



THE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

DEBATES
OFFICIAL REPORT

Saturday, 7th September, 1974

(Third Session of 1974)
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ASSEMBLY DEBATES
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

Saturday, the 7th September, 1974

The National Assembly of Pakistan met in the Assembly Chamber, (State Bank Building), Islamabad, at half past four of the clock, in the afternoon, Mr. Speaker (Sahibzada Farooq Ali) in the Chair.

Recitation from the Holy Qur'an.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE
HOUSE ON THE QUESTION OF STATUS IN ISLAM OF
PERSONS WHO DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE FINALITY
OF PROPHETHOOD OF THE HOLY PROPHET
MUHAMMAD (PEACE BE UPON HIM)—*Adopted.*

Mr. Speaker : Yes, the Law Minister.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the 30th June this year, a non-substantive Resolution or Motion was submitted by me regarding determination of status in Islam of persons who do not believe in the finality of the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). The National Assembly of Pakistan was pleased to convert itself into a Special Committee of the whole House to discuss and deliberate upon this matter. On that day, after my non-substantive Resolution was carried unanimously, one more Resolution from the Opposition was moved which was also referred to the Special Committee of the whole House. From the 30th June 1974 until a few minutes back, the Special Committee of the whole House considered this matter and during this period we held a number of sittings which all took place *in camera*. We adopted the procedure unanimously. We invited suggestions, motions and resolutions from Members. We also in that Committee decided to set up a Steering Committee which would formulate the procedure for the Special Committee of the whole House and also assist and help the Special Committee in resolving the issue. On the Steering Committee were some Members from Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum Group) there were Members from the Opposition Parties and particularly Jamiatul-Ulema-e-Islam was represented by Maulana Mufti Mahmood and Maulana

[Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada]

Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi. There were representatives of Council Muslim League, National Awami Party, Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan Convention Muslim League, Markazi Jamiat-ul-Ulma-e-Pakistan and Independents. During the entire period of three months, I have to report that all along we found consensus or unity. Although we had some difficulty which was procedural and substantive, but we were unanimous in the deliberation inside this Committee. This Committee also continued to work between the Opposition Parties and the Leader of the House, the Prime Minister; and within our Party also we kept on having informal discussion. During the final phase, the representatives of the Parties joined in these discussions and informally also we had sought concurrence, as far as possible, of all the viewpoints represented in this House. A formal Resolution was moved earlier on before the Special Committee; there were seven signatories, but informally I had also consulted Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi and he was also with us on this. This I wanted to bring on record.

Now, during our sittings we examined some witnesses who volunteered to appear before us. We considered papers and finally, at about four of the clock, we brought these proposals before the Special Committee, which were approved in the form of a recommendation unanimously.

Now with your permission, Mr. Speaker, I would present before you, in discharge of the obligation placed upon the Special Committee, its unanimous recommendations. These are as under :

“The Special Committee of the Whole House, assisted by its Steering Committee and Sub-Committee, having considered the resolutions before it or referred to it by the National Assembly and after perusal of the documents and examination of the witnesses, including the heads of Sadar Anjuman-i-Ahmadia, Rabwah, and Anjuman-i-Ahmadia Ishaat-i-Islam, Lahore, respectively, unanimously makes the following recommendations to the National Assembly :—

(a) That the Constitution of Pakistan be amended as follows:

(i) That in Article 106 (3) a reference be inserted to persons of the Qadiani Group and the Lahori Group (who call themselves ‘Ahmadis’) ;

(ii) That a non-Muslim may be defined in a new clause in Article 260.”

Sir, precisely speaking, the proposals for constitutional amendments are as under :

“(1) That in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, in Article 106, in clause (3), after the word ‘communities’, the words and brackets ‘and persons of the Qadiani group or the Lahori group (who call themselves ‘Ahmadis’) shall be inserted ; and

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE ON THE QUESTION OF STATUS IN ISLAM OF PERSONS WHO DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE FINALITY OF PROPHETHOOD OF THE HOLY PROPHET MUHAMMAD (PEACE BE UPON HIM) 561

in the Constitution, in Article 260, after clause (2), the following new clause shall be added, namely :

“(3) A person who does not believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (Peace be upon him) the last of the Prophets, or claims to be a prophet, in any sense of the word, or of any description whatsoever, after Muhammad (Peace be upon him), or recognizes such a claimant as a prophet or a religious reformer, is not a Muslim for the purposes of the Constitution or law.”

