
DOCUMENTS

(1 July - 30 December 2004)

Document No. 1

STATEMENT OF MR. RIAZ KHOKHAR, PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN SECRETARY AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SAARC STANDING COMMITTEE

30th Session of the SAARC Standing Committee (July 18-19, 2004)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
(Office of the Spokesman)

Good Afternoon Ladies and Gentlemen.

I welcome you to this special briefing on SAARC. I particularly welcome media persons who have come from the SAARC region.

Today, we concluded the 30th session of the SAARC Standing Committee. We have made forward movement in reaching decisions and in our deliberations. I am grateful to the delegations of all member states for their cooperation in making this session of the Standing Committee a success.

We had a wide-ranging agenda before us covering diverse aspects of economic, commercial and cultural cooperation. Specifically, we discussed follow-up on SAFT A, strategies for poverty alleviation; stimulating cooperation in the field of energy; and enhanced efforts in the areas of investment; environment; standardisation; customs; transport and statistics. You can see our plate was full.

We reviewed the status of SAARC's interaction with other interested member states, international financial institutions, the United Nations and its specialised bodies, and ASEAN and the future direction of our relationship with the wider international community.

This was the Standing Committee's first meeting after the historic 12th Summit, held here in Islamabad. Thus, our deliberations were guided by the vision and momentous decisions of our leaders.

- Amongst delegations, there was an overwhelming consensus that poverty alleviation was the overarching concern for SAARC region as a whole. Proposals were discussed to generate new and additional resources to achieve tangible results in reducing poverty.
- It was also agreed that SAARC would explore possibilities of mobilising financial and other resources from international organisations with whom SAARC has a relationship in order to expand programme activities of the Regional Centres, where applicable. In so doing, SAARC's own priorities will be taken into consideration.
- SAARC leaders at the 12th Summit enunciated South Asian Energy Cooperation including the concept of an Energy Ring. In pursuance of their decision, the Standing Committee recommended to the Council of Ministers to authorise a meeting of SAARC Energy Ministers to consider the

recommendations of the SAARC Working Group. The Committee noted the offer by Pakistan to host a SAARC Energy Ministers' Forum and a SAARC Energy Centre.

- The Committee invited Member States to give their views on the question of expansion of the facility of regional cumulation given by the European Commission into an arrangement of Super Regional Cumulation covering both SAARC and ASEAN.
- The Committee recommended that a Ministerial Meeting on combating terrorism and trans national crimes including drug trafficking and human smuggling be convened at an early date. It welcomed the offer by Bangladesh to host the Meeting.
- There was a preliminary discussion on establishing dialogue partnerships with other regional bodies and states outside the region. The Secretary General will submit a report on the modalities involved as well as the experiences of other organisations such as ASEAN.
- The Committee agreed that SAARC Member Countries' Permanent Representatives the UN in New York be directed to take action for obtaining Observer status for SAARC at the UN, during the upcoming session of the UN General Assembly. Pakistan's Permanent Representative, as SAARC Chairman, has been mandated to coordinate efforts in this regard.
- The Committee also approved a host of proposals on cooperation in the fields of higher education, health, media, town planning, and women's empowerment.
- The Committee recommended to include in the SAARC visa exemption category Members of the Independent South Asian Commission on Poverty Alleviation (ISACPA) and GSS Category-1 officials of the SAARC Secretariat.

Members of the Committee felt that we should move from words to action, from meetings to projects. There was a lot of emphasis on efficient and effective implementation of SAARC's programmes and projects. The Committee envisaged SAARC as an emerging regional forum in global neighbourhood. No region is an island. We have to be interactive with other regional and international organizations as well as influential actors in finance and development. In doing so, we have to consolidate our own unique strengths, but without creating firewalls around the region that cannot be sustained in a globalized world. ■

<http://www.infopak.gov.pk/SAARCCM/statement_of_mr_riaz_khokhar_30th_session_of_the_saarc_standing_committee.htm>

Document No. 2

STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY MR. Q.A.M.A. RAHIM, SAARC SECRETARY GENERAL AT THE INAUGURAL SESSION

25th Session of SAARC Council of Ministers, Islamabad, 20 July 2004

**H. E. Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain,
Hon. Prime Minister of Pakistan,**

**Hon. Members of the SAARC Council of Ministers,
Excellencies, Distinguished delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,**

At the outset, I express our sincere gratitude to H. E, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for his presence in our midst this morning. His presence not only enhances the importance of this occasion for which we all assemble today, but also demonstrates the commitment that he, personally, and his Government attach to the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

2. I extend our deep appreciation to H. E. Mr. Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri, Chairperson of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan for so ably guiding the affairs of the Council since its last Session in Islamabad in January this year.

3. Before I proceed further, I would like to join our hosts in welcoming the Honourable SAARC Ministers for Foreign or External Affairs to Islamabad. I avail myself of this opportunity to warmly felicitate the newly appointed distinguished Ministers of Foreign or External Affairs of Member States on their assuming the membership of the Council.

Excellencies,

4. It is widely acknowledged that the convening of the Twelfth SAARC Summit in Islamabad in January this year brought about a turning point in the evolution of regional cooperation in South Asia. The important decisions taken by the Summit demonstrate the commitment of Member States to regional cooperation in promoting the welfare of the peoples in the region. Most prominently, the declaration of poverty alleviation as the overarching goal of SAARC and the reiteration of the commitment to the creation of a South Asian Economic Union as its eventual goal by the Heads of State or Government will have a far-reaching impact on the pace, progress and efficacy of the Association.

5. The three historic documents signed during the Twelfth SAARC Summit, namely, the SAARC Social Charter; the Framework Agreement on the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA); and the Additional Protocol to the Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism, augur well for effective regional cooperation in the respective field. Similarly; the adoption by the Summit of the Report of the Independent South Asian Commission on Poverty Alleviation (ISACPA) will help bolster our efforts in combating poverty in the region.

**Honourable Ministers,
Distinguished delegates,**

6. I am happy to report that significant progress has been made in the implementation of decisions of the Twelfth Summit.

7. Alleviation of poverty remained at the helm of affairs of the Association. The Independent South Asian Commission on Poverty Alleviation (ISACPA) is currently seized with the task of formulating a comprehensive and realistic blue-print setting out SAARC Development Goals (SDGs), which are to be presented to the Thirteenth Summit in Dhaka. You would kindly recall that the Summit had also directed the Commission to play an advocacy role. Accordingly, the Commission organized launching ceremonies of its Report entitled, *Our Future, Our Responsibility: A Roadmap to Poverty Free South Asia*, in Kathmandu and Thimphu early this month, with similar events to follow in other SAARC capitals in the coming weeks. On another directive of the Summit given to the SAARC Secretariat, the Regional Poverty Profile (RPP) for the year 2004 is being prepared for presentation to the Thirteenth Summit. The Honourable Ministers may kindly recall that the Prime Minister of India in his

statement at the Twelfth Summit had proposed the establishment of a SAARC Poverty Alleviation Fund (SP AF) while pledging his country's contribution of US \$ 100 million to the Fund. The SAARC Secretariat has since prepared a concept paper on the establishment of the Fund, which is placed before this Session.

Excellencies,

8. Following the signing of the Agreement on SAFTA, consultations were intensified with a view to creating a free trade area in the region. The Committee of Experts (COE) on SAFTA continued to meet to finalize negotiations on Sensitive Lists; Technical Assistance to the Least Developed Contracting States; Rules of Origin; and a Mechanism for Compensation of Revenue Loss (MCRL) for the Least Developed Contracting States. A comprehensive study on the Regional Multi-modal Transports is being undertaken. On the question of harmonization of standards, quality control and measurement to facilitate intra-regional trade, the Standing Group on Standards, Quality Control and Measurement has since come up with some useful recommendations. The Inter-Governmental Expert Group (IGEG) met in New Delhi in March to expedite its work towards finalization of an Agreement on Promotion and Protection of Investment and Multilateral Tax Treaty on Avoidance of Double Taxation, and establishment of a SAARC Arbitration Council.

Hon. Ministers,

9. The signing of the Social Charter brought to the fore a regional dimension of action in areas pertaining to poverty alleviation, population stabilization, empowerment of women, youth mobilization, human resource development, promotion of health and nutrition, and protection of children. Member States are taking measures to implement the provisions of the Charter at the national level. A SAARC Autonomous Advocacy Group of Prominent Women Personalities (SAWAG) which met in Islamabad has recommended a host of measures to carry forward the objectives enshrined in the Charter. Following the designation of the year 2004 as the "SAARC Awareness Year for TB and HIV/AIDS", a number of activities were organized in Member States to observe the Year with many more to follow in the coming months.

10. You would kindly recall that the Twelfth Summit in Islamabad had instituted the SAARC Award. Following this, necessary activities have been initiated and the first-ever SAARC Award is expected to be presented at the Thirteenth Summit in Dhaka early next year.

Distinguished guests,

Hon. Ministers,

Distinguished guests,

11. The Government of Pakistan deserves commendation from all of us for the leadership it has provided to the Association in its capacity as the current Chair. I would like to thank the Government of Pakistan for the excellent arrangements made for this Inaugural Session and the meeting that follows. I am confident that this Session of the Council of Ministers will help us to prepare for the Thirteenth Summit early next year.

12. My team from the Secretariat and I are at the disposal of the chair to make this meeting a success.

I thank you. ■

<http://www.infopak.gov.pk/SAARCCM/statement_by_he_mr_qama_rahim.htm>

Document No. 3

ADDRESS BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF PAKISTAN AT THE INAUGURAL SESSION OF THE SAARC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

25th Session of SAARC Council of Ministers, Islamabad 20 July 2004

Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain,
Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan,
Foreign Ministers from SAARC member states,
Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to you Mr. Prime Minister for your kind and gracious consent to inaugurate the 25th Session of the SAARC Council of Ministers.

We are delighted by the presence in our midst today of our friends from all the sisterly states of South Asia. We welcome them most heartily and wish them a pleasant and comfortable stay in Islamabad.

The 12th SAARC Summit held in Islamabad was a major milestone in the historic efforts of the seven South Asian states to usher in a new era of mutually beneficial cooperation.

Pakistan is proud of its contribution to making SAARC effective. The Summit was able to chart new horizons and expand cooperation in diverse fields. An important beginning was also made towards creating links with other important organizations and institutions. Happily an air of hope and optimism, today, prevails throughout the region.

During the past six months, considerable work has been accomplished. There has been active follow up and implementation of Summit decisions. SAARC has started to exude new confidence and its international profile has enhanced.

There are strong affinities among the nations of South Asia based on their shared geography as well as historical and cultural links. These affinities provide the basis for forging cooperation to overcome common challenges that we face in a globalized world today.

It is said that the 21st century will be an Asian century. The vast regions surrounding South Asia are fast attaining phenomenal growth rates. The centre of economic gravity is shifting to Asia. This is as much an imperative of free market economics and globalization, as it is of the determination of the states of this region to realize their developmental potential through regional cooperation.

South Asia, which is home to one-fifth of the humanity, must join the Asian fast track to development. We must create conditions conducive for benefiting from the processes shaping the 21st century.

We must also ensure that our region develops in a manner where benefits of economic growth are shared equally by all states and all sections of societies.

SAARC has declared poverty alleviation as its over-arching goal. This requires the elaboration of effective programmes covering not only the core areas of growth but simultaneous action to ensure justice across the wide social spectrum.

SAARC must forge close cooperative partnerships with relevant international financial institutions, other regional organizations and states that have the capacity to contribute to development.

Pakistan has been emphasizing the need for greater inter-regional cooperation. We appreciate the steps taken by the Secretary General in this direction.

We welcome the emphasis that is being given to developing closer collaboration among SAARC states in the field of energy.

Pakistan has proposed the creation of a South Asia Energy Forum and the setting up of a SAARC Energy Centre, which we will be happy to host.

This would bring great dividends to all member states by ensuring that their energy needs, that are critical for development, are met in a secure and cost effective manner.

SAARC must continue to devote close attention to developing transport and communications infrastructure, which is indispensable for promoting greater regional cooperation.

We hope that efforts to create a South Asian Development Bank will produce good results. Greater cooperation between the Central Banks of South Asian states could create the requisite conditions for a harmonious development of the region, as a whole.

We are encouraged by the efforts that are being made to operationalise the South Asia Free Trade Area. The huge market potential of South Asia would bring benefits to all member states, and would also enable us to attract investments and help accelerate our economic growth.

Pakistan has taken steps to translate into action the Social Charter adopted by the Islamabad SAARC Summit. We have also given special attention to SAARC activities for promoting the role of women in development.

We hope that the SAARC Communications Ministers meeting held in Islamabad recently will help in promoting cooperation in the fields of Information Technology and Telecommunications.

The vision of South Asia joining the Asian mainstream to fast economic growth and development can only be realized if there is peace and harmony. In this context, the resumption of Composite Dialogue between Pakistan and India is a welcome development. We are committed to making this process a success. I have no doubt that this augurs well for SAARC and over 1.4 billion people of this region.

In visualizing SAARC's future, we must give serious thought to devising ways and means whereby political differences and disputes within the region are settled amicably.

As the current Chairman of SAARC, Pakistan will be happy to promote efforts for the consolidation of SAARC on the one hand and in enhancing its global profile on the other. In this endeavour we count on your continued cooperation and support, Mr. Prime Minister.

SAARC must become the symbol of our resolve for economic development, preservation of our environment and above all an instrument for ensuring social equity and justice for all.

Thank you. ■

<http://www.infopak.gov.pk/SAARCCM/address_by_the_foreign_minister_of_pakistan.htm>

Document No. 4

HIGHLIGHTS OF 25TH SAARC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

25th Session of SAARC Council of Ministers, Islamabad 20 July 2004

- The 25th Session of SAARC Council of Ministers was held at Islamabad on 20-21 July 2004. It was preceded by 30th Session of Standing Committee (18-19 July 2004) and 25 Session of Programming Committee (16-17 July 2004). The Foreign Ministers, Foreign Secretaries and senior officials of all SAARC Member Countries participated in the meetings respectively.
- The Prime Minister inaugurated the meeting of the Council of Ministers on 20 July 2004. He stressed the need for closer regional cooperation in various fields. He welcomed China's interest to closely associate with SAARC and expressed satisfaction over resumption of talks between Pakistan and India.
- The Council noted Pakistan's proposals to create and host a South Asia Energy Forum at Ministerial level and a SAARC Energy Centre. It also agreed that first Ministerial Meeting on Energy may be held in 2005 in Pakistan.
- The Standing Committee agreed that the SAARC Member Countries , Permanent Representatives in New York may be directed to take necessary action with a view to obtaining the UN Observer Status for SAARC.
- The Indian proposals to create a High Economic Council, SAARC Parliamentary Forum and SAARC Infrastructure Fund were referred to the relevant SAARC bodies for consideration.
- Pakistan proposed to institute a process of confidence building within SAARC as in ASEAN. But India opposed the idea.
- The next SAARC Summit will be held at Dhaka on 9-11 January 2004.
- Mr. Lyonpo Chenkyab Dorji of Bhutan has been appointed as next Secretary General of SAARC with effect from 1 March 2005 for a period of three years
- The First SAARC Award has been conferred posthumously on late President Zia-ur-Rehman of Bangladesh in recognition of his vision and initiative for the establishment of SAARC.■

<http://www.infopak.gov.pk/SAARCCM/highlights_of_25th_saarc_council_of_ministers.htm>

Document No. 5

JOINT PRESS STATEMENT ON INDIA - PAKISTAN DISCUSSIONS ON PROMOTION OF FRIENDLY EXCHANGES IN VARIOUS FIELDS

Talks between India and Pakistan on “Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields” were held in New Delhi on August 3-4, 2004 within the framework of the Composite Dialogue. The Indian delegation was led by Mrs. Neena Ranjan, Secretary (Culture) and the Pakistan delegation was led by Mr. Jalil Abbas, Secretary, Minorities, Tourism, Culture and Youth Affairs.

2. The Pakistan delegation called on Shri Jaipal Reddy, Hon'ble Minister for Culture and Information & Broadcasting. A meeting was also held with Smt. Meenaxi Anand Chaudhry, Secretary (Youth Affairs & Sports).
3. The discussions were held in a very cordial and constructive atmosphere. Both sides made wide ranging proposals for promoting friendly exchanges and cooperation in the fields of art, culture, archaeology, education, science and technology, youth affairs and sports, media and tourism. Implementation of the programmes would be undertaken through mutual coordination.
4. Views were also exchanged on liberalizing the visa regime and expanding the scope of the 1974 bilateral Protocol on Visits to Religious Shrines by increasing the number of pilgrims and shrines on both sides. Both sides agreed to address the humanitarian issues concerning civilian prisoners and fishermen in each other's custody. ■

4 August 2004

<<http://meaindia.nic.in/jshome.htm>>

Document No. 6

JOINT PRESS STATEMENT ON INDIA-PAKISTAN TALKS ON SIACHEN

The two day Defence Secretary – level talks between India and Pakistan on Siachen, in the framework of the Composite Dialogue, were held in New Delhi on 5-6 August 2004. The Indian delegation was led by Defence Secretary, Shri Ajai Vikram Singh. The Pakistan delegation was led by Defence Secretary Lt.Gen. (Retd.) Hamid Nawaz Khan.

2. The Defence Secretary of Pakistan called on Raksha Mantri, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, and National Security Advisor, Shri J.N. Dixit.
3. Frank and candid discussions were held in a cordial and constructive atmosphere aimed at taking the process forward. Both sides assessed positively the ceasefire that has been in effect since 25 November 2003.
4. The military experts of the two sides also met to discuss modalities for disengagement and redeployment of troops, and agreed to have further discussions.
5. The two Defence Secretaries agreed to continue their discussions with a view to resolving the Siachen issue in a peaceful manner. ■

6 August 2004

<<http://meaindia.nic.in/jshome.htm>>

Document No. 7

JOINT PRESS STATEMENT ON INDIA-PAKISTAN TALKS ON TERRORISM AND DRUG TRAFFICKING

Within the framework of the Composite Dialogue process between Pakistan and India, resumed pursuant to the January 6 Joint Press Statement, talks on Terrorism and Drug Trafficking were held in Islamabad on August 10-11, 2004. The Pakistani delegation was

led by Mr. Tariq Mahmud, Secretary, Ministry of Interior while the Indian delegation was led by Mr. Dhirendra Singh, Home Secretary.

Frank and candid discussions were held in a constructive and cordial atmosphere aimed at taking the process forward. Both sides reaffirmed their determination to combat terrorism and emphasized the need for complete elimination of this menace.

They assessed as positive the increasing cooperation and information sharing between Narcotics Control Authorities of the two countries and agreed to work towards an MOU to institutionalize cooperation in this area, and to designate nodal officials in their respective High Commissions to liaise on drug control issues.

The Indian Home Secretary called on the Minister of Interior, Makdoom Syed Faisal Saleh Hayat.

It was agreed to continue the discussions. ■

11 August 2004

<<http://meaindia.nic.in/jshome.htm>>

Document No. 8

JOINT PRESS STATEMENT ON INDIA-PAKISTAN TALKS ON ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION

As part of the Composite Dialogue process between Pakistan and India, discussions were held on Economic and Commercial Cooperation in Islamabad on 11-12 August 2004. The Pakistani delegation was led by Commerce Secretary, Mr. Tasneem Noorani while the Indian delegation at these discussions was led by Commerce Secretary, Mr. Dipak Chatterji.

2. Mr. Chatterji called on Commerce Minister, Mr. Humayun Akhter Khan.
3. The discussions were held in frank and cordial atmosphere.
4. Wide ranging proposals were made on various aspects of Economic and Commercial Cooperation. These would be considered further. ■

12 August 2004

<<http://meaindia.nic.in/jshome.htm>>

Document No. 9

PAKISTAN INDIA COMPOSITE DIALOGUE JOINT RELEASE STATEMENT

P.R. No.468/2004

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

(Office of the Spokesman)

The Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India, H.E. Mr. Riaz H. Khokhar, and H.E. Mr. Shyam Saran, met on 4 September 2004 in New Delhi to review the progress in the Composite Dialogue.

They assessed positively the discussions held on the eight subjects in the Composite Dialogue i.e Peace and Security including CBMs, Jammu and Kashmir, Siachen, Sir Creek, Wullar Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project, Terrorism and Drug Trafficking, Economic and Commercial Cooperation and Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields. The Foreign Secretaries agreed that the discussions had been productive and had taken place in a cordial and constructive atmosphere. Several useful ideas and suggestions were made by both sides.

In their meeting today, the Foreign Secretaries discussed the ways of taking the process forward. They would be reporting to the Foreign Ministers with the recommendation that the Composite Dialogue should be continued with a view to further deepening and broadening the engagement between the two sides. ■

Islamabad, 4 September 2004

<http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/foreignaffairs-ministry/news-des.jsp?div=ForeignAffairs_Ministry&file=foreign042092004-7.xml>

Document No. 10

TEXT OF JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AT INDO-PAK TALKS CONCLUSION

NEW DELHI (India): Following is the text of the Joint Statement issued Wednesday at the conclusion of two-day talks held at Foreign Ministers level between India and Pakistan on September 5 and 6, 2004 here.

The External Affairs Minister of India Shri K.Natwar Singh and Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Khurshid M Kasuri, met in New Delhi on September 5 and 6, to review status of the Composite Dialogue. Their meeting was preceded by a meeting between the Foreign Secretary of India Shri Shyam Saran and Foreign Secretary of Pakistan Riaz H. Khokhar on September 4. The talks were held in a cordial and constructive atmosphere.

They reiterated their commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and their determination to implement the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit.

The Foreign Ministers expressed satisfaction at the progress made so far, and positively assessed the development in bilateral relations over the past year.

Recalling the reassurance contained in the Joint Press Statement of January 6, 2004, they exchanged views on carrying the process forward in an atmosphere free from terrorism and violence.

The Ministers held detailed and substantive discussions and reiterated the confidence that the Composite Dialogue will lead to peaceful settlement of all bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, to the satisfaction of both sides. They agreed to continue with the serious and sustained dialogue to find a peaceful negotiated final settlement. They expressed their determination to take the process forward.

The wide ranging proposals on confidence building, promotion of friendly exchanges and enhancing trade and economic cooperation, made by both the sides were examined and it was agreed that these would be discussed further.

The Ministers agreed on the following:

- a. Expert level meetings on conventional and Nuclear CBMs, inter alia, to discuss the draft agreement on advance notification of missile tests;
- b. Meeting between railway authorities on the Munnabao-Khokharapar rail link.
- c. Biannual meeting between Indian Border Security Force (BSF) and Pakistan Rangers in October 2004.
- d. Meeting between Narcotics Control Authorities, including for finalization of an MOU in October/November 2004.
- e. Meeting between the India Coast Guards and the Pakistani Maritime Security Agency in November 2004 to, inter alia, discuss the Memorandum of Understanding for establishing communication link between them.
- f. Establishment of Committee of experts to consider issues related to trade.
- g. On Siachen, the outcome of the August 2004 meeting of Defence Secretaries would be implemented.
- h. Joint Survey of the boundary pillars in the horizontal segment (blue dotted line) of the International Boundary in the Sir Creek area.
- i. Meeting on all issues related to commencement of a bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad.
- j. Add a new category of Tourism Visa in the visa regime between the two countries, and promote group tourism.
- k. Set up a mechanism to deal with the issue of civilian prisoners and fishermen, effectively and speedily.
- l. Further measures for facilitation of visits to religious shrines and upkeep of historical sites.
- m. Enhanced interaction and exchanges among the respective Foreign Offices, including study tours of young diplomats /probationers to each other's country.

They recognized the importance of availability and access to energy resources in the region around South Asia. The Ministers of Petroleum/Gas could meet to discuss the issue in its multifarious dimensions.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan met the National Security Advisor, J N Dixit, and also called on Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh, during his stay in India.

