned the Jews out of many a European country, it was the Ottoman Empire which gave them shelter. The greatest proof of the tolerance of Muslim peoples lies in the fact that there is no Muslim country where strong minorities do not exist, and where they have not been able to preserve their religion and culture. Most of all, in this sub-Continent of India, where the Muslims wielded unlimited authority, the rights of non-Muslims

[The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.]

were cherished and protected. I may point out, Sir, that it was under Muslim patronage that many an indigenous language developed in India. My friends from Bengal would remember that it was under the encouragement of Muslim rulers that the first translations of the Hindu scriptures were made from Sanskrit into Bengali. It is this tolerance which is envisaged by Islam, wherein a minority does not live on sufferance, but is respected and given every opportunity to develop its own thought and culture, so that it may contribute to the greater glory of the entire nation. In the matter of social justice as well, Sir, I would point out that Islam has a distinct contribution to make. Islam envisages a society in which social justice means neither charity nor regimentation. Islamic social justice is based upon fundamental laws and concepts which guarantee to man a life free from want and rich in freedom. It is for this reason that the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice have been further defined by giving to them a meaning which, in our view, is deeper and wider than the usual connotation of these words.

The next clause of the Resolution lays down that Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the *Sunna*. It is quite obvious that no non-Muslim should have any objection if the Muslims are enabled to order their lives in accordance with the dictates of their religion. You would also notice, Sir, that the State is not to play the part of a neutral observer, wherein the Muslims may be merely free to profess and practise their religion, because such an attitude on the part of the State would be the very negation of the ideals which prompted the demand of Pakistan, and it is these ideals which should be the corner-stone of the State which we want to build. The State will create such conditions as are conducive to the building up of a truly Islamic society, which means that the State will have to play a positive part in this effort. You would remember, Sir, that the Quaid-i-Azam and other leaders of the Muslim League always made unequivocal declarations that the Muslim demand for Pakistan was based upon the fact that the Muslims had a way of life and a code of conduct. They also reiterated the fact that Islam is not merely a relationship between the individual and his God, which should not, in any way, affect the working of the State. Indeed, Islam lays down specific directions for social behaviour, and seeks to guide society in its attitude towards the problems which confront it from day to day. Islam is not just a matter of private beliefs and conduct. It expects its followers to build up a society for the purpose of good life—as the Greeks would have called it, with this difference, that Islamic “good life” is essentially based upon spiritual values. For the purpose of emphasizing these values and to give them validity, it will be necessary for the State to direct and guide the activities of the Muslims in such a manner as to bring about a new social order based upon the essential principles of Islam, including the principles of democracy, freedom, tolerance and social justice. These I mention merely by way of illustration; because they do not exhaust the teachings of Islam as embodied in the Quran and the *Sunna*. There can be no Muslim who does not believe that the word of God and the life of the Prophet are the basic sources of his inspiration. In these there is no difference of opinion amongst the Muslims and there is no sect in Islam which does not believe in their validity. Therefore, there should be no misconception in the mind of any sect which may be in a minority in Pakistan about the intentions of the State. The State will seek to create an Islamic society free from dissensions, but this does not mean that it would curb the freedom of any section of the Muslims

in the matter of their beliefs. No sect, whether the majority or a minority, will be permitted to dictate to the others and, in their own internal matters and sectional beliefs, all sects shall be given the fullest possible latitude and freedom. Actually we hope that the various sects will act in accordance with the desire of the Prophet who said that the differences of opinion amongst his followers are a blessing. It is for us to make our differences a source of strength to Islam and Pakistan, not to exploit them for narrow interests which will weaken both Pakistan and Islam. Differences of opinion very often lead to cogent thinking and progress, but this happens only when they are not permitted to obscure our vision of the real goal, which is the service of Islam and the furtherance of its objects. It is, therefore, clear that this clause seeks to give the Muslims the opportunity that they have been seeking, throughout these long decades of decadence and subjection, of finding freedom to set up a polity, which may prove to be a laboratory for the purpose of demonstrating to the world that Islam is not only a progressive force in the world, but it also provides remedies for many of the ills from which humanity has been suffering.

