

DOCUMENTS

(January - June 2002)

DOCUMENT No. 1

**President, General Pervez Musharraf's Speech at the
11th SAARC Summit, Kathmandu, Nepal
January 5, 2002**

Your Majesty King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

It is a pleasure for me and the members of my delegation to be in the historic and friendly city of Kathmandu. Allow me to offer to you, Your Majesty, my felicitations on Nepal's assumption of the Chairmanship of SAARC.

Mr. Prime Minister, your comprehensive, wise and thought-provoking address has set the stage for the success of this, the 11th SAARC Summit meeting. Your personal commitment to enhanced cooperation among South Asian countries provides the perfect inspiration to our deliberations.

I would also like to pay a special tribute to the late King of Nepal, His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, one of the founding fathers of SAARC. His contribution to the establishment and the growth of our Association will be long remembered. We will be honouring the memory of the late King by placing SAARC, during the Kathmandu Summit, on an irreversible path of cooperation, peace and progress for the people of South Asia.

We are grateful to His Excellency Sher Bahadur Deuba, Prime Minister of Nepal and the Government of Nepal for the cordial reception, generous hospitality and the excellent arrangements made for the Summit. I wish to convey our deep appreciation to the outgoing Chairperson, President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga of Sri Lanka for steering SAARC during a particularly difficult period. Her abiding commitment to SAARC and her resolve to revive the Association have been a source of strength for all of us. This is also the appropriate moment to express our thanks and appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Nihal Radrigo, the outgoing Secretary General for the dedication with which he has been discharging his important responsibilities. I wish him success in future.

I would like to extend a cordial welcome to the new Secretary General of SAARC, Mr. Q.A.M.A Rahim from the brotherly country of Bangladesh. His previous association with SAARC, his long experience in the diplomatic service of his country and his extensive knowledge of South Asian affairs, make him ideally suitable for this job. We wish him a successful tenure.

Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, it is a matter of great satisfaction for my government that the 11th Summit is finally taking place. There have been instances of postponement of SAARC Summits in the past. However, this time, we have witnessed an unprecedented delay of more than two years. It is unfortunate that the delay was caused by factors extraneous to both the Association and its Charter. We need to make certain that SAARC stays on course. SAARC Summits once scheduled, after obtaining the concurrence of all the member states, must go ahead even if the heads of State or Government of one or two members do not find it convenient to attend. No member should be allowed to hold SAARC to ransom.

Using internal developments in one member state to disrupt the SAARC process should be unacceptable. We must also oppose any attempt to dilute the

principle of sovereign equality of member states. In this joint endeavour, we are all equal partners. The stark reality is that SAARC has not been able to develop to its full potential. The vision that led to the creation of SAARC has not been translated into reality. A region that gave birth to many sages who upheld the cherished goals of peace and harmony; a region that is home to some of the oldest human civilizations and a region that takes pride in the diversity and beauty of its cultural heritage, has in the modern era failed to resolve its many contradictions, differences and tensions. We need to bring to bear the wisdom, sagacity, tolerance and sense of justice of ages in which we take so much pride to resolve our problems.

SAARC's performance so far, in comparison with other regional organizations, has been dismal. While SAARC limps along, organizations like the European Union and ASEAN, have galloped ahead. The national leaders in these organizations had a vision for their peoples and their regions. They worked with commitment and with sincerity to resolve potential issues, while embarking on the road to economic integration. We should learn from their experience. All problems that afflict our region must be sincerely addressed and resolved. Sweeping them under the carpet does not make them go away. The only wise and courageous choice is to resolve all disputes and differences on a durable basis. And only those solutions which are based on justice and fair play can be durable.

Our seriousness and sincerity about making SAARC a genuine agent for cooperation and economic integration among South Asian countries, will be judged by our determination and ability to resolve bilateral disputes. The proposal to devise a SAARC mechanism to address all issues was informally taken up at the 9th and the 10th Summits at Male and Colombo respectively. The declarations of our intent to promote peace and to resolve differences amicably should be translated into concrete action. It is not only Pakistan that has bilateral differences. Other countries also have this problem. We cannot afford to remain frozen if we want to present a unified face to the world, and if we genuinely want to make SAARC a strong, potent and effective organization.

Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen. South Asia is not only one of the least economically integrated regions, it is also one of the least developed. We need to overcome the challenges of our development, poverty, income inequalities, unemployment, economic and social deprivation, high mortality and low literacy. If South Asia remains mired in problems, the world will gradually lose interest in our region. Indeed there already are signs that this is happening. South Asia's share of capital inflows to the developing world declined from 7 per cent in the 1980s to 3 per cent in the 1990s. This lack of investor confidence in this region, in the era of globalisation when Official Development Assistance is shrinking and capital flows are market driven, is due primarily to the atmosphere of uncertainty and absence of peace and stability in our region. We have the highest number of people living below the poverty line in the world. Half a billion South Asians experienced a decline in their incomes during the last decade. This certainly was not the vision that inspired the founding fathers of SAARC to establish this organization.

The Agreement on SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) provides the foundation for greater economic co-operation, leading ultimately to economic integration. The SAPTA, process still remains incomplete because of mutual mistrust and the absence of a level playing field. In view of our experience with SAPTA, moves towards a South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) should be carefully evaluated to protect the interests of the smaller countries of the region. It would not be appropriate to embark on the road to SAFTA without completing a comprehensive study on all aspects of this very complex venture. However, it is

gratifying that member countries are already in the process of translating the SAARC Social Charter into action. The Group of Eminent Persons has made a number of valuable recommendations for improving SAARC's performance and profile. An in-depth discussion at the pre-Summit meetings on the implications of these recommendations and their practicability has already been held. These recommendations would be instrumental in imparting greater dynamism and substance to SAARC.

The plight of women in our region calls for focused attention and determined action for the amelioration of their condition. The children in South Asia also continue to suffer because of economic and social backwardness. No civilised society can afford to ignore the welfare of its women and children. The SAARC Conventions on Combating the Trafficking of Women and Children and on the Welfare of Child and designed to help member countries in taking necessary measures for the fulfilment of their obligations towards these two vulnerable segments of our society. These need to be fully implemented. We have noted with satisfaction that the Commerce Ministers of SAARC met in New Delhi last year to evolve a common position on WTO issues. Similar cooperation on other issues of shared concern needs to be encouraged.

Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say a few words about the conduct of business in SAARC. With the world becoming smaller and infinitely more complex, government leaders and officials have less time available to them to address the vast array of issues before them. There is thus an increasing requirement to utilize our time and resources in the most efficient and cost-effective manner possible. SAARC procedures and practices have been significantly simplified over the years. However, there is a need to keep these under constant review. I would propose a reconsideration of the duration and format of Summit and other meetings in order to making them more business like. While adding substance, form should be reduced. The exchanges at the 'Retreat' should be allocated more time, perhaps ceremonies may be curtailed. The Standing Committee may be mandated to make concrete recommendations in this context.

Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, our meeting is taking place in new year, a new century, a new millennium and also a new world after the terrorist attacks of 11th September last year. Pakistan condemned those terrorist attacks and joined the international coalition in the campaign against terrorism. Pakistan itself has been a victim of terrorism. We strongly condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. We regard terrorism as a grave threat to civil society. We abhor violence. We are determined to eliminate terrorism and therefore, fully implement the SAARC Convention for Combating Terrorism.

However, a concerted campaign against terrorism must also identify and examine the causes that breed terrorism, that drive people to hopelessness and desperation. We cannot address only the symptoms and leave the malaise aside. It is equally important that a distinction is maintained between acts of legitimate resistance and freedom struggles on the one hand and acts of terrorism on the other. We need to do much more to realize the potential of SAARC. However, not much can be achieved as long as there is tension and hostility among any two of the members. It was with the objective of dissipating and reducing tension that I undertook the journey to Agra last July. My Government remains ready to engage in a serious and sustained dialogue with India at all times and all levels. Peace and tranquillity between Pakistan and India are essential for progress in South Asia. ■

<http://www.pak.gov.pk/public/president-speech-saarc.htm>

DOCUMENT No. 2**Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's Speech at the 11th SAARC Summit, Kathmandu, Nepal
January 5, 2002**

Your Excellency, Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Heads of States and Government, Secretary General of SAARC, distinguished delegates, friends, I join my colleagues in thanking the government and the people of Nepal for the warmth of their welcome and hospitality. We appreciate the excellent arrangements for this Summit.

It is an uplifting experience for me to be here in this charming city of Kathmandu, the earthly abode of the Lord Pashupatinath, and in a country with which India is linked by geography, kinship, tradition and culture.

Your country has recently been through gruesome tragedy and domestic turmoil; but you have emerged from them with a more resilient society and stronger roots of your democracy.

I felicitate you on your assumption of the Chair of SAARC and wish you a rewarding tenure in its stewardship. We extend our fullest cooperation to you in guiding the Association forward.

As Sri Lanka passes the baton, we salute the tireless efforts of its President, who led the organization through a difficult and turbulent period of its history with a combination of firmness and tact.

Our official and ministerial delegations have been meeting over the last few days, working on our collective decisions, which will give SAARC its orientation in the 21st century.

Mr. Chairman, SAARC turned 16 last month. In its formative years, it has developed the base for a strong network of economic, social, cultural, scientific and technical collaboration in the region. Our Integrated Programme of Action defines a broad based agenda. The Group of Eminent Persons has identified the elements of a social agenda which could form the nucleus of a SAARC Social Charter. Sri Lanka's initiative for a SAARC Cultural Centre underlines the common cultural heritage of our unique South Asian identity. More and more of our professionals like doctors and accountants, writers and painters, business leaders and journalists are establishing associations with their counterparts across borders.

What we need today is the dose of maturity which would lead SAARC from adolescence to adulthood. It would enable us to put aside our mutual rivalries, so that our scarce resources can be concentrated on the pressing agenda of eradication of poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy. It would not let political obsessions cloud our collective vision of a vibrant and prosperous South Asian community.

Some months ago, I wrote to a South Asian colleague, reminding him that the common enemy of our two countries is poverty and inviting him to take with us the high road of cooperation and reconciliation to satisfy the shared aspirations of our people. From this forum today, I make the same appeal to all the leaders of South Asia: let us jointly declare war on the poverty which afflicts about half a billion people in our region alone. Let us develop regional poverty alleviation programmes, which would complement our national schemes and strengthen our commitment to implement them.

Ten years ago, we set up an Independent South Asian Commission on Poverty Alleviation with a membership of eminent South Asians. The Dhaka Summit endorsed its report and committed South Asia to work for total eradication of poverty, preferably by 2002. Unfortunately, this joint endeavour never took off.

I believe that we owe it to our people to make another sincere attempt. The Poverty Commission still exists; let it be revived and reconvened to update and flesh out its 1992 report. Let us, this time show greater commitment to making our cooperative mechanisms work.

India is willing to host the meetings of the reconvened Poverty Commission and extend all assistance to enable it to complete its work expeditiously.

Mr. Chairman, four countries in our region are in the least developed category; the other three are developing countries. As the technological revolution advances, and globalisation shrinks the world, the challenges which confront us require innovative responses. We do not want our socio-economic disparities of today to be transformed into the digital divide of tomorrow. We have to take difficult decisions to reconcile the pace of our liberalisation with the needs of our nascent industries and equitable development.

It is important that we recognize the primacy of the economic agenda in SAARC. Our region is home to one-fifth of humanity. With a market of this size, our natural wealth, our human resources, our technical skills and our intellectual strengths, an integrated South Asia can be an economic powerhouse, by using its synergies creatively and building on the mutual complementarities of its constituent economies.

We have to increase our intra-regional trade, which is limited by a variety of national barriers. In an intensely competitive world, regional economic groupings create obvious economies of scale. At times of wider recession, regional trade can cushion their adverse impact. The progression from SAPTA to a free trade area and then to a South Asian economic union has a self-evident economic logic. Government — Industry partnerships also promote regional trade and I congratulate the SAARC Chamber of Commerce on this initiative.

We have extraordinary cases of trade between two adjoining countries of our region through distant third countries. There cannot be a better example of cutting off the nose to spite the face. Developing countries with severe balance of payments problems cannot afford the luxury of this extra burden on their national exchequer or the consumers' pockets.

While promoting intra-regional trade, we also need to address the special needs and circumstances of the least developed countries. India can consider further concessional duty regimes for products from these countries. We have already accorded this benefit to Nepal and Bhutan. I recommend consultations among our Ministers to identify specific proposals to invigorate the South Asian Growth Quadrangle. I am also proposing that the Commerce Secretaries meet at the very earliest to address such trade facilitation issues.

Mr. Chairman, India has been a victim of international terrorism for two decades now. Other countries in our region have also been similarly affected. Terrorism uses different religious, territorial, economic and ethnic justifications in different countries, but the end product of mindless violence, civilian casualties, economic disruption and social tensions is the same everywhere.

We now have an international coalition against terrorism which accepts that terrorism has to be countered in a global and comprehensive manner. The international community has agreed that no country would allow its soil to be used, actively or passively, to finance, shelter, arm or train terrorist groups. The recent

experience of Afghanistan also showed graphically that tolerance, acquiescence or sponsorship of terrorism creates a monster out of the control of its own creator.

It was in this city of Kathmandu, 14 years ago, that the SAARC countries adopted a Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism. As an international measure, that document was somewhat ahead of its times. Unfortunately, consequent action was not taken by some countries.

We in South Asia have to recognize that our cooperative future will be significantly influenced by the way in which we can tackle terrorism together. Updating and strengthening the SAARC Convention would provide a contemporary framework for cooperation in this area. It would also be a powerful confidence building measure, which would create positive ripples in virtually every area of our interaction within SAARC.

Mr. Chairman, the SAARC Summit has convened today after nearly three and a half years. There is an air of optimism today that we can perhaps arrest the state of drift in our regional cooperation over these last years. Some mindsets may have to be altered, and some historical baggage jettisoned.

I am glad that President Musharraf extended a hand of friendship to me. I have shaken hand in your presence. Now President Musharraf must follow this gesture by not permitting any activity in Pakistan or any territory it controls today which enables terrorists to perpetrate mindless violence in India.

I say this because of my past experience. I went to Lahore with a hand of friendship. We were rewarded by aggression in Kargil and the hijacking of an Indian Airlines aircraft from Kathmandu. I invited President Musharraf to Agra. We were rewarded with a terrorist attack on the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly and, last month, on the parliament of India.

But we would be betraying the expectations of our peoples if we did not chart out a course towards satisfying the unfulfilled promises of our common South Asian destiny.

Thank you. ■

<http://www.meadev.nic.in/speeches/pmsaarc-2002.htm>

DOCUMENT No. 3

President, General Pervez Musharraf 's Remarks at Concluding Session of 11th SAARC Summit, Kathmandu, Nepal January 6, 2002

I consider it a special privilege and pleasure to propose a vote of thanks to Excellency Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba for hosting of the Eleventh SAARC Summit in Kathmandu and for the most comprehensive and inspiring concluding remarks. The honour bestowed on me has enhanced manifold by the fact that I carry out this welcome duty on behalf of the excellencies the Presidents of the Maldives, and Sri Lanka, Excellency Prime Minister of Bangladesh and India, His Excellency the Chairman of the Council of the Ministers of Bhutan and of course on behalf of Pakistan. It is a matter of immense satisfaction for all of us that the Eleventh SAARC Summit proceeded smoothly and is coming to a successful conclusion. This has been possible in very large measure due to ability and skill with which the PM of Nepal steered our deliberations. His deep understanding of the affairs of the region and his constructive approach has infused SAARC association with new spirit and sense of

optimism. I will be missing in my duty if I do not place on record the collective debt of gratitude that we all owe to his Majesty King Briendara Bikram Shahdev for his guidance to this Summit. On behalf of all the heads of state and government of member states of SAARC and on my own behalf, I would like to express the desire that the PM of Nepal will continue to take an active interest in the working and the progress of SAARC.