The two sides agreed to the continuation of high level meetings and visits, including:

- a. A meeting between President Musharraf and Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh in New York on the margins of UNGA later this month.
- b. Visit by Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz to India as chairperson of SAARC.
- c. Meeting between Prime Minister of India and Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in Dhaka, in January next, on the margins of Saarc Summit.

It was also agreed that the two Foreign Secretaries would meet in December this year to discuss overall progress, as well as subjects of Peace and Security including CBMs, and Jammu and Kashmir, in the Composite Dialogue. They would also work out the schedule of meetings on the other six subjects i.e Siachen, Wullar Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project, Sir Creek, Terrorism and Drug Trafficking, Economic and Commercial Cooperation and Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in various fields under the Composite Dialogue.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan invited India's the External Affairs Minister to visit Pakistan. The invitation was accepted and the dates would be worked through diplomatic channels".■

Pakistan Times, 5-6 September 2004
<<http://www.pakistantimes.net/2004/09/09/top11.htm>>

Document No. 11

JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE

Joint Press Conference by External Affairs Minister of India, Mr. K. Natwar Singh, and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Khurshid Mohammed Kasuri at 1300 hours in Hyderabad House, New Delhi

[Indian] Official Spokesperson: Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to this Joint Press Interaction with the Excellencies, Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan. May I first request the External Affairs Minister of India, Shri Natwar Singh, to kindly make his opening remarks.

External Affairs Minister Of India (Shri K. Natwar Singh): Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan and I met yesterday and this morning to review the overall progress in bilateral relations and the status of the Composite Dialogue. Our meeting was preceded by a meeting between the two Foreign Secretaries on September 4, 2004. While we both are sincerely committed to carry forward the Composite Dialogue, we should not lose sight of the wise dictum 'diplomacy provides hope, not salvation'. Even modest progress is worthy of respect. We have made progress in the past two days. My friend, Foreign Minister Kasuri, and I have established rapport and mutual trust.

India is committed to deepen and widen its engagement with Pakistan in order to resolve all issues and to build a durable structure of peace and stability in South Asia free from an atmosphere of terrorism and violence. In his press conference the other day the Prime Minister referred to this matter and I shall do so here too. I would like to recall the Joint Press Statement on January 6 this year, and the reassurance by President Musharraf that he would not permit any territory under Pakistan's control to be used to support terrorism in any manner. Cross-border infiltration remains a serious concern and I have reiterated our concerns to Mr. Kasuri.

Significantly, the ceasefire has held since November 25, 2003, and both sides are committed to continuing it. The first round of the Composite Dialogue has been concluded successfully. The schedule of meetings agreed to in February 2004 was maintained and the outcome of the dialogue process is positive. We have arrived at several agreements that would take the process forward. For example, technical-level meeting would be held in October-November on the Munabao-Khokhrapar railway link. The Indian Coast Guards and the Pakistan Maritime Security Agency will hold talks to discuss a memorandum of understanding for establishing communication links between them. A biannual meeting between the Indian Border Security Force and Pakistan Rangers is also scheduled in October. There would be meetings to discuss conventional and nuclear CBMs. Joint Survey of the boundary pillars in the horizontal

segment of the International Boundary in the Sir Creek area. A special day-bus service on special occasions between Amritsar and religious places in Lahore such as Nankana Sahib. Enhanced interaction and exchanges between the two foreign offices including study groups of young diplomats to each other's country.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has invited me to visit Pakistan and I have accepted his invitation to visit Pakistan.

Thank you.

[Indian] Official Spokesperson: May I now request His Excellency, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to kindly make his opening statement.

Foreign Minister Of Pakistan (Mr. Khurshid Mohammed Kasuri): Thank you very much. First of all, I would like to express my thanks and gratitude for the hospitality shown to me and to my Delegation by the Government of India and by the Foreign Minister of India himself personally.

As he told you, we have reviewed progress in all the eight agenda items which were listed under the Composite Dialogue. Of course, he mentioned his concerns and I had to mention mine. I spoke of the human rights situation in Jammu and Kashmir. I suggested to him, as I would like to suggest to the entire international community, that regardless of the words that we use and the gloss that we put, we are all aware of what has been the cause of perpetual tension between our two countries and what has caused three wars between us and a near-war in 2002. That was the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. So, I emphasized to His Excellency the Foreign Minister the centrality of the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. I told him that we were not unifocal that it is not that Pakistan is only interested in just discussing Jammu and Kashmir. No. We know that we live in an age when - we call this a post-industrial, post-modern age - there are areas where we can cooperate. There are areas where other countries in the world are cooperating and they are doing so more successfully when the efforts are joint. I am sure there are areas where Pakistan and India can cooperate. The fruits of cooperation will be greater, if we were to go along the lines that we agreed upon and that is that whereas there are differences between Pakistan and India, we should be mature enough to recognize those because that is the only guarantee that we will be able to solve those problems. ... (Inaudible)... the very concept of the Composite Dialogue envisages that there should be progress on all items. Hopefully there will be progress on all the eight items mentioned under the Composite Dialogue.

I am glad to note, as the External Affairs Minister has pointed out here, he has read you a long list of agreements between the two Foreign Ministers and I do not have to repeat those. A greater list will be published when on the 8th of this month, a Joint Statement will be issued by the two Foreign Ministers. I do not think I need to repeat some of those items. Suffice it to say that among the major issues we have agreed that on nuclear and conventional CBMs we need to have meetings where experts and groups can meet together, discuss each other's suggestions. As you know, the Government of India had made certain suggestions on conventional CBMs: we have made ours. We thought the most mature way of handling that would be to have expert group meetings who would be studying the proposals submitted by both the Governments. I think that is a way forward and I also think we can regard that as one of the successes of the meeting between His Excellency Mr. Natwar Singh, the Foreign Minister of India and myself.

Thank you very much.

External Affairs Minister Of India: I just wanted to mention one thing. In our discussion we recognized the importance of availability and access to energy resources in the region around South Asia. We have agreed that the Ministers of Petroleum and Natural Gas could meet to discuss the issue in its multifarious dimensions.

We will take three questions.

[Indian] Official Spokesperson: Please introduce yourselves and indicate to whom the question is addressed.

Question (Mr. Amit Barua, The Hindu): My question is to both Ministers.

Obviously, there are differences in perception on issues like cross-border terrorism and Kashmir. You all have been pointing out that progress has been made on some issues. However, I would like to take you back to the June agreement between the Foreign Secretaries on the issues of the Karachi and Mumbai Consulates. How come, despite the announcement that was made two months ago, absolutely no progress had been made till now? And, is it time that even when India and Pakistan have agreed on something in advance, it is time to set up a Joint Implementation Group to actually implement the decisions that have already been taken?

Foreign Minister Of Pakistan: When His Excellency the Foreign Minister visited Islamabad, we had agreed, this is absolutely correct, to have Consulates in Karachi and Bombay. And yes, we support that. There is no flagging in our intention or desire. The thing is, it is not hidden, that we had asked for Jinnah House. There was some problem as far as the Government of India was concerned and they offered alternate properties which would be suitable for our purposes. Once that property, or those properties are shown to our High Commission here, I am sure an appropriate decision will be taken. That property has not so far been shown.

External Affairs Minister Of India: I have spoken to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. We have requested our friends from Pakistan to visit Mumbai and to have a look at various properties because we would like to start this process of reopening our Consulate General in Karachi and Mumbai as early as possible so that it will be more convenient for the citizens of both countries to be able to get their visas either in Mumbai instead of coming to Delhi, or in Karachi instead of going to Islamabad. So both sides are committed to it and the officials are already working.

[Indian] Official Spokesperson: Since there is no question from the Pakistani side, we will take visual media.

Question (Mr. Mrutyunjay Kumar Jha, Aaj Tak Tv): My question is addressed to both the Foreign Ministers.

Now, when you are saying that the differences on Kashmir issue remain, will the second round of Composite Dialogue begin? If so, when will it start what will be its structure?

External Affairs Minister Of India: Foreign Secretaries of both the countries will meet again in the month of December. Before that, the Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singhji and the President of Pakistan, General Musharaf Sahab, will meet in New York and there will be discussion on all issues. There is difference of opinion on some issues because they are critical issues and old issues. But, this Composite Dialogue and the progress made on these many issues will continue.

Foreign Minister Of Pakistan: I would like to add that I regard certain issues, for example you have mentioned the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, well, yes, these are complex problems. But they are not intractable. I do not believe that they are intractable. Given the political will they can be resolved and they should be resolved. And that is our major guarantee for durable peace in South Asia.

Question (App): There seems to be a restoration of the position which existed before December 2001 so far as this entire process. So, what are, Mr. Natwar Singh, your expectations about the concrete outcome of this process particularly on the resolution of eight issues with focus on Kashmir dispute?

External Affairs Minister Of India: As has been said by Pakistan too, we have to make progress on all areas – economic, political, communication, nuclear, visas, student exchanges, reopening of our houses in Karachi and in Bombay, also the pipeline, also the bus service from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad. On all these areas we have made progress. We realize the fact that there is the Jammu and Kashmir issue and within the framework of the Shimla Agreement, paragraph 6, which says that the Jammu Kashmir question will be discussed and settled peacefully to the satisfaction of both sides; the Lahore talks; the Composite Dialogue decision taken on the 6th of January 2004, so in many many areas progress has been made. We want to emphasise that in Jammu and Kashmir we have had elections and there is an elected Government in Jammu and Kashmir. There is a Chief Minister there and there are Members of Parliament elected, Members of Assembly elected. Nevertheless, we are discussing Jammu and Kashmir issue frankly and in candour. We are expecting each other's views on this. This will not hold up progress in all other areas as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, my friend, His Excellency Kasuri *Sabab* has said so, that this process will continue. As I told you, the Foreign Secretaries are meeting, Heads of Government are meeting and I am also hoping to visit to Pakistan and carry on this dialogue.

Foreign Minister Of Pakistan: I would like to add something to that because it is a very key question that you have asked. I agree with what His Excellency the Foreign Minister has said. We are not imposing preconditions. But it is a matter of pure common sense, it is a matter of historical experience that if we want to push, or if we wish to put, our relations on an even keel, we will have to tackle with the issue of Jammu and Kashmir because, you know, sky is the limit once these two countries start cooperating. In the past we have seen that there have been areas where we have reached pretty good level of relationship. And then, we have seen things when they have deteriorated to the extent of wars. So, it is a matter of common sense, pure logic, that in order to ensure that there will be durable peace in South Asia, this issue would also be resolved hopefully sooner rather than later.

[Indian] Official Spokesperson: That is all we have time for today. I thank the two Foreign Ministers. Thank you, Sir.

**Text in italics is translated from Hindi.■*

6 September 2004
<<http://meaindia.nic.in/>>

Document No. 12

JOINT DECLARATION OF PAK-INDIA FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL TALKS ISSUED

ISLAMABAD: A joint declaration of the foreign ministry level talks between Pakistan and India has been issued from Islamabad and New Delhi today.

The declaration states that a 'composite dialogue' will pave the way for the resolution of all bilateral issues especially for the peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue.

Both countries have agreed for the serious continuation of the talks. In the joint declaration both countries have vowed to adhere to the UN charter and the Simla agreement. ■

The News, 8 September 2004
<<http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/sep2004-daily/08-09-2004/main/update.shtml#20>>

Document No. 13

OPENING STATEMENT BY MR. KIM HAK-SU UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

**Economic Cooperation Organization
Eighth Summit Meeting
14 September 2004
Dushanbe, Tajikistan**

Your Excellency, President Emomali Rakhmonov of the Republic of Tajikistan and Chairman of the 8th ECO Summit,
Distinguished Heads of States and Governments,
Honorable ministers,
Secretary General of ECO,
Esteemed participants,

I am highly privileged and honoured to address this 8th Summit of the Economic Cooperation Organization. I wish to express our deepest appreciation for the kind invitation extended to us by both the Government of Tajikistan and the ECO secretariat to participate in this important meeting. I also wish to thank the Government and people of Tajikistan for the excellent arrangements and the warm hospitality accorded to all of us.

At the 7th ECO Summit Meeting of 2002, the Leaders, through the Istanbul Declaration, invited the relevant international as well as regional organizations to continue providing technical and financial assistance to the Economic Cooperation Organization and to extend such assistance to areas including poverty alleviation, environment, energy efficiency and transfer of technology. We, at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), would like to respond positively to this invitation and strengthen our partnership with the sub-region as a whole.

I am pleased to note that the Istanbul Declaration has given importance to poverty alleviation. This precisely is the major thrust of our work at UNESCAP. In our visionary report entitled *ESCAP Towards 2020*, which we issued on the occasion of the commemorative 60th session of the Commission held in Shanghai in April this year, we emphasized that our overarching mission is to tackle poverty in all its forms. We will

combat poverty: be it poverty of resources – which keeps 800 million people in the region living on less than a dollar a day; or poverty of opportunity – which excludes millions from sharing the benefits of the region's economic growth; or poverty of rights – which deprives the disadvantaged and disabled of their dignity and self-respect. We will aim to achieve this objective through productive partnerships. And one such partnership is with ECO.

Excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

Since the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between ECO and UNESCAP in July 1993, cooperation between our two organizations has grown from strength to strength. This was evident at the 9th Consultative Meeting among Executive Heads of Sub-regional Organizations and UNESCAP held in Shanghai in April this year. At that meeting, the UNESCAP and ECO secretariats agreed that our cooperation in trade and investment has assumed greater importance with the coming of the ECO Trade Agreement (ECOTA). In this regard, our cooperation should be enhanced in order to help facilitate the implementation of ECOTA, the development of Rules of Origin, and the finalization of the Agreement on Promotion and Protection of Investment among ECO member states.

Last year, in this city, UNESCAP collaborated in the organization of the International Economic Conference on Tajikistan in the Regional Context of Central Asia, together with a Regional Round Table on Promotion of Foreign Direct Investment. These meetings were attended by senior level representatives from all ECO member countries.

Early this year, UNESCAP implemented a project on "Strengthening income and employment generation for vulnerable groups of population in Central Asian countries during economic transition". This project provided a detailed examination and evaluation of existing income and employment generation programmes in ECO member countries from Central Asia. The three-year project on "Capacity Building for ESCAP Member States for Managing Globalization" funded by the United Nations Development Account is now nearing completion. Under this project, many activities in the area of macroeconomic policy and management, trade facilitation issues including trade finance and issues related to the WTO and Doha Development Agenda, and investment promotion and facilitation were implemented in various ECO member countries. We expect to conclude this project with a wrap-up conference at senior level to be held in Moscow early next year. We anticipate strong ECO participation in this conference.

In the years ahead, the ten member countries of ECO will remain an important focus of our work at UNESCAP. We will continue to provide an extensive analysis of the macroeconomic performance of the member countries of ECO in the annual issue of our flagship publication, *Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific*. In this regard, we will make trenchant assessments of short- to medium-term development prospects of ECO countries in the light of changing global and regional conditions.

In the transport sector, there is ongoing cooperation with UNESCAP in multimodal transport. ECO has been a staunch supporter of the development of the Asian Highway. Almost all the ECO countries have signed the Asian Highway Agreement. At the ECO Ministerial Meeting on Transport and Communications held in Bishkek in August 2004, the secretariats of UNESCAP and ECO agreed to plan to strengthen collaboration, particularly in support of the ongoing work on Asian Highway

investments and SPECA Project Working Group on Transport and Border Crossing Facilitation.

Building on the success of the Asian Highway Agreement, the UNESCAP secretariat is currently preparing a draft agreement for the Trans-Asian Railway. The draft agreement will be discussed in a regional workshop immediately preceding the Subcommittee on Transport Infrastructure and Facilitation and Tourism, tentatively scheduled in November this year. We encourage all ECO members with railways to participate actively in the development of this Agreement.

We are aware that ECO has been working with its member countries to develop a container block-train service between Almaty and Istanbul. We are interested to explore ways to further cooperate with ECO in this area, including sharing of experiences and strategies, since UNESCAP has been implementing a project on developing container block train services along the Trans-Asian Railway Northern Corridor.

In the environment area, UNESCAP and UNECE signed, in June this year, in this city, a Memorandum of Understanding with the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea (IFAS) with the IFAS Chairman, who is also the Chairman of this Summit, H.E. President Rakhmonov. Furthermore, under the auspices of the United Nations Special Programme for the Economies of Central Asia (SPECA), a "Cooperation Strategy to Promote the Rational Use of Water and Energy Resources in Central Asia" has been developed, which covers majority of the ECO member countries.

Next year in March, we will organize the Fifth Ministerial Conference on Environment and Development to be hosted by the Government of the Republic of Korea in Seoul. The conference will review the progress made in the implementation of the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation as well as the Phnom Penh Regional Platform for Sustainable Development in Asia and the Pacific. We invite the active participation of the economic planning and environment ministers of all ECO member countries. In this connection, we are organizing, in cooperation with the ECO secretariat, a sub-regional preparatory meeting to be held immediately following the 2nd ECO Ministerial Conference on Environment to be held in Istanbul on 4-6 October 2004.

Excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

It is said that the twenty-first century is the Asia-Pacific century, with the region becoming the center of economic growth and technological innovation. Such economic growth should be environmentally sustainable, and even more important, should be equitably shared by all countries and sub-regions, including the countries of the Economic Cooperation Organization. For this to happen, we must foster regional cooperation and partnerships. Therefore, I should like to reiterate our desire to enhance and deepen our partnership with ECO, not only at the secretariat level, but with all the ten countries of this extremely vital and critically important sub-region. I am convinced that it is only through such partnerships that we can ensure the attainment of our common objectives. My prayer is that the coming Asia-Pacific century may also be the ECO century.

Thank you. ■

14 September 2004

<<http://www.unescap.org/oes/state/st040914.htm>>

Document No. 14

TEXT OF DUSHANBE DECLARATION OF ECO

DUSHANBE: Following is the text of the joint declaration issued at the end of the 8th ECO Summit.

(Text Begins)

The Eighth Summit meeting of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) was held in Dushanbe, Republic of Tajikistan on September 14, 2004. The meeting, presided over by H.E. Mr. Emomali Rakhmonov, President of the Republic of Tajikistan, was also attended by:

1. H.E. Mr. Hamid Karzai, President of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan.
2. H.E. Mr. Artur Rasi-zade Prime Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan.
3. H.E. Mr. Seyed Mohammad Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
4. H.E. Mr. Daniyal Akhmetov, Prime Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan.
5. H.E. Mr. Askar Akaev, President of the Kyrgyz Republic.
6. H.E. Mr. Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan
7. H.E. Recep Tayyip Erdogan Prime minister of the Republic of Turkey.
8. H.E. Mr. Rejep Saparov, Deputy Chairman of People's Council of Turkmenistan.
9. H.E. Mr. Erkin Khalilov, Chairman of the Oliy Majlis (Parliament) of Republic of Uzbekistan.

The participating Heads of State/Government/Delegation, after listening to the brief remarks of the Chairman of Council of Ministers and the ECO Secretary General, reviewed the performance/progress made by ECO during the last two years towards achieving its aims and objectives as envisaged in the Treaty of Izmir, taking into account the political, social, technological and economic developments that took place in the region as well as in the world, gave new policy guidelines to be followed, and emphasized that continued peace, stability, confidence and security in the ECO region were prerequisites for attaining ECO goals and objectives.

They acknowledged that sustained and intensified efforts were required for ECO to be a more effective organization for the modernization, growth and development of the region and for facilitating gradual integration among the member states as well as into the world economy.

They stressed the importance of the sustainable ECO cooperation in all priority as well as other fields of the economy and expressed their support to implement and promote cooperation in regional activities to achieve economic prosperity in the region and successful integration into the world economy. They urged all the concerned authorities in the member states to pay special attention to ECO projects, programmes and activities and take follow up action to ensure implementation of the decisions taken at various ECO meetings.

In that direction, they particularly:

- i. Welcomed the finalization of the ECO Trade Agreement (ECOTA) and called upon the Member States to sign and ratify this agreement expeditiously and establish a 'Free Trade Area in the ECO region by 2015', as a priority task.

- ii. Stressed on the importance of the sectoral ministerial meetings towards achieving aims and objectives of the ECO. They expressed their appreciation for the outcome of the ministerial meetings held since the Seventh ECO Summit namely, (i) 1st Ministerial Meeting on Environment, 13-15 December 2002, Tehran, Iran, (ii) 2nd Ministerial Meeting on Commerce/Foreign Trade, 17 July 2003, Islamabad, Pakistan, (iii) 1st Ministerial Meeting on Industry, 25-28 January 2004, Tehran, Iran, (iv) 1st Ministerial Meeting on Finance/Economy, 29-30 January 2004, Islamabad, Pakistan, and (v) 5th Ministerial Meeting on Transport & Communication, 11-12 August 2004, Cholpon-Ata, Kyrgyz Republic.

They further expressed their desire to successfully hold

- (i) the 2nd Ministerial Meeting on Environment between 4-6 October 2004 in Istanbul, Turkey,
- (ii) the 2nd Ministerial Meeting on Agriculture between 6-7 December 2004 in Antalya, Turkey,
- (iii) the 3rd Ministerial Meeting on Commerce/Foreign Trade in Turkey,
- (iv) 2nd Ministerial Meeting on Finance/Economy in Turkey in 2005,
- (v) 1st Ministerial meeting on Information Technology in Iran, and
- (vi) 2nd Ministerial Meeting on Energy in Iran.

- iii. Highlighted the importance of Transport and Communications as one of the three priority areas of ECO regional cooperation which would facilitate trade development in the whole region. In that respect, they particularly;

Emphasized the urgency of early ratification and implementation of the Transit Transport Framework Agreement (TTFA) for the promotion of trade and transport within ECO region and beyond and called upon those member states who had not ratified the same to do so as soon as possible.

Reiterated their pledge for the realization of measures contained in the Programme of action for the ECO Decade of Transport and Communications (1998-2007). Stressed on the importance of operationalization of Trans-Asian Railway main line which connects Almaty to Istanbul as one of the most significant transport projects within ECO regional cooperation framework and urged all member states to do their utmost for its early implementation.