In our desire to build up an Islamic society we have not ignored the rights of the non-Muslims. Indeed, it would have been un-Islamic to do so, and we would have been guilty of transgressing the dictates of our religion if we had tried to impinge upon the freedom of the minorities. In no way will they be hindered from professing or protecting their religion or developing their cultures. The history of the development of Islamic culture itself shows that cultures of the minorities, who lived under the protection of Muslim States and Empires contributed to the richness of the heritage which the Muslims built up for themselves. I assure the minorities that we are fully conscious of the fact that if the minorities are able to make a contribution to the sum total of human knowledge and thought, it will redound to the credit of Pakistan and will enrich the life of the nation. Therefore, the minorities may look forward, not only to a period of the fullest freedom, but also to an understanding and appreciation on the part of the majority which has always been such a marked characteristic of Muslims throughout history.

Sir, the Resolution envisages a federal form of government because such is the dictate of geography. It would be idle to think of a unitary form of Government when the two parts of our country are separated by more than a thousand miles. I, however, hope that the Constituent Assembly will make every effort to integrate the units closer and forge such ties as would make us a well-integrated nation. I have always advocated the suppression of provincial feelings, but I want to make it clear that I am not an advocate of dull uniformity. I believe that all the areas and units, which form Pakistan, should contribute to the richness of our national life. I do, however, want to make it clear that nothing should be permitted which, in any sense, tends to weaken national unity, and provision should be made for bringing about a closer relationship amongst the various sections of our population than exists today. For this purpose the Constituent Assembly will have to think anew as to what will be the best method for the distribution of subjects between the Centre and the units, and how the units should be defined in our new set-up.

Mr. President, it has become fashionable to guarantee certain fundamental rights, but I assure you that it is not our intention to give these rights with one hand and take them away with the other. I have said enough to show that we want to build up a truly liberal Government where the greatest amount of freedom will be given to all its members. Everyone will be equal before the law, but this does not mean that his personal law will not be protected. We believe in the equality of status and justice. It is our firm

[The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.]

belief and we have said this from many a platform that Pakistan does not stand for vested interests or the wealthy classes. It is our intention to build up an economy on the basic principles of Islam which seeks a better distribution of wealth and the removal of want. Poverty and backwardness—all that stands in the way of the achievement of his fullest stature by man—must be eradicated from Pakistan. At present our masses are poor and illiterate. We must raise their standards of life, and free them from the shackles of poverty and ignorance. So far as political rights are concerned, everyone will have a voice in the determination of the policy pursued by the Government and in electing those who will run the State, so that they may do so in the interests of the people. We believe that no shackles can be put on thought and, therefore, we do not intend to hinder any person from the expression of his views. Nor do we intend to deprive anyone of his right of forming associations for all lawful and moral purposes. In short, we want to base our polity upon freedom, progress and social justice. We want to do away with social distinctions, but we want to achieve this without causing suffering or putting fetters upon the human mind and lawful inclinations.

Sir, there are a large number of interests for which the minorities legitimately desire protection. This protection the Resolution seeks to provide. The backward and depressed classes are our special charge. We are fully conscious of the fact that they do not find themselves in their present plight for any fault of their own. It is also true that we are not responsible by any means for their present position. But now that they are our citizens, it will be our special effort to bring them up to the level of other citizens, so that they may bear the responsibilities imposed by their being citizens of a free and progressive State, and share them with others who have been more fortunate than themselves. We know that so long as any sections amongst our people are backward, they will be a drag upon society and, therefore, for the purpose of building up our State we must necessarily look to the interests of these sections.