Sir, apart from these constitutional amendments, there are some recommendations with regard to legislative or procedural measures.

These are :

“That an explanation be added to the already existing Section 295-A of the Pakistan Penal Code to the effect that :

“A Muslim who professes, practises or propagates against the concept of the finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (Peace be upon him) as set out in clause (3) of Article 260 of the Constitution, shall be punishable under this section.”

Sir, it is also recommended that consequential legislative and procedural amendments may be made in the relevant laws such as the National Registration Act, 1973 and the Electoral Rolls Rules, 1974. These are subsequent matters. These are final recommendations. Sir, the unanimous recommendation is that the life, liberty, property, honour and fundamental rights of all citizens of Pakistan, irrespective of the communities to which they belong, shall be fully protected and safeguarded.

Sir, I beg to submit that if these are approved and adopted then I shall be moving before this august House the Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill which has been circulated. Thank you very much.

Mr. Speaker : Did you move a formal motion ?

Mr. ~~Abdul~~ Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, I beg to move :

“That the recommendations of the Special Committee of the whole House be adopted.”

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

“That the recommendations of the Special Committee of the whole House be adopted.”

The motion was adopted

THE CONSTITUTION (SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL, 1974

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, I beg to introduce the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974].

Mr. Speaker : The Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974] stands introduced.

Yes, No. 3.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, I beg to move.

“That the requirements of rule 91 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, 1973, in regard to the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974], be dispensed with.”

Mr. Speaker : The question is.

“That the requirements of the rule 91 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, 1973, in regard to the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974], be dispensed with.”

The motion was adopted

Mr. Speaker : No. 4, Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : I beg to move:

“That the requirements of sub-rule (2) of rule 92 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, 1973, in regard to the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974], also be dispensed with.”

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

“That the requirements of sub-rule (2) of rule 92 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the National Assembly, 1973, in regard to the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974], also be dispensed with.”

The motion was adopted

Mr. Speaker : No. 5.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, I beg to move :

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974], be taken into consideration at once.”

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974], be taken into consideration at once.”

Would you like to explain ?

The question is :

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill 1974], be taken into consideration at once.”

¶The motion was adopted

Mr. Speaker : Now you can say a few words. (*Interruption*). Then we take up clause by clause.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : I would not like to say anything except what is contained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. Sir, the National Assembly unanimously adopted the unanimous recommendations of the Special Committee of the whole House on the question of status in Islam of persons who do not believe in the finality of the Prophethood. The Constitution (Amendment) Bill seeks to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan so as to declare to be a non-Muslim any person who does not believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (Peace be upon him) or who claims to be a Prophet after Muhammad (Peace be upon him) or recognizes such a claimant as a prophet or a religious reformer. Now the Leader of the House, the Prime Minister of Pakistan would be speaking on the third reading, on motion No. 6 when we move it. Since this is a unanimous decision of both the House and the House Committee to accept the recommendations of the Committee, therefore, I do not want to say anything more.

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

“That Clause 2 stands part of the Bill.”

(A yes : 126).

The motion was adopted unanimously.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, there was no member who did not rise.

Mr. Speaker : It is unanimous.

Now we will take up clause 3.

Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri : I have an amendment, Sir.

Mr. Speaker Sir, I beg to move :

“That in clause 3 of the Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill,

[Mr. Speaker]

1974, the proposed clause (3) be deleted and rewritten as follows :—

“Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani and his followers, with whatever name they are known, are outside the pale of Islam and are Non-Muslims for the purpose of the Constitution and law.”

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : This is not in order. First of all, I will say that no objection was raised at the Committee's level when the text of the Constitution (Amendment) Bill was unanimously accepted; and then when I brought the amending Bill with the text before this House, alongwith the recommendations of the Committee, you asked, Sir, and it was unanimously carried; and now this amendment—what is the purport of this amendment? Kindly see the definition. Is it not exhaustive enough or have not all the leaders accepted it? If he can get the permission by seeking a majority of two-third of the members to rise, we will have no objection, although it is totally redundant and a useless amendment.

Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri : I seek the permission that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani and his followers...

Mr. Speaker : No, this is against the rule.

Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri : Already I have moved.

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

“That leave be granted for the amendment of Mr. Ahmad Raza Qasuri moved to the Bill.”