- iv. Expressed satisfaction over the preparation of the Plan of Action on ECO's participation in the reconstruction projects of Afghanistan and financing feasibility studies for priority projects of Afghanistan from the ECO Feasibility Fund and also the establishment of the ECO Special Fund for financing priority projects of Afghanistan, and welcomed the decision of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to pledge US\$ five million for reconstruction projects of Afghanistan and asked other member states to contribute generously for the same within the framework of the Plan of Action as well as modalities of the ECO Special Fund.
- v. Appreciated the establishment of a High-Level Experts Group (HLEG), comprising the senior Officials (Focal Points) of the Ministries of Finance/Economy and other regulatory agencies of member countries, to study and suggest a framework for cooperation in various areas of finance and economy and expressed the hope that the first meeting of the HLEG

- would be held as soon as possible. In this connection, they also welcomed the offer of the Republic of Turkey to host the Informed Ministerial Meeting on Finance Economy on the margins of the Annual Governors Meeting of IMF/World Bank, to be held on 4-5 October 2004 in Washington.
- vi. Underscored the commitment of the international community to realize the millennium development goals especially aimed at reducing poverty and food insecurity, appreciated joint efforts of FAO and ECO Secretariat for implementation of the FAO Technical Cooperation Programme (TCP) for preparation of a regional strategy for food security and agricultural development, regional programme for food security in the ECO region.
 - vii. Noted the evolving role of industry in the economy development of the region and the political will of the member states indicated in the ECO plan of action for Industrial Cooperation and Tehran Declaration adopted by the 1st Ministerial Meeting on Industry held in January 2004 in Tehran and called upon high level participation of member states in the High Level Experts Group (HLEG) established to prepare an ECO Long Term Industrial strategy and its first meeting to be held on September 21-23, 2004 in Ankara, Turkey.
 - viii. Took note with appreciation of the holding of the 1st meeting of Heads of Reference Marine Organizations in Tehran, October 13-16, 2003 and also the 1st meeting of the Heads of the Postal Authorities in Cholpon-Ata, Kyrgyz Republic, April 20-21, and asked the relevant authorities in the member states to implement the decisions/recommendations of the said meetings.
 - ix. Took note of the ongoing efforts aimed at the establishment of the ECO Trade and Development Bank and the ECO Re-insurance Company and directed that the process may be expedited so that the two ECO institutions, vital for the trade and investment in the region, could come into existence as soon as possible.
 - i. Stressed the expediency of intensification of ECO activities in the field of economic researches and statistics with a view to promote elaboration of conceptual framework aimed at deepening of economic cooperation and extending of economic integration within the ECO region.
 - x. They emphasized the role that the private sector can play in the regional integration and enhancing the intra-regional trade. In this respect, they welcomed the assumption of the Chairmanship on rotational basis biannually of the ECO Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ECO-CCI) by Afghanistan for the next two years and called upon the member states to extend all possible assistance to make ECO-CCI more dynamic and vibrant.
 - xi. Highlighted the need for establishing interconnected electric power systems in the region to achieve better patterns of electricity production, exchange and trade; facilitating development of oil and gas pipeline networks in the region; promoting cooperation for the development of new and renewable resources of energy; and enhancement of efficiency in energy production and use. They called upon the secretariat and the member states to expedite

- the implementation of IDB-ECO project for feasibility study on interconnection of power systems of ECO member states and to deliberate on developing ways and means of power trade in the energy sector.
- xii. Appreciated the Plan of Action (2003-2007) adopted by the First Ministerial Meeting on Environment held on December 13-15, 2002, in Tehran, and the revision of the Plan of Action among ECO Member States at the Meeting of First Working Group on Environment held in Ankara on April 7-8, 2004, and asked the member states to implement the Plan within the stipulated time-frame.
 - xiii. Underlined the need to develop cooperation in the minerals sector with emphasis on facilitation of the inter-regional trade and investment in this sector and enhanced exchange of the sector-related resources and technological information and experience.
 - xiv. Called upon the Member States, who did not ratify the Charters of ECO Cultural Institute, ECO Science Foundation and ECO educational Institute, to do so and invited the non-signatory Member States to accede to the Charters of these institutions.
 - xv. Emphasized the need for various international and regional institutions to join efforts towards implementation of economic projects and programmes of ECO. In this respect, welcomed the signing of the Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) between ECO World Customs Organization (WCO), United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and asked the Secretariat to follow up the implementation of the decisions/agreements reached through the MOUs which have been signed so far with the international organizations with the help of the member states.
 - xvi. Noted with satisfaction the existing cooperation between ECO and other regional and international organizations such as IDB, UNESCAP, FAO, UNDP, ITC, UNCTAD, UNODC and UNIDO.
 - xvii. Appreciated the implementation of the 2nd phase of the joint Project with the United Nations Office on Drugs & Crime (UNODC) for the strengthening of the Drug Control Coordination Unit (DCCU) at the ECO Secretariat and its role in enhancing the regional cooperation and coordination on drugs control among the Member States; thanked the technical and financial assistance of UNODC and EU for the 1st and 2nd phases of the project, and called upon the ECO Secretariat and the member states to ensure funding of DCCU through UNODC, EU and other international organizations for the continuation of DCCU's functions and the sustainability of the Project's outputs after the completion of the project.
 - xviii. In order to create healthy economic environment, deemed it expedient to call upon the concerned high level authorities of the member states to coordinate policies on issues such as drug trafficking and illicit precursors, smuggling, money laundering and cross borders crimes that undermine peace and stability in the region.

Recalling initiative made by 13th meeting of the Council of Ministers (COM) for convening the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) Meeting to consider ways for enhancement of efficiency and effectiveness of ECO, they

appreciate the efforts made by the EPG and took note of their constructive report. Noting the conclusion of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) on the promotion of the efficiency and effectiveness of ECO, while endorsing the recommendation that the SOM would be held regularly during intervals of the Summit and Council of Ministers meetings, in order to review the current development and discuss the major policy lines of the Organization, they instruct the COM to take necessary steps in this regard.

Expressed their resolve to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and seized their opportunity to denounce and condemn all acts of terror, believing that a global approach and international cooperation was required to combat terrorism.

The Heads of State/Government/Delegation welcomed the appointment of H.E. Mr. Askhat Orazbay as the ECO Secretary General at the beginning of this year and expressed the confidence that under his able guidance, ECO will take strides towards realizing its goals and objectives.

The participating Heads of State/Government/Delegation expressed their profound thanks for the sagacious manner in which H.E. Mr. Emomali Rakhmonov, President of the Republic of Tajikistan, had conducted the deliberations during the ECO Summit. They also expressed their sincere gratitude to the Government and the people of the Republic of Tajikistan for the warm hospitality and excellent organization of the Summit and other ECO meetings in the beautiful and historic city of Dushanbe.

(Text Ends)■

APP

Source: The News, 15 September 2004

Document No. 15

TEXT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BILL

ISLAMABAD: Following is the text of the bill approved by National Assembly on Tuesday to provide export control on goods, technologies, material and equipment related to nuclear and biological weapons and their delivery system:

A BILL to provide for export control on goods, technologies, material and equipment related to nuclear and biological weapons and their delivery system:

WHEREAS the Islamic Republic of Pakistan- (a) is determined to safeguard its national security and foreign policy objectives and to fulfil its international obligations as a responsible nuclear weapon State; (b) as a party to the Chemical Weapons Convention has promulgated the Chemical Weapons Convention Implementation Ordinance, 2000 (LIV of 2000); and (c) is committed to prevent proliferation of nuclear and biological weapons and missiles capable of delivering such weapons;

AND WHEREAS to achieve the aforesaid objectives it is necessary to strengthen controls on the export, re-export, trans-shipment and transit of goods and technologies, material and equipment related to nuclear and biological weapons and missiles capable of delivering such weapons;

AND WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for export control on goods, technologies, material and equipment related to nuclear and biological weapons and their delivery systems;

It is hereby enacted as follows:-

1. Short title, extent, application and commencement;- (1) This Act may be called the Export Control on Goods, Technologies, Material and Equipment related to Nuclear and Biological Weapons and their Delivery Systems Act, 2004. (2) It extends to the whole of Pakistan. (3) It applies to-(a) every citizen of Pakistan or a person in the service of Pakistan within and beyond Pakistan or any Pakistani visiting or working abroad; (b) any foreign national while in the territories of Pakistan; and (c) any ground transport, ship or aircraft registered in Pakistan wherever it may be. (4) It shall come into force at once.
2. Definitions.- In this Act unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context;-
 - (a) "basic scientific research" means theoretical or experimental work undertaken principally to acquire new knowledge of the fundamental principles of phenomena or observable facts;
 - (b) "biological weapon" means any weapon designed to kill or harm or infect people, animals or plants on a large scale through effects of the infections or toxic properties of a biological warfare agent;
 - (c) "delivery system" means missiles exclusively designed and adapted to deliver a nuclear or biological weapon;
 - (d) "development" means any activity or phase prior to production and may include or relate to design research, design analysis, design concept, assembly and testing of prototypes, pilot production schemes, design data, the process of transforming designed data into product, configuration design and integration design or layout;
 - (e) "equipment" means an assembly which may comprise electrical, electronic, mechanical, chemical and metallurgical components, including those used in manufacturing or pilot plants, used in the production of nuclear and biological weapons;
 - (f) "export" means-- (i) shipment, transfer or transmission of goods or technology out of the territory of Pakistan; and (ii) a transfer of goods or technology within Pakistan with the knowledge or intent that the goods or technology will be shipped, transferred or transmitted to an unauthorized recipient outside Pakistan;
 - (g) "goods" means any article natural or man made substance, material supply or manufactured product, including inspection and test equipment except technology;
 - (h) "material" means materials used in the production of nuclear and biological weapons and their delivery system;
 - (i) "nuclear weapon" means any weapon designed to kill or cause destruction or harm people on a large scale through the effects of a nuclear explosion;
 - (j) "re-export" means export of an item from any end user State or entity after having imported any goods or technology covered under this Act from Pakistan to any other State or entity;

- (k) "service" means providing training and technical assistance including intangible transfer such as disclosure of technical data relating to the purposes of this Act;
 - (l) "technology" means any documents including blueprints, plans, diagrams, models, formulae, table, engineering designs or specifications, manuals or instructions, necessary for the development and production of nuclear or biological weapons, and their delivery systems, including on-the-job training, expert advice and services attached therewith except-
 - i. any document or information that is in the public domain or is related to basic scientific research and other peaceful applications of such technology including that related to its application for protective purposes; and
 - ii. any application of the grant of a patent or any other form of protection for inventions or for the registration of a design in each case under the law of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan or any other country or under any treaty or international conventions to which Pakistan is a party or any document necessary to enable any such application to be filed, made or pursued;
 - (m) "transit" means transportation through the territory of Pakistan by land, air or amphibious means of transportation; and
 - (n) "trans-shipment" means shipment through ports of Pakistan.
3. Authority.- (1) For the purposes of this Act, the authority rests with the Federal Government and the federal Government, as and when necessary, may-
- (a) make such rules and regulations as are necessary for implementation of this Act;
 - (b) delegate authority to administer all activities under this Act to such Ministries, Divisions, Departments and Agencies as it may deem appropriate;
 - (c) establish a government Authority to administer export controls established under this Act;
 - (d) designate the agency or agencies authorized to enforce this Act;
 - (e) establish an oversight Board to monitor the implementation of this Act; and
 - (f) require licenses for exports from Pakistan of goods and technology, and the re-export of goods and technology that originated in Pakistan.
- (2) Officials of the designated agency or agencies are authorized to inspect consignments declared for export and review, and review, acquire or confiscate records of persons engaged in the exporting or holding an export license under this Act, with the same powers in respect of exports in contravention of any provision of this Act. The Federal Government may vest any investigatory powers and powers of arrest authorized by law in officials of the customs administration or other appropriate agencies.
4. Control Lists.- (1) The Federal Government shall maintain Control Lists, to be notified separately, of goods and technologies subject to licensing requirements under this Act. (2) The control lists shall be reviewed periodically, and revised or updated, as required by the Federal Government

and notified accordingly. (3) The Federal Government shall notify all licensing requirements and procedures. (4) The Federal Government shall control export, re-export, trans-shipment, transit of goods, technologies, material and equipment, subject to the provisions of this Act, which may contribute to the designing, development, production, stockpiling, maintenance or use of nuclear and biological weapons and their delivery systems (5). Nothing in this Act shall be construed to restrict or prohibit basic scientific research in the Pakistan or other peaceful applications or relevant technologies.

5. Licensing.- (1) The Federal Government shall frame and notify the licenses required under this Act, and also adopt and notify the procedures under which such licenses shall be approved or rejected. (2) Licenses for export of goods and technologies for peaceful applications may be approved unless the Government determines that the export would be in contravention of the provisions of this Act. (3) An exporter is under legal obligation to notify to the competent authority if the exporter is aware or suspects that the goods or technology are intended, in their entirety or in part, in connection with nuclear or biological weapons or missiles capable of delivering such weapons. (4) Nothing in this Act shall be taken to prohibit the export of licensed goods and technology provided that all conditions attached to the said license are complied with.
6. Record Keeping.- (1) All exporters shall maintain records of all transactions and report these to the designated authorities. (2) Any Government agency or department involved in export licensing procedure shall keep records of their recommendations and decisions. Such records shall be made available to other agencies or departments involved in export licensing, upon request.
7. Offences, etc., to be tried by a Court of Session.- Any person who contravenes any provision, or attempts to commit or abets the commission of an offence, under this act or any Order, rules and regulations framed there under shall be tried by a Court of session only upon compliant in writing made by an officer of the Federal Government authorized in this behalf by the Federal Government.
8. Offences and penalties.- (1) Any person who contravenes any provision of this act or any Order, rules and regulations framed there under, or provides false information concerning matters governed by this act to any of the agencies responsible for administering this Act, shall be guilty for an offence punishable on conviction by imprisonment for a term which may extend to fourteen years, or with fine not exceeding five million rupees or both, and on conviction offender's property and assets, wherever they may be, shall be forfeited to the Federal Government. (2) Any person who attempts to commit or abets the commission of an offence under this act shall be proceeded against in the manner as if he had committed such an offence. (3) In case the offence is not serious for criminal proceedings, administrative actions, which may be determined from time to time, shall be taken against the individuals contravening any provision of this Act.
9. Appeal- Any person sentenced under this act may within thirty days of the decision prefer an appeal before the High Court having jurisdiction.

10. Diversion of controlled goods or technologies to unauthorized use.- Whenever the Federal Government determines that a recipient of controlled goods or technologies has knowingly diverted these goods or technologies to unauthorized use in violation of the conditions of an export license issued by the Government of Pakistan, the Federal Government or official of the appropriately designated agency may deny--
- (a) further export to the recipient of goods or technologies for a specified period for each offence; or
 - (b) that recipient the privilege of exporting products into Pakistan for a specified period for each offence.
11. Act not to derogate from other laws, etc.- The provisions of this Act shall be in addition to, and not in derogation of, any law, rules, orders or notifications for the time being in force.

Statement of Objects and Reasons

1. As a responsible nuclear weapons state, Pakistan is cognizant of its obligations to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and related technologies. The bill is an important legislation to regulate and control export, re-export, transshipment and transit of goods and technologies, material and equipment related to nuclear and biological weapons and missiles capable of delivering such weapons. Pakistan already has in place regulations on chemical weapons in consonance with our obligations under the Chemical Weapons Convention.
2. Under the recently adopted United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540, it is mandatory for each country to take measures to strengthen controls over sensitive materials and technologies. By adopting this bill, Pakistan would fulfil its international obligation and strengthen its credentials as a responsible nuclear weapons state.
3. The bill seeks to achieve the aforesaid objectives.

Muhammad Raza Hayat Harraj

Minister-in-Charge ■

APP

Source: The News, 15 September 2004

Document No. 16

FULL TEXT: IAEA IRAN RESOLUTION

The following is the Full Text of the Resolution Adopted by the International Atomic Energy Agency on Iran on 18 September 2004.

The Board of Governors

- (a) **Recalling** the resolutions adopted by the board on 18 June 2004, 13 March 2004, 26 November 2003, and on 12 September 2003 and the statement by the board of 19 June 2003,
- (b) **Noting with appreciation** the director general's report of 1 September 2004, on the implementation of safeguards in Iran,
- (c) **Noting** the director general's assessment that the agency is making steady progress towards understanding Iran's nuclear programmes, but that further work is still

required on a number of questions and issues, notably contamination and the scope of the P2 centrifuge programme, and that there are other issues that will also require further follow-up, for example the timeframe of Iran's plutonium separation experiments,

(d) **Noting** with serious concern that, as detailed in the director general's report, Iran has not heeded repeated calls from the board to suspend, as a confidence building measure, all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities,

(e) **Also concerned** that, at its Uranium Conversion Facility [UCF], Iran is planning to introduce 37 tons of yellowcake, as this would run counter to the request made of Iran by the board in resolution GOV/2004/49,

(f) **Recognising** the right of states to the development and practical application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, including the production of electric power, consistent with their Treaty obligations, with due consideration for the needs of the developing countries, and

(g) **Stressing** the need for effective safeguards to prevent nuclear material being used for prohibited purposes, in contravention of agreements, and **underlining** the vital importance of effective safeguards for facilitating co-operation in the field of nuclear energy,

Demands

1. **Strongly urges** that Iran respond positively to the director general's findings on the provision of access and information by taking such steps as are required by the agency and/or requested by the board in relation to the implementation of Iran's Safeguards Agreement, including the provision of prompt access to locations and personnel, and by providing further information and explanations when required by the agency and proactively, to assist the agency to understand the full extent and nature of Iran's enrichment programme and to take all steps within its power to clarify the outstanding issues before the board's 25 November meeting, specifically including the sources and reasons for enriched uranium contamination, and the import, manufacture, and use of centrifuges;

2. **Emphasises** the continuing importance of Iran acting in accordance with all provisions of the Additional Protocol including by providing all access required in a timely manner; and **urges** Iran once again to ratify its Protocol without delay;

3. **Deeply regrets** that the implementation of Iranian voluntary decisions to suspend enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, notified to the agency on 29 December 2003 and 24 February 2004, fell significantly short of the agency's understanding of the scope of those commitments and also that Iran has since reversed some of those decisions; **stresses** that such suspension would provide the board with additional confidence in Iran's future activities; **and considers** it necessary, to promote confidence, that Iran immediately suspend **all** enrichment-related activities, including the manufacture or import of centrifuge components, the assembly and testing of centrifuges, and the production of feed material, including through tests or production at the UCF, under agency verification so that this could be confirmed in the reports requested in paragraphs 7 and 8 below;

4. **Calls again** on Iran, as a further confidence-building measure, voluntarily to reconsider its decision to start construction of a research reactor moderated by heavy water;

5. **Underlines** the need for the full and prompt co-operation with the agency of third countries in relation to the clarification of outstanding issues, and **expresses** appreciation for the co-operation received by the agency to date;
6. **Appreciates** the professional and impartial efforts of the director general and the Secretariat to implement Iran's NPT Safeguards Agreement, and, pending its entry into force, Iran's Additional Protocol, as well as to verify Iran's suspension of enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, and to investigate supply routes and sources;
7. **Requests** the director general to submit in advance of the November board:
 - a report on the implementation of this resolution;
 - a recapitulation of the agency's findings on the Iranian nuclear programme since September 2002, as well as a full account of past and present Iranian co-operation with the agency, including the timing of declarations, and a record of the development of all aspects of the programme, as well as a detailed analysis of the implications of those findings in relation to Iran's implementation of its Safeguards Agreement;
8. **Also requests** the director general to submit in advance of the November board a report on Iran's response to the requests made of it by the board in previous resolutions, especially requests relating to full suspension of all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities;
9. **Decides** that at its November session it will decide whether or not further steps are appropriate in relation to:
 - Iran's obligations under its NPT Safeguards Agreement;
 - the requests made of Iran, as confidence building measures, by the board in this and previous resolutions;and to remain seized of the matter.■

18 September 2004

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3669530.stm#demands

Document No. 17

PRESIDENT BUSH SPEAKS TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

United Nations Headquarters
New York, New York
11:00 A.M. EDT

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. Secretary General, Mr. President, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen: Thank you for the honor of addressing this General Assembly. The American people respect the idealism that gave life to this organization. And we respect the men and women of the U.N., who stand for peace and human rights in every part of the world. Welcome to New York City, and welcome to the United States of America.

During the past three years, I've addressed this General Assembly in a time of tragedy for my country, and in times of decision for all of us. Now we gather at a time

of tremendous opportunity for the U.N. and for all peaceful nations. For decades, the circle of liberty and security and development has been expanding in our world. This progress has brought unity to Europe, self-government to Latin America and Asia, and new hope to Africa. Now we have the historic chance to widen the circle even further, to fight radicalism and terror with justice and dignity, to achieve a true peace, founded on human freedom.

The United Nations and my country share the deepest commitments. Both the American Declaration of Independence and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaim the equal value and dignity of every human life. That dignity is honored by the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women, protection of private property, free speech, equal justice, and religious tolerance. That dignity is dishonored by oppression, corruption, tyranny, bigotry, terrorism and all violence against the innocent. And both of our founding documents affirm that this bright line between justice and injustice -- between right and wrong -- is the same in every age, and every culture, and every nation.

Wise governments also stand for these principles for very practical and realistic reasons. We know that dictators are quick to choose aggression, while free nations strive to resolve differences in peace. We know that oppressive governments support terror, while free governments fight the terrorists in their midst. We know that free peoples embrace progress and life, instead of becoming the recruits for murderous ideologies.

Every nation that wants peace will share the benefits of a freer world. And every nation that seeks peace has an obligation to help build that world. Eventually, there is no safe isolation from terror networks, or failed states that shelter them, or outlaw regimes, or weapons of mass destruction. Eventually, there is no safety in looking away, seeking the quiet life by ignoring the struggles and oppression of others.

In this young century, our world needs a new definition of security. Our security is not merely found in spheres of influence, or some balance of power. The security of our world is found in the advancing rights of mankind.

These rights are advancing across the world -- and across the world, the enemies of human rights are responding with violence. Terrorists and their allies believe the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the American Bill of Rights, and every charter of liberty ever written, are lies, to be burned and destroyed and forgotten. They believe that dictators should control every mind and tongue in the Middle East and beyond. They believe that suicide and torture and murder are fully justified to serve any goal they declare. And they act on their beliefs.

In the last year alone, terrorists have attacked police stations, and banks, and commuter trains, and synagogues -- and a school filled with children. This month in Beslan we saw, once again, how the terrorists measure their success -- in the death of the innocent, and in the pain of grieving families. Svetlana Dzebisov was held hostage, along with her son and her nephew -- her nephew did not survive. She recently visited the cemetery, and saw what she called the "little graves." She said, "I understand that there is evil in the world. But what have these little creatures done?"

Members of the United Nations, the Russian children did nothing to deserve such awful suffering, and fright, and death. The people of Madrid and Jerusalem and Istanbul and Baghdad have done nothing to deserve sudden and random murder. These acts violate the standards of justice in all cultures, and the principles of all religions. All civilized nations are in this struggle together, and all must fight the murderers.

We're determined to destroy terror networks wherever they operate, and the United States is grateful to every nation that is helping to seize terrorist assets, track down their operatives, and disrupt their plans. We're determined to end the state sponsorship of terror -- and my nation is grateful to all that participated in the liberation of Afghanistan. We're determined to prevent proliferation, and to enforce the demands of the world -- and my nation is grateful to the soldiers of many nations who have helped to deliver the Iraqi people from an outlaw dictator.

The dictator agreed in 1991, as a condition of a cease-fire, to fully comply with all Security Council resolutions -- then ignored more than a decade of those resolutions. Finally, the Security Council promised serious consequences for his defiance. And the commitments we make must have meaning. When we say "serious consequences," for the sake of peace, there must be serious consequences. And so a coalition of nations enforced the just demands of the world.

Defending our ideals is vital, but it is not enough. Our broader mission as U.N. members is to apply these ideals to the great issues of our time. Our wider goal is to promote hope and progress as the alternatives to hatred and violence. Our great purpose is to build a better world beyond the war on terror.

Because we believe in human dignity, America and many nations have established a global fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. In three years the contributing countries have funded projects in more than 90 countries, and pledged a total of \$5.6 billion to these efforts. America has undertaken a \$15 billion effort to provide prevention and treatment and humane care in nations afflicted by AIDS, placing a special focus on 15 countries where the need is most urgent. AIDS is the greatest health crisis of our time, and our unprecedented commitment will bring new hope to those who have walked too long in the shadow of death.

Because we believe in human dignity, America and many nations have joined together to confront the evil of trafficking in human beings. We're supporting organizations that rescue the victims, passing stronger anti-trafficking laws, and warning travelers that they will be held to account for supporting this modern form of slavery. Women and children should never be exploited for pleasure or greed, anywhere on Earth.

Because we believe in human dignity, we should take seriously the protection of life from exploitation under any pretext. In this session, the U.N. will consider a resolution sponsored by Costa Rica calling for a comprehensive ban on human cloning. I support that resolution and urge all governments to affirm a basic ethical principle: No human life should ever be produced or destroyed for the benefit of another.

Because we believe in human dignity, America and many nations have changed the way we fight poverty, curb corruption, and provide aid. In 2002 we created the Monterrey Consensus, a bold approach that links new aid from developed nations to real reform in developing ones. And through the Millennium Challenge Account, my nation is increasing our aid to developing nations that expand economic freedom and invest in the education and health of their own people.

Because we believe in human dignity, America and many nations have acted to lift the crushing burden of debt that limits the growth of developing economies, and holds millions of people in poverty. Since these efforts began in 1996, poor countries with the heaviest debt burdens have received more than \$30 billion of relief. And to prevent the build-up of future debt, my country and other nations have agreed that international

financial institutions should increasingly provide new aid in the form of grants, rather than loans.