Mr. President, in the end we firmly believe that by laying the foundations of our constitution on the principles enunciated in this Resolution, we shall be able to put Pakistan on the path of progress, and the day is not far distant when Pakistan will become a country of which its citizens, without distinction of class or creed, will be proud. I am confident that our people have great potentialities. Through their unparalleled sacrifices and commendable sense of discipline, displayed at the time of a grave disaster and crisis, they have earned the admiration of the world. Such a people, I am sure, not only deserves to live, but is destined to make a contribution to the welfare and progress of humanity. It is essential that it should keep alive its spirit of sacrifice, and its adherence to its noble ideals, and Destiny itself will lead it to its place of glory in the affairs of the world, and make it immortal in the annals of humanity. Sir, this people has traditions of great achievement to its credit; its history is replete with deeds of glory; in every sphere of life it has contributed its full measure of achievement; its heroism adorns the pages of military chronicles; its administrators created traditions which have withstood the ravages of time; in creative art, its poetry, architecture and sense of beauty have won their tribute of appreciation; in the matter of spiritual greatness it has few parallels. It is this people which is again on the march, and, given the necessary opportunities, it will surpass its previous record of glorious achievement. This Objectives Resolution is the first step in the direction of the creation of an environment which will again awaken the spirit of the nation. We, whom Destiny has chosen to play

a part, howsoever humble and insignificant, in this great drama of national resurrection, are overwhelmed with the magnitude of the opportunities which are before us. Let us use these opportunities with wisdom and foresight, and I have not the least doubt that these humble efforts will bear fruit far in excess of our wildest expectations, through the help of a Providence which has brought Pakistan into existence. It is not every day that great nations come into their own; it is not every day that peoples stand on the threshold of renaissance; it is not every day that Destiny beckons the down-trodden and the subjugated to rise and greet the dawn of a great future. It is the narrow streak of light heralding the brilliance of the full day, that we salute in the form of this Resolution.

Mr. President : Motion moved that :

" In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful ;

WHEREAS sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust ;

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan ;

WHEREIN the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people ;

WHEREIN the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed ;

WHEREIN the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna ;

WHEREIN adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures ;

WHEREBY the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed ;

WHEREIN shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality ;

WHEREIN adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes ;

WHEREIN the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured ;

WHEREIN the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded ;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity."

I want to have the House into confidence as to the procedure I want to follow. There is one amendment proposing circulation of the Resolution I think that ought to be disposed of first and if that fails, then the other amendments will be moved. After that, all the amendments and the main motion will be open to discussion and last of all, they will be put to vote.

Mr. Prem Hari Barma (East Bengal : General) : Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move :

"That the Motion* be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon by the 30th April, 1949."

Sir, the Objectives Resolution which we shall pass shall be the foundation-stone of the structure of the constitution of the Pakistan State. The constitution which will be framed by this august body will govern the people of Pakistan not only for generations but for centuries to come, because the constitution of a country, once framed, is scarcely changed or modified. The

* The motion refers to the Motion on Aims and Objects.

[Mr. Prem Hari Barma.]

foundation of the constitution must be strong, sound and solid so that the structure built upon it may last long and may not give way after some time. For this purpose, not only the Members of the Constituent Assembly, who are entrusted with this noble work, should have time to carefully examine the pros and cons of the proposed Objectives Resolution, but the public also whom we have the honour to represent here, must have an opportunity of expressing their opinion on it. If we get the opinion of the public and if the opinion of the public is in support of it, then our task and responsibility will be much lighter.

I do not think that we shall be right in passing the Resolution in hot haste, without giving any opportunity to the public to express their opinion. It took about ten years to frame the constitution of the United States of America. It will not, therefore, matter much if it is taken up and considered after seven or eight weeks.