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhattu : This is not in order. The definition had been introduced by the Law Minister as a result of a unanimous agreement of the entire House and it covers the amendment that he is trying to move. It is fully covered and is just redundant and superfluous. It is completely out of order.

Mr. Speaker : I am only putting for the leave.

Is the House prepared to grant him leave?

Voices : No, no.

Mr. Speaker : Leave is refused.

Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri : I walk out because there is no declaration about them as Non-Muslims.

Dr. S. Mahmood Abbas Bokhari : We don't mind your walk-out.

Mr. Speaker : The question before the House is.

“That clause 3 be adopted”.

(Ayes : 125).

The motion was adopted unanimously.

Mr. Speaker : The question before the House is :

“That short title and preamble form part of the Bill.”

(Ayes : 124).

The motion was adopted unanimously.

Mr. Speaker : Item No. 6—Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : Sir, I beg to move :

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974], be passed.”

Mr. Speaker : The motion is :

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974], be passed.”

Yes, the honourable Leader of the House.

مولوی مفتی محمود : جناب والا ! ہم اس بل کی مکمل تائید کرتے ہیں اور متفقہ طور پر منظور کرتے ہیں -

مولانا غلام غوث : جناب والا ! مرزائیت کے بارے میں پہلی حکومتوں میں سے کسی نے بھی یہ نہیں کیا تھا - یہ حکومت اور ایوان قابل مبارک باد ہے کہ اس نے لاہوری اور قادیانیوں دونوں کو غیر مسلم شہری قرار دے دیا ہے -

Mr. Speaker : The leader of the House.

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Prime Minister and Leader of the House) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to make political capital when I say that this is a unanimous decision of the entire House. We have had elaborate discussions with all members of the House representing all shades of opinion and all Parties in the National Assembly. And the decision which has been reached today is a national decision.

(Applause)

It is a decision of the people of Pakistan. It represents the will and the aspirations and the sentiments of the Muslims of Pakistan. I would not want the Government to take any credit for it. I would not want any individual to take any credit for it. I would say that this difficult decision, and in my humble opinion in many respects the most difficult decision, would not have been taken without democratic institutions and with democratic authority.

(Applause)

This is an old problem. The problem is 90 years old, and with the passage of time it has become more complicated. It has aroused much bitterness, much division in our society and to this day it has not been

[Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto]

resolved. We have been told that this problem arose in the past, not on one occasion, but on a number of occasions and that it has been resolved in the past and it can be resolved even at the present by adopting the same measures as were taken in the past. I do not know of the various measures taken in the past to tackle this problem ; but I do know of the measures taken in 1953 to resolve this problem. In 1953 brutal force was used not to resolve the problem, Mr. Speaker and honourable Members of this House, but to suppress the problem. By suppressing a problem you do not resolve it. If the same sort of wise men had suggested that this Government should resolve this problem by suppressing the people and their feelings, we may, perhaps, have had a temporary resolution of the problem. But it would not have been a genuine resolution of the problem. The passions it aroused would not have abated. They would have gone into the background, but the real problem would not have been resolved.

The object of our present effort has been to find a permanent solution to the problem, and I can assure you that we have left no stone unturned to come to a correct and an appropriate decision. Of course, emotions were involved, feelings were stirred up. There has been a problem of law and order. There has been loss of life. There has been loss of property. There have been anxious moments. The whole nation has lived in tension for the last three months, in fear and in expectancy. There have been rumours, there have been speeches, speeches on the streets and speeches in the mosques, and there has been great tension and great excitement. I do not want to re-capitulate here and now of what took place on the 22nd of May or on the 29th of May. I do not want to go into causes of the immediate problem as to how it erupted and how it spread like a prairie fire throughout the country. It would not be appropriate for me at this moment to go into the genesis of the immediate issues. But let me take the Members of this august House back to my speech which I addressed to the nation on the 13th of June.

In that speech, I told the people of Pakistan quite clearly that this was a religious issue ; fundamentally and basically it is a religious issue. The basis of Pakistan is Islam. Pakistan came into creation for the Muslims to have a homeland ; and if a decision is taken which the body of Muslims in this country feel to be against the tenets of the fundamental beliefs of Islam, it would dangerously affect the rationale and *raison d'être* of Pakistan. Being a purely religious issue it was not proper for my Government or for me as an individual to make a pronouncement on the 13th of June on this matter. Many people met me in Lahore and they were greatly agitated about this problem. They asked me why I should not pronounce a decision there and then, a decision that the vast majority of the Muslims want, and that if I did this that would be great credit to my Government, to me as an individual and that I would be losing the opportunity of a lifetime if I did not seize upon that moment to make a popular announcement.