We also wish his Majesty good health, happiness and a long and benign reign that brings increasing prosperity to the people of Nepal. Our profound thanks are also due to the Chairman of the Council of the Ministers and other functionaries of Nepal government who, through their tireless and dedicated efforts, made excellent arrangements to make our stay more comfortable and the work of the summit and the preparatory meetings smooth and seamless. The spontaneous and warm welcome accorded to us by the friendly people of Nepal and the keen interest taken by them in the proceedings of the Summit have made our visit all the more memorable. I am confident that I reflect the feeling of all my distinguished colleagues in saying that we have been truly charmed by the beauty of Nepal and friendliness of its people. This being my first visit to Nepal, I now fully appreciate the wisdom of the founding fathers of SAARC in choosing Kathmandu as the seat of our association.

The retreat last evening afforded us an excellent opportunity to exchange views in a very relaxed atmosphere. The only regret I say is that we could not enjoy the lovely setting of Nagarkot for this purpose. May be, I myself, is to be blamed for the late arrival on the first day because of bad weather conditions in China. The declaration that we have agreed to adopt is a constructive and forward-looking document. We are grateful to all those who helped us in its preparation. We should now move with determination to translate the declaration into reality. It is my firm conviction that South Asia is blessed with every resource and that our region has the capability to emerge out of poverty and under-development and move rapidly on the road to socio-economic progress of our people. I am equally aware of our weakness and the impediment in the way of our common march ahead are well known to all of us. We have to join hands to remove them. If there is no durable peace, there will be little progress. If bilateral differences continue unresolved, genuine cooperation will remain an elusive dream. We need to show sincerity among ourselves for the greater good of the South Asian region. I would like to conclude with a small prayer: May 'New Year' prove auspicious for our countries, our people and our association. May we all be endowed with the wisdom and the courage to settle all our differences amicably on the basis of justice and fair play. May violence and use of force be eradicated from our region. May the people of South Asia progress and prosper. And, may peace and harmony prevail in South Asia. ■

<http://www.pak.gov.pk/public/pres-remarks-saarc.htm>

DOCUMENT No. 4

SAARC Declaration January 6, 2002

Following is the text of the Declaration issued at the end of the 11th SAARC Summit held at Bhutan, Nepal.

The Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Her Excellency Begum Khaleda Zia; the Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Bhutan, His

Excellency Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk; the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, His Excellency Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee; the President of the Republic of Maldives, His Excellency Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom; the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Nepal, Right Honourable Mr. Sher Bahadur Deuba; the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, His Excellency General Pervez Musharraf; and the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Her Excellency Mrs. Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga met at the Eleventh Summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in Kathmandu, Nepal from 4 to 6 January 2002.

Regional Cooperation

The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed their commitment to regional cooperation through SAARC and underscored the importance of annual Summit meetings in charting common strategies for the realisation of the objectives and principles set out in the Charter of the Association. Meeting for the first time at the dawn of the new millennium, they solemnly renewed their pledge to strengthen the Association and make it more cohesive, result oriented, and forward looking, by adopting clearly defined programmes and effective implementation strategies in line with popular expectations. To give effect to the shared aspirations for a more prosperous South Asia, the leaders agreed to the vision of a phased and planned process eventually leading to a South Asian Economic Union.

The Heads of State or Government stressed that equitable sharing of the benefits of regional cooperation is essential to achieve and maintain a minimum acceptable level of economic and social development in each Member State. To this end, they expressed their commitment to a speedier process of harmonising the policies and practices and imbibing regional goals and strategies in their national development programmes.

The Heads of State or Government expressed their firm determination to fully benefit from the wealth of traditional wisdom, creativity and enterprise in the region. They also pledged to enhance transparency and accountability in governance and to encourage effective participation of the peoples and civil societies in the formulation as well as implementation of the programmes of cooperation.

Reiterating their resolve to promote the regional identity and to strengthen cooperation at the international level, the Heads of State or Government also emphasised the need to evolve common positions on issues of shared interests at the international fora.

Cooperation in the Economic Sector

The Heads of State or Government agreed to accelerate cooperation in the core areas of trade, finance and investment to realise the goal of an integrated South Asian economy in a step-by-step manner. They expressed their determination to make the full use of regional synergy to maximise the benefits of globalisation and liberalisation and to minimise their negative impacts on the region. While recognising that trade and economic expansion is closely inter-linked, the leaders made a commitment to widen and deepen the scope of regional networks of activities in trade and financial matters.

The Heads of State or Government noted with satisfaction the outcomes of the successive meetings of the SAARC Commerce Ministers aimed at enlarging the scope of cooperation in the core areas. They recognised the importance of achieving a free trade area and reaffirmed that the treaty regime for creating a free trade area must incorporate, inter alia, binding timeframes for freeing trade, measures to

facilitate trade and provisions to ensure an equitable distribution of benefits of trade to all states, especially for small and least developed countries, including mechanisms for compensation of revenue loss.

Recognising the need to move quickly towards a South Asian Free Trade Area, the Heads of State or Government directed the Council of Ministers to finalize the text of the Draft Treaty Framework by the end of 2002. They also directed that in moving towards the goal of SAFTA, the Member States expedite action to remove tariff and non-tariff barriers and structural impediments to free trade. They also instructed to conclude the meeting of the Inter Governmental Group on trade Liberalization for the 4th Round of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA as early as possible as per the decision of the 10th SAARC Summit in Colombo.

The Heads of State or Government renewed their commitment to encourage the participation of the private sector and assured their full support for their socially responsible economic initiatives. While welcoming the practice of holding trade fairs in cooperation with the private sector at the regional level, they appreciated the efforts of the SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry to promote regional economic cooperation in the spirit of public and private sector partnership.

The Heads of State or Government also decided to instruct the Secretary General to facilitate an early finalisation of a regionally agreed investment framework to meet investment needs of the SAARC Member States.

The Heads of State or Government recognised the immense tourism potential of South Asia and underlined the need to take measures to promote South Asia as a common tourist destination through joint efforts in areas such as upgrading of infrastructure, air linkages, simplification and harmonisation of administrative procedures and training and joint marketing.

Poverty Alleviation

The Heads of State or Government acknowledged that investment in poverty alleviation programmes contributes to social stability, economic progress and overall prosperity.

They were of the view that widespread and debilitating poverty continued to be the most formidable developmental challenge for the region. Conscious of the magnitude of poverty in the region, and recalling also the decision of the UN Millennium Summit 2000 to reduce the world poverty in half by 2015, and also recalling the commitments made at the five year review of the World Summit for Social Development to reduce poverty with enhanced social mobilisation, the Heads of State or Government made a review of the SAARC activities aimed at poverty alleviation and decided to reinvigorate them in the context of the regional and global commitments to poverty reduction.

The Heads of State or Government expressed their firm resolve to combat the problem of poverty with a new sense of urgency by actively promoting the synergetic partnership among national governments, international agencies, the private sector, and the civil society. They reaffirmed their pledge to undertake effective and sustained poverty alleviation programmes through pro-poor growth strategy and social as well as other policy interventions with specific sectoral targets. The leaders also agreed to take immediate steps for an effective implementation of the programmes for social mobilisation and decentralisation, and for strengthening institution building and support mechanisms to ensure participation of the poor, both as stake-holder and beneficiary, in governance and development process.

The Heads of State or Government decided to undertake sustained measures to extend rural micro-credit programmes with focus on women and the

disadvantaged sections of the society. They also stressed the need for widening the opportunities for gainful employment. While highlighting the importance of promoting agriculture, indigenous skills and small scale and cottage industries to address the incidence of rural poverty, they decided to enhance cooperation in agricultural research, extension and adoption. They specifically instructed that the Technical Committees should identify programmes and activities that impact on poverty alleviation. They urged the need to create gainful employment and promote cooperation in vocational training.

The Heads of State or Government emphasised the need to promote sharing of the best practices and experiences among the Member States and to this end, instructed the Secretary General to disseminate such information to the Member States on a regular basis. They directed the Council of Ministers to review on a continuous basis the regional poverty profile to be prepared by the Secretary General with the assistance of the related UN agencies, nodal agencies and independent research institutions specialised in the field.

In order to ensure social stability and to protect the vulnerable sections of population from the adverse impacts of globalisation and liberalization, the Heads of State or Government stressed the need to enhance cooperation to create and maintain appropriate safety nets.

The Heads of State or Government agreed that a special session on poverty alleviation at the ministerial level should undertake a comprehensive review and evaluation of the status of implementation of poverty eradication policies and programmes carried out so far, and to recommend further concrete measures to enhance effective cooperation at the regional level to the 12th SAARC Summit. They also directed the Council of Ministers to take necessary steps to fully activate the existing three-tier mechanism for poverty alleviation.

The Leaders directed the Council of Ministers to coordinate efforts to integrate poverty alleviation programs into the development strategies of Member States. In this context, they agreed to reconstitute the Independent South Asian Commission on Poverty Alleviation, with Nepal as its Convener and Bangladesh as Co-convener, for reviewing the progress made in cooperation on poverty alleviation and for suggesting appropriate and effective measures. They instructed the Chairman of the Council of Ministers to seek two nominations from each Member State by end of January 2002 to enable to hold its first meeting before the proposed Ministerial Meeting on Poverty Alleviation in Pakistan in April 2002.

Expressing concern at the region's special vulnerability in the slowdown in world economy and its negative impact on the poor and the marginalized, the Heads of State or Government called for a supportive international environment and enhanced level of assistance by international community for poverty alleviation programs in South Asia.

Cooperation in the Social and Cultural Sector

The Heads of State or Government reiterated the need for an early finalisation of the SAARC Social Charter and instructed the Inter Governmental Expert Group to expedite their work on the basis of the draft submitted by the Secretary General as a working paper for its consideration, complete the draft framework of the Charter as early as possible and present it for consideration at the next meeting of the Council of Ministers. While drawing up the charter, they also directed the Council of Ministers to include the important areas of poverty eradication, population stabilization, the empowerment of women, youth

mobilization, human resources development, the promotion of health and nutrition and the protection of children.

The Leaders recognized the debilitating and widespread impact of the HIV/AIDS, TB and other communicable deadly diseases on the population of South Asia and stressed the need for evolving a regional strategy to combat these diseases. The strategy should include, inter alia, culturally appropriate preventive measures, an affordable treatment regime and should specially target the vulnerable groups. In this regard, they felt that SAARC should collaborate with the international organizations and civil society on those diseases. They also emphasized that the SAARC Tuberculosis Centre in Kathmandu should play a coordinating role in the related areas.

In accordance with the Colombo Declaration, the Heads of State or Government decided to mandate to Ministers of Cultural Affairs Meeting in Sri Lanka to finalise the details relating to the establishment as well as financing of the SAARC cultural centre and submit its report to the next session of the council of Ministers.

Women and Children

The Heads of State or Government welcomed the signing of the SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating the Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution and expressed their collective resolve to treat trafficking in women and children for the commercial sexual exploitation as a criminal offence of a serious nature. They also welcomed the signing of the SAARC Convention on Regional Arrangements for the Promotion of Child Welfare in South Asia and observed that the convention reflected their commitment to place the child first in the national and regional programs of the Member States. They instructed the Secretary General, in consultation with Member States and other specialised agencies, to present a report on measures for the effective implementation of the conventions to the next meeting of the Council of Ministers.

The Heads of State or Government agreed to establish, on the basis of recommendations of the Regional Task force responsible for the implementation of the provisions of the SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution, a voluntary fund with contributions from Member States, individuals, and donor countries and agencies for the rehabilitation and reintegration of the victims of trafficking.

The Leaders recognized the need to form an autonomous advocacy group of prominent women personalities from the Member States with a view to making recommendations to the SAARC bodies on a broad spectrum of gender related issues. They directed the council of Ministers to take necessary steps to prepare and present for consideration at their next meeting the Terms of Reference for the purpose.

The Heads of State or Government recognized the need to actively pursue and promote social development through empowerment of women and to achieve their full participation in decision making at all levels. They reaffirmed their commitment to uplift the social status of the people, women and children in particular, in the region and expressed their common resolve to accord the highest priority to promoting social development through specific and targeted programs. The leaders directed the Council of Ministers to take necessary measures to ensure the enjoyment by women and girl child of their inherent potentials. They also directed the Council of Ministers to constitute a Task Force to review the status of

implementation of past decisions related to the social sector and to suggest guidelines for their effective implementation in the future.

The leaders directed the Council of Ministers to take concrete steps to give priority to investing in children as an effective means for poverty reduction in the long run reaffirming their commitment to the Colombo Plan of Action and the Rawalpindi Declaration and recalling the declaration of 2001 to 2010 as the SAARC Decade of the Rights of the Child, the Heads of State or Government noted with appreciation the South Asia High-level Meeting on Children held in Kathmandu in May 2001. They reaffirmed their conviction that the children in South Asia deserve urgent and focused attention to enhance the long term and overall progress of the countries of the region.

The Heads of State or Government agreed to mobilize the necessary resources and intensify broad based actions to achieve a set of priority goals related to improving the status of children, such as polio eradication by 2005, protection of children from mother-to-child transmission of HIV/AIDS, and quality basic education to the children within a time-bound period.

Education

The Heads of State or Government instructed the concerned Ministers of the Governments to devise appropriate strategies for raising the quality of education through the exchange of information among the universities in the region. While emphasizing the importance of mutual recognition of the educational institutions, they agreed to give the necessary impetus to realize the goal of a common regional educational standard through uniform methods of instruction and teaching aids. They were unanimous in recognizing the benefit of introducing SAARC in the national curricula at appropriate levels of study in order to enhance the awareness about Association's goals and objectives.

The Heads of State or Government recognized that access to quality education was an important element for the empowerment of all segments of society, and undertook to develop or strengthen national strategies and action plans to ensure that all children particularly the girl child have access to quality primary education by 2015. And to improve levels of adult literacy by 50 per cent by eliminating gender disparities in access to education as envisaged in the Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All adopted by the World Education Forum held at Dakar in April 2000.

International Political and Economic Environment

The Heads of State or Government reiterated their firm support for the principles and purposes of the United Nations in order to create a just, balanced and equitable world order. They reaffirmed their commitment to continue working with the NAM and other like-minded countries for the reform and democratisation of the United Nations System with a view to making it an effective and more democratic institution for international peace, security, progress and cooperation.

The Heads of State or Government were of the view that stability, peace and security in South Asia should be promoted together with efforts to improve the global security environment. They underscored their commitment to general and complete disarmament including nuclear disarmament on a universal basis, under effective international control.

They agreed that global non-proliferation goals could not be international control. They agreed that global non-proliferation goals could not be achieved in the absence of progress towards nuclear disarmament and in this context called upon all

nuclear weapon states, whether party or non-party to the NPT, to engage constructively through a transparent and credible process of negotiations at the Conference on Disarmament and Development. ■

<http://www.forisb.org/>

DOCUMENT No. 5

British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair's Press Conference Held in Islamabad, Pakistan January 7, 2002

Introductory Remarks by the Prime Minister. First of all, can I say, thank you to you and all your team for the great work that you have done here. As you know, for all the members of the press, there is going to be an opportunity to ask questions about the current situation when I do a press conference with President Musharraf slightly later and if I may, I will restrict my remarks at this juncture to the situation in Afghanistan following the meeting that I have just had with representatives of Afghan women.

I think if we think back to the days following the terrible events of 11 September, people then were very sceptical as to whether action in Afghanistan could be successful. Some people warned that it would lead to a humanitarian disaster, a military disaster, a political disaster. I think some months on, we are able to see that as a result of the strength of the international coalition, and I pay tribute to President Musharraf's role in that, as a result of that international coalition, we have managed to achieve more than people I think could possibly have thought or dreamt of a few months ago.