We must not forget that our State of Pakistan consists of peoples professing various religions and having different social customs and cultures. We must not proceed with the work of framing the constitution in such a way as may cause apprehension, distrust or anything of the kind to any section of the people. The Members of the Constituent Assembly, irrespective of the community to which they may belong, have the sacred duty and trust imposed upon them to look equally to the rights and interests, whether political, social or religious, of all sections of the people of Pakistan. We should give opportunity and time to all sections of the people of Pakistan to examine and see whether this Objectives Resolution is acceptable to all of them or not. If we see that some portion of the Objectives Resolution is not acceptable to any section of the population, then we should try to amend or modify that portion of the Resolution to make it acceptable to all. There is no doubt that the Constituent Assembly has every right and authority to pass any resolution concerning the constitution or any constitution it likes, but I think that it will not be fair for the Constituent Assembly to pass hurriedly any resolution of a vital character, on which will solely depend the destiny of the people of Pakistan for generations and nay for centuries to come. Sir, I would like to point out that this is the fag-end of the budget session and many of the Members have already left as it was not known beforehand that the Objectives Resolution would come up and be passed during the budget session. There is no denying the fact that it was primarily the budget session of the Legislature of the Constituent Assembly. Those Members who have already left were under the impression that the work of constitution-making would not be taken up during this session. Otherwise they would not have, perhaps, left Karachi before the final closure of the session, as every Member is fully aware that his primary duty in the Constituent Assembly is to take part in the deliberations concerning the framing of the constitution. It would be inadvisable to pass the Objectives Resolution on which the constitution will primarily be based without giving each and every Member of the Constituent Assembly notice and intimation of taking up the work of framing the constitution. Therefore, Sir, if the Objectives Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion, neither the public nor any Honourable Member of the Constituent Assembly will be able to raise any objection to the passing of it. We ought to proceed in this matter very cautiously, steadily and, at the same time, constitutionally. Therefore, Sir, I request the Honourable the Mover and also the House to accept my amendment.

Mr. President : Amendment moved :

“That the Motion be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon by the 30th April, 1949.”

Mr. Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya (East Bengal : General) : Mr. President, I rise to support the amendment for circulation of the Resolution for eliciting public opinion. I want to make a few observations about the amendment. Firstly, in the course of the last 18 months, that have passed after the partition, no "Objectives Resolution" was brought forward. In fact after 14th August, 1947, when Pakistan became a sovereign State, we thought no such Resolution was necessary at all. The thing that matters is the constitution itself and not a theoretical resolution on the aims and objects of the constitution. In fact, not even a committee of this House was formed to consider this Resolution. In India they had an Objectives Resolution because the Britishers were still there, and it was necessary to tell the people and the world what her constitution would be like after the British left. Even that was before August, 1947, when the sovereignty was made over to the people of Pakistan and India. In some countries there have been Objectives Resolutions after a bloody revolution because every thing was in a chaos. But the case is different here in Pakistan. Some 18 months ago, Britishers had left and we are now free to do as we like. And we have been going on without any Objectives Resolution so long. As a matter of fact, I understand, the Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights have already finalised their Report. There was no difficulty for the committee to recommend fundamental rights even without this Objectives Resolution. The fact is that it is the actual constitution, that will matter and a theoretical resolution like the one before us may not be necessary at all. So long we had an idea that the constitution would be based on the eternal principles of equality, democracy and social justice. We thought that religion and politics would not be mixed up. That was the declaration of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in this House. But the Resolution before us has a religious basis. We got notice of it some four days back. We have not been able to understand fully the implications of some of the paragraphs of the Resolution. They require study, consultation, deliberation with our friends, both Muslims and non-Muslims, and the citizens of our country who are our masters. We are their servants. But the time given to us for the purpose has been too short. Frankly speaking, for example, what the Resolution means and implies in the Preamble, *viz*, that :—

"Sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust";

is a thing for which we require time to study it and understand before accepting or modifying it in any way. Then come to paragraph four :

"WHEREIN the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed."