Because we believe in human dignity, the world must have more effective means to stabilize regions in turmoil, and to halt religious violence and ethnic cleansing. We must create permanent capabilities to respond to future crises. The United States and Italy have proposed a Global Peace Operations Initiative. G-8 countries will train 75,000 peacekeepers, initially from Africa, so they can conduct operations on that continent and elsewhere. The countries of the G-8 will help this peacekeeping force with deployment and logistical needs.

At this hour, the world is witnessing terrible suffering and horrible crimes in the Darfur region of Sudan, crimes my government has concluded are genocide. The United States played a key role in efforts to broker a cease-fire, and we're providing humanitarian assistance to the Sudanese people. Rwanda and Nigeria have deployed forces in Sudan to help improve security so aid can be delivered. The Security Council adopted a new resolution that supports an expanded African Union force to help prevent further bloodshed, and urges the government of Sudan to stop flights by military aircraft in Darfur. We congratulate the members of the Council on this timely and necessary action. I call on the government of Sudan to honor the cease-fire it signed, and to stop the killing in Darfur.

Because we believe in human dignity, peaceful nations must stand for the advance of democracy. No other system of government has done more to protect minorities, to secure the rights of labor, to raise the status of women, or to channel human energy to the pursuits of peace. We've witnessed the rise of democratic governments in predominantly Hindu and Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish and Christian cultures. Democratic institutions have taken root in modern societies, and in traditional societies. When it comes to the desire for liberty and justice, there is no clash of civilizations. People everywhere are capable of freedom, and worthy of freedom.

Finding the full promise of representative government takes time, as America has found in two centuries of debate and struggle. Nor is there any -- only one form of representative government -- because democracies, by definition, take on the unique character of the peoples that create them. Yet this much we know with certainty: The desire for freedom resides in every human heart. And that desire cannot be contained forever by prison walls, or martial laws, or secret police. Over time, and across the Earth, freedom will find a way.

Freedom is finding a way in Iraq and Afghanistan -- and we must continue to show our commitment to democracies in those nations. The liberty that many have won at a cost must be secured. As members of the United Nations, we all have a stake in the success of the world's newest democracies.

Not long ago, outlaw regimes in Baghdad and Kabul threatened the peace and sponsored terrorists. These regimes destabilized one of the world's most vital -- and most volatile -- regions. They brutalized their peoples, in defiance of all civilized norms. Today, the Iraqi and Afghan people are on the path to democracy and freedom. The governments that are rising will pose no threat to others. Instead of harboring terrorists, they're fighting terrorist groups. And this progress is good for the long-term security of us all.

The Afghan people are showing extraordinary courage under difficult conditions. They're fighting to defend their nation from Taliban holdouts, and helping to strike

against the terrorists killers. They're reviving their economy. They've adopted a constitution that protects the rights of all, while honoring their nation's most cherished traditions. More than 10 million Afghan citizens -- over 4 million of them women -- are now registered to vote in next month's presidential election. To any who still would question whether Muslim societies can be democratic societies, the Afghan people are giving their answer.

Since the last meeting of this General Assembly, the people of Iraq have regained sovereignty. Today, in this hall, the Prime Minister of Iraq and his delegation represent a country that has rejoined the community of nations. The government of Prime Minister Allawi has earned the support of every nation that believes in self-determination and desires peace. And under Security Council resolutions 1511 and 1546, the world is providing that support. The U.N., and its member nations, must respond to Prime Minister Allawi's request, and do more to help build an Iraq that is secure, democratic, federal, and free.

A democratic Iraq has ruthless enemies, because terrorists know the stakes in that country. They know that a free Iraq in the heart of the Middle East will be a decisive blow against their ambitions for that region. So a terrorists group associated with al Qaeda is now one of the main groups killing the innocent in Iraq today -- conducting a campaign of bombings against civilians, and the beheadings of bound men. Coalition forces now serving in Iraq are confronting the terrorists and foreign fighters, so peaceful nations around the world will never have to face them within our own borders.

Our coalition is standing beside a growing Iraqi security force. The NATO Alliance is providing vital training to that force. More than 35 nations have contributed money and expertise to help rebuild Iraq's infrastructure. And as the Iraqi interim government moves toward national elections, officials from the United Nations are helping Iraqis build the infrastructure of democracy. These selfless people are doing heroic work, and are carrying on the great legacy of Sergio de Mello.

As we have seen in other countries, one of the main terrorist goals is to undermine, disrupt, and influence election outcomes. We can expect terrorist attacks to escalate as Afghanistan and Iraq approach national elections. The work ahead is demanding. But these difficulties will not shake our conviction that the future of Afghanistan and Iraq is a future of liberty. The proper response to difficulty is not to retreat, it is to prevail.

The advance of freedom always carries a cost, paid by the bravest among us. America mourns the losses to our nation, and to many others. And today, I assure every friend of Afghanistan and Iraq, and every enemy of liberty: We will stand with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq until their hopes of freedom and security are fulfilled.

These two nations will be a model for the broader Middle East, a region where millions have been denied basic human rights and simple justice. For too long, many nations, including my own, tolerated, even excused, oppression in the Middle East in the name of stability. Oppression became common, but stability never arrived. We must take a different approach. We must help the reformers of the Middle East as they work for freedom, and strive to build a community of peaceful, democratic nations.

This commitment to democratic reform is essential to resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. Peace will not be achieved by Palestinian rulers who intimidate opposition, tolerate corruption, and maintain ties to terrorist groups. The long-suffering Palestinian people deserve better. They deserve true leaders capable of creating and governing a free and peaceful Palestinian state.

Even after the setbacks and frustrations of recent months, goodwill and hard effort can achieve the promise of the road map to peace. Those who would lead a new Palestinian state should adopt peaceful means to achieve the rights of their people, and create the reformed institutions of a stable democracy. Arab states should end incitement in their own media, cut off public and private funding for terrorism, and establish normal relations with Israel. Israel should impose a settlement freeze, dismantle unauthorized outposts, end the daily humiliation of the Palestinian people, and avoid any actions that prejudice final negotiations. And world leaders should withdraw all favor and support from any Palestinian ruler who fails his people and betrays their cause.

The democratic hopes we see growing in the Middle East are growing everywhere. In the words of the Burmese democracy advocate, Aung San Suu Kyi: "We do not accept the notion that democracy is a Western value. To the contrary; democracy simply means good government rooted in responsibility, transparency, and accountability." Here at the United Nations, you know this to be true. In recent years, this organization has helped create a new democracy in East Timor, and the U.N. has aided other nations in making the transition to self-rule.

Because I believe the advance of liberty is the path to both a safer and better world, today I propose establishing a Democracy Fund within the United Nations. This is a great calling for this great organization. The fund would help countries lay the foundations of democracy by instituting the rule of law and independent courts, a free press, political parties and trade unions. Money from the fund would also help set up voter precincts and polling places, and support the work of election monitors. To show our commitment to the new Democracy Fund, the United States will make an initial contribution. I urge other nations to contribute, as well.

Today, I've outlined a broad agenda to advance human dignity, and enhance the security of all of us. The defeat of terror, the protection of human rights, the spread of prosperity, the advance of democracy -- these causes, these ideals, call us to great work in the world. Each of us alone can only do so much. Together, we can accomplish so much more.

History will honor the high ideals of this organization. The charter states them with clarity: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights," "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

Let history also record that our generation of leaders followed through on these ideals, even in adversity. Let history show that in a decisive decade, members of the United Nations did not grow weary in our duties, or waver in meeting them. I'm confident that this young century will be liberty's century. I believe we will rise to this moment, because I know the character of so many nations and leaders represented here today. And I have faith in the transforming power of freedom.

May God bless you. (Applause.)

END 11:21 A.M. EDT ■

21 September 2004

<<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/09/20040921-3.html>>

Document No. 18

PRESIDENT PERVEZ MUSHARRAF'S SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S 59TH SESSION

On September 22, 2004, President Pervez Musharraf addressed the 59th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Presented below is the full text of his speech:

**Mr. President,
Excellencies,
Distinguished Delegates,**

Allow me to extend our warm felicitations on your election as the President of the General Assembly. We congratulate H.E. Mr. Julian Hunte for his successful stewardship of the 58th Session of the Assembly. I also reaffirm our deep appreciation for the wise leadership of the Secretary General, H.E. Mr. Kofi Annan, and his services for the cause of peace and progress in the world.

Mr. President,

A profound transformation is underway in international relations. The dangerous balances of the Cold War have been replaced by the complex and equally dangerous realities of our world today. It is a world marked by intensifying globalization – of economies, production, trade and information, on one side, and terrorist violence, poverty and disease, on the other.

The growing asymmetries in power among States, discrimination in the dispensation of international justice, repression of peoples' legitimate aspirations, and growing socio-economic disparities, have precipitated "new threats" to international peace and security: The threat of terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and imploding States. The world today sees turmoil and upheaval everywhere – especially in the Third World and more specifically in the Muslim World. Too many fronts have been opened, too many battle lines drawn. The time for closing fronts has come. The world today is crying for peace, reconciliation and reform. Our objective today has to be harmony through reconciliation and accommodation, globally and regionally.

Mr. President,

Terrorism poses the most urgent threat to many countries, including the most powerful States. For many of us, the terrorist threat is close and personal. Terrorism threatens Pakistan's vital national interests and objectives. We have thus participated actively in the unprecedented global campaign against it. Pakistan has led the way in this campaign. Our counter-terrorist campaign is ongoing.

The global cooperation against Terrorism has been highly successful. Determined and collective action has contained and disrupted the violent agendas of the terrorists. We are winning the battle against terrorists. However, what we are doing is insufficient to win the ultimate war against them. The immediate anti-terrorist response has to be accompanied by a clear, long-term strategy striking at the root of the problem if we are to ensure final success against this scourge..

Mr. President,

I had proposed the two pronged strategy of Enlightened Moderation to overcome terrorism and prevent a clash of civilizations. The last Islamic Summit in Malaysia endorsed this plan which involves, on the one hand, internal socio-economic reform in the Muslim world and, on the other, active support from the major powers to ensure political justice and socio-economic revival for all Islamic peoples. While the Islamic World has taken its first step in the form of nominating a Commission of Eminent Persons to propose measures for a Renaissance in the Muslim World, the major powers of the West have yet to show movement, by seriously trying, to resolve internationally recognized disputes affecting the Muslim world.

The industrialized world must support the endeavour for an Islamic renaissance especially through adequate financial and technical assistance and larger trade opportunities. Most importantly, justice must be offered to Islamic peoples in the form of resolution of all outstanding international disputes which affect Muslims. There is no time to lose. Action has to be taken before an iron curtain finally descends between the West and the Islamic World.

Mr. President,

The tragedy of Palestine is an open wound inflicted on the psyche of every Muslim. It generates anger and resentment across the Islamic World. Continued Israeli violence and erection of the illegal separation wall by them, usurping more Palestinian land, as well as suicide attacks by misguided Palestinians, are frustrating the prospects of peace and prolonging the agony of the Palestinian people. While Pakistan stands for peace – recognizing the right of Israel to exist, as also the right of the Palestinians to have their own homeland, we can never accept the usurpation of additional Palestinian land. Israel has no right to erect its separation wall beyond its 1967 boundaries. Pakistan calls on Israel to withdraw the wall from all occupied Palestinian lands, taking it back to the pre-1967 boundaries. We also call on Israel to stop the daily atrocities against Palestinians. Pakistan also call on President Yasser Arafat to use his influence to reciprocally halt the Intifada and give peace a chance. A major responsibility rests with the Quartet, and in particular with the world's greatest power, to secure a fair and peaceful solution of the problem, realizing the vision of two states – Israel and Palestine – living side by side in peace and security. The US can and must play the role of a just broker of peace. Peace must succeed in the Middle East; failure, Mr. President, is no more an option.

Mr. President,

It has always been my conviction that Pakistan and India can resolve all their differences, including over Jammu and Kashmir, through a sincere dialogue. The dangerous confrontation of 2002 and the three wars prior to that between our two countries have demonstrated that there is no military solution to our problems. The aspiration for peace enjoys popular support in Pakistan and, I also believe, in India. Neither country can achieve its ambition for social and economic progress in the absence of peace. We must achieve peace for the sake of the impoverished people of South Asia – for their development and prosperity.

After several aborted attempts, Pakistan and India have been able to initiate Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and a composite dialogue this year to address all outstanding issues. Pakistan has pursued this process with complete sincerity, giving bilateralism a final chance. We feel that the dual channels of CBMs and the

Dialogue Process must proceed in tandem. We also are firmly committed to resolving all disputes with India peacefully including the Kashmir dispute. This cannot be ignored. Its resolution cannot be delayed. We desire a resolution of Kashmir which is just and acceptable to India, Pakistan and the people of Kashmir. We also seek strategic stability with India. I am glad to say, Mr. President, that up till now the normalization process has progressed well, in a cordial atmosphere. Now that the negotiations are entering the difficult stage of grappling with solutions to previously irreconcilable disputes, Pakistan hopes that India shows the same sincerity, flexibility and boldness that Pakistan will demonstrate. I look forward to my meeting day after tomorrow with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. I would like to convey to him that this is the moment for peace – we must not allow it to slip away..

Mr. President,

Iraq has taken a serious turn, to the anguish of the entire world community. It is imperative that together with closing the Palestine and Kashmir fronts, we also wind down the Iraq confrontation. Pakistan stands for restoration of peace and stability in Iraq, ensuring its unity and territorial integrity. This can only be achieved through handing over governance authority to the people of Iraq and allowing them full control over their natural resources. Internal law and order and security can be best promoted by local Iraqi Police or Militia, which needs to be built up expeditiously. At an opportune time, and, on request of people and Government of Iraq, the Muslim World could play a role in bringing peace and harmony to this conflict torn Nation.

Mr. President,

The forthcoming elections in Afghanistan will be an important landmark in the country's progress towards democracy and stability. Pakistan will do all it can to prevent terrorists from using our territory to disrupt the Afghan election process. The subsequent Parliamentary elections in April 2005 would also augur well for self governance in Afghanistan. While the political channel is progressing well and we wish President Karzai all success, the process of building the Afghan National Army and reconstruction effort in Afghanistan needs to be accelerated to install durable peace in Afghanistan.

Mr. President,

In our globalized world, peace and development are interdependent – now more than ever. Despite dynamic growth in some parts of the developing world, economic and social disparities are increasing. The rich are richer; the poor are poorer. Over two billion people on -our planet — a quarter of the world's population — live in abject poverty, afflicted by hunger, disease and conflict. Islands of peace and prosperity cannot coexist for long within oceans of instability and poverty.

A bold and innovative global strategy is required to redress the growing inequalities. Good governance is a precondition for development. But, it is equally essential to rectify the glaring inequities and imbalances in the international financial and trade systems. Official Development Assistance can and must be doubled. Innovative ways can and must be adopted to generate the financial resources required for development. The billions transferred abroad by corrupt leaders should be returned to the looted countries to finance poverty alleviation, education and health. International investment flows should be consciously directed to the poorer developing countries. It can unleash the latent power of the poor for consumption and production. We also know by now that trade, and not just aid, is the way to promote

growth and to benefit from globalization. However, it has to be made more equitable. It should eliminate unfair agricultural subsidies, remove high and escalating tariffs that discriminate against the products of the poor and offer special and differential treatment to disadvantaged developing countries. In my view, we need more than a level playing field; we need a field tilted in favour of the developing countries.

Unless the world's leaders generate the political will required to agree and implement these measures urgently, the Millennium Development Goals, proclaimed by the United Nations, will remain a mirage.

Mr. President,

In Pakistan, we are well on the way to transforming our country into a modern, progressive, tolerant, democratic, Islamic state, reflecting the vision of our founding father, the Quaid-e-Azam. Democracy has been restored in Pakistan. The people have been empowered through a revolutionary Local Government System. Our women have been empowered. However, like other developing countries, Pakistan confronts several challenges. But, we are confident of success. Our governance is good. Our national priorities are clear.

Mr. President,

Today, there is welcome resurgence of support for multilateralism. This must be a multilateralism based on the principles of the UN Charter, a cooperative and democratic multilateralism. It must seek just, peaceful and durable solutions to conflicts and disputes. It must promote a programme for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. It must foster global development and prosperity.

All our collective aspirations can be best pursued within this World Organization. The United Nations must be strengthened and revitalized to respond to the challenges of Twenty-first Century.

The UN Security Council should become more effective, democratic and representative. There is no agreement on the aspiration of a few States to acquire permanent membership of the Security Council. The overwhelming majority of states are against the creation of new centres of privilege. The Council should be enlarged to ensure their presentation of the mostly small and medium states which have joined the United Nations over the last three decades. We have to consider new ideas to craft a consensus on the enlargement of elected members on the Security Council

Mr. President,

Pakistan believes that a new consensus on peace, security and development, can and should be achieved on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the United Nations next year. The summit meeting suggested by the Secretary General for next year must lead to an negotiated Final Document adopted by consensus. This historic Summit will, I hope, create anew paradigm to achieve universal peace and prosperity.

Source: Official Website of the United Nations ■

22 September 2004

<<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/document/papers/PMUN04.htm>>

Document No. 19

FULL TEXT OF US-PAKISTAN JOINT STATEMENT

WASHINGTON: US and Pakistani presidents reviewed progress in the global war on terror and pledged to continue working together. President George Bush expressed appreciation for Pakistan's efforts in this area. The two leaders also welcomed the progress of the Joint Working Group on Terrorism and Law Enforcement and agreed to strengthen bilateral cooperation in this regard.

President Pervez Musharraf highlighted the need for addressing the underlying causes that have given rise to disaffection and frustration in the Islamic world. In this connection, he recalled his concept of Enlightened Moderation which envisages cooperation of the United States and other leading world powers in finding solutions to longstanding issues that affect the Muslim world.

The two leaders also noted their cooperation to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and reaffirmed their commitment to sustain efforts towards this end.

They discussed the importance of building security and prosperity in the region. They noted the urgency of maintaining a safe environment for fair elections in Afghanistan and President Bush thanked President Musharraf for his efforts in support of out-of-country voting in Pakistan.

President Bush noted the significant economic progress that Pakistan has made in recent years and reaffirmed US support for Pakistan's efforts to sustain reform and growth. He reiterated the US administration's pledge to provide \$3 billion over five years to help in important areas such as security and the social sector. President Musharraf expressed appreciation for US support to Pakistan's social sector, economic development and poverty reduction programmes.

The two leaders expressed satisfaction that the Pakistan-US Joint Trade and Investment Council set up under the 2003 Trade and Investment Framework Agreement would meet later this month. They reiterated their commitment to expand bilateral trade and investment.

The two leaders also welcomed the growing cooperation in the area of science and technology under the umbrella agreement signed in June 2003. President Musharraf reiterated his commitment to democracy and his intent to strengthen the country's democratic institutions and bring sustainable democracy in Pakistan.

Taking note of the rich agenda for cooperation, President Bush once again emphasised a long-term commitment from US to Pakistan and to the region. President Musharraf expressed appreciation for a close collaboration by US and looked forward to building on this solid foundation in the future. Both presidents agreed to expand and deepen bilateral relations to the mutual benefit of the two countries. staff report. ■

23 September 2004

<http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_23-9-2004_pg7_42>

Document No. 20

TEXT: U.S. PROMISES TO EXPEDITE SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN

(U.S.-Pakistan Defense Consultative Group meets in Washington Sept. 15-18) (1300)

The United States and Pakistan discussed bilateral military and security cooperation September 15-18 and agreed upon a schedule of joint military exercises and training. The United States also committed itself to expediting the procurement of U.S. military equipment and other security assistance obligations to Pakistan.

The meetings of the U.S.-Pakistan Defense Consultative Group (DCG) were held in Washington, and a joint statement released September 24 by the Defense Department described them as "substantive, cordial, [and] useful."

The military-to-military exercises and training activities agreed to for the remainder of 2003 and early 2004 will "broaden and deepen existing bilateral military cooperation, and provide new opportunities to gain greater interoperability and familiarization," said the statement.

The two delegations, led by U.S. Under Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith and Pakistani Defense Secretary retired Lt. Gen. Hamid Nawaz Khan, reviewed U.S. security assistance to Pakistan, including its support for Pakistan's economic, political and educational reform programs, debt relief, military financing, and military education and training funds, according to the statement.

They also had initial discussions on the military sales component of the U.S. \$3 billion multi-year assistance program for Pakistan announced by Presidents Bush and Musharraf at Camp David in June 2003. The statement said the United States "confirmed its commitment to resolve security assistance issues expeditiously," including the procurement of military equipment and repairs, and providing information on the availability of new weapons systems, according to the statement.

The two delegations also gave presentations on South Asian regional security issues and the situation in Afghanistan. "The presentations and discussions offered new opportunities for both sides to understand each other's views on regional security and defense issues," according to the statement.

The joint statement indicated that the DCG remains "an important forum for the developing relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan," and that its next meeting is scheduled for fall 2004 in Islamabad.

Following is the Text of the DCG Joint Statement:

(begin text)

Joint Statement on U.S.-Pakistan Defense Consultative Group

The U.S.-Pakistan Defense Consultative Group (DCG), met Sept. 15-18 in Washington, D.C. The meeting was co-chaired by U.S. Under Secretary of Defense Douglas J. Feith and Pakistani Defense Secretary retired Lt. Gen. Hamid Nawaz Khan.

The U.S. defense relationship is a critical element of the Global War on Terrorism, and key to the security and stability of South Asia. The DCG continues to serve as a primary forum for exchanging ideas and coordinating policies regarding the war on terrorism and the other defense and security issues affecting the U.S.-Pakistani relationship.

Last week's meetings of the DCG, the 15th in the series and the first in Washington, D.C. in nearly six years, continued a tradition of open, broad-ranging and practical discussions, and further strengthened bonds of mutual friendship and respect between our countries. The DCG met with the U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, who discussed U.S.-Pakistani defense cooperation, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

The DCG working groups met for two days to review the progress of defense cooperation between the two countries, and to identify and plan activities for the future.

The Military Cooperative Consultations group agreed to a schedule of military-to-military exercises and training activities for the balance of 2003 and into 2004. This program will broaden and deepen existing bilateral military cooperation, and provide new opportunities to gain greater interoperability and familiarization.

The delegations received an update from the DCG's Counter-Terrorism Working Group established at last year's DCG meeting in Islamabad. That group discussed how the U.S. military can assist Pakistan in improving its capabilities to operate against Taliban and Al Qaeda. The U.S. supports Pakistan's efforts to enhance its capabilities, particularly in the Northwest Frontier Province and federally-administered tribal areas, and agrees to address Pakistan's requirements as a priority.

The Security Assistance Working Group discussed issues relating to procurement of U.S. military equipment under the Foreign Military Financing program, including:

- weapons systems and related support;
- repair/upgrade of existing systems;
- licenses for the import of spares; and
- the resolution of other outstanding issues.

The group reviewed defensive systems to improve Pakistan's conventional capabilities, Pakistani equipment priorities, and measures and conditions for a long-term, sustainable defense cooperation relationship. The U.S. confirmed its commitment to resolve security assistance issues expeditiously, and to provide information to Pakistan on the availability of new weapons and systems as soon as possible. Ensuring interoperability of weapons systems, tactics, techniques, and procedures between the two militaries remains a high priority.

The delegations also reviewed the substantial economic and security assistance the U.S. has provided to Pakistan during the past year. This has included funding for support of Pakistani economic, political and educational reform programs, debt relief, over \$224 million dollars in foreign military financing, and \$1 million in international military education and training funds. The delegations conducted initial discussions on the military sales component of the U.S. \$3 billion multi-year assistance program for Pakistan announced by Presidents Bush and Musharraf at Camp David in June 2003. The delegations also discussed Pakistan's interest in increased funding for the annual foreign military finance program.