I told those friends of mine that the issue was very complicated and very basic. It was the problem which had agitated the minds of the Muslims of the sub-continent for ninety years. It was the problem which had agitated the mind of the people of Pakistan since the inception of Pakistan and that it would not be fair of me to capitalise on the exigencies of the moment and to pronounce a decision. I told these friends that we have established democracy in Pakistan. We have

restored democracy in Pakistan. There is a National Assembly of Pakistan. It is the highest forum in the land and, in my opinion, in my humble opinion, the appropriate forum for the settlement of this dispute would be the National Assembly of Pakistan and that in this National Assembly of Pakistan, as the leader of the majority party, I would not exercise the whip of the majority party on the Members of the National Assembly, that I would like to leave this issue to the conscience of the Members of the Assembly and to the conscience of the Members in my own party.

The members of the Pakistan People's Party will bear me out when I say that while on many other occasions I have given them directions, I have given them instructions, I have given them the mandate of the party, but on this matter, apart from a general discussion which I had only on one occasion, I did not call a single member of the Pakistan People's Party to advise him or to influence his thinking on this matter. I do not mind, telling you, Mr. Speaker, that I have had many anxious and sleepless moments over this issue. I appreciate the ramifications of this decision. I appreciate the political ramifications, the economic repercussions and the ramifications affecting the security of the State. This is no light matter. But as I said earlier, Pakistan is a Muslim State; it came into being because the Muslims of the sub-continent wanted a separate homeland. Islam is a religion of the people, of the majority of the people of this country and I am not deviating from any of our principles in channelising this decision through the democratic and the proper processes. The Pakistan People's Party's first principle is that "Islam is our faith." The very important interest of Islam comes first to the Pakistan People's Party. The second principle is our polity, and as we believe in democracy, the only right thing for us to have done was to have brought this matter to the National Assembly of Pakistan. And at the same time, with pride I would say that we are fully committed to the economic concept of our party that economy of Pakistan is socialism and we stand by the socialist principle of economy.

In taking this decision we have not deviated from any of our principles. We have stood firmly by all three fundamental principles of our party. Repeatedly I have said that basic principles, the higher norms of Islam are not in conflict with the requirements of social justice and with the need to end economic exploitation through the processes of socialism. This is both a religious decision and a secular decision. It is a religious decision because it affects the majority of the population of Muslims. It is a secular decision because we live in modern times and we have a secular Constitution and we believe in the citizens of the country to have their full rights. Every Pakistani has a right to profess his religion, his caste and his sect proudly and with confidence and without fear, and this guarantee the Constitution of Pakistan gives to citizens of Pakistan.

To my Government it will become now all the more necessary to protect the rights of all citizens of Pakistan. This is absolutely essential. I do not want to leave any scope for ambiguity. It is our moral and sacred duty, indeed, it is our Islamic duty, to protect the rights of every citizen of Pakistan and I want to assure you, Mr. Speaker Sir, and I want to make it quite clear to every one outside this House that this will be done and there should be no doubt in any one's mind, that we will not tolerate any form of vandalism or any form of humiliation or insult to any citizen or community of this country.

[Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto]

Mr. Speaker Sir in the course of these three months, in the course of this very acute crisis, some arrests have been made, some people have been jailed, some action has been taken. This also was our duty. We could not allow the forces of chaos and anarchy to hold sway. We cannot allow the forces of anarchy and chaos to dictate its will on an organised society. In the course of our duties we have had to take these measures. But I want to assure you on this occasion, when the whole House has unanimously taken such an important decision, that I shall immediately review each and every case and with this chapter having closed, it should be found possible for us to take a lenient view of these cases. I hope that in due course some of these persons who have been arrested on account of any agitation or any other trouble caused during this period of time will be dealt with leniently and released.