Militarily, the campaign has been immensely successful, we still have objectives to be secured but nonetheless the fact is the terrorist network of *al- Queda* in Afghanistan is effectively broken, the *Taliban* regime is no more, politically Afghanistan has at least the prospect now of a stable and proper political regime for the future.

And of course in humanitarian terms then as a result partly of the success of the military action, but also because of the strength of the international coalition, we are able to get aid through to people in Afghanistan in virtually unlimited amounts.

Now, none of that is to be so sanguine that we don't remember the enormous challenges and problems that remain. Afghanistan has been a failed state for many, many years and when you hear, as I have just heard, the comments and stories of Afghan women, subject to brutal repression and deprivation over many, many years, then I think we can realise just how important it is that the international community, having made its commitment to sorting out Afghanistan in the interests of defeating international terrorism, continues that commitment in order to help Afghanistan back on its feet, stop being a failed state and be a reliable partner in this region. That is what all the countries in the region want and it is what the international community needs.

And I believe, therefore, that it is important that we recognise that for Afghanistan, both in terms of the new political system there and in terms of the progress and development of its people, it is vital that we, as an international community, remember the commitment that we have given to people there.

Now again I think many people were worried whether, as the *Taliban* regime were put out of power, would Afghan people be pleased at that event or not. I

think again it is very, very clear from the joy that many people in Afghanistan have evidenced, day after day, after day, that this has been a liberation from that regime, that they know that that is the first step. The second step is to put in place that stability for the long term and that is why the international community has got to remain committed and committed to helping Afghanistan become, as I say, a stable partner in the region and a proper member of the international community.

I would like, in particular, obviously to pay tribute not just for the leadership of the United States in the international coalition, in the military action that has been taken, but also pay tribute to our own British Armed Forces and to the other Armed Forces now part of the International Security Assistance Force. That again is part of our demonstration of the commitment we have to people in Afghanistan and to the country itself. So if any confirmation were needed, I can assure you even a short conversation with those representatives of Afghan women is enough to make us realise how important it is that the commitments we have given to people there are indeed honoured.

Question. One of the main goals of the coalition effort had been stated over and over and over again, getting Mullah Mohammed Omar, getting Osama bin Laden. Those figureheads remain somewhere, what does this mean for the length of the campaign and how can you really justify it as a success?

Prime Minister. First of all the campaign remains in place to make sure all our objectives are secure, and that includes tracking down those responsible for the terrorism in Afghanistan. So until that is done, our mission is not complete, there is no doubt about that all. Secondly, however, there is also no doubt that although those objectives still remain to be completed, nonetheless we have effectively shut down the *al-Qaeda* terrorist network in Afghanistan and what we now know is that that network of training camps, through which thousands of people were passing in order to commit acts of terrorism, not just in this region but as we know throughout the world, those camps are now shut down, those people are no longer being trained in terrorism, many of those people have been captured or killed. So, I think yes, of course, it is true that until all our objectives are complete, our mission is not completed. But I think it is fair to say that it has been very substantially successful.

Q. Sir, half a million of Iraqi innocent people were killed in the operation Desert Storm and in the name of the hunt for Saddam Hussein. Now thousands have been killed in Afghanistan in the name of the hunt for Osama bin Laden. Saddam Hussein is still there, where is Osama bin Laden?

PM. I have got nothing to add on the point about Osama bin Laden to what I said in response to the earlier question, although I think you would have to say, Sir, that for people in Afghanistan, and certainly the women I have just spoken to now, they regard the absence of the *Taliban* regime as a great source of joy and liberation for them. These people were brutally repressed, that *Taliban* regime was probably the most brutally repressive regime in the world and if there was a criticism of the international community, it is not that we acted against that regime when we did, but possibly that we should have acted sooner. In respect of Iraq, I think that is a quite different situation. The reason why action was taken against Iraq in the Operation Desert Storm was for a very simple reason, Iraq invaded Kuwait, it annexed Kuwait, the international community rightly took the view that they had to be expelled and driven out of Kuwait. Now there can rain all sorts of debates about whether the action should then have proceeded to drive Saddam Hussein out of Iraq, that is an issue lots of historians debate, usually with the benefit of hindsight, but one thing that is absolutely beyond doubt is that Iraq could not be allowed to annex Kuwait,

that it had to be expelled from that country and, therefore, I strongly support what happened there in mission Desert Storm.

Q. Your talk this evening, but how important to the military action continuing in Afghanistan and to the wider action against terrorism is a calming of Indo-Pakistan relations in general terms?

PM. As you rightly say, I don't intend to go into the issues that I will be discussing later and you, honestly, I promise you, will have a lot of time to ask the questions on that. But I would simply say this, that of course the support of Pakistan and of India for the international coalition against terrorism has been of importance, immense importance, and the stability of this region, its importance for the region and for the wider world I think barely needs stating really.

Q. Are you satisfied with the security force agreement with the interim government in Kabul because there has been a lot of backtracking by the interim government and it has been a very tortuous negotiation. And I just wondered if you would give us your thoughts on the up-coming Tokyo meeting on reconstruction, could you give us your thoughts on what kind of reconstruction funds Britain is imagining, because again there is talk of several trust funds being run by several groups of countries which would only confuse the situation even more and the hope was that there would be one such fund which would be able to come under the UN and the coalition, which could then act as a kind of political lever to win over Afghans and the warlords etc?

PM. On the first point, I don't actually accept there has been tortuous negotiation. What there has been obviously, a negotiation that is very important. When you go into a situation such as Kabul and Afghanistan, given what has happened, it is extremely important for the security of all the participating forces that we tie down in a proper Technical and Military Agreement exactly what the terms of engagement are, and that is precisely what we have done, and done, if I may say in shorter order than many people anticipated. I think in respect of the various reconstruction funds, I think you are right in saying that it is important that we make sure there is not confusion there, that one of the purposes of having the conference is to try and make sure that the international community acts as one on it. And I think that people can see through the fact that this conference is taking place, that the commitment that I spoke about, which is a long term commitment, is indeed going to be delivered for people in Afghanistan. And I hope people also understand that when the international community makes the commitment politically in terms of time and energy and cash to Afghanistan, let us just reflect on what happened, when we failed to make that commitment 12 years ago or so. What happened then was that Afghanistan became a failed state, living on terror, finally exporting terror and responsible for 90 per cent of the heroin on British streets. So, if we want reasons of self-interest as to why it is important that we commit ourselves to Afghanistan for the long term, I think those reasons are there in abundance.

Q. There were reports that ... and Afghans are planning to wage guerrilla war for the installation of an Islamic government in Afghanistan. Do you see any dangers of this idea for the coalition process and for the Bonn process and would that require additional numbers of multinational forces in Afghanistan?

PM. Well, our forces in Afghanistan are limited to the terms of the agreement and that of course follows on what was agreed in Bonn. But it will be a major task of the provisional government and indeed the authorities in Afghanistan to make sure that any pockets of extremist resistance are broken down. But you know the best weapon against the extremists, ultimately, will be some political stability because then the voice of the people will be heard. And the one thing that is for sure, I don't doubt that

people in Afghanistan are the same as people the world over, if they are only allowed to get on with their lives, with a proper legal system, proper political rights, they can live together perfectly easily. Very few people ever want to live under an extremist regime, very few people, and particularly the 50 per cent or so of the population that are women, want to live under a regime such as the *Taliban* regime. And, therefore, I think that provided we make that political commitment to Afghanistan and help in that reconstruction, I think eventually the best security against that type of extremism from whatever quarter will be the people themselves. ■

<http://www.number-10.gov.uk/>

DOCUMENT No. 6

President, General Pervez Musharraf's Address to the Nation January 12, 2002

I begin in the name of God, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful. Pakistani Brothers and Sisters!

As you would remember, ever since I assumed office, I launched a campaign to rid the society of extremism, violence and terrorism and strived to project Islam in its true perspective. In my first speech on October 17, 1999, I had said and I quote; "Islam teaches tolerance, not hatred; universal brotherhood, not enmity; peace, and not violence. I have a great respect for the *Ulema* and expect them to come forward and present Islam in its true light. I urge them to curb elements which are exploiting religion for vested interests and bringing a bad name to our faith." After this, I initiated a number of steps in this regard. First, in the year 2000, I started interacting with the *Taliban* and counselled them to inculcate tolerance and bring moderation in their ways. I also told them that those terrorists who were involved in terrorist acts in Pakistan and seeking refuge in Afghanistan should be returned to us. Unfortunately, we did not succeed.

In the year 2001, I think it was January, we sealed the Pak-Afghan borders and I gave directions that no students of any *Madarissah* (religious seminaries) should be allowed to cross into Afghanistan without relevant documents. After this, I dispatched a number of delegations to meet Mullah Omar. I continued to advise them tolerance and balance. Later, on February 15, 2001, we promulgated the Anti-Weaponisation Ordinance. Through this law, we launched a de-weaponisation campaign in Pakistan.

On 5th of June, on the occasion of the *Seerat* Conference, I addressed *Ulema* belonging to all Schools of thought and spoke firmly to them against religious extremism. On the 14th of August 2001, we finally took a very important decision to ban Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipah-e-Muhammad and placed Sipah-e-Sahaba and TJP (Tehrik-e-Jafria Pakistan) under observation. In addition, on a number of occasions, I called *Ulema* and *Mashaikh* and held extensive consultations with them. The objective was to take them on board in our campaign against terrorism and extremism. These measures have been continuing since our Government assumed office in 1999. I am explaining all this to you in great detail only because of the fact that the campaign against extremism undertaken by us from the very beginning is in our own national interest. We are not doing this under advice or pressure from anyone. Rather, we are conscious that it is in our national interest. We are conscious that we need to rid society of extremism and this is being done right from the beginning.

This domestic reforms process was underway, when a terrorist attack took place against the United States on the 11th of September. This terrorist act led to momentous changes all over the world. We decided to join the international coalition against terrorism and in this regard I have already spoken to you on a number of occasions. We took this decision on principles and in our national interest.

By the grace of God Almighty our decision was absolutely correct. Our intentions were noble and God Almighty helped us. I am happy to say that the vast majority of Pakistanis stood by this decision and supported our decision. I am proud of the realistic decision of our nation. What really pains me is that some religious extremist parties and groups opposed this decision. What hurts more was that their opposition was not based on principles. At a critical juncture in our history, they preferred their personal and party interests over national interests. They tried their utmost to mislead the nation, took out processions and resorted to agitation. But their entire efforts failed. The people of Pakistan frustrated their designs. As I have said, I am proud of the people of Pakistan who support correct decisions and do not pay heed to those who try to mislead them.

I have interacted with the religious scholars on a number of occasions and exchanged views with them. I am happy to say that our discussions have been very fruitful. A majority of them are blessed with wisdom and vision and they do not mix religion with politics. Some extremists, who were engaged in protests, are people who try to monopolise and attempt to propagate their own brand of religion.

They think as if others are not Muslims. These are the people who considered the *Taliban* to be a symbol of Islam and that the *Taliban* were bringing Islamic renaissance or were practising the purest form of Islam.

They behaved as if the Northern Alliance, against whom the *Taliban* were fighting, were non-Muslims! Whereas, in fact, both were Muslims and believers. These extremists were those people who do not talk of "*Haqooqul Ibad*" (obligations towards fellow human beings). They do not talk of these obligations because practicing them demands self-sacrifice. How will they justify their Pajeros and expensive vehicles? I want to ask these extremists as to who was responsible for misleading thousands of Pakistanis to their massacre in Afghanistan? These misled people were let down by the very people in whose support they had gone. All of us should learn a lesson from this. We must remember that we are Pakistanis. Pakistan is our identity, our motherland. We will be aliens outside Pakistan and be treated as aliens.

Pakistan is our land. It is our soil. If we forsake it, we will face difficulties. This lesson we must learn. Sectarian terrorism has been going on for years. Everyone of us is fed up of it. It is becoming unbearable. Our peace-loving people are keen to get rid of the Klashnikov and weapon culture. Every one is sick of it. It was because of this, that we banned Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipah-e-Muhammad. Yet little improvement occurred. The day of reckoning has come. Do we want Pakistan to become a theocratic state? Do we believe that religious education alone is enough for governance or do we want Pakistan to emerge as a progressive and dynamic Islamic welfare state? The verdict of the masses is in favour of a progressive Islamic state. This decision, based on the teaching of the Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) and in line with the teachings of Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal, will put Pakistan on the path of progress and prosperity. Let us honestly analyse what the few religious extremists have attempted to do with Pakistan and Islam.

First, with regard to Afghanistan, they indulged in agitational activities. Look at the damage it has caused! Pakistan's international image was tarnished and we were projected by the international media as ignorant and backward. Our

economy suffered. A number of export orders already placed with Pakistani industry were cancelled and no new orders materialised. This led to closure of some factories and unemployment. The poor daily wage earners lost their livelihood. Extremists also formed a Pakistan-Afghanistan Defence Council! Apart from damaging Pakistan, they had negative thinking and had no idea of anything good for Afghanistan. Did they ever think of bringing about peace to Afghanistan through reconciliation among the *Taliban* and Northern Alliance? Did they counsel tolerance to them? Did they ever think of collecting funds for the welfare, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the war-ravaged Afghanistan, or to mitigate sufferings of the poor Afghan people? Did they think of a solution to the hunger, poverty and destruction in Afghanistan? To my knowledge, only Maulana Abdul Sattar Edhi, God bless him, and some foreign NGOs and the UN organisations were providing the Afghans with food and medicines. These extremists did nothing except contributing to bloodshed in Afghanistan. I ask of them, whether they know any thing other than disruption and sowing seeds of hatred? Does Islam preach this?

Now, let us see their activity outside Afghanistan. They initiated sectarian feuds. Sects and different schools of thought in Islam have existed since long. There is nothing wrong with intellectual differences flowing from freedom of thought as long as such differences remain confined to intellectual debates.

Look at what this extremist minority is doing? They are indulging in fratricidal killings. There is no tolerance among them. Quaid-e-Azam declared that Pakistan belonged to followers of all religions; that every one would be treated equally. However, what to speak of other religions, Muslims have started killing each other.

I think, these people have declared more Muslims as *Kafirs* (infidels) than motivating the non-Muslims to embrace Islam. Look at the damage they have caused? They have murdered a number of our highly qualified doctors, engineers, civil servants and teachers who were pillars of our society. Who has suffered? The families of the dead, no doubt. But a greater loss was inflicted on Pakistan because, as I said, we lost the pillars of our society. These extremists did not stop here. They started killing other innocent people in mosques and places of worship.

Today, people are scared of entering these sacred places of worship. It is a matter of shame that police have to be posted outside for their protection. We claim Islam as *Deen* or a complete way of life. Is this the way of life that Islam teaches us? That we fight amongst ourselves and feel scared of fellow Muslims, scared of visiting our places of worship where police have to be deputed outside for protection? Mosques are being misused for propagating and inciting hatred against each other's sect and beliefs and against the Government, too.

I would like to inform you that a number of terrorist rings have been apprehended. In Karachi, the Inspector General of Police, while briefing me informed that the leader of one of these groups is the *Pesh Imam* (Prayer Leader) of a Mosque in Malir. The Imam has confessed to murdering many people himself. This is the state of affairs. To what purpose are we using our mosques for? These people have made a state within a state and have challenged the writ of the government.

Now, I would like to dwell upon the subject of *Madaris* or Religious Schools in some detail. These schools are excellent welfare set-ups where the poor get free board and lodge. In my opinion, no NGO can match their welfare aspects. Many of the *Madaris* are imparting excellent education. In addition to religious teachings, other subjects such as science education and computer training are also being imparted there.