The delegations received reviews of the Counter-Terrorism Working Group and Security Assistance Working Group proceedings. Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Christina Rocca, detailed U.S. South Asia policy, and Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs Lincoln Bloomfield, reviewed U.S. conventional arms sales policies, as well as the multi-year assistance package offered to Pakistan. The two sides discussed the war on terrorism, particularly operations against Taliban and Al Qaeda forces in the border areas.

The U.S. delegation expressed appreciation for Pakistan's assistance in counter-terrorism operations, and noted its regret at the August friendly-fire incident in which two Pakistani soldiers were killed. The delegations exchanged views on Iraq, and on ways and means to stabilize the situation there.

The Pakistani side provided a wide-ranging briefing on regional security issues, including the challenges Pakistan faces in suppressing terrorist elements, and the continuing security challenges posed by India. The U.S. side made a presentation on the current situation within Afghanistan. The presentations and discussions offered new opportunities for both sides to understand each other's views on regional security and defense issues.

The sides agreed to institute formal security assistance reviews on a semi-annual basis. The U.S. side offered to consider measures to highlight more effectively the Pakistani contributions to the Global War on Terrorism, especially before the U.S. Congress. The U.S. said that it would take Pakistani requests for consideration of additional security assistance under advisement, particularly Pakistan's request to maintain its conventional capabilities, and enhance its counter-terrorism capabilities.

The U.S. affirmed its commitment to expedite security assistance obligations to Pakistan (especially equipment requests and deliveries), and to identify ways to further streamline procedures. The U.S. side agreed to investigate ways to assist Pakistan to dispose of obsolete U.S.-origin equipment in storage in Pakistan.

In sum, the 2003 DCG meetings were substantive, cordial, useful, and remain an important forum for the developing relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan. Priorities were reviewed, requirements established, and steps delineated for addressing important bilateral policy and resource issues. The sides agreed that the DCG continues to contribute to sustaining the momentum in the bilateral relationship. The co-chairs agreed that the DCG will hold its next meeting in Islamabad in the fall of 2004, but would consider re-convening sooner if circumstances warranted.

(end text)

(Distributed by the Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State. Web site: <http://usinfo.state.gov>) ■

24 September 2004

<<http://usinfo.org/wf-archive/2003/030924/epf308.htm>>

Document No. 21

JOINT STATEMENT – MEETING BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER DR. MANMOHAN SINGH AND PAKISTAN PRESIDENT MR. PERVEZ MUSHARRAF

New York

24 September 2004

President Musharraf and Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh had one hour meeting this morning. Their discussions were held in a constructive and frank spirit. They welcomed the opportunity of making each other's acquaintance during the first meeting.

Both leaders reiterated their commitment to continue the bilateral dialogue to restore normalcy and cooperation between India and Pakistan.

They agreed that confidence building measures (CBMs) of all categories under discussion between the two governments should be implemented keeping in mind practical possibilities. They also addressed the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and agreed that possible options for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the issue should be explored in a sincere spirit and purposeful manner. In the spirit of the Islamabad joint press statement of January 6, 2004, they agreed that CBMs will contribute to generating an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding so necessary for the well being of the peoples of both countries.

The possibility of a gas pipeline via Pakistan to India was also discussed. It was felt that such a project could contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the people of both countries and should be considered in the larger context of expanding trade and economic relations between India and Pakistan. ■

24 September 2004

<http://www.iiss.org/showpage.php?mixedPagesID=99#8_September_2004>

Document No. 22

PRESS STATEMENT OF RICHARD BOUCHER, SPOKESMAN ON ELECTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN

Washington, DC

October 9, 2004

Elections in Afghanistan

Today history was made in Afghanistan. We congratulate the Afghan people on exercising their political right to choose their country's next leader. They have much to be proud of in bringing their country to this point, just three years after the end of a quarter century of war and repression.

In these elections, millions of Afghans voted to select their next president through secret ballot across their country, and in Iran and Pakistan. The country had its first-ever election for a head of state. Initial reports indicate that turnout was extraordinarily high. Voters, including a large number of women, waited patiently for hours to cast their votes. Voting hours were extended at some polling stations to accommodate the heavy turnout. Based on first reports, we are encouraged that polling day proceeded calmly and that no major security incidents occurred. The voting is now finished, and the results will be tabulated over the days to come.

We note that there were reports of technical problems at some polling stations. We are confident that the Joint Electoral Management Body, which is charged with overseeing the elections, will review and address those complaints, as it has pledged to do. In its statement today, the Body promised that all complaints would be thoroughly investigated.

This election is the latest milestone on the Afghan people's road to democratic government and vibrant civil society. In the spring, they will take another major step in charting their political future when they return to the polls to select members of parliament and local governments. The United States and the international community will continue to support them as they work toward this brighter future.

2004/1095

Released on October 9, 2004

(end text)

(Distributed by the Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State. Web site: <http://usinfo.state.gov>)■

9 October 2004

<http://malaysia.usembassy.gov/wf/wf1009_afghan.htm>

Document No. 23

PRESS STATEMENT OF KHALILZAD ON AFGHAN ELECTIONS

U.S. Embassy in Kabul Press release, October 9, 2004

U.S. Congratulates the Afghan People on their Historic Triumph

Kabul, Afghanistan -- Special Presidential Envoy and U.S. Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad congratulated the Afghan people this evening for successfully holding their national election for president.

"The Afghan Nation has spoken -- it has voted for democracy and freedom. This is a triumph for Afghanistan. Once again, the Afghan people have shown that they have seized the moment to establish democracy and secure their freedom. All Afghans should be proud of what their country has achieved today," Ambassador Khalilzad said.

Khalilzad continued, "Today's elections were a profound success, as demonstrated by the high voter turnout and the Afghan people's enthusiasm and pride in their country's first election for head of state in their 5,000-year history."

Initial reports indicate that voter turnout was extraordinarily high. Long lines were reported at polling stations throughout the country, and voting hours were extended to accommodate the turnout. In Bamiyan, for instance, Afghans stood in line for up to two hours in the snow to cast their vote. The participation of women in the election also appears to be high, even in areas such as Kandahar and Khost where some observers thought their turnout would be low. "Afghans, men and women alike, have once again met the challenge of this historic day," said Khalilzad.

We have taken note that some, including presidential candidates, have made accusations of technical problems and irregularities, particularly concerning the indelible ink applied to the thumbs of voters at polling places. Technical problems arise even in the elections of advanced countries. It is not surprising that some would occur in a country that is holding its first national election in decades. JEMB [Joint Electoral Management Body] and UNAMA [United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan] sought to address these difficulties with resourcefulness. All along, the Afghan people's confidence in the voting process remained steadfast.

"We recognize that some allegations remain and that there should be a process to address these allegations through a thorough and transparent investigation," said Khalilzad.

As the JEMB indicated in its statement earlier today, "All complaints and irregularities raised with the JEMB will be thoroughly investigated and taken into account when the JEMB deliberates on the extent to which the election accurately reflects the will of the Afghan people."

"In a democratic process, winners and losers have responsibilities. We do not yet know who is the winner in this election. However, the responsibility of all candidates is not to raise allegations of wrongdoing intended solely to paralyze the democratic process. For Afghanistan to win, the losers in the election should not undermine the achievement of the Afghan people," Khalilzad said.

Afghan, Coalition and ISAF forces should be congratulated for ensuring the safety of voters across the country. Efforts by the Taliban to disrupt the voting were limited to small-scale, isolated attacks, largely in the south and east.

"I want to thank Afghan soldiers and police, the Coalition, and ISAF for their excellent preparations to thwart the efforts of the extremists and terrorists. Today was a triumph for the Afghan people and a big defeat for the enemies of Afghanistan. These enemies wanted to derail the democratic process. And they failed," Khalilzad concluded.
(end text)■

9 October 2004

<http://malaysia.usembassy.gov/wf/wf1009_afghan.htm>

Document No. 24

SPEECH BY FOREIGN MINISTER KHURSHID M. KASURI AT A SEMINAR ON EMERGING SECURITY CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES, (OCTOBER 14, 2004, ISLAMABAD)

Maj. Gen. Jamshed Ayaz Khan, President of the Institute of Regional Studies, Dr. Gary Saymore, Head of the Delegation of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Distinguished guests,
Ladies Gentlemen,

1. thank you for inviting me to this Seminar. I am delighted at the opportunity of meeting with such a distinguished group of scholars both from Pakistan and abroad.
2. The theme you have chosen for the Seminar Emerging Security Challenges and Opportunities-- is both topical and critically important.
3. We live in a turbulent and at a troubled moment in history. Reliance on military action and force defines solutions to global disputes. Foreign occupation persists. Suppression of peoples rights continues unabated. Power asymmetries are widening. Terrorism has spread. Economic recession threatens. Poverty is growing. Inequality is increasing.
4. The current international configuration has immensely altered the traditional diplomatic functions and practices. The dispersal of authority away from states, the predominance of economics over politics, and the growing role of NGOs, social movements, and other transnational collectivities highlight the need for national governments to alter their modes of interaction with each other and with relevant actors in the multi-centric world.
5. A host of new issues including globalization, human rights, democracy, terrorism and the environment have made their way to the center stage of international attention. International relations are being reconfigured to underline the primacy of these issues and new international norms are being rapidly evolved in these and other areas.

6. We can either seize the moment, and define history or let the moment define our destiny. We must turn challenge into opportunity. We must reflect and act quickly and collectively for the sake of our future generations.

7. Pakistan is firmly committed to the promotion of peace and security at the regional and global levels. In keeping with its international obligations and in conformity with the United Nations Charter, Pakistan has consistently worked for the development of inter-state relations on the basis of sovereign equality, mutual respect, non- interference and peaceful settlement of disputes. It remains Pakistans resolve to promote and enhance bilateral relations and mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields with all the countries of the world. Pakistan firmly believes in an international order that is based on justice, mutual trust and confidence.

8. Unfortunately, Pakistans image is being tarnished by the extremist actions of a tiny minority that exists on the fringes of our society. The practices and professions of this extremist minority are in conflict with the true teachings of Islam. This minority interprets our progressive and forward-looking religion in a very narrow, rigid and static framework. Their acts of violence, perpetrated in the name of our noble Faith, are abhorrent and unacceptable. Such actions do not promote the just causes that these extremists claim to espouse. Their actions further equip our detractors to demonize Muslims and project Islam as a religion of violence. Those who pay for the acts of these extremists are the majority of Pakistanis who are moderate and tolerant, as prescribed by Islam. We must not allow them to hijack Islam, to preach religious and sectarian hatred with impunity, and to tarnish the image of Islam and Pakistan. We have taken up this challenge upon us to portray the real image of Islam and Pakistan to the world the image of true Islam and true Pakistan.

I. Terrorism: A Challenge to Peace Security

Mr. Chairman,

9. Few would deny that the attacks on New York and Washington on 11 September 2001 marked the beginning of a new era in international security, or perhaps we should say insecurity. As the UN Secretary-General put it in his Nobel lecture, we entered the new millennium through a gate of fire.

10. The emerging global security imperatives have brought forward four particularly noticeable changes in the global security agenda:

1. First, terrorism, and the possible use by terrorists of weapons of mass destruction, has come to dominate the agenda of the UN, the United States, and also the European Union as reflected in the European Security Agenda. Of course, terrorism has long been a serious threat, including for all developing countries -- not least Pakistan. But since 9/11, the heightened concern about terrorism among many of the worlds most powerful countries has changed the security landscape.
2. Secondly, in dealing with new threats, international community finds little time, and meagre resources, to deal with other threats to peace and security including hunger, disease and under-development. Yet there are still conflicts fought with conventional weapons, often within rather than between States.
3. Thirdly, there is still a range of other dangers -- such as global poverty, organized crime, poor governance and environmental degradation -- which cause suffering in the world, and which, to one extent or another, can

contribute to the conditions which make war or terrorism -- or both -- more likely.

4. And fourthly, given old and new challenges and threats, the normative global framework established with the United Nations Charter in 1945 is under strain -- especially the rules governing the use of force by States. I don't mean to imply that these rules were consistently followed by all States between 1945 and 2004. Obviously not. But seldom, if ever, have the basic principles of the Charter been so directly challenged.

II. The Pakistan Response

11. Pakistan has made a critical contribution to the successes in the global war against terrorism. To realize the vision of a modern, dynamic, economically vibrant, moderate Islamic state, Pakistan must fight terrorism resolutely. Our strong, forceful actions are yielding concrete results. The top leadership of Al-Qaeda has been disrupted. Over 600 operatives have been apprehended, to be brought to justice. Our forces continue to conduct operations to eliminate the remnants of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Border controls have been tightened. The madrassah and education reforms continue apace.

12. But, we remain determined in the face of terrorist backlash. We recognize that fighting terrorism is going to be a long and complex campaign. But we are also taking this challenge as an opportunity to eradicate terrorism from our soil with commitment and resolve, mutual cooperation, and wisdom and understanding. Our counter-terrorism strategy has therefore both short and long-term focus.

13. In the short term, strong law enforcement and police action would remain essential. Greater information and intelligence sharing would continue to be critical. Military operations must be conducted as required. To combat them effectively, we must recognize and adapt quickly to the changing nature of Al-Qaeda and other terrorists.

14. In addition, Pakistan has made an important contribution to the struggle against terrorism through the political and technical assistance it has given to Afghanistan since the overthrow of the Taliban regime. We all recognize the importance of preventing Afghanistan from relapsing into chaos, which would allow it once again to become a haven for terrorists. This battle is by no means yet won. But Pakistan has played, and is playing, a major part in it. Along with international stakeholders, it is helping Afghans to move, through a complex constitutional process, towards a stable and representative form of government.

15. In the long-term, terrorism cannot be defeated without addressing its underlying causes. These include regional conflicts and global social and economic problems. Action on both the political and economic fronts is necessary to avoid the growing danger of a clash between Islam and the West which is fanned by extremists on both sides. The smear that equates terrorism with Islam must be rejected firmly. **We must not allow the spurious thesis of the clash of civilizations to become a self-fulfilling prophecy.**

III. Greater Engagement between Islam and the West

Ladies Gentlemen,

16. Within the Islamic world, there is a growing sense of humiliation and frustration due to a series of unjust situations. In the Middle East, Palestine, is the root cause of alienation in much of the Arab and Islamic world; in South Asia, a resolution of Kashmir which is acceptable to Pakistan, India and the people of Kashmir cannot be

delayed for too long; Iraq has compounded the perceptions of anti-Americanism in the Muslim world and of anti-Islamism in the West.

17. **We cannot allow a new iron curtain to descend between the Islamic world and the West.** We need a well-conceived and cooperative strategy for this purpose. Unless there are visible efforts and concrete results, in resolving the situations where Muslims are being unjustly suppressed, the hearts and minds will be won by the extremists, not the moderates in the Islamic world. Unless poverty, dispossession, unemployment and ignorance are addressed, terrorists and extremists would continue to find foot soldiers for their sinister designs.

18. The Muslim countries must initiate steps to address the social and political deficits they face. Their social and human development indicators are among the lowest in the world. In comparative terms, Muslims are amongst the poorest, most uneducated, least technologically advanced, and most powerless peoples. They also host rising proportions of unemployed and alienated youth, imbued with hopelessness. **The need for a renaissance in the Muslim world is urgent.**

19. Pakistan has been working assiduously for a broader socio-economic transformation, and we have seen good progress. On the political side, elected National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies are functioning and are gaining in stability and maturity. On the economic side, the country is on the path of recovery with a strong structural reform agenda in place. We are focusing on poverty alleviation as a major priority. We have achieved stable currency, low inflation, improved levels of foreign exchange reserves, decline in the fiscal deficit and public debt, a vibrant stock market, steady growth, and increasing levels of foreign direct investment. On the social side, we are making efforts to **delegitimize extremism and promote moderation through education reform and other means.**

20. Pakistans success in achieving socio-economic transformation will be crucial for success in the long-term struggle against extremism in the Islamic world. As part of these endeavours, Pakistan is promoting a two-pronged strategy of Enlightened Moderation engaging both the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds. The first part requires the Muslim world to shun militancy and extremism and adopt the path of socio-economic uplift. The second part is for the West, in particular the United States, to seek to resolve all political disputes with justice, and assist in the socio-economic uplift of the deprived Muslim world. This strategy of Enlightened Moderation was endorsed by the 10th OIC Summit in Kuala Lumpur. A Commission of Eminent Persons is being constituted to make recommendations to be considered by an Extraordinary Session of the OIC Summit Conference later this year.

21. The efforts for revival and modernism in the Islamic world must be supported by the U.S., the West and other major powers. Such support, apart from just settlement of political disputes, must include more official development assistance especially in social sectors and employment generation, and larger and preferential trade access.

IV. Addressing the Proliferation Challenge

Distinguished guests,

22. Another area of growing convergence between the global community is containing the threat of WMD proliferation, especially by terrorists and other non-state actors. In fact, our aim in this area go beyond mere containment. The long-term objective is disarmament, to rid the world completely of all nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

23. On its part, Pakistan supported the adoption of Security Council resolution 1540 (2004). The international nuclear black market poses a tough challenge. Our collaborative efforts have resulted in the break-up of the A.Q. Khan network. This is an important achievement in the advancement of our shared non-proliferation goals. Pakistan has strengthened physical controls over its nuclear assets. **We have adopted comprehensive laws and regulations to prevent the export or pilferage of sensitive WMD materials and technology.**

24. **There is an obvious need to promote a new consensus on nuclear non-proliferation one that reconciles nuclear legality and nuclear reality.** The commitment of the nuclear powers to nuclear disarmament should be expressed clearly, with a reasonable timeframe for the speedy reduction and eventual elimination of their nuclear weapons. The proposals to prevent the misuse of civilian nuclear activities should be discussed in universal forums and elaborated into equitable, practical and agreed arrangements strengthening national physical controls and export regimes as well as peaceful cooperation. Arrangements should also be worked out whereby those **nuclear powers, which remain outside the NPT, can undertake the Treaty's central obligation not to transfer nuclear weapons or sensitive technologies in exchange for access to civilian nuclear and technological cooperation.**

25. The potential contribution that we can make to global non-proliferation efforts is undeniable. But such contribution is inconceivable if we continue to be a victim of selective and discriminatory approaches. It is my conviction that Pakistan is partner of the international community in anti-proliferation endeavours.

26. Of course, the need to deal with terrorism and weapons of mass destruction does not make any less important a range of more conventional threats -- threats which the developing world feels most acutely. In addressing these threats, Pakistan under the UN umbrella is heavily engaged in peace operations around the world. Pakistan now provides the bulk of UN peacekeepers deployed in Africa and other parts of the world, **and is thus one of the few hold-outs against a trend towards the regionalization of peacekeeping.** We have played critical roles in many difficult and dangerous UN missions -- and our ongoing commitment to peacekeeping is something the UN Secretary-General deeply values.

V.Cooperative Multilateralism: A Viable Opportunity

Ladies Gentlemen,

27. Despite the complexity of security challenges new and old which the world community confronts today, it would be a grave historical error to opt for strategies of intervention and pre-emption to impose order. Recent experience has demonstrated that such strategies can be costly and counterproductive. Today, there is a welcome trend away from unilateralism and towards multilateralism. Yet, multilateralism should not be transformed into collective unilateralism, for example, by criteria designed to facilitate approval of the use of force. This will be used mostly against the weak not the powerful. Recent experience has affirmed that wisdom of restricting the legitimate use of force strictly within the ambit of Articles 42 and 51 of the UN Charter.

28. What we should seek to replace unilateralism with is not the multipolarity of the powerful. We must aspire for genuine and democratic multilateralism. Such cooperative multilateralism, pursued mainly through the United Nations, and based on UN charter principles, remains the best paradigm for the future.

29. **Cooperative multilateralism must promote peaceful, just, and durable solutions to conflicts and disputes. It must address their root causes, especially poverty, political and economic injustices both within and among states.** This can be realized only if the General Assembly is enabled to play its role as the supreme organ of the UN, to which the membership of the more restricted organs, the Security Council and ECOSOC, is answerable and accountable.

30. **UN reform should not come at the cost of UN principles.** Institutional reforms in the UN system should promote greater democracy, efficiency, transparency and accountability. A comprehensive reform of the Security Council is required to enhance its representativeness, efficiency, transparency and accountability. The appointment of new permanent members will not enhance any of these objectives. It would create a new class of privileged Powers and increase political tensions in every region of world. It would aggravate the existing divisions within the United Nations. Expansion should thus be limited to new non-permanent members on the Council to enable the vast majority of the small and medium-sized states, which have joined the United Nations in the past three decades to be adequately represented on the Security Council.

VI. Conclusion

Dear participants,

31. The United Nations is a forum where, in the millennium year, leaders from all over the world assembled and pledged, in the Millennium Declaration, to spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected. Nor did they content themselves with such a broad and general declaration of intent. Instead, they broke it down into a number of specific time-bound pledges, which have become known as the Millennium Development Goals. Unhappily, the commitment to follow through on these Goals has been uneven, resulting in a loss of momentum in the drive to attain them.

32. In our globalized world, peace and development are ever more interdependent. **Islands of peace and prosperity cannot coexist for long within oceans of instability and poverty.** Despite dynamic growth in some parts of the developing world, economic and social disparities are increasing. The rich are richer; the poor poorer. **Over two billion people on our planet a quarter of the worlds population live in abject poverty,** afflicted by hunger, disease and conflict.

33. The time has come to rise above our differences, build on our convergences, and create a bright image for our nations. We will give our people the dignity, fulfilment and development that they aspire for. And we will speak to other nations of the world with confidence and ask them to join us in our quest to ensure justice, to wipe out poverty, and spread tolerance. This is possible only with a **changed mindset,** a new outlook on the present challenges and our response, and greater vigour in our efforts within a restructured global environment that flourishes on love, mutual respect and interdependence.

I thank you all. ■

4 October 2004

<http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/foreignaffairs-ministry/news-des.jsp?div=ForeignAffairs_Ministry&file=mofa15102004speech.xml>

Document No. 25

COURTS GET MORE ANTI-TERROR POWERS

NA amends Anti-Terrorism Act; bill to amend Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration Ordinance referred to committee

ISLAMABAD: The National Assembly Monday empowered judges of Anti-Terrorist Courts to impound passports of suspected religious terrorists for indefinite period to deal with the threat of terrorism across the country.

The bill to amend the Anti-Terrorism Act 1997 was passed by the treasury benches with voice vote. Under the new powers, suspected terrorists would not be allowed to get adjournment of their cases except twice.

The House cleared the bill in the absence of the opposition parties that boycotted the proceedings to protest against dual office for General Pervez Musharraf. The bill empowered the judges to award life imprisonment to religious terrorists instead of earlier sentence of 14 years in jail.

The government told the National Assembly at the time of approval of the bill that sweeping changes in the existing Anti-Terrorism Act of 1997 were brought to take cognisance of terrorist acts such as bomb blasts, firing and use of explosives in mosques and other worship places.

The government said the bill was moved in the Assembly to enhance both minimum and maximum punishment for acts of terrorism, limit the adjournment of cases and provide for appeal to be decided by special benches of High Courts consisting of not less than two judges.

The statement of the objectives of the bill said: "The power of the federal government is provided to transfer cases from a court in one province to a court in another province. Amendment of the third schedule is being introduced to bring offences relating to abduction and kidnapping for ransom, firing and use of explosive in the places of worship and court premises, within the exclusive jurisdiction of Anti-Terrorism courts."

The bill was presented in the House by the interior minister for its approval. Earlier, the bill was referred to the Standing Committee on Interior that after deliberations referred its report to the NA for legislation.

The committee disagreed with many portions of the bill and deleted controversial clauses. The law passed by the NA also says if the defence counsel does not appear for two consecutive adjournments, the court shall appoint a state council with at least seven years standing in criminal matters for the defence of the accused for the purpose in consultation with the government and shall proceed with the trial of the case.