As I said Mr. Speaker let us hope that we have closed this chapter. It would not be my achievement. It would not be the achievement of the Government. I want to emphasise that again and again. It will be the Pakistan's achievement. It will be the achievement of the people of Pakistan in which all of us will share. I want to give the whole House the credit for this decision. I know that this decision could not have been taken unanimously without adjustment and accommodation and without the spirit of understanding shown by the whole House and by all parties represented in this House. We had this kind of spirit and we had this kind of understanding when we framed the Constitution. The Constitution is a fundamental law of the country. It took us 7 years to frame the Constitution and it was a great landmark in the history of Pakistan when we were able to arrive at a Constitution accepted by all parties of the House and passed unanimously by the National Assembly of Pakistan. In the same spirit we have taken this difficult decision. Who knows, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the future might present us with more problems and more difficult problems. But in my humble opinion, I think, that so far, in the history of Pakistan, this has been the most difficult problem. In my opinion and, I might be wrong because, as I have said, tomorrow might present us with issues which are more complicated, more difficult. I cannot say.

But looking backwards, looking at this whole issue in its historical context, I would say that this has been indeed a most difficult problem. It had gone to every home ; it had gone to every village, it had affected every individual and it had grown and grown and grown in magnitude, and with the passage of time; it had become a monster. It had to be tackled. We had to face unpleasant realities squarely in the face. We could have escaped from it. We could have again procrastinated. We could have again referred the matter to the Supreme Court or we could have gone to the Islamic Advisory Council or we could have sent the matter to the Islamic Secretariat. After all a Government and the human beings have the ingenuity to put off issues, to put them back and to find smaller arrangements to meet the situation of the day. But we did not want to approach this problem in that spirit. We wanted to approach this problem in the spirit of finding a final solution to it, and it is in this spirit that the National Assembly met in secret session in a Committee. Now the National Assembly met in secret session. It was important for the National Assembly to meet in secret session. There was a good reason for the National Assembly to meet in secret session. If the National Assembly had not met in secret session, do you think, Sir, that all this

truth would have come out, that people would have spoken as freely and as frankly as they did because it was the secret session of the House? If they would have known that there is the pressure of the gallery, that the people were watching, that the speeches or the statements were going to be recorded and reported in the papers, they would not have spoken with the same freedom as they did because it was the secret session. Now since it was a secret session, we must respect the secrecy of these proceedings for an additional period of time. In history finally nothing remains secret. But there is a time to bring out these things. Since the proceedings of the House were in camera and since we give to every Member of the House and those who appeared here to make their statements the guarantee that they are speaking in utter secrecy and that what they say will not be distorted or will not be used or capitalised upon for political or other purposes, I think that it is but necessary that the House should maintain, for a given period of time, that secrecy; and that in the fullness of time it will be possible for us to bring out these proceedings because the record must come out at some stage. I do not say that we must bury these records. Not at all. On the contrary it would be unrealistic of me to make such a suggestion. I only say that for a period of time, if we want to close the chapter, if we want to make a new beginning, if we want to rise to new heights, if we want to go forward, if we want to consolidate the national gains, if we want to bring back the much needed normalcy to Pakistan, not only on this issue but on other issues also—and let me tell the House that I hope that the settlement of this issue will be a harbinger for discussions and negotiations on other matters as well—let us hope that this augurs well for us to move to the next stage, to move to new challenges with the hope and expectation of resolving all these national issues in a spirit of understanding and accommodation.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to say anything more. I have said what I felt on this matter and this is not a decision of a single man, as I have said. Again I repeat this is a religious issue. It is a decision affecting our faith and it is a decision of the whole House, of the entire nation. It is a decision according to the sentiments of the people. I do not think it was humanly possible for this House to do more. I do not think it was humanly possible for this House to do anything less if a permanent solution to this problem was required.

Now there might be some people who might not be happy with this decision. They might be unhappy over this decision. This is but natural. How can everyone be happy with a decision of a problem that has defied solution for 90 years. If it were a simple decision and if it was possible to make everyone happy, it would have been possible to have found a solution to this problem much earlier. But this was not done. It was not done in 1953 and those people who say that it was resolved in 1953 are not making a correct analysis of the situation. I do admit and I do know that there will be people who will be very unhappy over this decision. Now it is not for me to express their feelings, but I would say that it is even in their long term interest that the problem has been settled. Today they may feel unhappy, they may not like the decision, they may resent it, but objectively speaking and speaking entirely impersonally, trying to put myself in the shoes of others, I would say that they should also be happy with this decision because it has settled the problem and their constitutional rights have been guaranteed. I remember when the motion for the Opposition was moved by Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, he emphasised on the importance of giving full protection to all citizens affected by the decision.

[Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto]

As the whole House and as the whole nation agrees, it is the duty of every Party, it is the duty of the Government and of the Opposition and it is the duty of every citizen to give full protection to all citizens of Pakistan. Indeed, this is the essence of Islam, its preaching of tolerance. Muslims have practised tolerance. Islam has not only preached tolerance, but Islam and Muslim society throughout history has practised tolerance. If Muslim societies were tolerant to the Jews in its dark days when Christianity was persecuting Jews in Europe—the Jews found shelter in the Ottoman Empire, and Jews who were persecuted by the other societies found shelter among Arabs, among Turks, among the Muslim society everywhere—this is an Islamic State, we are Musalmans, we are Pakistanis and it is our sacred duty to give full protection to all communities and to all people and to all citizens of Pakistan. Mr. Speaker, Sir, with these words I conclude. Thank you.

Mr. Speaker : The question is.

“That the motion be adopted.”

Those who are in favour may...

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : It is the final reading of the Bill. The motion has already been made that the Bill be passed, and it has to be passed by the two-third majority. So, it is not by vote, it is by rising in seats.

Mr. Speaker : Yes. The question is :

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan [The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974], be passed.”

Those who are in favour may please rise in their seats.

(Members rose in their seats)

Mr. Speaker : May be counted again because time has elapsed. The honourable members may please remain in their seats because we have to go in for Division. Under sub-rule (4), the motion has to be carried by a vote of two-third majority of the total membership of the Assembly. We have to go by this. This is a Constitutional amendment.

Malik Mohammad Akhtar : Which rule is that ?

A Member : Rule 123 (4).

Mr. Speaker : The honourable members who are in favour of passing of the Bill may please go to the “Ayes” Gallery and get their votes recorded.

(Division took place)

AYES

1. Maulvi Abdul Haq
2. Mrs. Jennifer Jehanzeba Qazi Musa
3. Mir. Taj Muhammad Khan Jamali
4. Maulana Abdul Hakim
5. Maulana Abdul Haq
6. Mr. Abdul Khaliq Khan
7. Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan
8. Mr. Abdul Wali Khan
9. Mr. Ghulm Faruque
10. Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi
11. Sardar Inayatpur Rahman Khan Abbasi
12. Ataliq Jafar Ali Shah
13. Mr. Miangul Aurangzeb
14. Mr. Mohammad Haneef Khan
15. Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Khattak
16. Maulvi Mufti Mahmood
17. Maulvi Niamatullah
18. Mr. Rahim Shah
19. Maulana Sadrushahid
20. Sahibzada Safiullah
21. Begum Shireen Wahab
22. Mr. Umra Khan
23. Saiyid Abbas Husain Gardezi
24. Sardar Abdul Aleem
25. Mr. Abdul Aziz Bhatti
26. Major Abdul Nabi Khan Kanjoo
27. Ch. Abdul Wahid
28. Mr. Ahsan-ul-Haq
29. Malik Anwar Ali Noon
30. Ch. Barkatullah
31. Mehr Ghulam Haider Bharwana
32. Major Ghulam Haider Cheema
33. Mr. Ghulam Hassan Khan Dhandla
34. Dr. Ghulam Hussain
35. Mr. Ghulam Abbas Mian

[Mr. Speaker]

36. Mr. Ghulam Nabi Chaudhry
37. Ch. Ghulam Rasul Tarar
38. Khawaja Ghulam Suleman
39. Col. Habib Ahmad
40. Mr. Habibur-Rahman
41. Mr. Hafeezullah Cheema
42. Rai Hafiz-Ullah Khan
43. Mian Hamid Yasin
44. Mr. M. Hashim Khan
45. Khan Irshad Ahmad Khan
46. Ch. Jahangir Ali
47. Khawaja Jamal Mohammad Koreja
48. Mr. Karam Bakhsh Awan
49. Maulana Kausar Niazi
50. Rao Khurshid Ali Khan
51. Mr. Khurshid Hassan Meer
52. Dr. S. Mahmood Abbas Bokhari
53. Ch. Manzoor Hussain Dudhra
54. Maher Manzoor Hussain Sumra
55. Mian Masud Ahmad
56. Mr. Mohammad Afzal Randhawa
57. Malik Mohammad Akhtar
58. Chaudhury Mohammad Anwar Ali Khan
59. Mian Mohammad Ataullah
60. Mr. Mohammad Bashir Ahmad
61. Ch. Mohammad Hanif Khan
62. Malik Mohammad Jafar
63. Mr. Mohammad Khan Chaudhary
64. Sahibzada Mohammad Nazeer Sultan
65. Haji Mohammad Sadiq
66. Malik Mohammad Sadiq
67. Dr. Mohammad Shafi
68. Malik Mohammad Suleman
69. Maulana Mohammad Zakir
70. Dr. Mubashair Hassan