has been mentioned. This again is not clear to us—the non-Muslims. We need time to study it, in consultation with our friends in East Bengal and for the sake of clarification. In fact when we left East Bengal this time we had no idea that such a Resolution was to be brought forward. There was no indication of it in the Agenda papers circulated. The budget session is almost at an end. The attendance in the House is very thin. Many of the Members of my province—East Bengal—the Prime Minister who might very well give us advice and guidance have left already. I presume they had no idea about it. There are some Members who did not attend the session at all. Surely they would have attended this meeting to take part in the discussion of such a Resolution if proper notice was given to them. Practically no notice was given to them. I, therefore, venture to suggest that the consideration of an important matter like this should be postponed and the Resolution be circulated for eliciting public opinion, till the next session or a special session may be convened for this purpose as early as possible after a short break. Lastly, I want Pakistan to be great, to have its proper place in the comity of nations, not only spiritually but also politically, economically and culturally. Merely spiritually would not do.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan : Sir, I am afraid there is a lot of contradiction in the arguments that have been advanced by the Honourable Members who have moved the motion for circulation of this Resolution. One of the chief arguments that has been advanced is that the House is very thin as most of the Members have left and are not here and that they have not had enough time. As far as the Members of my Honourable friend's party are concerned, every single one of them is present in the House except one, who unfortunately is not well but is present in Karachi. So far as absence of Members is concerned I do not think that this is really a very valid ground.

Mr. Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya : There is no party of mine. I will deal with every one.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan : When I said 'party' I meant the non-Muslim Members of the House, because after all if anything can be said about this Resolution, if any objection can be raised, it can only be from the non-Muslim Members of this House, and as I said just now, every one of them is present here. Even on the confession of my Honourable friend they have had this Resolution for six days. I do not think that my Honourable friends are so dull that they could not possibly know as to what it meant. If my Honourable friends would like to study it—because it is possible that they may like to consider this Resolution in the light of the speech that I have made in moving it because that explains in greater detail the purpose of this Resolution—I am quite willing that without any further discussion of this Resolution today, we should adjourn till tomorrow evening so that my Honourable friends may be able to consider it in the light of my observations which I have made this afternoon.

With regard to other Members of this House, I mean Muslim Members, I think there are more present today than what there have been on previous occasions.

Sir, my Honourable friend said that there was no need for this Objectives Resolution. I am afraid I do not agree with him. I think it is absolutely necessary that before this House starts framing the future constitution of Pakistan, the Members should have some idea as to what sort of constitution and what type of constitution they want to frame. Therefore, I think it is absolutely necessary that there should be an Objectives Resolution which this House should approve of, before we actually start framing the constitution. Now, Sir, my Honourable friend said that he was very upset about the Premier of his province not being present here. All I can say is that the Premier of his province knew before he left Karachi that this Resolution was coming up today, and if the Premier of his province had any objection against this Resolution, I am sure, he would have been present in the House today and if he is not present here, I am afraid, we cannot help. The Members had sufficient time to be present here today.

Then, my Honourable friend said that we are at the fag-end of the budget session. It is not the fag-end, it is the beginning of the budget session in the sense that the budget was presented on the 28th February and we have come to discussion on cut motions but there is still one day more for discussion. At least this is my experience of parliamentary life: that the most important matter in the budget session is the Finance Bill because it is a Bill which imposes a burden on the people of the country and it is the duty of every representative of the people to be present in the House when fresh taxation is being levied and when more burden is being put on them. The Finance Bill is still to be considered. If those Honourable Members, who do not choose to be present even on such an occasion, I am afraid, it is not our fault and, I do not know, it may not be their fault either. They may have something more important to do than looking after the interests of the people.

Anyhow that is quite different. I am afraid I cannot accept this motion that has been moved, but I am quite willing to accommodate my Honourable friends to the extent that I would request you, Sir, that further discussion of this Resolution be postponed till tomorrow afternoon, so that they may have time to examine this Resolution in the light of the observations that I have made this evening while moving this resolution.

Mr. President : The question is :

“ That the Motion be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon by the 20th April 1949.”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President : I would like to know the opinions of the Honourable Members of the Opposition regarding the suggestion made by the Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as to whether they want the House to be adjourned till tomorrow, so that they may have an opportunity of reading and considering this Resolution.

Mr. Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya : I have no objection. We should be supplied with a copy of the Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's speech.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan : Yes, it will be supplied to the Honourable Members to-night.

Mr. President : The House stands adjourned till 6 P.M. tomorrow.

The Assembly then adjourned till Six of the Clock in the Evening, of Tuesday, the 8th March, 1949.