APP adds: **Following is the Text of the Bill:** "further to amend the Anti-terrorism Act, 1997; whereas it is expedient further to amend the Anti-terrorism Act, 1997 (XXVII of 1997) for the purposes hereinafter appearing, it is hereby enacted as follows:

1. Short title and commencement.— (1) This Act may be called the Anti-terrorism (Second Amendment) Act, 2004. (2) It shall come into force at once.
2. Amendment of section 6, Act XXVII of 1997. -In the Anti-terrorism Act, 1997 (XXVII of 1997) hereinafter referred to as the said Act, in section 6, in sub-section

- (2), after clause (e), the following new clause shall be inserted, namely:—"(ee) involves use of explosives by any device including bomb blast;"
3. Amendment of section 7, Act XXVII of 1997. In the said Act, in section 7—, (i) in clause (b), for the words "five years" the words "ten years" shall be substituted and for the words "fourteen years" the words "imprisonment for life" shall be substituted; (ii) In clause (c), for the words 'seven years" the words "ten years shall be substituted; (iii) In clause (d), for the words "and not exceeding fourteen years" the words "but may extend to imprisonment for life" shall be substituted; (iv) After clause (f), the following new clause shall be inserted, namely:— "(ff) the act of terrorism committed falls under section 6(2) (e), shall be punishable with imprisonment which shall not be less than fourteen years but may extend to imprisonment for life;" (v) In clause (g), for the words "six months" the words "two years" shall be substituted and for the words "three years" the words "five years" shall be substituted; (vi) In clause (h), for the words "one year" the words "five years" shall be substituted and for the words "and not more than ten years" the words "but may extend to imprisonment for life" shall be substituted; and. (vii) in clause (i), for the words "six months" the words "five years" shall be substituted and for the words "five years" the words "ten years" shall be substituted.
 4. Amendment of section 11G, Act XXVII of 1997. -In the said Act, in section 11G, for sub-section (2), the following shall be substituted: "(2) A person who commits and offence under sub-section (1), shall be liable to imprisonment for a term which may extend to five years, or with fine, or with both.
 5. Amendment of section 11N, Act XXVII of 1997. -In the said Act, in section 11N, for the words "six months" the words "five years" shall be substituted and for the words "five years" the words "ten years" shall be substituted.
 6. Amendment of section 11V, Act XXVII of 1997. -In the said Act, in section 11V, in sub-section (2), for the words" imprisonment for a maximum term of seven years" the words "imprisonment for life" shall be substituted.
 7. Amendment of section 11W, Act XXVII of 1997. -In the said Act, in section 11W, for sub-section (2), the following shall be substituted, namely: "(2) Any person guilty of an offence under sub-section (1), shall be punishable on conviction with imprisonment which may extend to five years and with fine."
 8. Amendment of section 11X, Act XXVII of 1997. -In the said Act, in section 11X.—(i) In sub-section (2), for the words 'six months" the words "five years shall be substituted and for the words "five years" the words "ten years" shall be substituted; and (ii) in sub-section (3), for the words "six months" the words "five years" shall be substituted and for the words "three years" the words "ten years" shall be substituted.
 9. Amendment of section 19, Act XXVII of 1997:
In the said Act, in section 19,—(i) for sub-section (8), the following shall be substituted, namely:—"(8) An anti-terrorism Court shall not give more than two consecutive adjournments during the trial of the case. If the defence counsel does not appear after two consecutive adjournments, the court may appoint a State Counsel with at least seven years standing in criminal matters for the defence of the accused from the panel of advocates maintained by the Court for the purpose in consultation with the Government and shall proceed with the trial of the case." (ii) After sub-section (8) substituted as aforesaid, the following new sub-section shall

be inserted, namely-"(8a) Non-compliance with the provisions of sub-section (8) may render the presiding officer of the Court liable to disciplinary action by the concerned High Court. (8b) Notwithstanding anything contained in section 7 of the Explosive Substances Act, 1908 (VI of 1908), or any other law for the time being in force, if the consent or sanction of the appropriate authority, where required, is not received within thirty days of the submission of challan in the Court, the same shall be deemed to have been given or accorded and the Court shall proceed with the trial of the case.

10. Substitution of section 21G, Act XXVII of 1997:
In said Act, in section 21G, after the word "tried" the word "exclusively " shall be inserted.
11. Amendment of section 21L, Act XXVII of 1997. In the said Act, in section 21L, for the words "six months" the words "five years" and for the words "five years" the words "ten years" shall be substituted.
12. Amendment of section 25, Act XXVII of 1997. In the said Act, in section 25, after sub-section (8) , the following new sub-sections shall be added, namely:- "(9) For the purposes of hearing appeals under this section each High Court shall establish a Special Bench or Benches consisting of not less than two Judges. (10) While hearing an appeal, the Bench shall not grant more than two consecutive adjournments.
13. Insertion of new section, Act XXVII of 1997. - In the said Act, after section 28, the following new section shall be inserted, namely: "28A. Impounding of passport of person charge-sheeted under the Act.- Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force, the passport of a person, who is accused an offence under this Act, shall be deemed to have been impounded for such period as the Court may deem fit."
14. Amendment of the Third Schedule, Act XXVII of 1997. In the said Act, in the Third Schedule, after paragraph 3, the following new paragraph shall be added, namely;-"Without prejudice to the generality of the above paragraphs, the Anti-terrorism Court to the exclusion of any other Court shall try the offences relating to the following, namely: (i) Abduction or kidnapping for ransom; (ii) use of fire arms or explosives by any device, including bomb blast in a mosque, Imambargah, church, temple or any other place of worship, whether or not any hurt or damage is caused thereby; or (iii) firing or use of explosives by any device, including bomb blast in the court premises."

Statement of Objects and Reasons "In order to take serious cognisance of terrorist acts such as bomb blasts, firing and use of explosives in the Mosques, Imambargahs, Churches and other places of worship and court premises, and in order to cater for increased terrorist activities in the country, it is necessary to make certain amendments in the Anti-terrorism Act, 1997."

2. "To achieve the aforesaid objective, a draft Bill has been prepared. It enhances both minimum and maximum punishment for acts of terrorism, limits the adjournments of cases and provides for appeals to be decided by special Benches in the High Court consisting of not less than two judges. The power of the federal government is provided to transfer cases from a Court in one Province to a Court in another Province. Amendment of the Third Schedule is being introduced to bring offences relating to abduction and kidnapping for ransom, firing and use of

explosives in the places of worship and Court premises, within the exclusive jurisdiction of Anti-terrorism Courts."

3. The Bill is designed to achieve the aforesaid objects." Meanwhile, a bill to amend the Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration Ordinance, 2002 was presented before the National Assembly on Monday.

Minister for Information and Broadcasting Sheikh Rashid Ahmed introduced "The Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration (Amendment) Bill 2004".

The speaker referred the bill to the standing committee concerned.

Following is the text of the amendment bill: "Whereas it is expedient to amend the Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration Ordinance, 2002, (XCVIII of 2002), for the purpose hereinafter appearing; It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. Short title and commencement. - (1) This Act may be called the Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration (Amendment) Act, 2004. (2) It shall come into force at once:
2. General amendment, Ordinance XCVIII of 2002.- In the Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration Ordinance, 2002 (XCVIII of 2002), hereinafter referred to as the said Ordinance, after the words "District Coordination Officer", wherever occurring, the words and commas "or, where the District Government has not come into being, the District Magistrate" shall be inserted.
3. Amendment of section 44, Ordinance XCVIII of 2002. - IN the said Ordinance, in section 44, for the word "Government" the words "Federal Government in consultation with the Provincial Governments" shall be substituted."

Statement of objects and reasons "The Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration (Amendment) Bill, 2004, provides a legal framework for regulating matters pertaining to the press, newspapers, news agencies, books, printing presses etc.

1. It also provides for the authentication of declarations of newspapers, their registration and other allied matters.
2. The law was prepared in consultation with the All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS) and Council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors (CPNE) and has replaced the West Pakistan Press and Publications Ordinance, 1963 which was subsequently repealed by the promulgation of Registration of Printing Press and Publications Ordinance, 1988 (RPPPO), till it finally lapsed.
3. The proposed amendment aims at removing impediments by empowering District Magistrate (Islamabad) to authenticate the declaration and carry out the other ancillary job that now rests with the District Coordination Officers under the Ordinance.
4. The proposed amendment will also empower the Federal Government to make rules under section 44 that was inadvertently defined as Provincial Government in Section 2 (Part 1)."

Text of the Anti Terrorism Bill, *The News*, 19 October 2004

<<http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/index.html>>

Document No. 26

STATE BANK REPORT PAINTS BLEAK PICTURE OF EDUCATION

Educational deprivation retards human development, public expenditure on education as percentage of GNP at 1.8pc is lowest in South Asia

KARACHI: Pakistan's education index has plummeted to the bottom 10 countries out of 177 in the world, says the country's economic bible - the FY04 annual report of the State Bank.

"Educational deprivation is one of the major contributing factors for low human development in Pakistan," said the costliest, but most authentic book on the country's economy.

The economic bible said: "Pakistan is placed at 142nd position out of 177 countries with respect to human development index (HDI), worse is the situation shown by the education index where it stands among the bottom 10 countries."

Literacy rates for both men and women increased at a very slow pace between FY99 and FY02. The overall literacy rate is estimated at 54 per cent in FY04, probably due to the increased emphasis on basic education in the country to achieve Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of universal primary education.

However, still 68.4 million people are illiterate in the country. The literacy profile depicts a substantial gender specific and rural urban disparity. Though the gap has declined between FY99 and FY02, it is still large especially in case of rural-urban literacy rate.

Similar kind of gender and regional disparity also exists at provincial level. Between the provinces, literacy ranges from 36 per cent in Balochistan to 51 per cent in Sindh.

The lowest literacy rate at 16 per cent prevails among rural females of Balochistan, while the highest rate at 64 per cent among the urban males in Sindh.

The analysis of literacy by age profile for rural and urban population provides useful insights.

In urban areas, literacy rate decreases with age (higher literacy for lower age group). Gender disparity has almost eliminated for 15 to 19 year age group. In contrast, rural literacy rate is increasing and gender gap is very prominent for all age groups.

The gender gap is the highest for 25-34 years age group (38 per centage points) and the lowest for 10 to 19 years age group-20 per centage points. The gender gap indicates the non-availability of appropriate education facilities to girls in rural areas.

Similarly, rural-urban gap for male literacy rate declines with lower age group whereas it widens for female literacy rate with lower age groups.

District Level Indicators: At district level, analysis of educational deprivation confirms the relationship between lack of education and low human development.

The ranking with respect to human development index is worse for the districts having lower literacy rate. It indicates that the 20 districts at bottom in terms of literacy rate and their ranking with respect to human development index.

Substantial regional disparities also exist at district level within the same province. In Punjab literacy rate varies from 70 per cent for Rawalpindi to 19.6 per cent for Hafizabad.

Similarly for Sindh it varies from 68.2 per cent for Karachi to 18.3 per cent for Tharparker.

Abbotabad district is at top with 56.6 per cent literacy rate and Kohistan at bottom with 11 per cent in NWFP.

While in Balochistan the highest-ranking district in terms of literacy rate is Ziarut (34.3 per cent) compared to the lowest ranking district of Dera Bugti (11.7 per cent). Province wise share in bottom 20 district shows that Balochistan accounts for 70 per cent followed by NWFP (20 per cent), Sindh (5 per cent) and Punjab (5 per cent). As a result of which Balochistan share in HDI in bottom 20 districts is also dominating.

Gross Primary Enrollment Rate: The gross primary enrolment rate (GPER) is another important indicator to judge the performance of educational sector in the country. The growth of the GPER is not very encouraging only a one per centage point increase from 71 per cent to 72 per cent during the FY99-FY02 period.

Due to the persistent low level of primary enrolment and high population growth, 5.8 million children of 5-9 age group are still out of schools; over half of them are girls on gender disparity with respect to primary enrolment rate.

High drop out rate of children from the schools further worsen the situation. Majority of students leave the schools before reaching grade five due to lack of access to education facilities, high opportunity cost of education etc.

The GPER low performance is mainly attributed to low enrollment in government schools, worsening quality of education, shortages of trained and qualified teachers and lack of proper physical infrastructure and rising poverty level.

Gender as well as regional disparity is also apparent in the GPER. Females of Balochistan have the lowest rates and males of NWFP have the highest.

To meet the targets of Educational Sector reforms (ESR) as well as the National Education Policy (NEP), there is a need to pay more attention on this issue. By now, the empirical basis for low education sector outcome is quite well established. First, low public expenditure on education is one of the major causes for the poor performance of educational indicators.

During the 1990s, public expenditure on education has been around 2.3 per cent of GNP, which was considerably lower than the minimum of 4 per cent of GNP recommended by the UNESCO for developing countries.

Second, the inability of poverty stricken people to bear the expenses of the education of their children is another reason.

According to PIHS 2001-02, 40 per cent of boys and 26 per cent of girls never attended schools because of the expensive education.

Moreover, 36 per cent of girls' parents in contrast to 4 per cent of boys parents did not allow them to attend schools. The main reason behind is the very high opportunity cost of education for them.

Punjab's recently introduced District Education Program, which provides cash stipends to female students, offers a promising avenue for raising the enrollment rates among the females.

Third, non-availability of schools is one of the important issues in this regard. In 1992-93 one public school was available for 248 children in the 5-14 age groups. This increased to 264 children in 1999-2000, indicating a relative decline in the availability of schools.

Fourth, access to school is another important dimension and is relatively more important concern for girls whose families don't allow them to attend the school situated far away from home. According to PIHS (2002), only 66 per cent villages had a school for girls within one kilometer of the village centre. Fifth, private sector participation in provisioning of educational services can't be overlooked. Share of the private schools in Pakistan is 18.4 per cent. At provincial level it is 27 per cent for Punjab, 14 per cent for NWFP and 12 per cent for Sindh. It is the lowest in Balochistan at 4 per cent. The low share in Balochistan may be due to poor infra-structure facilities in the province. There is a need to encourage the Private sector and NGOs by facilitating them particularly in Balochistan to target the bottom 20 districts with respect to literacy rate.

The National Commission on Human development (NCHD) which has successfully carried out some innovative work in the field of promoting primary education should focus its attention on these bottom 20 districts.

Finally, the quality of educational services provided by the government is not satisfactory.

According to National Reconstruction Survey 2002, overall 45 per cent of households showed their dissatisfaction with government services available in their areas.

Pakistan's performance in the educational sectors has not been satisfactory when compared with the other countries of South Asian region. Not only gross enrollment rate but also female literacy rate remained lagging behind other south Asian countries. The public expenditure on education as per cent of GNP was the lowest (1.8 per cent) in Pakistan compared to other countries of the region.

Given the fact that adult literacy rate and gross enrollment ratio are education related indicators used for computation of Human Development Index (HDI), the progress in these indicators can contribute significantly in improving the HDI ranking of Pakistan, which is at present very dismal and the lowest in the South Asian region.

Gender Disparity in Education: Despite the well recognized importance of female education, wide gender disparity is observed at all levels of education. As a result literacy rate in females is lower (41.8 per cent) in contrast to males (66.3 per cent). There are various social and economic reasons for low female enrollment. Some of the contributing factors for low enrollment rate of female include: (a) Parents don't want to send their girls to schools as they considered that it is just wastage of resources because female have to play typical role of housewives in future. On the other hand, boys are their earning hands, 36 per cent of females in country are unable to attend the schools because their parent didn't allow them to do so. At provincial level this rate is the highest in Balochistan (55 per cent) due to high social constraints in this province; (b) Education is expensive and parents can't afford the expenses of education of their children. Whenever there is trade off between boys and girls for sending schools. Parents prefer to expend on boy's education; 26 per cent of female students unable to attend the schools due to high cost of education; (c) Another reason for wide gender disparity is non availability of schools for girls in nearby place. Their families usually don't allow them to attend the school situated far away from home, 14 per cent girls in the country are unable to attend the schools because schools are too far from their homes. And last but not least is the (d) physical conditions of schools also matters. Parents feel insecure to send their girls to a premise which is without boundary wall and

other facilities, 10 per cent of female students don't attend schools due to poor school building and non-availability of female teaching staff. There is need to stress on female education because the benefits of female education are manifold, directly by social empowerment of females and higher economic participation rate and indirectly through better child care and decline in fertility rates.

Drop out Rates: The drop out rate is defined as the per centage of students who drop out from school before reaching grade five. It is one of the serious issues in education sector because high drop out results in reduced enrollment rate and pull away from the target of achieving 100 per cent enrollment rate. Drop out also increases the unit cost of school graduates and in turn, internal inefficiency of the education system.

According to PIHS (2001-02), the drop out rate is at 15 per cent. It has declined marginally from 16 per cent in FY96 to 15 per cent in FY02. Provincial level analysis shows that it is the highest among NWFP females and the lowest for Balochistan males. Moreover females drop out rate is higher or equal to male drop out rate in all provinces except Punjab where the situation is reverse.

The drop out rate increases with the increase in the class level. One possible reason for the high rural drop out rate is non-availability of schools in the villages, particularly for females. As a result female drop out rate is 17.7 per cent for class five in rural areas in contrast to only 7 per cent for urban areas. It increases further at alarming rate of 47 per cent for class 6, which indicate the poor/non availability of secondary school facilities in rural areas. There are various reasons for high drop out rate. Poverty of opportunity is also clear from the fact that 29 per cent of boys and 19 per cent of girls are unable to continue their education because their parents were unable to bear the expenses of their education.

Nearly one fifth of the girls were unable to continue the schools as their parents didn't allow them. It is a point of serious concern that for boys the dominating factor for drop out is that they are not willing to attend the schools. The "other" includes poor teaching behaviors, no female staff, child sick/handicapped and child too young etc. Inequality in the income distribution is also reflected in access to education opportunities. The drop out rate is the highest among the lowest quintile and vice versa.

Children aged 10-18 years that left school before completing primary level, expressed as a per centage of all children aged 10-18 years that have attended school in the past, or are currently attending school, but excluding those children currently attending school that are presently enrolled in Class 5 or lower. The 1st quintile contains individuals with the lowest consumption level, whereas the 5th quintile contains individuals with the highest consumption level.

To achieve the goals of various education polices and remain competitive in the world economy, it is important to pay adequate attention to formation of human capital through education enhancement.

To overcome the education sector deficiencies, it is necessary to increase allocation on education along with improved governance and strengthening of management. Keeping in view the scarcity of resources and weaknesses of the public sector, public-private community partnership to achieve goals of human welfare can be a wise choice. ■

The News, 3 November 2004

<<http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/nov2004-daily/03-11-2004/business/b7.htm>>

Document No. 27

PAKISTAN, MALDIVES TO BOOST ECONOMIC TIES

MALE: Pakistan and the Maldives on Monday agreed to boost trade, tourism, cultural and people-to-people contacts for the mutual benefit of the two countries.

The talks between Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, held at Dharubaarug Convention Centre, took into account the close and cordial ties existing between the two countries.

Both the sides were of the view that there was a wide scope for enhanced cooperation in many areas. The two leaders underscored the need for regular exchange of visits at different levels to take their cordial ties to new heights.

Shaukat offered to extend credit facility, scholarships, collaboration in scientific and technological fields and training of civil servants, defence and security personnel to the Maldives.

Shaukat, who is here on a two-day official visit in his capacity as the Saarc chairman, also discussed matters related to the seven-country regional organisation. They reviewed the progress on implementation of decisions taken at the last Saarc Summit in Islamabad in January and exchanged views for preparation of a meaningful agenda for the next moot in Dhaka.

Shaukat briefed Maumoon on the ongoing composite dialogue process with India and said Islamabad sincerely believed in the resolution of all disputes with New Delhi, including the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir. He said Pakistan is sincere in its desire to resolve all outstanding problems with India in a peaceful manner.

The president of the Maldives was appreciative of the initiatives taken by Pakistan to normalise relations with India and for a peaceful settlement of disputes. He praised the dialogue process between Pakistan and India and said that Jammu and Kashmir issue should be resolved on the principle of self-determination.

Shaukat briefed his host about the pace of implementation of various decisions taken by the Saarc leaders, during the Islamabad summit. Maumoon expressed his country's support for the dialogue process and hoped that resolution of problems between Pakistan and India would not only be beneficial for the two countries but also have salutary impact on the progress and development of the entire region.

The talks were followed by signing of a Protocol on Bilateral Consultations between the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries. Shaukat and Maumoon witnessed the ceremony. Later, speaking at a banquet, hosted in his honour by Maumoon, Shaukat said his visit to the Maldives would also renew the bonds of friendship and cooperation with Pakistan.

"We enjoy excellent political relations and are desirous of further strengthening economic, commercial and cultural ties," the prime minister said, adding that Pakistan valued highly the fraternal ties with the Maldives, which had been reinforced by shared faith, geography and a sense of common destiny.

Shaukat was grateful to the Maldives for its cooperation, support and efforts to re-invigorate regional cooperation under the Saarc. He said the Islamabad summit pursued new horizons for regional cooperation and a notable accomplishment was the Framework Agreement to establish a South Asia Free-Trade Area.

The prime minister said the Social Charter set new markers for uplifting the living standards of the peoples, adding: "we also renewed our resolve to combat terrorism across the region."

He said under Pakistan's chairmanship, the Saarc was able to get observer status at the United Nations. However, Shaukat stressed the challenge was to implement the decisions taken at the Islamabad summit. He said Pakistan was hosting important meetings of the regional grouping to prepare fresh instruments for enhancing economic cooperation. This, he hoped, would be finalised and adopted by the next Saarc summit.

He said Pakistan supports the unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Maldives and its efforts to promote peace and stability for its economic development. He assured that Pakistan would always be a reliable friend and partner for the Maldives and vowed to broaden and deepen the areas of cooperation.

Separately, Shaukat visited the People's Majlis, the parliament building of the Maldives, gifted by the government and people of Pakistan. He was received by Majlis Speaker Ahmad Zahir, who took him around different sections of the building. The prime minister described the building as "a great symbol of Pakistan-Maldives friendship".

Renowned Pakistani architect Nayyar Ali Dada had designed the building, which reflects rich Muslim architecture. Recording his impressions in the visitors' book, the prime minister said: "The building serves as an icon of close relations between the two countries." He appreciated good maintenance of the building and went round the main hall, committee rooms and other sections. Shaukat arrived here from Colombo. He will travel to India on Tuesday. ■

23 November 2004

<<http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/nov2004-daily/23-11-2004/main/main8.htm>>

Document No. 28

IAEA DIRECTOR GENERAL PRESS BRIEFING, 25 NOVEMBER 2004

IAEA Headquarters, Vienna

Director General Mohamed ElBaradei briefed the press on the Agency's verification work in Iran, South Korea, and Brazil, before the opening of the IAEA Board of Governors meeting in Vienna this week. Following is an unofficial transcript of his remarks:

Iran

On Iran I am going to report that we have completed our work with regard to the verification of the suspension with one exception, and that is the request by Iran to exempt 20 centrifuges for R&D without using nuclear materials.

This is an issue which we are still discussing with the Iranian authorities and I hope that I will be able to update the Board on this issue in the next hours or day.

We are making good progress. It was difficult at the beginning but since December of last year we have seen an appreciable improvement in co-operation, access to sites, and access to information. Therefore we are now in a position to say

that declared materials in Iran have not been diverted but we still have a lot of work to do with regard to possible undeclared material or activity.

This is usually a long-term process. We would expect to take a longer time in Iran because of the undeclared nature of the programme for many years. To speed that process I look to Iran to demonstrate full transparency and full co-operation. We are on the right track but we still have a lot of work to do. We understand much better Iran's programme now, but as I have stated before, the jury is still out on our ability to provide assurance that everything has been declared to us.

We are working three fronts.

1. Verification. We are continuing to ask Iran for access to sites, both on the basis of the Additional Protocol, and on the basis of transparency, to build confidence;
2. Suspension. Again this is an important confidence building measure, and I hope that the remaining one issue on complete suspension will resolve itself in the next 24 hours or so; and
3. The third dimension is the European negotiations with Iran to look into the underlying issues of tension, sanctions and security. We are aware of what is going on between Europe and Iran because these three aspects of interaction are reinforcing each other.