71. Ch. Muhammad Aslam
72. Mian Muhammad Hassan Khan
73. Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq
74. Mr. M. Muhammad Rafiq
75. Sheikh Muhammad Rashid
76. Ch. Mumtaz Ahmad
77. Mr. Muhammad Sardar Khan
78. Mrs. Nargis Naim Sandhu
79. Begum Nasim Jahan
80. Syed Nasir Ali Shah Rizvi
81. Mr. Nisar Ahmad
82. Mr. Nizamuddin Haider
83. Makhdum Noor Mohammad
84. Mr. Nur Mohammad
85. Sayed Rafiq Mohammad Shah
86. Mian Riaz Ahmad Khan
87. Mian Sajid Pervez
88. Shahzada Saeed-ur-Rashid Abbasi
89. Pir Syed Safi-ud-Din
90. Chaudhry Shafaat Khan Chohan
91. Rai Shahadat Ali Khan
92. Mian Shahadat Khan
93. Sirdar Sher Baz Khan Mazari
94. Ch. Sultan Ahmad Cheema
95. Rana Taj Ahmad Noon
96. Mr. Zafarullah Khan Chowdhury
97. Begum Zahida Sultana
98. Chaudhery Zahur Ilahi
99. Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bajwa
100. Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada
101. Mr. Abdul Hamid Jatoi
102. Pir Syed Abdul Kadir Shah Jeelani
103. Maulana Abdul Mostafa-al-Azhari
104. Mir Aijaz Ali Talpur
105. Haji Aft Ahmed Khan Talpur
106. Mr. Ali Hassan Mangi

[Mr. Speaker]

107. Dr. Mrs. Ashraf Khatoon Abbasi
108. Rais Atta Mohammad Khan Marri
109. Mir. Darya Khan Khoso
110. Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad
111. Rais Haji Ghulam Mujtaba Jatoi
112. Pir Ghulam Rasool Shah Jilani
113. Mr. Hakim Ali Zardari
114. Mr. Mahmood Azam Farooqui
115. Maulana Syed Mohammad Ali Rizvi
116. Makhdoom Mohammad Zaman Talibulmoula
117. Sardar Moula Bakhsh Soomro
118. Makhdoom Muhammad Amin
119. Maulana Muhammad Zafar Ahmad Ansari
120. Syed Qaim Ali Shah Jillani
121. Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani Siddiqi
122. Malik Sikander Khan
123. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
124. Mr. Abdul Malik Khan
125. Mr. Abdul Subhan Khan
126. Mr. Akbar Khan Mohmand
127. Malik Jahangir Khan
128. Major-General Jamal Dar
129. Mr. Niamatullah Khan Shinwari
130. Haji Saleh Khan

Nos—NIL

Mr. Speaker : The gates may be opened. The Division is closed. According to the result of the Division, the votes in favour are 130. The Bill is passed. The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill is passed.

Before I adjourn the National Assembly *sine die*, I want to say one thing. Yes, Mr. Pirzada, you want to say something ?

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada : I want to say that there was no vote against the Bill.

Mr. Speaker : Yes, no votes against, it is unanimous. Now before I adjourn the National Assembly *sine die*, I just want to say that I have reminded the honourable Members in the House Committee and again I want to remind them about the secrecy that all the documents and all the record which is in possession of the honourable Members is confi-

dential and secret ; and also for the members of the Press that nothing can be published, out of any of the record, which we held in the secret meetings unless it is officially released by the National Assembly Secretariat.

And with these words, I would also like to add my thanks to all the honourable Members who have set in this House, first in the Budget Session and then in the secret session, for almost four months. The secret session was a rare experiment in a democratic process for which I am grateful to the Prime Minister, the Law Minister, to all the honourable leaders of the Parties and to all the honourable members of the House, and specially who were rarely to be seen, and my special thanks to those who have been regular. And really it was a battle against patience because we sat for ten to fifteen hours, and in one day we sat for sixteen hours, continuous cross-examination and speech going on ; and I am again thankful and grateful to all the honourable Members. Thank you very much.

The Assembly is adjourned *sine die*.

The National Assembly adjourned sine die.