I am thankful to them for undertaking excellent welfare measures without State funding. I would also like to say that I have projected *Madaris* internationally and with various heads of states time and again. I think no one else in Pakistan has done so much for their cause. However, there are some negative aspects of some *Mdrassahs*. These few impart only religious education and such education which produces semi-literate religious scholars. This is a weakness. Very few *Madaris*, I repeat very few of them are under the influence of politico-religious parties or have been established by them. I know that some of these promote negative thinking and propagate hatred and violence instead of inculcating tolerance, patience and fraternity. We must remember that historically, the *Madarasa* was a prestigious seat of learning. They were citadels of knowledge and beacon of light for the world.

When Islam was at its zenith, every discipline of learning e.g. mathematics, science, medicine, astronomy and jurisprudence were taught at these institutions. Great Muslims luminaries such as al-Beruni, Ibn-e-Sina (Avesina) and Ibn-e-Khuldoon, were the products of these same *Madaris*. And if we study history, we see that from the 7th to 15th century AD, transfer of technology took place from the Muslims to the rest of the world.

Look at Muslims' condition today. Islam teaches us to seek knowledge, even if it involved travel to China. I am sure you are aware that the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) had told prisoners of war in the Battle of Badar that they would be set free if each of them imparted education to ten Muslims.

Quite obviously, this education could not have been religious education as the prisoners were non-Muslims. So the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) was actually referring to worldly education. If we do not believe in education, are we following the teachings of Islam or violating them? We must ask what direction are we being led into by these extremists? The writ of the government is being challenged. Pakistan has been made a soft state where the supremacy of law is questioned. This situation cannot be tolerated any more. The question is what is the correct path? First of all, we must rid the society of sectarian hatred and terrorism, promote mutual harmony. Remember that mindsets cannot be changed through force and coercion. No idea can ever be forcibly thrust upon any one. May be the person changes outwardly but minds and hearts can never be converted by force. Real change can be brought about through personal example, exemplary character and superior intellect. It can be brought about by *Haqooq-ul-Ibad* (Obligation towards fellow beings).

Have we forgotten the example of the Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) where Islam was spread by virtue of his personal conduct, true leadership and that is how changes in the world took place at that time. We have forgotten the teaching of revered personalities of Islam like Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh, Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Fared Ganj Shakar, Baha-uddin Zakria etc.

Did they spread Islam through force and coercion? No. They preached Islam by personal example. I give these examples because it hurts me to see where we have relegated ourselves now. We must restore that status of *Madaris* to what it originally was. We have to change the state of affairs and take them on the path of improvement.

The second thing I want to talk about is the concept of Jihad in its totality. I want to dilate upon it because it is a contentious issue, requiring complete comprehension and understanding. In Islam, Jihad is not confined to armed struggles only. Have we ever thought of waging Jihad against illiteracy, poverty, backwardness and hunger? This is the larger Jihad. Pakistan, in my opinion, needs to wage Jihad against these evils.

After the battle of Khyber, the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) stated that *Jihad-e-Asghar* (Smaller Jihad) is over but *Jihad-e-Akbar* (Greater Jihad) has begun. This meant that armed Jihad i.e. the smaller Jihad was now over and the greater Jihad against backwardness and illiteracy had started. Pakistan needs *Jihad-e-Akbar* at this juncture.

By the way, we must remember that only the government of the day and not every individual can proclaim armed Jihad. The extremist minority must realise that Pakistan is not responsible of waging armed Jihad in the world.

I feel that in addition to *Haqooq Allah* (Obligations to God), we should also focus on *Haqooq-ul-Ibad* (Obligations towards fellow human beings). At schools, colleges and *Madaris*, obligations towards fellow beings should be preached. We know that we have totally ignored the importance of correct dealings with fellow human beings. There is no room for feuds in Islamic teachings. It is imperative that we teach true Islam i.e. tolerance, forgiveness, compassion, justice, fair play, amity and harmony, which is the true spirit of Islam. We must adopt this. We must shun negative thinking.

We have formulated a new strategy for *Madaris* and there is need to implement it so as to galvanize their good aspects and remove their drawbacks. We have developed a new syllabi for them providing for teaching of Pakistan Studies, Mathematics, Science and English along with religious subjects. Even if we want these *Madaris* to produce religious leaders, they should be educated along these lines. Such people will command more respect in the society because they will be better qualified. To me, students of religious schools should be brought in to the mainstream of society. If any one of them opts to join college or university, he would have the option of being equipped with the modern education. If a child studying at a *Madrassa* does not wish to be a prayer leader and he wants to be a bank official or seek employment elsewhere, he should be facilitated.

It would mean that the students of *Madaris* should be brought to the mainstream through a better system of education. This is the crux of the *Madrassa* strategy. This, by no means, is an attempt to bring religious educational institutions under government control nor do we want to spoil the excellent attributes of these institutions. My only aim is to help these institutions in over coming their weaknesses and providing them with better facilities and more avenues to the poor children at these institutions.

We must check abuse of mosques and *Madaris* and they must not be used for spreading political and sectarian prejudices. We want to ensure that mosques enjoy freedom and we are here to maintain it. At the same time we expect a display of responsibility along with freedom. If the Imam of mosques fail to display responsibility, curbs would have to be placed on them. After this analysis, now, I come to some conclusions and decisions: - First, we have to establish the writ of the Government. All organizations in Pakistan will function in a regulated manner. No individual, organization or party will be allowed to break law of the land. The internal environment has to be improved.

Maturity and equilibrium have to be established in the society. We have to promote an environment of tolerance, maturity, responsibility, patience and understanding. We have to check extremism, militancy, violence and fundamentalism. We will have to forsake the atmosphere of hatred and anger. We have to stop exploitation of simple poor people of the country and not to incite them to feuds and violence. We must concern ourselves with our own country. Pakistan comes first. We do not need to interfere and concern ourselves with others. There is no need to interfere in other countries.

Now, I turn to other important issues. In my view there are three problems causing conflict and agitation in our minds. They include; first, the Kashmir Cause, secondly, all political disputes at the international level concerning Muslims and thirdly, internal sectarian disputes and differences.

These are the three problems which create confusion in our minds. I want to lay down rules of behaviour concerning all the three. Let us take the Kashmir Cause first. Kashmir runs in our blood. No Pakistani can afford to sever links with Kashmir. The entire Pakistan and the world know this. We will continue to extend our moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris. We will never budge an inch from our principle stand on Kashmir. The Kashmir problem needs to be resolved by dialogue and peaceful means in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and the United Nations resolutions. We have to find the solution of this dispute. No organization will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir. We condemn the terrorist acts of September 11, October 1 and December 13. Anyone found involved in any terrorist act would be dealt with sternly. Strict action will be taken against any Pakistani individual, group or organization found involved in terrorism within or outside the country. Our behaviour must always be in accordance with international norms.

On this occasion, as President of Pakistan, I want to convey a message to Prime Minister Vajpayee: If we want to normalize relations between Pakistan and India and bring harmony to the region, the Kashmir dispute will have to be resolved peacefully through a dialogue on the basis of the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. Solving the Kashmir Issue is the joint responsibility of our two countries. Let me repeat some of the observations made by you, Mr. Vajpayee, some time back, and I quote, "Mind-sets will have to be altered and historical baggage will have to be jettisoned." I take you on this offer. Let us start talking in this very spirit.

Now as Commander of the Armed Forces of Pakistan, I wish to convey another message. The Armed Forces of Pakistan are fully prepared and deployed to meet any challenge. They will spill the last drop of their blood in the defence of their country. Let there be no attempt of crossing the border in any sector, as it will be met with full force. Do not entertain any illusions on this count.

I would also like to address the international community, particularly, the United States on this occasion. As I said before on a number of occasions, Pakistan rejects and condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestation. Pakistan will not allow its territory to be used for any terrorist activity anywhere in the world. Now you must play an active role in solving the Kashmir dispute for the sake of lasting peace and harmony in the region. We should be under no illusion that the legitimate demand of the people of Kashmir can ever be suppressed without their just resolution. Kashmiris also expect that you ask India to bring an end to state terrorism and human rights violations. Let human rights organizations, Amnesty International, the international media and UN peacekeepers be allowed to monitor activities of the Indian occupation forces.

Now we come to the second problem, which causes confusion in our minds and is of our particular concern. It relates to conflicts involving Muslims. Our religious leaders involve themselves in such conflicts without giving serious thought to them. I don't want to talk at length on this. It is for the government to take a position on international issues. Individuals, organizations and political parties should restrict their activities to expression of their views. I request them to express their views on international issues in an intellectual spirit and in a civilized manner through force of argument. Views expressed with maturity and moderation have greater convincing power. Expressing views in a threatening manner does not create

any positive effect and anyone who indulges in hollow threats is taken as an unbalanced person by the world at large. I would request that we should stop interfering in the affairs of others. First, we should attain the strength and the importance where our views carry weight when we express them.

Now we come to internal decisions. The third issue causing conflict in our minds relates to sectarian differences. As I have already pointed out that writ of the Government will be established. No individual, organization or party will be allowed to break the law of the land. All functioning will be in a regulated manner and within rules.

Now I come to the extremist organizations. Terrorism, and sectarianism must come to an end. I had announced a ban on Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipah-e-Mohammad on 14 August last year. On that occasion, I had pointed out that Sipah-e-Sahaba and TJP would be kept under observation. I am sorry to say that there is not much improvement in the situation. Sectarian violence continues unabated. We have busted several gangs involved in sectarian killings. You would be astonished to know that in year 2001 about 400 innocent people fell victim to sectarian and other killings.

Many of the gangs apprehended include people mostly belonging to Sipah-e-Sahaba and some to TJP. This situation cannot be tolerated any more. I, therefore, announce banning of both Sipah-e-Sahaba and TJP. In addition to these, TNSM (Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi) being responsible for misleading thousands of simple poor people into Afghanistan also stands banned. This organization is responsible for their massacre in Afghanistan.

The Government has also decided to put the Sunni Tehreek under observation. No organization is allowed to form Lashkar, Sipah or Jaish. The Government has banned Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba. Any organization or individual would face strict punitive measures if found inciting the people to violence in internal or external contexts.

Our mosques are sacred places where we seek the blessings of God Almighty. Let them remain sacred. We will not allow the misuse of mosques. All mosques will be registered and no new mosques will be built without permission. The use of loudspeakers will be limited only to call for prayers, and Friday Sermon and *Vaaz*. However, I would like to emphasise that special permission is being given for *Vaaz* (Sermon). If this is misused the permission will be cancelled. If there is any political activity, inciting of sectarian hatred or propagation of extremism in any mosque, the management would be held responsible and proceeded against according to law.

I appeal to all *Pesh Imams* to project the qualities of Islam in the mosques and invite the people to piety. Talk of obligations towards fellow beings, exhort them to abstain from negative thoughts and promote positive thinking. I hope that all *Nazims*, District. Police Officers and Auqaf Department officials will take quick action against violators of these measures.

On *Madaris*, a detailed policy will be issued through a new Madressa Ordinance. The Ordinance will be issued in a few days. I feel happy that the *Madressa* policy has been finalized in consultation with religious scholars and *Mashaikh*. I have touched on the merits and shortcomings prevailing in the *Madaris*. Merits have to be reinforced while shortcomings have to be rooted out. Under the *Madressa* policy, their functioning will be regulated. These *Madaris* will be governed by same rules and regulations applicable to other schools, colleges and universities. All *Madaris* will be registered by 23rd March 2002 and no new *Madressa* will be opened without permission of the Government.

If any *Madressa* (religious school) is found indulging in extremism, subversion, militant activity or possessing any types of weapons, it will be closed. All *Madaris* will have to adopt the new syllabi by the end of this year. Those *Madaris* which are already following such syllabi are welcome to continue. The Government has decided to provide financial assistance to such *Madaris*. The government will also help the *Madaris* in the training of their teachers. The Ministry of Education has been instructed to review courses of Islamic education in all schools and colleges also with a view to improving them. So far as foreign students attending *Madaris* are concerned, we have set rules for them. Foreign students who do not have proper documents would be required to comply with the formalities by 23rd March, 2002 otherwise they can face deportation.

Any foreigner wanting to attend *Madaris* in Pakistan will have to obtain required documents from his/her native country and NOC from the government. Only then, he or she will get admission. The same rules will apply to foreign teachers.

Some *Ulema* were of the view that some poor people who come to Pakistan for religious education should not be deported to the countries of their origin. I agree that this is a genuine demand but such people should regularize their stay in Pakistan through their respective embassies. As I have said, all such activity has to be regulated and the writ of the Government must be established. With a view to ending conflict, I have explained to you at great length the three areas causing confusion in our minds. Making rules, regulations and issuing ordinances is easy but their implementation is difficult. However, I feel all the measures I have announced are of utmost importance. We have to implement them. In this regard, the law enforcement agencies including police must perform their duty.

We are introducing reforms in the police with a view to improving their efficiency. A great responsibility lies on their shoulders. I have directed the police to ensure implementation of the steps announced by the government and I have no doubt they will be motivated to perform their duty. After reforms we expect they will be better trained and equipped to discharge their duty. Rangers and Civil Armed Forces will be in their support.

We are also taking steps in consultation with the judiciary for speedy trial of cases relating to terrorism and extremism. Anti terrorist courts are being strengthened and necessary orders will be issued in a few days.

Apart from these issues, I would also like to inform you, my brothers and sisters, that we have been sent a list of 20 people by India. I want to clear our position on this. There is no question of handing over any Pakistani. This will never be done. If we are given evidence against those people, we will take action against them in Pakistan under our own laws. As far as non-Pakistanis are concerned, we have not given asylum to any one. Any one falling under this category will be proceeded against whenever one is found.

My brothers & Sisters, Pakistan is an Islamic Republic. There are 98 per cent Muslims living in this country. We should live like brothers and form an example for rest of the Islamic countries. We should strive to emerge as a responsible and progressive member of the comity of nations.

We have to make Pakistan into a powerful and strong country. We have resources and potential. We are capable of meeting external danger. We have to safeguard ourselves against internal dangers. I have always been saying that internal strife is eating us like termite. Don't forget that Pakistan is the citadel of Islam and if we want to serve Islam well, we will first have to make Pakistan strong and powerful. There is a race for progress among all nations.

We cannot achieve progress through a policy of confrontation and feuds. We can achieve progress through human resource development, mental enlightenment, high moral character and technological development. I appeal to all my countrymen to rise to the occasion. We should get rid of intolerance and hatred and instead promote tolerance and harmony.

May God guide us to act upon the true teachings of Islam. May He help us to follow the Quaid-e-Azam's motto: "Unity, Faith and Discipline". This should always be remembered. We will be a non-entity without unity. And I would again like to recite a couplet from Allama Iqbal.

Fard Qaim Rabte Millat Say Hai Tanha Kuch Naheen.

Mauj Hai Darya Main Aur Baroon-e-Darya Kuch Naheen.

Amongst The Community

Do Individuals Survive; Not Alone;

Like Waves That Exist In Rivers And Out Of Water Are Not Known.

Pakistan Paindabad. ■

<http://www.forisb.org/CE-019.html>

DOCUMENT No. 7

Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh's Statement January 13, 2002

The Government of India has noted that the major portion of the address of the President of Pakistan, yesterday, related to reforms to modernize Pakistan. We wish the people of Pakistan well in this endeavour. To the extent that these reforms have a direct nexus to external developments, we welcome them.

We welcome the now declared commitment of the Government of Pakistan not to support or permit any more the use of its territory for terrorism anywhere in the world, including in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. This commitment must extend to the use of all territories under Pakistan's control today. We would assess the effectiveness of this commitment only by the concrete action taken. Consequently, we expect Pakistan to cooperate with India in stopping all infiltration across the international border and the Line of Control.

The Government notes the decision of the Government of Pakistan to ban the Lashkar-e-Tayyaba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad, the two terrorist organisations involved in the December 13 attack on the India Parliament. We look forward to an effective and full implementation of this measure, so that its members do not continue activities under other names. There would be a similar need to address other terrorist organisations targeting India, as also the parent organisations that spawn them.