Republic of Korea

With regard to the Republic of Korea (South Korea), we are saying that although the materials have not been significant, the nature of the activities, enrichment and reprocessing are a matter of serious concern. However, we are also saying that we have not seen any continuation of these experiments, which is the good news.

Brazil

We have been able to reach an agreement in principle with the Brazilian government on a safeguards approach to verify the enrichment facilities in Brazil, at the Resende facility. An approach which will enable us to do credible inspections but at the same time take care of Brazil's need to protect certain commercial sensitivity inside the facility. That approach has been, as I have said, agreed on principle and I expect in the next couple of weeks, to be finalized in a formal way. ■

25 November 2004

<http://www.iaea.org/NewsCenter/MediaAdvisory/2004/medadvise200415.html>

Document No. 29

STATEMENT TO THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS BY IAEA DIRECTOR GENERAL DR. MOHAMED ELBARADEI

I refer to my introductory statement at the opening of the Board last Thursday, in which I informed you that, with one exception, the Agency had been able to complete its verification of Iran's suspension of its enrichment related and reprocessing activities. That exception related to Iran's request to "use up to 20 sets of [centrifuge] components for R&D purposes." At that time, I noted that we were still in discussion on this matter.

On 28 November 2004, I received a letter from Iran in which it refers to the 20 sets of centrifuge components, and states that Iran "permits the IAEA to place these sets of components under Agency surveillance." In the letter Iran also states that it "will not conduct any testing of these sets of components." In that letter, Iran also informed me that, as previously indicated, it would provide the Agency with the identification numbers of these components.

Today, Agency inspectors put surveillance cameras in place to monitor the 20 sets of centrifuge components. The identification numbers have also been received. As a consequence, all measures necessary for the verification of Iran's suspension of enrichment related activities are now in place. Naturally, in accordance with the draft resolution before you, I will inform Board members should the suspension not be fully sustained, or should the Agency be prevented from verifying all elements of the suspension.■

Vienna, Austria, 29 November 2004

<<http://www.iaea.org/NewsCenter/Statements/2004/ebsp2004n017.html>>

Document No. 30

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NPT SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT IN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

Resolution Adopted by the Board on 29 November 2004

The Board of Governors,

- (a) Recalling the resolutions adopted by the Board on 18 September 2004 (GOV/2004/79), 18 June 2004 (GOV/2004/49), 13 March 2004 (GOV/2004/21), 26 November 2003 (GOV/2003/81) and on 12 September 2003 (GOV/2003/69) and the statement by the Board of 19 June 2003 (GOV/OR.1072),
- (b) Noting with appreciation the Director General's report of 15 November 2004 (GOV/2004/83) on the implementation of Iran's NPT Safeguards Agreement (INFCIRC 214),
- (c) Noting specifically the Director General's assessment that Iranian practices up to October 2003 resulted in many breaches of Iran's obligations to comply with its Safeguards Agreement, but that good progress has been made since that time in Iran's correction of those breaches and in the Agency's ability to confirm certain aspects of Iran's current declarations,
- (d) Also noting specifically the Director General's assessment that all the declared nuclear material in Iran has been accounted for, and that such material is not diverted to prohibited activities, but that the Agency is not yet in a position to conclude that there are no undeclared nuclear materials or activities in Iran,
- (e) Recalling the Board's previous requests to Iran to suspend all enrichment related and reprocessing activities as a voluntary confidence building measure,
- (f) Noting with concern that Iran has continued enrichment related activities, including the production of UF₆ up to 22 November 2004, in spite of the request made by the Board in September that Iran immediately suspend all such activities,

(g) Noting with interest the agreement between Iran, France, Germany and the UK with the support of the High Representative of the EU, made public on 15 November (INFCIRC 637), in which Iran states its decision to continue and extend its suspension of all enrichment related and reprocessing activities; and noting with satisfaction that, pursuant to this agreement, notification of this decision was sent by Iran to the Director General on 14 November with the Agency invited to verify the suspension with effect from 22 November 2004,

(h) Recognizing that this suspension is a voluntary confidence building measure, not a legal obligation,

(i) Recognizing the right of states to the development and practical application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, including the production of electric power, consistent with their Treaty obligations, with due consideration for the needs of the developing countries,

(j) Stressing the need for effective safeguards to prevent nuclear material being used for prohibited purposes, in contravention of agreements, and underlining the vital importance of effective safeguards for facilitating cooperation in the field of nuclear energy, and

(k) Commending the Director General and the Secretariat for the work they have done to date to resolve all questions relevant to safeguards implementation in Iran,

1. Welcomes the fact that Iran has decided to continue and extend its suspension of all enrichment related and reprocessing activities, and underlines that the full and sustained implementation of this suspension, which is a voluntary, non-legally-binding, confidence building measure, to be verified by the Agency, is essential to addressing outstanding issues;

2. Welcomes the Director General's statements of 25 and 29 November 2004 that the above decision has been put into effect, and requests the Director General to continue verifying that the suspension remains in place and to inform Board members should the suspension not be fully sustained, or should the Agency be prevented from verifying all elements of the suspension, for as long as the suspension is in force;

3. Welcomes Iran's continuing voluntary commitment to act in accordance with the provisions of the Additional Protocol, as a confidence building measure that facilitates the resolution of the questions that have arisen, and calls on Iran once again to ratify its Protocol soon;

4. Reaffirms its strong concern that Iran's policy of concealment up to October 2003 has resulted in many breaches of Iran's obligations to comply with its NPT Safeguards Agreement; at the same time acknowledges the corrective measures described in the Director General's report;

5. Welcomes the Director General's intention to pursue his investigations into the remaining outstanding issues, in particular the origin of contamination and the extent of Iran's centrifuge programme, as well as the full implementation of Iran's Safeguards Agreement and Additional Protocol, with a view to providing credible assurances regarding the absence of undeclared nuclear material and activities in Iran;

6. Underlines the continuing importance of Iran extending full and prompt cooperation to the Director General in the above pursuit, and requests Iran as a confidence building measure to provide any access deemed necessary by the Agency in accordance with the Additional Protocol; and

7. Requests the Director General to report to the Board on his findings, as appropriate.■

29 November 2004

<http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Board/2004/gov2004-90_derestrict.pdf>

Document No. 31

AGREEMENT ON TRADE IN GOODS OF THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT ON COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION BETWEEN ASEAN AND CHINA

The Governments of Brunei Darussalam, the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Republic of Indonesia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic ("Lao PDR"), Malaysia, the Union of Myanmar, the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Singapore, the Kingdom of Thailand and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Member States of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (collectively, "ASEAN" or "ASEAN Member States", or individually, "ASEAN Member State"), and the People's Republic of China ("China");

RECALLING the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-operation ("the Framework Agreement") between ASEAN and China (collectively, "the Parties", or individually referring to an ASEAN Member State or to China as a "Party") signed by the Heads of Government/State of ASEAN Member States and China in Phnom Penh, Cambodia on the 4th day of November 2002 and the Protocol to Amend the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-operation on the Early Harvest Program signed by the Economic Ministers of the Parties in Bali, Indonesia on the 6th day of October 2003;

RECALLING further Articles 2(a), 3(1) and 8(1) of the Framework Agreement, which reflect the Parties' commitment to establish the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) covering trade in goods by 2010 for ASEAN 6 and China and by 2015 for the newer ASEAN Member States;

REAFFIRMING the Parties' commitment to establish the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area within the specified timeframes, while allowing flexibility to the Parties to address their sensitive areas as provided in the Framework Agreement,
Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

Definitions

For the purposes of this Agreement, the following definitions shall apply unless the context otherwise requires:

- (a) "WTO" means the World Trade Organization;
- (b) "the GATT 1994" means the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994, including Annex I (Notes and Supplementary Provisions);
- (c) "ASEAN 6" refers to Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand;
- (d) "newer ASEAN Member States" refers to Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Viet Nam;
- (e) "applied MFN tariff rates" shall include in-quota rates, and shall:

- (i) in the case of ASEAN Member States (which are WTO members as of 1 July 2003) and China, refer to their respective applied rates as of 1 July 2003; and
- (ii) in the case of ASEAN Member States (which are non-WTO members as of 1 July 2003), refer to the rates as applied to China as of 1 July 2003;
- (f) “non-tariff measures” shall include non-tariff barriers;
- (g) “AEM” means ASEAN Economic Ministers;
- (h) “MOFCOM” means Ministry of Commerce of China;
- (i) “SEOM” means ASEAN Senior Economic Officials Meeting.

ARTICLE 2

National Treatment on Internal Taxation and Regulation

Each Party shall accord national treatment to the products of all the other Parties covered by this Agreement and the Framework Agreement in accordance with Article III of the GATT 1994. To this end, the provisions of Article III of the GATT 1994 shall, mutatis mutandis, be incorporated into and form an integral part of this Agreement.

ARTICLE 3

Tariff Reduction and Elimination

1. The tariff reduction or elimination program of the Parties shall require the applied MFN tariff rates on listed tariff lines to be gradually reduced and where applicable, eliminated, in accordance with this Article.
2. The tariff lines which are subject to the tariff reduction or elimination program under this Agreement shall include all tariff lines not covered by the Early Harvest Program under Article 6 of the Framework Agreement, and such tariff lines shall be categorized for tariff reduction and elimination as follows:
 - (a) Normal Track: Tariff lines placed in the Normal Track by each Party on its own accord shall have their respective applied MFN tariff rates gradually reduced and eliminated in accordance with the modalities set out in Annex 1 of this Agreement with the objective of achieving the targets prescribed in the thresholds therein.
 - (b) Sensitive Track: Tariff lines placed in the Sensitive Track by each Party on its own accord shall have their respective applied MFN tariff rates reduced or eliminated in accordance with the modalities set out in Annex 2 of this Agreement.
3. Subject to Annex 1 and Annex 2 of this Agreement, all commitments undertaken by each Party under this Article shall be applied to all the other Parties.

ARTICLE 4

Transparency

Article X of the GATT 1994 shall, mutatis mutandis, be incorporated into and form an integral part of this Agreement.

ARTICLE 5

Rules of Origin

The Rules of Origin and the Operational Certification Procedures applicable to the products covered under this Agreement and the Early Harvest Program of the Framework Agreement are set out in Annex 3 of this Agreement.

ARTICLE 6

Modification of Concessions

1. Any Party to this Agreement may, by negotiation and agreement with any Party to which it has made a concession under this Agreement, modify or withdraw such concession made under this Agreement.
2. In such negotiations and agreement, which may include provision for compensatory adjustment with respect to other products, the Parties concerned shall maintain a general level of reciprocal and mutually advantageous concessions not less favorable to trade than that provided for in this Agreement prior to such negotiations and agreement.

ARTICLE 7

WTO Disciplines

1. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement and any future agreements as may be agreed pursuant to reviews of this Agreement by the Parties under Article 17 of this Agreement, the Parties[1] hereby agree and reaffirm their commitments to abide by the provisions of the WTO disciplines on, among others, non-tariff measures, technical barriers to trade, sanitary and phytosanitary measures, subsidies and countervailing measures, anti-dumping measures and intellectual property rights.
2. The provisions of the WTO Multilateral Agreements on Trade in Goods, which are not specifically mentioned in or modified by this Agreement, shall apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to this Agreement unless the context otherwise requires.

ARTICLE 8

Quantitative Restrictions and Non-Tariff Barriers

1. Each Party undertakes not to maintain any quantitative restrictions at any time unless otherwise permitted under the WTO disciplines.[2]
2. The Parties shall identify non-tariff barriers (other than quantitative restrictions) for elimination as soon as possible after the entry into force of this Agreement. The time frame for elimination of these non-tariff barriers shall be mutually agreed upon by all Parties.
3. The Parties shall make information on their respective quantitative restrictions available and accessible upon implementation of this Agreement.

ARTICLE 9

Safeguard Measures

1. Each Party, which is a WTO member, retains its rights and obligations under Article XIX of the GATT 1994 and the WTO Agreement on Safeguards.
2. With regard to ACFTA safeguard measures, a Party shall have the right to initiate such a measure on a product within the transition period for that product. The transition period for a product shall begin from the date of entry into force of this Agreement and end five years from the date of completion of tariff elimination/reduction for that product.
3. A Party shall be free to take ACFTA safeguard measures if as an effect of the obligations incurred by that Party, including tariff concessions under the Early Harvest Program of the Framework Agreement or this Agreement, or, if as a result of unforeseen developments and of the effects of the obligations incurred by that Party, including tariff concessions under the Early Harvest Program of the Framework Agreement or this Agreement, imports of any particular product from the other Parties increase in such quantities, absolute or relative to domestic production, and under such

conditions so as to cause or threaten to cause serious injury to the domestic industry of the importing Party that produces like or directly competitive products.

4. If an ACFTA safeguard measure is taken, a Party taking such a measure may increase the tariff rate applicable to the product concerned to the WTO MFN tariff rate applied to such product at the time when the measure is taken.

5. Any ACFTA safeguard measure may be maintained for an initial period of up to 3 years and may be extended for a period not exceeding 1 year. Notwithstanding the duration of an ACFTA safeguard measure on a product, such measure shall terminate at the end of the transition period for that product.

6. In applying ACFTA safeguard measures, the Parties shall adopt the rules for the application of safeguard measures as provided under the WTO Agreement on Safeguards, with the exception of the quantitative restriction measures set out in Article 5, and Articles 9, 13 and 14 of the WTO Agreement on Safeguards. As such, all other provisions of the WTO Agreement on Safeguards shall, *mutatis mutandis*, be incorporated into and form an integral part of this Agreement.

7. An ACFTA safeguard measure shall not be applied against a product originating in a Party, so long as its share of imports of the product concerned in the importing Party does not exceed 3% of the total imports from the Parties.

8. In seeking compensation under Article 8 of the WTO Agreement on Safeguards for an ACFTA safeguard measure, the Parties shall seek the good offices of the body referred to in paragraph 12 to determine the substantially equivalent level of concessions prior to any suspension of equivalent concessions. Any proceedings arising from such good offices shall be completed within 90 days from the date on which the ACFTA safeguard measure was applied.

9. On a Party's termination of an ACFTA safeguard measure on a product, the tariff rate for that product shall be the rate that, according to that Party's tariff reduction and elimination schedule, as provided in Annex 1 and Annex 2 of this Agreement, would have been in effect commencing on 1 January of the year in which the safeguard measure is terminated.

10. All official communications and documentations exchanged among the Parties and to the body referred to in paragraph 12 relating to any ACFTA safeguard measures shall be in writing and shall be in the English language.

11. When applying ACFTA safeguard measures, a Party shall not have simultaneous recourse to the WTO safeguard measures referred to in paragraph 1.

12. For the purpose of this Article, any reference to "Council for Trade in Goods" or the "Committee on Safeguards" in the incorporated provisions of the WTO Agreement on Safeguards shall, pending the establishment of a permanent body under paragraph 1 of Article 16, refer to the AEM-MOFCOM, or the SEOM-MOFCOM, as appropriate, which shall be replaced by the permanent body once it is established.

ARTICLE 10

Acceleration of Commitments

Nothing in this Agreement shall preclude the Parties from negotiating and entering into arrangements to accelerate the implementation of commitments made under this Agreement, provided that such arrangements are mutually agreed to and implemented by all the Parties.

ARTICLE 11

Measures to Safeguard the Balance of Payments

Where a Party is in serious balance of payments and external financial difficulties or threat thereof, it may, in accordance with the GATT 1994 and the Understanding on Balance-of-Payments Provisions of the GATT 1994, adopt restrictive import measures.

ARTICLE 12

General Exceptions

Subject to the requirement that such measures are not applied in a manner which would constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination between the Parties where the same conditions prevail, or a disguised restriction on international trade, nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to prevent the adoption or enforcement by a Party of measures:

- (a) necessary to protect public morals;
- (b) necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health;
- (c) relating to the importations or exportations of gold or silver;
- (d) necessary to secure compliance with laws or regulations which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this Agreement, including those relating to customs enforcement, the enforcement of monopolies operated under paragraph 4 of Article II and Article XVII of the GATT 1994, the protection of patents, trade marks and copyrights, and the prevention of deceptive practices;
- (e) relating to the products of prison labor;
- (f) imposed for the protection of national treasures of artistic, historic or archaeological value;
- (g) relating to the conservation of exhaustible natural resources if such measures are made effective in conjunction with restrictions on domestic production or consumption;
- (h) undertaken in pursuance of obligations under any intergovernmental commodity agreement which conforms to criteria submitted to the WTO and not disapproved by it or which is itself so submitted and not so disapproved;
- (i) involving restrictions on exports of domestic materials necessary to ensure essential quantities of such materials to a domestic processing industry during periods when the domestic price of such materials is held below the world price as part of a governmental stabilization plan; Provided that such restrictions shall not operate to increase the exports of or the protection afforded to such domestic industry, and shall not depart from the provisions of this Agreement relating to non-discrimination;
- (j) essential to the acquisition or distribution of products in general or local short supply; Provided that any such measures shall be consistent with the principle that all Parties are entitled to an equitable share of the international supply of such products, and that any such measures, which are inconsistent with the other provisions of this Agreement shall be discontinued as soon as the conditions giving rise to them have ceased to exist.

ARTICLE 13

Security Exceptions

Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed:

- (a) to require any Party to furnish any information the disclosure of which it considers contrary to its essential security interests;

- (b) to prevent any Party from taking any action which it considers necessary for the protection of its essential security interests, including but not limited to:
 - (i) action relating to fissionable materials or the materials from which they are derived;
 - (ii) action relating to the traffic in arms, ammunition and implements of war and to such traffic in other goods and materials as is carried on directly or indirectly for the purpose of supplying a military establishment;
 - (iii) action taken so as to protect critical communications infrastructure from deliberate attempts intended to disable or degrade such infrastructure;
 - (iv) action taken in time of war or other emergency in domestic or international relations; or
- (c) to prevent any Party from taking any action in pursuance of its obligations under the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 14

Recognition of China's Market Economy Status

Each of the ten ASEAN Member States agrees to recognize China as a full market economy and shall not apply, from the date of the signature of this Agreement, Sections 15 and 16 of the Protocol of Accession of the People's Republic of China to the WTO and Paragraph 242 of the Report of the Working Party on the Accession of China to WTO in relation to the trade between China and each of the ten ASEAN Member States.

ARTICLE 15

State, Regional and Local Government

In fulfilling its obligations and commitments under this Agreement, each Party shall ensure their observance by regional and local governments and authorities in its territory as well as their observance by non-governmental bodies (in the exercise of powers delegated by central, state, regional or local governments or authorities) within its territory.

ARTICLE 16

Institutional Arrangements

1. Pending the establishment of a permanent body, the AEM-MOFCOM, supported and assisted by the SEOM-MOFCOM, shall oversee, supervise, coordinate and review the implementation of this Agreement.
2. The ASEAN Secretariat shall monitor and report to the SEOM-MOFCOM on the implementation of this Agreement. All Parties shall cooperate with the ASEAN Secretariat in the performance of its duties.
3. Each Party shall designate a contact point to facilitate communications between the Parties on any matter covered by this Agreement. On the request of a Party, the contact point of the requested Party shall identify the office or official responsible for the matter and assist in facilitating communication with the requesting Party.

ARTICLE 17

Review

1. The AEM-MOFCOM or their designated representatives shall meet within a year of the date of entry into force of this Agreement and then biennially or otherwise as

appropriate to review this Agreement for the purpose of considering further measures to liberalize trade in goods as well as develop disciplines and negotiate agreements on matters referred to in Article 7 of this Agreement or any other relevant matters as may be agreed.

2. The Parties shall, taking into account their respective experience in the implementation of this Agreement, review the Sensitive Track in 2008 with a view to improving the market access condition of sensitive products, including the further possible reduction of the number of products in the Sensitive Track and the conditions governing the reciprocal tariff rate treatment of products placed by a Party in the Sensitive Track.

ARTICLE 18

Annexes and Future Instruments

This Agreement shall include:

- (a) the Annexes and the contents therein which shall form an integral part of this Agreement: and
- (b) all future legal instruments agreed pursuant to this Agreement.

ARTICLE 19

Amendments

This Agreement may be amended by the mutual written consent of the Parties.

ARTICLE 20

Miscellaneous Provisions

Except as otherwise provided in this Agreement, this Agreement or any action taken under it shall not affect or nullify the rights and obligations of a Party under existing agreements to which it is a party.

ARTICLE 21

Dispute Settlement

The Agreement on Dispute Settlement Mechanism between ASEAN and China shall apply to this Agreement.

ARTICLE 22

Depositary

For the ASEAN Member States, this Agreement shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of ASEAN, who shall promptly furnish a certified copy thereof, to each ASEAN Member State.

ARTICLE 23

Entry Into Force

1. This Agreement shall enter into force on 1 January 2005.
2. The Parties undertake to complete their internal procedures for the entry into force of this Agreement prior to 1 January 2005.
3. Where a Party is unable to complete its internal procedures for the entry into force of this Agreement by 1 January 2005, the rights and obligations of that Party under this Agreement shall commence on the date of the completion of such internal procedures.
4. A Party shall upon the completion of its internal procedures for the entry into force of this Agreement notify all the other Parties in writing.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned being duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement on Trade in Goods of the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-operation between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the People's Republic of China.

DONE at, Vientiane, Lao PDR this Twenty Ninth Day of November in the Year Two Thousand and Four, in duplicate copies in the English Language.

- (1) Non-WTO members of ASEAN shall abide by the WTO provisions in accordance with their accession commitments to the WTO.
- (2) Non-WTO members of ASEAN shall phase out their quantitative restrictions 3 years [Viet Nam: 4 years] from the date of entry into force of this Agreement or in accordance with their accession commitments to the WTO, whichever is earlier. ■

29 November 2004

<[http://www.vic-info.org/RegionsTop.nsf/0/5bbc8e88859114a90a256f5e00052b74/\\$FILE/041201-SPS-10thASEANSummit-web.doc](http://www.vic-info.org/RegionsTop.nsf/0/5bbc8e88859114a90a256f5e00052b74/$FILE/041201-SPS-10thASEANSummit-web.doc)>

Document No. 32

UNA- USA POLICY BRIEF: STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS TO PROVIDE COLLECTIVE SECURITY FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

The following is based on a briefing presented to UNA-USA's Board of Directors and International Policy Committee on 3 December 2004.

Last year, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed a panel consisting of 16 former heads of state, foreign ministers and security, military, diplomatic and development officials to propose ways of strengthening collective security.¹ The High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change released its recommendations on 2 December 2004, urging the adoption of a new, far-reaching consensus to help the world face new and evolving threats in the 21st century, and to strengthen the United Nations. Mr. Annan plans to take the panel's recommendations into account in his own report in March 2005, which will help set the agenda for a special UN summit scheduled for world leaders next September.

Introduction

The following three aims guided the High Level Panel's work: (1) to evaluate current and emerging threats to international peace and security; (2) to evaluate the United Nations' performance in addressing those threats; and (3) to make policy and institutional change recommendations based on those assessments. It is important to recognize that the panel's report is a consensus but not lowest-common-denominator document. It represents agreement on the part of 16 distinguished, experienced and diverse statesmen and women on a whole host of recommendations that address the most compelling threats of the day.

Assessing Current Threats

In the 60 years since the founding of the UN, the world has changed dramatically. In its approach, the panel sought to maintain the essence of collective security, but broaden it to include threats that go far beyond aggression by states.

The panel identified six clusters of threats:

1. Interstate conflict;
2. Poverty, infectious disease and environmental degradation;
3. Internal violence, including civil war, genocide, ethnic cleansing and state failure;
4. Weapons of mass destruction, including chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons;
5. Terrorism; and
6. Transnational organized crime.

The panel underscored three conceptual points. The first is that we live in an era of an unprecedented interconnection of threats. Second, there is an unprecedented mutual vulnerability between rich and poor, weak and strong. And third, the nature of today's threats is such that no state, no matter how powerful, can unilaterally defend itself against these threats. All of the threats, if they are to be either prevented or responded to, require global cooperation.

The report illustrates these points by analyzing a set of concrete threats. For example:

- Because of global economic integration, if ever there were to be a nuclear attack by terrorists on New York City, in addition to the death and devastation that would occur in New York, the economic damage globally would run in the trillions of dollars. Tens of millions of people in the developing world would be pushed either further into poverty or below the poverty line. Given what we now know about the relationship between intense poverty and infant mortality, there would be two death tolls—the first in New York from the physical attack itself, and the second would be a hidden death toll throughout the developing world.
- The biological security of the United States or Europe is dependent on the ability of the poorest countries to monitor, respond to and contain an emerging infectious disease. Scientists tell us that over the last 20 years, we have seen an average of two new emerging infectious diseases per year. HIV/AIDS is obviously the most deadly. Others include Ebola, SARS, etc. The incubation time of many deadly infectious diseases is longer than the average international flight time, which means any one of 700 million annual air passengers could be an unwitting carrier of a deadly infectious disease.
- The amount of highly enriched uranium that it would take to create an improvised nuclear device could fit in six one-liter milk cartons. One can imagine how much illicit material is smuggled into the United States or Europe everyday. If terrorists were ever to get their hands on that much highly enriched uranium, they would probably have no problem in getting it into a country to create a nuclear device. This issue, as explained in the report, urgently requires cleaning up highly enriched uranium around the world, revising the nonproliferation regime to create incentives for states to forego the development of domestic uranium enrichment and reprocessing facilities, and strengthening the capacity of states throughout the world to exert better border control. Incentives for states to join the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and for intelligence sharing are also recommended. A

whole host of cooperative measures would be needed in order to establish a comprehensive strategy to deal with the problem of nuclear terrorism.

Members of the panel also noted that the world needs to recognize that future threats could be even worse than the scenarios already mentioned. Thus, there is a high premium on prevention across all of these threats. Even in the case of HIV/AIDS, which of all the challenges that the panel examined has been the deadliest to date, the panel acknowledges that we still do not know what the worst outcomes are going to be and that we have not succeeded in stemming the pandemic. Moreover, we do not know what the cumulative effects of HIV/AIDS are going to be on societies and states in Africa. What are the long term impacts where care-providers, government officials, police and military have all been wiped out by this disease, they ask? What is it going to mean for basic questions related to stability and order?

The panel asserts that development is the first line of defense for collective security and cites three reasons. First, development is the antidote to the most pressing human security threats, including poverty, infectious disease and environmental degradation, each of which kills millions every year. Second, development is absolutely crucial for creating states that have the capacity to exercise their sovereignty responsibly. In the end, any collective security system is only as good as the capacity of its constituent states. Third, given what we now know about the relationship between poverty and onset of civil war, development is the best medium- to long-term strategy for the prevention of deadly conflict.

Assessing the UN's Performance

The panel directly points out the UN's failures, but also calls attention to those areas where the UN has been more effective than it is often given credit. For example, the panel notes that the UN has had relative success in ending civil wars and preventing nuclear proliferation.

- UN mediation, peacekeeping, peace-building and the implementation of peace agreements have been the operational face of the world body in international peace and security efforts since 1990. The first indicator of the UN's effectiveness is that the number of civil wars worldwide has decreased by almost 40 percent between 1992 and today. The second indicator is that there have been more negotiated settlements of civil wars in the 1990s than in the previous 200 years. Clearly not all of this is attributable to the UN. Civil society, regional organizations and powerful states have also been very active in this area. There have also been tremendous failures—Rwanda, Angola, Srebrenica. But those failures underscore the importance of investing in mediation and the implementation of peace agreements. If the Bicesse Accord on Angola in 1991-92, and the Arusha Accords on Rwanda in 1993-94, were implemented successfully, the panel argues that about three million lives would have been saved in the 1990s. This again indicates that investment in the implementation of peace agreements and peacebuilding is absolutely crucial.
- In the early 1960s, the Kennedy Administration estimated the emergence of "15 or 20" nuclear weapon states by 1975. Other estimates from that period were as high as 50. Forty years later, there are eight, maybe nine. At least part of the explanation for that success has been the nonproliferation regime and

the role played by the IAEA in reducing both the demand for these weapons and the supply of materials necessary to create them.

The Panel's Recommendations

The panel points out that the **nuclear nonproliferation** regime is in deep trouble and, unless serious policy changes take place, the world could see a cascade of proliferation in the next 10 to 15 years. The panel identified a whole package of recommendations to address the demand for these weapons, the supply of nuclear materials, the need for better verification and monitoring and, most of all, the need for better enforcement.

The panel makes the following recommendations: negotiations for the IAEA to become a guarantor for fissile material at market rates should be pursued; a voluntary, time-limited moratorium should be established on the construction of uranium enrichment and reprocessing facilities; the IAEA Board of Governors should make the *Additional Protocol* the agency standard for safeguard inspections and the Security Council should act on the basis of those standards; countries should join PSI if they have not already done so; and negotiations on a verifiable, comprehensive fissile material cut-off treaty should be pursued.

Regarding **biological weapons**, the panel asserts that advances in biotechnology point to great promise in terms of the treatment of deadly diseases, but they also bring a peril—the creation of deadly designer pathogens. The panel found that over the next five to 10 years, talented doctoral students working in well-equipped laboratories all around the world will probably be able to create these kinds of designer pathogens. Therefore, alone, no international treaty with verification and monitoring will solve this problem. There are going to be so many commercial and educational facilities that will be able to create these biological agents that a verification and monitoring regime will not suffice. Instead, the panel suggests the world should focus on defense through robust public health. This will require a significant investment, including rebuilding local and national public health capacity throughout the developing world, and putting more resources into the World Health Organization and its deadly disease surveillance and response capacity.

This is a win-win policy in that it addresses developing world concerns of infectious disease and is also one of the best defenses against bio-terrorism. One of the more controversial recommendations is a call for close ties between the WHO director-general and the Security Council if in the future there is either a suspicious manmade outbreak of a deadly disease, or a massive outbreak of naturally occurring infectious disease. The panel goes so far as to say that under extraordinary circumstances we might have a situation where the Security Council is going to have to mandate international action if a country that is faced with a massive disease outbreak cannot control and quarantine it. In such a case, the Security Council may have to treat such an outbreak as a threat to international peace and security and act accordingly.

On **terrorism**, the report makes a number of observations and recommendations. First, the United Nations is never going to be a key operational actor in the fight against terrorism, but it can be a strong normative voice against terrorism. The panel pulls no punches by stating that the UN has not used its normative strength to its best advantage. The panel calls for the creation, with the Secretary-General taking the lead, of a clear, coherent, principled strategy of counter terrorism that is respectful of universal human rights and the rule of law. Furthermore, the member states need to finally agree on a definition of terrorism. The panel puts forward a consensus

definition that is remarkable because it does not excuse any kind of resistance to occupation—such as “freedom fighting”—as a just cause for terrorism. It is very clear in its language that no cause, no matter how compelling, is an excuse to kill civilians indiscriminately or otherwise.

Regarding the **use of force**, the panel recognizes that there will be times when prevention fails and an enforcement capacity is necessary. In this connection, the panel looked at several issues:

- Are the provisions of the *UN Charter*, including Article 51 on self-defense adequate given the threats of today? A literal reading of Article 51 requires waiting until an attack before being able to respond in self defense. But the panel, relying on international customary law, disagrees with this narrow view, pointing out that there is extant law that indicates if a threat is truly imminent, then states need not wait to be attacked. In other words, states can engage in anticipatory self-defense as long as the threat is imminent. As such, the panel finds no reason to either constrain or broaden the interpretation of Article 51.
- As for the use of force against threats that may be latent but not imminent, the panel notes that under international law, states cannot use force for preventive reasons against a threat that may be far off but gathering. However, the panel recognizes the following dilemma. On the one hand, under international law there is no right to the use of preventive force. On the other hand, no state today would want to wait to the point where a threat—such as terrorists getting their hands on nuclear weapons—becomes imminent. The panel recommends a collective response in these cases. When a state faces a threat that is not imminent, it should take the matter to the Security Council. In these cases, the Security Council is going to have to be much more proactive and, as such, there are likely to be situations in the future in which the Security Council will have to collectively authorize the use of force for preventive reasons.
- The panel recommends the following five criteria to guide the Security Council in deciding whether to authorize the use of force: the seriousness of a threat; proper purpose; last resort; proportional means; and balance of consequences (i.e., whether military action is likely to have better or worse results than inaction). The guidelines are drawn from the just war tradition and were also part of the Canadian-sponsored Responsibility to Protect initiative. To the extent that the Security Council uses these guidelines, the panel argues, we can expect to see more accountability and better decision-making. The guidelines are meant to maximize the likelihood of getting consensus on the use of force.

In the area of **humanitarian intervention**, the panel endorses the notion of the responsibility to protect. The panel recognizes that sovereignty cannot be used as a shield by member states to hide behind in the cases of genocide, ethnic cleansing, large-scale loss of civilian life, or large-scale violations of international humanitarian law. These ideas are not new, but it is significant to have consensus support for them by a group with such diverse membership spanning the Americas and Europe, as well as Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

Finally, on **institutional reform**, the panel examined what needs to be changed in order to get a more effective United Nations for the 21st century.

- The panel sends a clear message to the **General Assembly** saying it has failed to take advantage of its normative strength as the only place in the world where all 191 member states can come together and debate the most pressing issues of the day. Because of its wide-ranging agenda, it rarely does. According to the panel, to be more relevant, the General Assembly should shorten its agenda and make its committees smaller in order to do more focused work.
- Turning to the **Security Council**, the panel asserts that the Security Council should be expanded, for several reasons. First and foremost, those countries that contribute more to the organization should be given a larger say in decision-making. In addition, there is a need to create more regional representation, especially on the part of developing countries. The panel agrees on a set of principles for Security Council enlargement and the criteria for either new permanent members or for longer-term members.

The panel, however, could not reach a consensus on whether expansion should take place in the permanent category or not, and put forward two models of Security Council expansion. Both models envision expansion to 24 members and involve changing the existing regional groupings, but only for the purpose of Security Council voting, to create new regional areas: the Americas, a unified Europe, Africa, and Asia and Pacific (New Zealand and Australia would be included in Asia and Pacific; Canada and the United States would be part of the Americas group).

There would be no extension of the veto in either of the models. In the permanent model, there would be an expansion of six new permanent members—two for Asia, two for Africa, one for Europe and one for the Americas. The other model envisions no expansion in the permanent category, but the creation of four-year renewable seats. Countries with one of these four-year seats could go to the General Assembly every four years and make the case for another term based on their contributions to international peace and security. The panel said that the General Assembly should pay particular attention to those countries that contribute the most to the workings of the organization for either permanent seats or for the longer-term nonpermanent seats. Priority should be given to countries that are in the top three in each of these regions in assessed contributions, voluntary contributions, or contributions of troops to UN peacekeeping missions. In any region, these criteria could produce a pool of as many as nine candidates. But the point is that the membership has to get serious about putting those members who contribute more to the organization onto the Security Council.

- The panel recommends the creation of a **Peace building Commission**, which would be an intergovernmental organ to deal with countries that are under stress as well as countries that are transitioning from peacekeeping to something else. When countries try to make the transition from peacekeeping to peace building, they often fall of the radar screen of the Security Council. Nobody is paying attention, mobilizing resources, or providing policy guidance, reports the panel. This new subsidiary body of the Security Council would serve as a home for peace building on the intergovernmental side of

the organization. To support the Commission, the panel recommends the creation of a **Peace building Support Office** in the Secretariat, which would include 25 to 30 people with field experience on various questions pertaining to peace building, rule of law, constitutional design, etc. It would be an operational office, which could also be the Secretariat's link to the Peace building Commission and act as a best practices unit.

- On the **Commission on Human Rights**, the panel is critical of its performance. The members point out that, all too often, countries try to get on the Commission to criticize other human rights records or deflect criticism of their own record. The panel puts forth a set of recommendations that can only work as a package. First, they recommend making membership of the Human Rights Commission universal in an attempt to avoid politicizing the election process. At the same time, it would remind all 191 member states that they have a universal obligation to protect human rights. They also recommend the creation of a smaller advisory panel of human rights experts, chosen by the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner. Lastly, the panel supports strengthening the role of the High Commissioner.
- The panel makes several recommendations to strengthen the **Secretariat**. The first is the creation of a second Deputy-Secretary-General (DSG). The idea is to have one Deputy-Secretary-General focused on development and another dedicated to international peace and security. The second DSG would play a role analogous to the US National Security Advisor, coordinating and scrutinizing policy-making on peace and security issues. The panel also recommends: the establishment of a strategic analysis capacity in the same office in order to enable the Secretariat to develop strategic views and option papers; an increased capacity within the Secretariat to support mediation and good offices; and a one-time personnel review using early retirement in some instances to create more space within the organization for its younger staff—who are in their 30's and 40's and now have a great deal of field experience—to move up in the organization.

Q&A / Discussion

Following Mr. Stedman's briefing to UNA-USA's Board and International Policy Committee, the discussion turned to how the panel's report fits into the Secretary-General's broader reform plans. Mr. Stedman explained that some of the 101 recommendations can be implemented by the Secretary-General himself and he has already pledged to develop a counter terrorism strategy for the UN. Others will require member states to support changes. The Secretary-General will use this report as an input into the Millennium Review. He intends to develop six to eight recommendations in advance of the heads of state meeting in September 2005. Mr. Stedman will work in the Secretary-General's office as a special adviser on implementation of the Panel's recommendations.

When asked which two or three recommendations would make the biggest impact, Mr. Stedman replied that this kind of prioritization runs somewhat counter to the report's conceptual basis which focuses on the interrelationship of threats. For immediate US interests, Mr. Stedman suggested the report's recommendations on the UN role in counter terrorism, the nuclear nonproliferation regime, biological security and state-building would be very valuable. Regarding the cost of implementing these

recommendations, Mr. Stedman said the biological security area would involve substantial investments in building public health capacities, and estimated that all the Secretariat staffing recommendations would cost only \$15 to 20 million in the United Nation's regular budget each year. When discussing costs, however, he said it was important to recognize that the single biggest inefficiency in the United Nations is the inability to get serious about prevention.

Notes:

Stephen Stedman, currently on leave from Stanford University, was appointed the Research Director for the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change in the fall of 2003.

1. The members of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change are: Robert Badinter (France), Gro Harlem Brundtland (Norway), Mary Chinery-Hesse (Ghana), Gareth Evans (Australia), David Hannay (Britain), Enrique Iglesias (Uruguay), Amr Moussa (Egypt), Satish Nambiar (India), Sadako Ogata (Japan), Anand Panyarachun (Thailand), Yevgeny M. Primakov (Russia), Qian Qichen (China), Nafis Sadik (Pakistan), Salim Ahmed Salim (Tanzania), Brent Scowcroft (United States) and Joao Baena Soares (Brazil).■

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UN SECRETARY-GENERAL'S ADDRESS TO THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Thank you, Richard, for those very warm words.

And thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for turning out in such large numbers.

I must have been in the news lately.

At the outset, let me deal with something I am sure is on your minds: the disturbing allegations over the Oil-for-Food Programme. We must get to the bottom of these allegations.

Paul Volcker is heading an independent inquiry – the most far reaching in the history of the United Nations.

All UN staff have been instructed to cooperate fully with the inquiry, or face disciplinary measures, including dismissal. The Volcker report will be made public once I receive it. And I will act on its findings.

The Volcker inquiry, and those being conducted here in Washington, should not be seen as competitors. Let's all work constructively to bring out the truth.

But let us also agree that the debate over the United Nations goes far beyond these matters. It goes to the very purpose of the Organization in the 21st century.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Today, I want to speak about my vision of a safer world and a better United Nations.

The attacks of September 11 were a wake up call. We are living in a dangerous world.

We face multiple threats that did not exist when the United Nations was founded. Threats at the hands of non-state actors. Threats that cross borders in an instant.

These threats affect us all, and no State acting alone can fully meet them.

Yet in responding to these threats, we are deeply divided. On what approach is best to take. And on what our most urgent priorities should be.

That is why I have said that the international community stands at a fork in the road.

If States fight among themselves, and do not unite to fight the common enemies of humanity, they will be doing a great disservice to the peoples of the world.

The global threats of our age include terror, deadly weapons, genocide, infectious disease, poverty, environmental degradation and organized crime. They will not wait for States to sort out their differences.

That is why I say to you today: we must act now to strengthen our collective defences. We must unite to master today's threats, and not allow them to divide and master us.

And I submit to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the only universal instrument that can bring States together in such a global effort is the United Nations.

I am the first to acknowledge that the United Nations is not perfect. At times, it shows its age.

But our world will not easily find a better instrument for forging a sustained, global response to today's threats.

We must use it to unite around common priorities -- and act on them.

And we must agree on a plan to reform the United Nations -- and get on with the job of implementing it.

This message lies at the heart of the recent report: "A more secure world: our shared responsibility". It is the work of the Panel of 16 men and women from around the world I appointed last year.

I am delighted that Brent Scowcroft, one of America's outstanding public servants, was one of the panelists. Thank you, General Scowcroft, for your service.

The report contains a powerful vision of collective security. Whether the threat is terrorism or AIDS, a threat to one is a threat to all. Our defences are only as strong as their weakest link. We will be safest if we work together.

And the report puts forward a vision of a radically reformed United Nations. I share that vision. But what, exactly, would the United Nations of tomorrow look like?

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Tomorrow's United Nations would unite States in preventing terrorism.

The Security Council has already done a lot to curb the flow of arms, funds, and technology to terrorist cells. But we must go further.

The Panel has proposed a definition of terrorism. It makes clear that no cause whatsoever justifies the targeting of civilians and non-combatants.

Member States should use it to enact a full anti-terrorism convention. The United Nations must make clear that it has zero tolerance of terrorism -- of any kind, for any reason.

We must also take strong multilateral action to keep deadly weapons out of dangerous hands.

Tomorrow's United Nations would provide a more muscular framework to prevent a cascade of nuclear proliferation.

We need tighter rules for inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

We need incentives for States to forego domestic uranium enrichment and reprocessing facilities.

And we need a verifiable fissile material cut-off treaty.

Tomorrow's United Nations would be an Organisation through which all States get much more serious about promoting development.

All States must boost their support for achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals.

This will save lives in poor countries.

It will reduce violent conflict and the appeal of radicalism.

It will help secure good governance and democracy.

And it will help build capable States that can deal with threats in their own borders before they harm their own citizens and others.

Biological security also needs more attention.

We must fight AIDS with far greater determination – and I thank President Bush for his leadership on AIDS.

We need a major initiative to build public health capacities in poor nations.

And the Security Council and the World Health Organization should work more closely to prepare for any disease outbreaks, and improve our defences against bio-terrorism.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Tomorrow's United Nations would also provide a framework for the use of force in which all States should have confidence.

Under Article 51 of the UN Charter, every State has the inherent right of self-defence. This includes the right to take pre-emptive action, if it faces an imminent threat.

Beyond that, the report suggests a number of guidelines to make Security Council decisions on the use of force more consistent and more effective.

The Security Council must be proactive to prevent nightmare scenarios, such as a nuclear terrorist attack, from unfolding. The Council must stand ready to authorize the preventive use of force in appropriate circumstances.

The report also recognizes something I have long advocated: State sovereignty is not a license for mass murder. Governments must assume their responsibility to protect their citizens.

Where they do not, the Security Council must assume its responsibility to protect. The Council may sometimes have to authorize the use of force to stop mass atrocities inside sovereign States. States must be prepared to back up the Council's decisions -- not just with talk, but with troops.

Force should never be used lightly. It should always be a last resort. And if we act early, we are less likely to need it. Otherwise, we can find ourselves facing appalling situations.

We face such a situation today in Darfur. The international community must support the African Union's efforts to deploy troops and achieve a political solution. We must work to finalize the North-South negotiations – on which Ambassador Danforth has worked so hard. And we must build on that momentum, to secure peace throughout Sudan.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

One of the most important contributions the United Nations makes to global security is its work in re-building war-torn countries.

Our record in Namibia, Mozambique, Tajikistan, Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala, and East Timor speaks for itself.

And our work continues today in Haiti, Kosovo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and elsewhere -- including Afghanistan and Iraq.

In Afghanistan, we have worked very closely with the United States. And the entire transition has taken place within a UN framework.

The UN-mediated Bonn Process put together the interim government.

The UN-convened Loya Jirga set the basis for an Afghan constitution.

In the recent UN-run elections, Afghans freely elected their President for the very first time.

The job is not over. But the United Nations is proud to have been the midwife at the birth of a new nation.

The United Nations is equally committed to the birth of a new Iraq.

I have long made clear that the international community must put the deep divisions over the war behind us. We must unite to build a new, free, democratic Iraq.

After the war, I sent a handpicked team to Iraq. They were led by our best peace builder, Sergio Vieira de Mello.

He was brutally murdered by terrorists as he carried out his mission under the blue flag of the United Nations. So were 21 other people whose names should be better known -- Nadia Younes, Rick Hooper, and other brave servants of peace.

Later, the United Nations was asked by the Iraqis and the Coalition Provisional Authority to help end the occupation / and secure the transfer of sovereignty.

In response, I sent to Iraq one of our most seasoned diplomats, Lakhdar Brahimi. He oversaw the selection of the Interim Iraqi Government this year. He helped forge an Iraqi consensus on the timing and framework for elections.

Since then, my Special Representative, Ashraf Qazi, and his team, have been in Baghdad. They are working to ensure that the political process is as inclusive, participatory and transparent as possible.

Often for security reasons, our role in Iraq receives little publicity. We operate without fanfare, based on the mandate given to us by the Security Council.

The UN's election experts have been at work -- both in Iraq and outside -- to help establish the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq.

The Commission has the responsibility to organise the forthcoming election. The United Nations is advising and assisting the Commission.

The UN has helped to train 6,000 election workers and open 450 registration centres. We are helping to recruit and train up to 130,000 poll workers.

The technical preparations for the election on 30 January are on track.

And we stand ready, if asked, to support Iraqi efforts to draw up a constitution.

The United Nations achieves important results in peacebuilding around the world. But our efforts must be more strategic and better resourced. Tomorrow's United Nations must have the capacity to move fast, and see every job through.

I warmly welcome the Panel's call for a Peacebuilding Commission, / supported by greater Secretariat capacity.

And I also firmly believe that tomorrow's United Nations must have reformed and revitalized institutions:

- A Security Council that reflects the 21st century world, not that of 1945.
- An overhauled Human Rights Commission and a strengthened High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- And a Secretariat that is more open, more accountable, and better able to recruit and promote the best people.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

That is the vision of the United Nations that I believe in. That is the vision I am working to achieve.

Next September, world leaders come together in New York to review progress since the Millennium Declaration.

When they do, they must reach consensus on basic principles and clear priorities.

And they must take decisions to build tomorrow's United Nations.

I established the Panel to open some windows and let in fresh air and new ideas. The period ahead will determine whether the winds of change will blow through the corridors of the United Nations.

Many of the important recommendations are directed at Member States. They will have to decide.

But I have no doubt that the United Nations must change.

I will move quickly to implement recommendations that fall within my purview. I will work with Member States to help them to decide and to act.

And I hope the United States will play a vigorous role in the process of renewal and change.

After all, American vision and values helped give birth to the United Nations.

America's support and leadership has always been crucial to a strong and successful United Nations.

America and the United Nations are working hand in hand today around the world -- on peacekeeping, conflict resolution, humanitarian assistance, human rights, good governance and development.

And today, America, no less than any other State, needs global cooperation to be secure.

I therefore look forward to working with the Government and people of the United States to make sure that we build a United Nations fit for the 21st century, and a safer world.

Thank. ■

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