Continuing lack of action against fugitives from law about whom detailed information has been provided to Pakistan on several occasions is disappointing. It remains our expectation that the Government of Pakistan will even now act on this.

The Government of India rejects entirely and categorically the comments of the President of Pakistan about the situation in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Government of India remains committed to the bilateral dialogue process with Pakistan in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration. Should the Government of Pakistan operationalise its intention and move purposefully towards eradicating cross-border terrorism, the

Government of India will respond fully, and would be prepared to resume the composite dialogue process. We reiterate our conviction that all issues between India and Pakistan can only be addressed bilaterally. There is no scope for any third party involvement. ■

<http://meadev.nic.in/>

DOCUMENT No. 8

President, General Pervez Musharraf's Address to the Ulema and Mushaikh Conference, Islamabad January 18, 2002

In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful. *Jenab* [Mr.] Mehmood Ghazi Sahib, Federal Minister for Religious Affairs. *Jenab* Zaman Sahib, Chairman Council of Islamic Ideology, *Jenab* Bhutto Sahib, federal and provincial ministers and all religious scholars (*Ulema & Mushaikh*) ladies and gentlemen, *Assalam-o-Alikum*,

Today, I am happy attending this seminar and feel honoured that I have been invited to this conference where religious scholars of great repute are present and I have been provided an opportunity to address them. I am grateful to Dr. Mehmood Ghazi for providing me this opportunity and all those who have come to attend this conference from far-flung areas. Mehmood Ghazi and Zaman *Sahib* have delivered thought provoking speeches. I fully agree to whatever they have said.

At the moment, there are four subjects under discussion in this seminar i.e. ideology of Pakistan, sectarian terrorism in Pakistan, unity of Muslim *Ummah* and the responsibilities of religious scholars. When I came to know about these topics, I was thinking that all of them are very important and I am fully confident that you will thoroughly analyse them and deduce better results for the welfare of the country and its people. In my opinion, I have already expressed my views about it in my speech of January 12, 2002, but there are certain points which I would like to point out again and elaborate.

We all know that there is an internal strife in the country and there is also external threat. The challenge before us is to eliminate the internal crisis and avert the external danger. We have also to frustrate the enemy's design of exploiting our problems emanating from external threat. You know about the presence of the Indian armed forces on our borders. In military terms, the intention of the enemy and capabilities are two things that are to be weighed. A few days back I used to say that war is not possible. I used to say this on the basis of the statements of the Indian leaders which showed their intention but not their capability because they had not deployed their armed forces. They were in their respective cantonments. But when the forces have been deployed, it means they have also developed the strategic capabilities. Now their armed forces are in a position to initiate any aggressive action against Pakistan. Now if they have intention, it can be very dangerous. But, by the grace of God, our armed forces are fully prepared. I have made it clear, time and again, that there should be no doubt in it that our forces are fully alert and capable of not only of defence but also taking any counter offensive action. The second thing is our will and resolve to take action against any aggression and our enemy should know that we have the will and the capability to defend our country against any aggression. And I would like to second the views of Mr. Zaman that our real strength is our own defence and our military strength is the guarantee for peace. Any external

power can help us in our defence, in dialogue, in mediation, but our real defence is our own military strength. Nobody can harm Pakistan as long as our own defence is strong. Hence, I am fully confident that by the grace of Allah, there is no possibility of war. We don't want war. We want peace but if war is imposed on us we are fully prepared to counter it with full might, force and vigour. I lament the statements emanating from the Indian leadership who say "we are judging your actions." "You have to show actions." But we have to show no action to anybody. Whatever we are doing, is for Pakistan and for ourselves. We are doing everything we deem appropriate for ourselves, our development and internal peace. We have to show nothing to anybody. We won't allow anyone to be a judge on us. Nobody should be under any illusion in this regard. Their Defence Minister also has been giving this kind of statements but this is all public posturing. As a saying goes in English, "Being more pious than the Pope," he does this rhetoric just to maintain his position which is regrettable. He should abstain from giving such statements. As I have said our focus is our own interest and our requirements.

The first thing is to reform our society and to restore tolerance in the society. I have visited China many a times. During my first visit, I happened to travel in a microbus. On the same road there was a cyclist in the middle of the road going ahead of us. His speed was slow. The bus followed the cyclist in a slow speed for five minutes. The bus driver was neither angry nor did he say anything. He continued driving patiently till the cyclist got aside. Here in Pakistan we are always in a mood of fighting and quarrelling. We have to eliminate this atmosphere of squabbling. We have to eliminate terrorism, sectarianism, extremism and rancour.

The second thing is that we have to protect our Kashmir cause, our defence installations, our missile capabilities, revive our economy, improve it, create conducive atmosphere for investment and flourish business activities which ultimately will eliminate poverty.

I know, people say that poverty is pervasive despite of many steps initiated for the revival of the economy. This is true. It saddens me. My heart weeps. The question is what should we do for the poor. I think a lot about it. Ours is a poor country. We have taken unprecedented steps to remove poverty. You know about the strategy of distribution of *Zakat*. We have distributed thousands of rupees. We are distributing up to 50,000 rupees. We have distributed 2 billion rupees in these three, four months. We expect to spend up to 5 billion rupees in the current fiscal year and we plan to spend up to 5 billion rupees every year enabling the poor people stand on their feet and whoever wants to do some business could do so. In the next three, four years we expect to spend an amount up to the tune of Rs. 20 billion which will benefit 8 to 10 lac families i.e. four to five million people. We have already started this process.

The Khushhal Pakistan Programme also aims at providing employment to the people. I know there are 5 to 6 thousand projects underway, in which 5 to 6 lac people are employed. We are spending billions of rupees on these projects with the objective to eliminate poverty.

Apart from this, the Khushhali Bank also aims at reaching the poor. All these steps are for the poor but they are not sufficient. Revival of economy is the biggest step which will cause more factories, more employment opportunities, more construction work and more jobs. This is the most important step for elimination of poverty which is possible only when law and order situation is improved and peace and stability restored. This will make the investment climate favourable in Pakistan. That's why I elaborated in detail. Therefore, our three focuses are to bring balance

and harmony in the society, to guard our core interest and boost economy in order to eliminate poverty.

As stated by Mehmood Ghazi *Sahib*, our policy is to develop consensus. I have met you people on many occasions and consulted you. Interacted with you. I am ready to listen to you, sit with you for hours. I have sat with you for hours to listen to your opinions. In this way we are moving ahead with mutual consensus. We have to move together in cohesion. We have to decide unanimously what to do and proceed accordingly. As we know Pakistan is an Islamic Republic with more than 98 per cent Muslims and there is no room for any doubt about it.

In my view our society is divided into three classes. One is westernised modernist, ultra modern, who are in abundance in cities like Karachi and Lahore, who have adopted a wrong path. We definitely want progress in Pakistan but not in the way of the west. The second category is those of sectarian and religious extremist, who nurture extreme views, who do not want to learn anything other than religious knowledge, and want to enforce religious beliefs of their sect upon others. This, too, is wrong and should not happen. There should be some middle path. There should be no division amongst the citizens of Pakistan as progressive or religious. There should be no such division, we all are progressive, we all are religious. At least I have no such confusion. It doesn't mean that I want to be modern and progressive and have a separate identity for the religious people. In fact we all are Muslims. I am a Muslim. Everyone in this auditorium is a Muslim. We all value our religion high.

Hardly there is any Muslim who does not respect Islam. We are emotional people. Almost all Muslims are like that. It is good to be emotional but there should be no division in it. As I have said we are all progressive, we are all religious.

Now, the question arises what is the path of progress for Pakistan, Islamic *Ummah* and how we can achieve the betterment of the Islamic world. I brood over it and we all may be doing the same. Our basic objective is the progress of the Islamic world and Pakistan. We have one objective but we differ in the ways to achieve the objective. This is a good thing. Difference of opinion is a healthy sign, provided it does not entail any fighting and killing. As Zaman Sahib has said, in the absence of difference of opinion, we will become a dead community. We are not dead. We can think. People who think, will have difference of opinion. There is no harm in it. But when followed by bickerings and squabbles and fighting and enforcing our views upon others, it will create problem. As I say that nobody can be coerced to change his views. This is my experience of the Army and history is witness to it and you too, can observe it in your daily lives that change comes only through setting your personal example. You set a trend and people follow it. You can't force people for change. I would like to repeat that there is no need for any coercion or force to change someone. If you want to change someone do it by setting your personal example.

Now coming back to the issue, what is the way to achieve the objective? Should we have to follow the path of confrontation and fighting? In my opinion this is not an appropriate option. It is a folly. Through economic strength and power, others can be forced but it is very difficult without internal stability and strength. First, you must stabilize yourselves internally. Many people complain that our embassies are not working effectively. I say that they will work effectively only when we are strong internally. Unless your internal stature is strong, nobody will pay any heed to you outside. Your Ambassadors will have a say only when your country is strong internally.

Therefore, we will have to improve our internal conditions if we have to make progress and strengthen our country. This will entail women's development, restoration of self-respect, improvement of society, spread of education and progress of science and technology.

Recently, in a conference on higher education, Dr. Atta-ur-Rehman presented his superb ideas while presenting a comparative analysis of Pakistan and other progressive Muslim countries with many small western countries of EU, proving that we stand nowhere as compared to those tiny western countries whose population is small but their GDP is very high, US \$ 200 or 300 billion, and our GDP is \$ 6.5 crore, twenty time less. So we have to change this situation. We have to expedite the rate of progress by adopting modern science, technology and modern knowledge.

We have to increase our GDP by opting for engineering and advance technology. Otherwise we will be growing only cotton, wheat and rice. We have to produce import substitutes, we have to grow our industries, we have to grow engineering goods for which we need scientific knowledge.

We also have to rectify our education system. At present there are three systems of education in our country. One, *Madrasa* education, second, Urdu medium, third, English medium. In my view, all these three systems should be made similar and efforts should be made to make them rectified. We have formulated a policy for the *Madaris* in the country. In this regard, I have assured you earlier and I would like to repeat that the government has no intention to take control of *Madaris*, because, it cannot run the *Madaris* the way they are being run. We don't have enough resources at our disposal, so we want that you should continue running them. We want to help you only. What I want to tell you is to bring some improvement and nothing else. In my view, this betterment and improvement is possible by teaching other subjects in the *Madaris*. Because, by introducing other subjects the students coming out of these *Madaris* will have more knowledge and consequently will have more respect in the society, even if they become prayer leader in a mosque. But if same student of a *Madarisa* wants to go to Government college or I grant him a scholarship to study there, he should be able to do so or should get an opportunity to join a bank or any other profession. The objective is to make the students of the *Madaris* effective and valuable members of the society. Who does not want this? It is not something against Islam. In this regard my request to you is that please try to understand this. The subjects included in the *Madrasa* syllabi, if are difficult to teach, we will provide training for your teachers, provide new teachers and will try to assist you financially. We will utilize our resources for this purpose to their full capacity. My objective is to make these students valuable citizens of the country and to absorb them in society through better education.

Question. Mr. President, we request you to provide us teachers of Computers, English and Mathematics in *Madaris*. Then you will see our performance, *Insha Allah*?

Answer. *Insha Allah*, we will give you, rather I have told Mr. Mehmood Ghazi of my intention to visit *Madaris* and talk to students personally. You invite me. I will try my best to solve your problems and provide you the assistance you have requested for. We will give you computers, so you can teach your students. We have established an institution, NADRA, which is making identity cards. There are about 8 to 10 thousand computer experts employed there. They are earning Rs. 5000 to 8000 there. I will request all of you to cooperate with us in this process. Ghazi Sahib has established a board for this purpose. You take your exams etc under this system and you will be awarded with certificates equivalent to the degrees of Matric, FA,

BA & MA and you will be able to absorb in the society. I know, many of the *Madaris* are already providing the best education to their students. They have computers. I would like to go and see, we will recognize their certificates. The syllabus of different education system in English and Urdu is being improved. We have to introduce this new education system in these *Madaris*, so that we can advance our education system simultaneously.

Q. We are all with you but the police should be directed not to harass the religious leaders?

A. If some one is doing it without reason, he is committing excess. But some religious leaders are misusing mosques, as I cited the example of a prayer leader in Karachi, who murdered many people and is proud of it.

Q. You have permitted the use of loudspeaker for the Friday sermon with the instructions that its misuse will result in the withdrawal of this permission. But the police in the country has been given instructions that the use of loudspeaker is prohibited, even for Friday sermon. Would you please explain it? We will abide by what you say.

A. I declare that Friday sermons are allowed on loudspeakers and it will be delivered on loudspeakers and these are our orders. You have known me well by now. I don't say things, which I don't do. What I have instructed will be implemented. May I know who has issued this order of prohibition of use of loudspeakers for Friday sermons?

Q. Sir, such orders have been implemented. When I told them that the President has allowed the use of loudspeaker for Friday sermon, they replied that our SSP has ordered us?

Q. Some *Ulema* have been implicated in false cases, with the intention to create hatred against you. Can you terminate these false cases?

A. Obviously, I will abolish all false cases. No one should be implicated in false cases. Your complaint is very serious and we will examine it.

Q. We are quite satisfied with the discussion of December 27, with the *Ulema*. We will abide by it?

A. Thank you. In the end, about the mental aberration that I talked about in the beginning, that it should be removed. Briefly, I would say that all external problems including Kashmir and other international affairs affecting Muslims should be left for the government to resolve and the government should be trusted in these matters. We will take appropriate steps in this direction, reflecting the wishes of the people of Pakistan. *Insha Allah*, I will leave no stone unturned and will do the utmost. Therefore, you leave it for the government and for me to handle. However, my request to you all is to support the government to improve the internal situation.

Q. We are with you but you also pull their strings?

A. Tolerate them a little bit. You know the performance of law enforcing agencies regarding implementation of such orders. There will be some problems in the beginning. Probably, there is some misunderstanding. We will find solution to these problems within few days and will rectify everything. Innocent will be let free. Only wrong-doer will be caught. *Insha Allah* everything will be set right. I repeat my appeal to you clearly that there should be a ceasefire as far as religious sectarianism is concerned. This fight should be stopped. Secondly, there should be similarity in education in the country. I need your help in these two areas. I would expect media to play its role to highlight your views on these issues. Similarly you can express your views on television and participate in live discussions and listen to each other's views with patience and tolerance.

Now I would like to talk about Muslim *Ummah*. I have attended the OIC Conference and have visited so many Muslim countries. What I have observed is that we have lagged behind from the rest of the world. Till the 15th century AD, the transfer of technology used to take place from us to the rest of the world. Now it is vice versa and we are left behind. We have to rectify this situation. In my opinion Pakistan can become a beacon of light for rest of the Muslim world. We are very much capable for it. I attended the D-8 Conference in Cairo, which includes the developed Muslim countries but in fact they are not advanced in the comity of nations. There, I had proposed to expand the scope of D-8 Conference to the entire Muslim world. Many of the Islamic countries are advanced in different fields of science and they have scholars too. They should form Centre of Excellence for the entire Muslim *Ummah* for the spread of these sciences. This will spread education through exchange of knowledge and scholars amongst the Muslim countries. This is the only way to compete others.

When we talk unity of Muslim *Ummah*, we have to see how this can be achieved. We are all Muslims but the only way to create unity, is our interdependence in the fields of economic and education and benefit each other in these areas. For example, we have COMSTECH, headed by Dr. Attaur Rehman. To benefit Islamic countries in computer technology is our responsibility. Similar Centres of Excellence are needed to be established in the entire Muslim world for furtherance of unity of Muslim *Ummah*. My attempt would be to talk to the Muslim countries to analyse and define the Unity of *Ummah* and give it a practical shape instead of rhetoric.

Q. Mr. President you have said that on the issue of Kashmir problem you should be trusted. I applaud your decision regarding selection of Kashmir Committee and representation of the Kashmiris in it. I also commend your role in national affairs. I request you to give representation to religious leaders and the Kashmiri refugees in Pakistan in the Kashmir Committee?

A. OK noted. This was all I had to say. I am grateful to Mehmood Ghazi who invited me. I had a very fruitful interaction with you. I congratulate the management and the Ministry of Religious Affairs for arranging this conference. I am grateful to everyone present here. Whatever points you have raised regarding Friday sermons and nabbing innocent people will be considered and an appropriate action will be taken. Thank you. ■

<http://www.forisb.org/CE-020.html>

DOCUMENT No. 9

President, General Pervez Musharraf's Address to the Nation March 23, 2002

My dear countrymen, *Assalam-o-Alaikum*.

I congratulate you on the occasion of Pakistan Day. This day is a golden day in the history of Muslims of South Asia. It was on this day, 62 years ago when Muslim leaders from every nook and corner of the Sub-continent unanimously adopted the Pakistan Resolution. At the meeting held in the historic city of Lahore, under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, it was resolved that the Muslims of the Sub-continent will have their separate homeland. Muslim leadership pledged at the meeting that they would not hesitate to make any sacrifice to have a separate state. By the grace of Allah, the resolve of our elders was crowned with success and we are, today, citizens of an independent and sovereign state.

The political movement launched in March 1940, under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, has no parallel in history. It was not a movement merely for independence. The foremost objective of this movement was to seek recognition, by the world community, of the separate national identity of the Muslims of the Sub-continent and, then, to achieve a separate homeland for the nation. It has no parallel in history. Establishment of a separate state, through a peaceful political struggle, is a miracle of the 20th century. It came into being through the blessings of Allah and the untiring struggle by the people. The other factor, for this success, was that we had a sincere, strong, united and determined leadership, which, having a strong conviction, took forward the Pakistan Movement and achieved Pakistan in a short span of 7 years, when we were blessed with the independence and sovereignty and became the citizens of a separate state in August 1947. Our greatest asset was our leadership. This was a highly courageous, sincere and dedicated leadership. The vision of this leadership was a reflection of the wishes and aspirations of the entire nation. This leadership gave the golden principles of Faith, Unity and Discipline and acted upon them.

I had mentioned about this leadership on the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday on 25th December, last year, and reminded you about his vision. I would like to draw your attention, again today, that we need a sincere and dedicated leadership for the reconstruction of Pakistan. I am confident that the elections, to be held in October this year, would prove an important step in this direction and, the leadership that would emerge, would run the true democratic system.

Ladies and gentlemen, you must have noticed that this year the Pakistan parade, which is part of the 23rd March Pakistan Day Programme, could not be held. It is due to the deployment of our valiant forces on the border who are determined to offer any sacrifice for the defence of their beloved homeland. The situation faced by us on our eastern borders and the Line of Control is due to the aggressive policies of our neighbouring country. India has amassed its entire army on Pakistan's border and the Line of Control. They have an aggressive posture. As such we had to take necessary steps for our defence and our forces, by the grace of Allah, are in a position to deal effectively with the adversary. We want peace in the region but would not compromise on our honour and dignity. Our stand is that all issues should include the core issue of Kashmir and should be resolved through dialogue. But, if India wants to talk from a position of strength, then it should have no illusions. With the blessings of Allah, Pakistan has the full capability to defend itself and is in a position to thwart any aggression against it. If anyone tries to challenge its power, they would be taught a lesson, which would be remembered.

Ladies and gentlemen, your armed forces have the full capability of facing any situation on the border. As head of the Army, I am most grateful to the people of Pakistan, who have always stood shoulder to shoulder with their brave soldiers. As always, this time too, they have demonstrated a spirit of sacrifice and courage for which I am grateful to the entire nation. We all have strong determination and courage for the security and defence of our country. I am proud to say that the entire nation is imbued with the spirit of national unity and strong determination. I am confident that Allah will bless us with success whenever faced with any trial.

My dear countrymen, the government has an important duty to provide protection to the lives and properties of its citizens without any differentiation. I am fully conscious of it. In this connection, we are using all our resources and powers to identify and eliminate those involved in terrorism and combat the menace. The entire system needs basic changes. First of all, we would have to improve the performance of our intelligence agencies. Their duty is not to pass on information after the

occurrence of the incident. Their job is to warn before such an occurrence so that it could be checked.

Secondly, in order to improve the performance of law enforcement agencies, they would have to be equipped with latest weapons. Special attention will have to be paid to their training and investigation capabilities. The judiciary will have to play a key role to correct the entire system. I am fully confident that they would realize their responsibilities and remove their shortcomings and rise to the expectations of the people. I wish to assure you that the government is actively engaged to bring about a positive change in all these fields. No mercy would be shown to those government functionaries who show negligence and irresponsible behaviour. We cannot eliminate terrorism only through an effective system and latest weapons unless we collectively show abhorrence to violence and to those who indulge in it. We must save Pakistan from terrorism and the menace of sectarianism, even if we have to pay a heavy price for it.

My dear countrymen, I would like to draw your attention to an important issue: I accept, with an open heart, that we have still to do a lot to remove poverty and improve the condition of the middle class. Due to wrong policies of the past, we are faced with difficulties. I do not wish to go into the causes of this, over and over again. Poverty can be eradicated from the country only through economic prosperity. I assure you, we are working on these lines. We need some time. I am confident that a number of small and big projects, that we have launched, have started showing a positive effect on the lives of the common man. These include development projects, improvement of the system of *Zakat*, establishment of Khushhali Bank, removal of poverty under Khushhal Pakistan Programme, construction of new dams, new highways and projects like the Gwadar Port. Their completion will usher in a new era of prosperity which will fulfil the hopes of all of us.

Ladies and gentlemen, this year, Pakistan Day falls during the month of *Muharram*, which is a month of great sanctity. The martyrs of Karbala held aloft the values of this month. They sacrificed their lives to defend the cause of righteousness, truth and unity. The best way to pay tributes to them is to promote mutual love. We should not allow the differences of our *Maslik* to deviate from our unity. We should move forward keeping in view our traditions of respecting each other's sentiments. History is a testimony to the fact that the Muslims of the Sub-continent had worked together, as one nation, during the Pakistan Movement. All Muslim factions and groups remained united for the achievement of the same objective and Islam and Islam alone was their identity. That is how Pakistan came into being. I have firm conviction that it is through faith, unity and discipline that we can move forward on the path of reconstruction of Pakistan.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us pledge today that we shall always keep alive the spirit of Islamic brotherhood and national unity and frustrate the designs of those elements who want to create chaos and disruption in the name of *Fiqah*, and *Maslik*. Let us renew our resolve to devote ourselves for the security, progress and prosperity of Pakistan.

Let us pray to Allah to bless us all.

Pakistan *Zindabad*. ■

<http://www.pak.gov.pk/>

DOCUMENT No. 10**Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar's Statement at the Conference on
Disarmament, Geneva, Switzerland
March 28, 2002**

Mr. President, it is a matter of great pleasure and privilege for me to participate in the Conference on Disarmament, and to share with you Pakistan's perspectives on global and regional security issues.

Pakistan is confident that under your presidency the CD (Conference on Disarmament) will register significant advances towards fulfilling its important role. Given our commitment to disarmament objectives, and the excellent relations between Pakistan and Finland, you can count on Pakistan's full support and cooperation in your endeavours.

Also, I congratulate Mr. Sergei Ordzhonikidze on his appointment as the Secretary General of the Conference. His vast diplomatic experience will be a great asset in facilitating the work of the CD.

Mr. President, the global security environment has been transformed during the last year. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, threw into bold relief the new dimensions of international insecurity and instability. They demonstrated that threats to security can emanate from diverse sources, internal and external; that even the most powerful States are vulnerable; and that the causes of such threats are complex, as are their consequences.

The magnitude of the tragedy galvanized the world community to intensify cooperation in order to strengthen peace and security. It brought together an international coalition to fight terrorism. It has created the possibility of finally bringing peace and reconstruction to Afghanistan. The world community is now engaged in more earnest analysis of the root causes of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Recognition of the problem of poverty has been enhanced, as also the realization of the need to address and resolve conflicts and disputes.

This is a defining moment in history. Right decisions can make a decisive difference. We could succeed in constructing a structure of comprehensive and durable peace and security. We could effectively address and resolve long-festering conflicts and disputes. We should address the security concerns of all States, large and small. We could restrain the desire to acquire weapons of mass destruction. We could restrict the supply and proliferation of such weapons. And, we could avoid policy decisions and actions that may revive a global arms race.

Mr. President, we have to note, nevertheless, that some recent developments have damaged the prospects of global disarmament. The impending demise of the ABM Treaty, and plans for the development of strategic and theatre ballistic missile defence systems, could erode stability at the global and regional levels. The prospects for the CTBT's entry-into-force have become bleaker. Renewed nuclear testing and the development of so-called 'usable' nuclear weapons could trigger a new nuclear arms race. The prospects of finalizing the BWC Protocol also do not look bright in wake of the breakdown of negotiations last December. And, this Conference remains deadlocked on its work-programme, pending negotiations on a Fissile Materials Treaty, on Nuclear Disarmament and on steps to prevent an arms race in Outer Space.

These negative trends for strategic stability and disarmament could become much worse if existing policies designed to prevent the use of nuclear weapons are

abandoned in favour of arbitrary and uni-dimensional approaches to security. Serious concerns have been provoked by recent revelations of analysis and projections, which, if translated into policies, would erode some of the fundamental premises of bilateral, regional and global disarmament and non-proliferation paradigms.

Although the powerful may be driven by unilateral impulses, they cannot escape multilateral imperatives. The world has changed radically during the last decade after the Cold War. New power configurations are accompanied by new technologies and new security threats. Major powers, although now more unequal in military capabilities, still possess the capability to inflict unacceptable damage and destruction on each other.

In any new paradigm of cooperative international security, the promotion of arms control and disarmament at the global and regional levels will continue to occupy a central place. An agreed and equitable political and legal framework is essential to ensure strategic stability in future. The United Nations remains the best instrument for the formulation and implementation of such a framework. And this Conference is the best instrument to promote the vitally necessary multilateral agreements for global and regional disarmament.

Mr. President, Pakistan is committed to negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on a Fissile Material Treaty, which should be both a non-proliferation and disarmament treaty. The CD should also open negotiations in Ad hoc Committees on Nuclear Disarmament and Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space.

Until agreement on the work programme is achieved, the CD should be utilized to address certain other areas of importance for international security and disarmament, such as the issue of missiles, in all its aspects and regional arms control.

Mr. President, in the emerging international security environment, missiles will clearly constitute a central element in the varying equations of offensive and defensive capabilities. With the demise of the ABM Treaty, some major powers may rely on, as yet, uncertain ballistic missile defences while others may multiply their offensive systems to maintain the credibility of their deterrence. Missiles will also emerge as important elements of deterrence equations, particularly if advanced aircraft are either not available or are too expensive.

Partial approaches to containing the proliferation of missiles, as represented by the MTCR, discriminate against some countries, eroding their national security and advantaging others, which already possess missile capability and other delivery platforms.

It is essential, therefore, to address the missiles issue in a comprehensive, non-discriminatory and balanced manner, covering both non-proliferation and disarmament aspects. That would not exclude interim measures to address specific and urgent issues, which may threaten regional and international peace and stability on the basis of mutual and equitable restraint.

The Conference on Disarmament is the most appropriate forum to address this complex issue. It has the mandate and the expertise to analyse the implications and negotiate a legally binding instrument. Only such an instrument emerging from the CD can expect to enjoy universal acceptance. Accordingly, Pakistan has proposed that the CD should consider the issue of missiles. We are encouraged by the generally positive responses to our proposal, which we hope will lead to an early consensus on an adequate course of action.

Mr. President, the United Nations General Assembly annually adopts resolutions endorsing the pursuit of regional disarmament as a complement to

international disarmament endeavours. The General Assembly has also called on the CD to evolve principles for the realization of the conventional arms control and disarmament at the regional and sub-regional levels.

The international community cannot ignore the reality that principal threats to international peace and security now emanate not from any on going strategic confrontation between the major powers, but from regional conflicts and tensions. It is the compulsions generated by these situations that now motivate the continued build-up of conventional forces and weapons of mass destruction capabilities.

The best way to prevent the scourge of war is to follow the vision of the United Nations Charter. International disputes should be resolved peacefully and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. Special attention should focus on the probable flashpoints of conflict and confrontation – the Taiwan Straits; the Korean peninsula, the Middle East and South Asia.

India and Pakistan now possess destructive power that is awesome. Inherent in military conflict is the danger of escalation to the nuclear level. This is not a threat, but a statement of fact. A no-first-use proposal limited only to nuclear weapons may, in fact, enhance the temptation to use conventional force for aggression and erode the deterrence that obtains at present. The option to use force needs to be abandoned. Pakistan is ready to join India in a reciprocal binding commitment to renounce the use of force, conventional or nuclear.

Mr. President, South Asia has been described as the most dangerous place in the world. This is an apt assessment especially at this moment. India has deployed its massive forces, including ballistic missiles in battle-positions, along our international borders and the Line of Control in Kashmir. Resorting to the threat of use of force, India has made unilateral demands on Pakistan. Irresponsible statements have been made by its political and military spokesmen contemplating a limited war against Pakistan.

While crude attempts at coercive diplomacy are obviously inadmissible and Pakistan will protect its sovereignty and territory against any aggression or incursion – our Government has made reasonable proposals for dialogue on issues of concern. We believe progress can be made if, instead of one-sided demands, India enters into a dialogue with Pakistan. Similarly, instead of making diversionary allegations about violations of the Line of Control, India should permit impartial monitoring and stop obstructing the UNMOGIP – the Military Observers Group – from carrying out its mandate in Kashmir.

Every one knows that a serious approach to defusing tension and normalization of relations between Pakistan and India requires a just settlement of the Kashmir question. The principle and the prescription for a peaceful settlement have been sanctified in resolutions of the Security Council. India has an obligation to carry out the resolutions and implement its own pledge to let the people of the State exercise their right of self-determination.

Mr. President, as a first step, it is essential for New Delhi to recognize that no possible benefit of its current brinkmanship can match the disastrous consequences of an apocalyptic war with Pakistan. The President of Pakistan offered his hand of friendship to Prime Minister Vajpayee in Kathmandu, and urged a return to the process of dialogue on which the two leaders had reached understanding at Agra. Settlement of Jammu and Kashmir would pave the way for normalisation of relations between the two countries. The dialogue would encompass security and nuclear issues, terrorism and narcotics trafficking as well as proposals for cooperation in economic, commercial and other fields.

Mr. President, apart from its resort to repression and terror against the Kashmiri freedom movement, India's reckless build-up of conventional and strategic weapons betrays its hegemonic aims. Over the last three years India has increased its military spending by fifty per cent. Ironically, many of those states, which plead here for non-proliferation and disarmament, are selling advanced weapons systems to India. A responsible approach should require these states to counsel and exercise restraint rather than contribute to India's destabilizing arms build-up.

Pakistan does not want to be sucked into a debilitating arms race in South Asia. In fact, we have frozen our defence budget since 1999. However, Pakistan will need to maintain the credibility of our deterrence posture. The growing imbalance in conventional military capability would have wider strategic implications. It could aggravate Pakistan's reliance on the nuclear dimensions of its deterrence posture. It could lower the nuclear threshold in a regional security environment that is already inflammable.

The situation demands determined efforts by influential states to prevent emergent instability and a possibly disastrous conflict. In addition to urgent de-escalation to defuse the current tensions, the incipient trends toward insecurity and instability in South Asia need to be constrained on a durable basis. This can be achieved by constructing a new architecture for peace, arms control and cooperation in the region.

Based on the fundamental principles, which have been approved by the United Nations, especially the principle of equal security for all states, Pakistan has proposed the creation of a Strategic Restraint Regime in South Asia. Incorporating nuclear as well as conventional arms balance and a political mechanism for resolving bilateral conflicts, especially the core dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, the comprehensive proposal includes the following components:

- Bilateral formalization of the moratoriums on further nuclear testing declared by India and Pakistan.
- Non-deployment of nuclear capable ballistic missiles.
- Maintenance of nuclear weapons on de-alert status.
- Formalization of the understanding to provide prior adequate notification of flight tests of missiles.
- Acceptance of a moratorium on the acquisition and deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems.
- Confidence-building measures to reduce the risk of use of nuclear weapons by miscalculation or accident.
- Discussion of respective nuclear security doctrines with a view to avoiding a regional nuclear arms race.

Pakistan remains prepared to explore these proposals in bilateral talks with India, or through the mediation of the UN or other major powers. We are also ready to discuss the regional restraint measures within the CD. In the pursuit of effective security in our difficult regional environment, Pakistan has adopted responsible policies. We seek credible deterrence but at the lowest possible level. We have upgraded command and control structures and devised ironclad measures and mechanisms to ensure security of our nuclear assets and capabilities. A National Command Authority, chaired by the Head of Government and including three Federal Ministers and Chiefs of Armed Services, provides policy direction, oversees recommendations in regard to deployment and employment of assets, and approves measures to ensure custodial safety and complete institutional control.

Finally, let me add that Pakistan has developed limited nuclear and missile capabilities exclusively for self-defence. It remains committed to the principle of non-proliferation. We agree that proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction will be destabilizing for global, regional and national security. To that end, Pakistan has tightened its already effective export control system, and is prepared to further strengthen laws to ensure against proliferation.

At the global as well as regional levels, the quest for non-proliferation will be unsustainable unless it is accompanied by a matching commitment to the goal of disarmament, nuclear and conventional. It is this commitment which is in question today. This Conference has an indispensable role in reviving the commitment to disarmament and ensuring that it is universally embraced.

I thank you Mr. President. ■

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DOCUMENT No. 11

President, General Pervez Musharraf's Interview with Indian Daily 'The Hindu' April 1, 2002

Malini Parthasarathy. You have been seen as being so creative in tackling terrorism here internally and setting Pakistan on a new path in terms of fighting fundamentalism but why is it that the same creativity does not seem to apply to the relationship with India which is still held hostage by old issues and old themes? Is it possible at all for you to make any new gesture that can break the stalemate given that both sides have taken hard positions? Given the intractability of positions on both sides, at this moment do you see yourself being able to make any new move that can break the stalemate?

General Pervez Musharraf. Well, I would like you to see the history of what happened after my visit to Agra. I would like to say that between my visit to Agra which was July last year and now... I went there with an open mind and am glad to say that I saw a very open and flexible mind from the Indian side also, from the Prime Minister's side and the Foreign Minister's side. I saw a very positive response from the media, I saw a very positive response from the intelligentsia, I saw a very positive stance from the people — who welcomed me — and I think the dialogue went very well right up to the third day when we were about to sign a Declaration. The text was even agreed till it got fouled... let us not get into the reasons but I am very clear that it was not from my side. An agreed text of the Declaration was fouled up by somebody from that end behind the scene...

Yes, of course, the official reason given to me by no less than the Prime Minister of India was that the Cabinet did not approve it. It is up to you to judge whether the Cabinet was there or not there in Agra. In two hours when an agreed text was there and it was said that the Cabinet did not approve it and it was rejected. We agreed to another text again in about three-four hours, I cancelled my visit to Ajmer Sharif. We accepted that text again which was very good, accepting that the centrality of Kashmir was the main stumbling block. Again we accepted. Again the official version was, after one hour, when we were ready for the signing ceremony that again the Cabinet has not accepted it and rejected it. Now we know what the Cabinet was. So now whatever the reason, okay it was rejected. Unfortunately. We went in a very open manner. Now we come back. Now what has happened since

then, since that time and now? I would ask you a counter question: What has Pakistan done in the meantime? What has Pakistan done to foul the relationship?

Malini. May I tell you what it seems on the other side... in fact, that was the question I had in mind for you - when you came back from Agra, there was some sort of basis to believe that the dialogue could go on. But after September 11, both Governments tended to have an element of opportunism in their approach to what happened subsequently. In India, it was said that this was the time to tackle terrorism in Pakistan. In your speech on September 19, you said that you saw India as taking opportunistic advantage of the whole thing and therefore you had to take that course. By then, both India and Pakistan seemed to have reacted in a zero-sum game sort of fashion.

Musharraf. Yes, that happened but again if I did say anything, if I said anything it was always in response to something that was coming from the other side. It was always in response to the Indian side, the Defence Minister, the Home Minister and the Prime Minister, saying that they are going to punish us, they are going to come across the border, they will remove cross-border terrorism, they are going to attack us... this is what was happening. And because after 11th September they clearly started blaming that there is terrorism here in Pakistan and that we are going to join the coalition, United States and India, and here is Pakistan, which is a terrorist state, and we have to sort them out. This is the kind of talk that was going on. Between July and September nothing happened. I was very quiet. In fact, I was on the contrary, let me tell you, in all my interviews so guarded. On this aspect, I did not want to malign either the Foreign Minister or the Prime Minister and I was so respectful towards them and so positive towards them in the interviews, because some people were saying all kinds of bad things, because they said why was the declaration not there, and this and that, and they were not being respectful towards them, and I used to correct them, and I used to tell them that you are talking of leaders in a country and you can't be that rude, so I was very polite... very good. Then comes 11th September and here suddenly a change takes place, where we are accused of terrorism, we are accused that whatever is happening in Afghanistan is because of Pakistan, because of what our policies have been and if they are terrorists, and if there is terrorism and Islamic or religious extremism there, we are the source of that, and that a similar kind of environment is there in Pakistan.

This is the kind of talk that started from across. The obvious defence was, obviously it was a big challenge for us. Because United States... all this had subsequently happened in Afghanistan. So we had to take certain actions. Now imagine the tension here, on one side there is Afghanistan, on the other side United States' desire to attack them and they have a military operation there and certain demands being placed on us. And here is India on the other side, who is threatening us from the east. Now look at my predicament. What kind of a predicament I am in? There is threat all around. There is vulnerability in the west, the whole world is joining and ready to attack them and then this threatening noise from the east, our internal problems, I mean, I was in a fix. So I think the Indian leadership, I must say, with all my sincerity, it was most unfair on their part to have taken advantage, to have tried to take advantage of a political situation after September 11. They tried to take advantage because they thought if they join the coalition with the United States and we kept obstinately on the other side with *al-Qaeda* and Afghanistan, that we are going to be sorted out and that would be to their advantage. Unfortunately that did not happen. And now they continued with this rhetoric... yes I had to respond. Sometimes my military urge does come in. If you see any statement of Mr. George

Fernandes, Mr. Advani, these two specially, they were so offensive and they were so insulting... I wouldn't say the same about the Foreign Minister. He is diplomatic, he is a diplomat and he ought to be diplomatic...

Malini. But you know the suggestion, the implication especially since Agra, that there is a distinction being made by Pakistan portraying Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Jaswant Singh as being the doves and Mr. Advani and the others as hawks... this is seen in India as trying to divide... implying that there is a division within the establishment...

Musharraf. Yes, indeed, I really think so because I have no doubts. I mean, is there a doubt in that? Look at what I have seen with my own eyes... This is not an information to me. It is my first-hand information. Now I sat with Prime Minister Vajpayee and for two days we thrashed out a Declaration. The language of it, the paragraphing of it, was discussed between me and Prime Minister Vajpayee. We then included Mr. Jaswant Singh and Mr. Sattar and the four of us agreed to a text including the wordings, including the wordings, I repeat.

Malini. What was the main issue?

Musharraf. The main issue was that centrality of Kashmir. My concern was that we must somehow accept that we have to discuss the Kashmir issue, not a dispute, they didn't want to call it a dispute, I said okay, call it an issue, in order to improve the relations between India and Pakistan. This was accepted by both of us.

Malini. But they said that you didn't agree to elevate terrorism and cross-border terrorism to the top of the agenda...

Musharraf. No, certainly not and they did not let me.

Malini. Did not let you?

Musharraf. I wouldn't comment on that.

Malini. You should please tell us...

Musharraf. No, they did not. They did it initially for a minute, or I think, once this issue of cross-border terrorism was raised and I did say — Mr. Prime Minister, you don't expect me to accept cross-border terrorism. This is wrong. There is nothing going on across the border and it is not a border, it is a Line of Control and also there is no terrorism, there is a freedom struggle going on there. So what I would say is that after that, there was no word of cross-border terrorism but there was certainly that all issues will be discussed. Now they keep blaming me that I was uni-focal. I had accepted, yes all issues will be discussed.

Malini. All issues with their implications?

Musharraf. We would discuss all issues but the focus is on Kashmir. There were two or three sentences in one of the paras where the centrality of Kashmir was accepted. Terrorism was included in the second last paragraph... we had said that we will together resolve all issues, the first one was the issue of Kashmir, the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and terrorism, not cross-border terrorism.

Malini. That was flexible enough to accommodate different perspectives...

Musharraf. Yes, of course. So we had accepted. So the text was totally accepted. I went to change and come back for the signing ceremony because I was to fly off to Ajmer Shari. So I am very clear that these two, which is the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, accepted and there was no difference of opinion between me and them. We accepted this. Now what more can I say now? So therefore I am very clear that, whether you call them moderates or doves or whatever you may call them, I don't know what you would like to call them, but I would like to call them very realistic and very pragmatic and then there is somebody behind the scene whoever it is, and I personally think it was Mr. Advani.

Malini. Can I come now to the present?

Musharraf. I was trying to tell you that what I did was after that. I did respond sometimes offensively but that was because I was extremely agitated and disgusted and disappointed with this attitude that came about in spite of our positive response and in spite of their having wronged the whole thing in Agra and yet they are blaming me and Pakistan and trying to malign us. So there were some negative responses from my side also in retaliation to what they were saying. Then comes this incident of Parliament attack December 13.

Now that was most unfortunate. Now if anyone thinks that the Government of Pakistan is involved in that, I think he is talking nonsense. Obviously we are not involved. Now we regret that this took place.

Malini. May I just ask here... initially I think you condemned it. Then I think General Rushed Suresh here was the one who kind of dismissed it, he said that Indian intelligence agencies may have been at work. So I think the public opinion in India became a little alienated by that. There is also a genuine fear of citizens, I am talking of ordinary people who feel that there is an unsympathetic attitude on your part towards the problem of terrorism...

Musharraf. (Gesturing towards General Qureshi seated across...) Whatever he said was actually... when somebody starts saying that it is Pakistan to blame and the ISI to blame then what would be the response? Then the response is to say 'no,' probably it is the RAW which has got it done. ISI would be mad to do it in that environment when all that is happening. Do you think the ISI is going to carry out this stupid Parliament attack? I must say it is most inefficient of ISI to have done such a stupid kind of terrorist attack where all five got killed without achieving anything.

Malini. Even assuming most people didn't believe that, most people didn't suggest that, the real difficulty in convincing public opinion is in regard to issues like the list of 20 wanted terrorists handed over to you... you've said what you think about it but suppose you want to make a gesture of goodwill towards India... a political gesture rather than a legal approach... hand over some of the more visible offenders on that list... Dawood Ibrahim... the hijackers of IC 814, for instance? Responding to India's request politically, not necessarily legally.

Musharraf. Now the issue is - whenever we traded these verbal attacks with each other, after this Parliament attack, the question is: is it rational to raise it to the level of what we have got on the borders now? That you move your entire Army, Navy and Air Force against Pakistani borders. Is that the kind of response from a balanced leadership? So this is what has happened. Now, over and above that, the issue was a list of 20. Now do you think you can humiliate Pakistan, and you think you can rub our nose on the ground to submission and we are going to accept? Even if we are weaker than what we are, we will never accept it. I am never going to accept it. What kind of list? Rubbish. I will say straight and I am not going to accept it. So this kind of offensive attitude, treating another country like dirt, like as if we are some kind of scum, a very weak country which cannot handle itself. This is not the case. Neither are we Afghanistan nor should India think it is the United States. This is not the situation at all. So let that be very clear. I keep saying we have our honour and dignity to guard.

We do accept India as a country which is very strong, which is a very big country. We do. Who doesn't accept it? But please don't push it down our throat. We do accept it. So this list of 20 came in as a sort of a sword hanging on our head where you give this list of 20, you say - we are on your borders, and we will sort you out, we will do this and we will do that - we are going to attack you. So what kind of language is that? Look at the response from this side now. The obvious response

from the people of Pakistan, every individual of Pakistan, from the entire armed forces of Pakistan: now let us teach them a lesson. Believe me, I have gone to the borders and they say let them come, let us have it out with them once for all. This is the response from the Pakistan armed forces. I have been telling them, okay, war is not the answer. Let us stay calm.

Malini. But some of the people on that List of 20, the hijackers of the Indian Airlines plane for instance, can there not be a political gesture... even if not legally possible?

Musharraf. Now the issue is... purely on that list... there is a list of 20... first of all, when we are talking of the attack on Parliament none of them is linked with that.

Malini. Masood Azhar has been named as the person who organised the attack... his name is on the list.

Musharraf. Masood Azhar has been named as the person who organised, okay? Now, Masood Azhar is the head of the Jaish-e-Mohammad. Right? Now we say we want evidence against him. Now what have we done against Masood Azhar? He is behind bars. His party is banned. His accounts are frozen. Their offices are locked. What more do you want? Should I go and shoot him? What more do you want? And then when I am saying — give evidence, it would be in my interest to try him here. I am not going to give him before trying him here... But no evidence whatsoever. Zero evidence. So what are you talking? We have done everything against Masood Azhar.

The rest - there are people who are Pakistanis and some non-Pakistanis. Now, nothing to do with the Parliament. Pakistanis, we will never give any Pakistani. We have our law. We will try them here. Now the question is on non-Pakistanis. None of them is here. And we need evidence. We need proof. Wherever they are, we would like to take action against them. But, however, I would go to the extent of saying - now why are we digging into the past? The past has not been good between the two countries and I don't want to elaborate on this. If we are talking of terrorists, people who are involved in terrorist activities in India, we know that the terrorist acts being carried out here in Pakistan are by RAW, by Indian intelligence. Now if we start digging into the past, a lot of bad, a lot of wrong has been done by both countries against each other and I know it for sure and I am being very frank about it. This is not one-sided. Both have been doing a lot of damage to each other and I want to close it at this. Whoever is doing it, intelligence agencies or whatever but a lot of wrong has been done by both countries. Let's not dig into the past. Let us look to the future. For heaven's sake, are we going to keep living in the past? Why can't we look forward? Why can't we think about the future?

You talk of Kargil, I will talk about Siachen, I will talk of East Pakistan. So where do we end up? So let us not talk about that. The problem is India, in its, I would like to call it, arrogance of their strength, wants to dictate terms to us. You are talking of Kargil, why the hell should I talk of Kargil, okay I would like to talk about Siachen. So there is no end to this. We have fought wars and damaged each other. We are fighting on Siachen every day and it is the soldiers who are being killed there and I know it is more Indian soldiers dying there. I know that.

Malini. Since December, have we ever really been very close to real war? How close have we been to war?

Musharraf. Even now, I see closeness to war from two points, you have to gauge the intention and the capability of any opponent. When you are talking rhetoric, you have the intention but if the force is not there to convert that intention into practical action, one is safe. The moment you bring in force, you deploy forces, you develop a capability. And when the intention and capability both are there, then it is extremely explosive.

Malini. Did you come that close this time?

Musharraf. Yes, it was on the Indian side, I must say, when the entire Air Force's entire hi-tech aircraft of the Indian Air Force, was massed on our borders, major part of the Army including forces from the Eastern Command, coming all the way from the Bangladesh-Assam area - coming all the way here and spending that kind of money, may I say, without much purpose. They had come here against us. So this is the capability being developed.

Malini. Was there ever a point when you or Mr. Vajpayee could have picked up the phone to speak to each other to defuse the situation?

Musharraf. No, I didn't, but there is a background. Of course, the mediatory role was being played by Mr. Colin Powell. Now you keep saying - we don't want any mediation, we don't want facilitation. Let us not be hypocrites. Everyday Mr. Powell was speaking to Prime Minister Mr. Vajpayee or Jaswant Singh, one of them, I know that. And almost everyday or every second day he was talking to me. So what kind of hypocrisy is this? We don't want facilitation! Okay, then. Then pick up the phone and let us talk. I am willing to talk but they don't talk. They don't want facilitation. Yet they are talking to Mr. Colin Powell. I really don't understand. There is too much of confusion. I don't understand. I am confused myself. What do they want? They don't want facilitation but yet they are doing it. They don't want to go to war but the troops are there. I really do not know.

Now, getting back to the capability, there was a stage when the intention was there and the capability was also there. That was a critical time, which was there for a number of days, I would say may be some weeks even.

Malini. Was it before your January 12 speech?

Musharraf. Yes I think before the January 12 speech. That was the period of maximum tension but then we saw that there was a gradual mellowing in the rhetoric. So one could see a gradual reduction in intention but the capability remained, and the capability still remains, so, therefore, though the tension is slightly lesser because the intention seems to have gone down; but the capability is there. But more dangerous is that the intention can develop even tomorrow. In one hour you can change your intention. So the more dangerous part is the capability and that still remains. Capability of anything is there on both sides. Our forces are ready to meet any contingency. Therefore, the situation is explosive.

Malini. There is the feeling that since September 11, you seem so visibly empathetic to the United States' concern of going after terrorists, going after all people involved in terrorist activities but yet you continue to insist that Kashmir ought to be treated differently, that freedom fighters are not terrorists. On January 12, you changed slightly to say that even for the cause of Kashmir, terrorism cannot be used. But it continues to bother the Indian people that you seem to have double standards on terrorism.

Musharraf. Now let us take a look at what we did. We hadn't done anything. Everything that happened after September 11, and now, the tension, the escalation, everything has been done by India. Now the issue is what have we done? My speech of 12th January, now I was analysing our internal environment and I wanted to bring harmony.

I wanted to crush this extremism here, I wanted to eliminate this environment of intolerance from our society. This I had started long time back. In fact, I had banned two organisations, I think in July last year much before 11th September. But now on the 12th of January, in our own national interest, let me say that whatever I have done is in our national interest.

But luckily, very fortunately, I would say this national interest of ours also coincides in certain forms with whatever Indian desires are. Now, if you see, that we thought Jaish-e-Mohammed is an organisation, which is bringing a bad name to us, which is involved in extremism, I told you we have banned them. We have banned Lashkar-e-Taiba. We have banned two political parties. Now all this and we have taken so much action in our internal environment to curb extremism. This was enough reason, much more than enough reason for any leadership in India to have decided to de-escalate.

But unfortunately they are so slow in their response. Either there is disharmony within, again, and that is why I say there is probably some disharmony within their ranks because it is a coalition and I don't know. But because of that disharmony they are unable to take concrete action fast, fast enough... and these are fleeting opportunities which come about. If you don't take advantage of that, the opportunity is gone and now they again want that I should take some action which gives them an excuse to de-escalate. Now I am saying why should I keep giving this kind of excuse and why don't they create it themselves. And why is Pakistan required to be taking actions to give them a reason to de-escalate? I would say the reason to de-escalate is enough, we have had enough, let us start going back. I think we should start talking, that is all. I think one should be strong enough to say that.

Malini. The United States seems to agree that action from you in terms of containing infiltration from across the border is necessary. Their officials have made statements... they seem to be suspending judgment as to whether the levels of infiltration from across the LoC have come down...

Musharraf. Now very clearly, Americans know it and I know that. They may be saying anything. I know that they know that this is indigenous - whatever is going on. Now I have been telling everyone frankly, that what India is trying to do is, there is a genuine freedom struggle going on there, there is a genuine demand by the people of Kashmir against all the atrocities that they are suffering, there are 70,000 dead, we know that there are graveyards full of them. And no NGO is allowed, no international human rights organizations are allowed. No media is allowed to go into Kashmir. So what is the secrecy?

Malini. The media is allowed.

Musharraf. Foreign media does not go there. Let foreign media go there. Open Kashmir up and let anyone see whether it is indigenous or not. Now what are they trying? They are trying to convert an indigenous freedom struggle into an issue of cross-border terrorism. This is what they are trying. And let me, with full confidence, having now interacted with all world leaders, tell you, everyone knows that there is an indigenous freedom struggle going on. I am fully confident that everyone knows it. All countries of the world know it. Now if there is anything across the border happening, it is not being encouraged by us at all.

But I, at the same time keep saying, that there is sympathy for Kashmir, in all whatever is happening there because there is an Azad Kashmir here and there are Kashmiris here. There are Kashmiris all over Pakistan. There are Kashmiris all over the world, in U.K. All of them have sympathies.

Malini. But there is this other consideration. If India is making some attempt at political reconciliation in Kashmir, attempting an electoral process, there are people in Pakistan such as the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen who have made threats from Lahore to the Hurriyat leaders warning them that if they participate in elections, they will be dead. Is that not encouraging terrorist intimidation in Kashmir?

Musharraf. Now, India is trying to be clever. What kind of election? They don't want elections. They want elections to decide whether they want to be with India or

not. How can you have elections in a disputed territory? Kashmir is a disputed territory. The people of Kashmir don't want to stay with India.

Malini. But should you allow terrorist organisations here to intimidate potential interlocutors such as the Hurriyat leaders, saying that if you participate in elections, you will die?

Musharraf. Well, nobody intends intimidating them. As I said there is a moral, political, emotional involvement from this side with the Kashmiris on that side. So anything that is going on, any change or interaction is going on between them is in line with this. So I know that the people of Kashmir themselves - we call it Indian Held Kashmir - they don't want to participate in the elections. It was clear in the last elections, there was no turnout. And we know that Army and other forces were used to make them come and force them to vote. You take the Army out, not one man will come and vote.

Malini. On Kashmir, it is a dispute but not like Palestine... the origin of the Kashmir problem is not like Palestine where the indigenous people have been displaced. Kashmir is more a question of Partition's unfinished legacy.

Musharraf. There are lots of similarities. Both are United Nations Security Council-recognised disputes. So is Kashmir. Kashmir is a dispute recognized by the United Nations Security Council. So we have to sit down and talk. We have to sit down and talk. There are no two ways about it. And if there is any clever manipulation, that instead of sitting down and talking, we are talking of - okay you stop cross-border terrorism and thank you very much, that is all, the whole thing is over. No, that is not over because there is that indigenous struggle that is going on. It will continue.

Malini. No, but given that Pakistan has a certain position, India has a certain position on Kashmir, and the gap is very intractable, there have been rounds and rounds and rounds trying to bridge the gap... is there anything new that you can give to break this stalemate? How do we find a meeting point?

Musharraf. Frankly, the meeting point is very clear. We have to start talking, I don't see any other meeting point. I just don't see any other meeting point. We have to start talking and without any pre-conditions. Let's stop damaging each other, let's resolve these disputes.

Malini. Given that you have to talk, do you see a point where you can return and pick up the Agra process? Can you go back to the Agra process, is it possible?

Musharraf. Yes, we would love to go back to the Agra process. Why can't we? We have invited both the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister. They don't want to come. They don't want to play cricket with us. What kind of relationship is this? Why should we not play cricket with each other? Why did the under-19 team play cricket with us? They played cricket with us. Your under-19 team. So what is the issue?

Frankly, it all leads to all kind of confusion in our mind that there is some kind of game in everything. There is no frankness, there is no straightforwardness. Under-19 can play, but the main team cannot play. What is this theory? I don't know. I would like to find out. They played hockey, they are playing hockey, they are playing under-19 cricket but not test cricket. Frankly, we feel that you are scared of losing.

Malini. Is there anything that can be done to get out of this tremendous stalemate?

Musharraf. What we can do is to have a ceasefire again. Again there is firing on the Line of Control. Not as much as it used to be before but there is firing on the Line of Control. We can stop that firing. And we start talking. We say that okay, the borders should be manned by the United Nations — the UNMOGIP — which is here. India will not allow them to go to the borders. We are saying that — okay, let them man

the borders, let them see if cross-border terrorism is going on or not. After all who is the judge to say — yes, now cross-border terrorism has gone or it is still going on, who is to judge that? Are the Indians the judge? So let a neutral body be the judge. Let the United Nations force be the judge. Certainly we won't like the Indians to be the judge. Just like they wouldn't like us to be the judge.

Malini. Since September 11, you have been seen as putting a lot of strategic weight into the whole relationship with the United States. India too has become much more closer to the United States. We have expressed fear in India that too much reliance on the United States at the expense of developing bilateral relations with Pakistan will make us, as it will make you, much more dependent and much more weaker. Isn't it a dangerous thing for both India and Pakistan to rely more and more on the U.S. and play a zero sum game with each other? The relationship between India and Pakistan has worsened since September 11.

Musharraf. In theory, or idealistically, bilateralism is the best form of negotiation. Okay, if both countries are responsible enough, open-minded enough, flexible enough, all problems should be resolved bilaterally. But if that is not happening, fifty years have gone by, or let us say after the Simla Accord, which brought in this word of bilateralism, now since Simla Accord, thirty years have gone by, where have we gone, what have we achieved, other than Siachen, okay I will include Kargil... Siachen, Kargil, this firing and shooting each other, what have we achieved? Have we moved an inch ahead in resolving disputes? Yes, there was a bus diplomacy, which is being boasted about by India. Yes, there was a good beginning, but if it had led to some kind of a negotiation further on Kashmir, it would have been positive.

Malini. You have taken on a huge challenge in combating terrorism internally, you have taken major steps to strengthen secularism here, abolished separate electorates for minorities, reforming *Madrassas*... why not take political democracy a step further... why introduce talk of referendum and why say people like Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif should not contest elections? Does that not impair the whole resolve to make Pakistan a genuine democracy?

Musharraf. Every country has its environment. All actions are dependent on the local environment and our local experience. I am taking action keeping our national interest in view and seeing our past experiences. When you see the twelve years experience between 1987 and 1999 of so-called democracy in Pakistan, where we have had four democratically-elected governments, two by Nawaz Sharif and two by Benazir, both of them led to disaster for this country. Economic disaster, administrative disaster, political disaster. So now, when we are now coming into elections and I am trying to do political restructuring. I said my focus was on four things, right from October 1999:

- a. Economic revival of Pakistan,
- b. Poverty alleviation in Pakistan,
- c. Bringing good governance to all spheres of activities in Pakistan;
- d. And political restructuring.

I have not missed this focus at all. I took each one of them and went down and worked out strategies for each. We are now coming to the provincial and the central and national elections in October. These elections will be held. There is no doubt in my mind. A lot of people are creating doubts that I am not going to hold the elections.

Malin. Are you contemplating a referendum?

Musharraf. I have to decide. I have to take a decision in a few days maybe in a week or two. I am still interacting with political parties. So when I see that these twelve

years of ruin that was done by Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto they certainly have no place in Pakistan. I don't want them to come and plunder this country.

If the people of Pakistan are with me everything is do-able. And I think the people of Pakistan are with me. Now I am going to prove to the world and to all these politicians whom we are talking about, Benazir and Nawaz Sharif, that the people of Pakistan want me and when they want me I will never allow them to come into politics again. If they have a place then I don't have a place.

Malini. Finally, is there hope of moving relations between India and Pakistan to a better level?

Musharraf. Frankly, I have a grouse that the Indian leadership has converted the positive Indian public opinion and positive media opinion into a negative one. I went to Agra with all sincerity and had all the sincerity when I came back even though we were let down in Agra by your leadership. In SAARC when we met, I showed all my positive attitude there. There is this continuous negative propaganda against Pakistan and me, and a deliberate attempt to convert a healthy environment into an unhealthy environment... we haven't done anything to deserve this kind of attitude... it is all being done at the behest of happenings in India. There is a kind of hatred between the two countries, which did not exist in Agra in July. In seven or eight months, the environment has changed from good to bad. And it is not our fault at all if I may say. We haven't done anything to invite such change. This is my disappointment.

Malini. How would you beat this if this is how you feel? How do you overcome this negative environment?

Musharraf. I don't know. I was creative in SAARC when I went there, I wanted to meet the Prime Minister, I went up and shook hands with him. It was disappointment again when people said it is gimmickry and sort of PR. I am not a PR man. I am a realist. I believe in acting on whatever I like to do... Whatever I am thinking in my mind and in my heart, I do. If I thought I must shake hands with Mr. Vajpayee, I went and shook hands. Now there was no acting going on. I wasn't acting, I wasn't pretending. It wasn't meant for the cameras, it was an urge that I just felt and I went and shook hands with him. Now let us not read between the lines. I am not that kind of a man. It is unfortunate. It hurt me again... the media saying that I am a PR man, trying to act all the time... it is not showmanship, it is reality.

Malini. So what do you want to see now happening between India and Pakistan?

Musharraf. Sincerely, we want friendship. In the immediate context we need to de-escalate but if India thinks I am saying so because it is going to bleed us, they are sadly mistaken. You want to stay one year or two years or five years on the border, we are prepared to stay five years on the border.

I am saying all this in sincerity that we need to de-escalate in the interests of both the countries. In the interest of armies of both the countries, I know what the Indian army is feeling. No army feels very happy staying in the desert for years now. When the summer comes I don't know what they will be feeling because most of your army, I know where they are concentrated, they are all in the deserts. Let them remain in the deserts. There are about I think 7 or 8 divisions in the desert. Let them remain there. We will feel happy. Let us see them spending summers in the deserts.

Malini. But the need is to move forward...

Musharraf. Honestly, I don't know. I have done so much. We have moved against extremism here... We encouraged the United States who is mediating. We know that they are telling them to talk. We have said we are prepared to talk but we are not getting positive responses from the Indian side. Not at all, we are not getting it at all. In fact, on the contrary, every time anyone talks it is all negative. I really don't know where to go from here. We have done everything. Domestically, we have taken

actions, which could have encouraged positive response from the Indian side. We didn't see it. At SAARC, we again sat down, I took action which could have de-escalated now. It did not take place.

And then this, the closing of the airspace. Now who did that? Who did that? Why did this happen? And, interestingly, you are suffering far more. India is suffering far more than Pakistan. Far more. We have calculated I am going to lose 200 million rupees in a year if this carries on. Peanuts okay? We know how much India is going to suffer.

We know there are about 140 flights, some people say 130 or 150 or 160 flights. Obviously, how can you go to Afghanistan, how can you go to Russia? Can you go to Russia? You take a detour anywhere you go, to the east, to the west you have to take a lot of detours. Look at what you are suffering. Why did you have to close the airspace?

Look at the tension which is being created for nothing and then expecting me to unlock. You see, in diplomacy, they say that you should always keep the door a little open but here we are being taught a new form of diplomacy. Slam the door shut and now ask the other side to please open the door for us. Why should I open the door for you? You slammed it shut. You open it yourself. I didn't slam it shut for you. All that has happened, it is just unfortunate.

I am sorry to be showing this emotion but I would like you to convey this to the people of India and to the Indian media that I am open to peace in the region. We want peace in the region. We want to resolve disputes, all disputes, I repeat, all disputes. I read articles, I read statements that he is just talking of Kashmir. I have said a hundred times that I am prepared to talk on every issue but let us not be naive, let us not bluff ourselves - Kashmir is the main issue. We will discuss every issue but Kashmir has to be accepted as the main issue.

Why can't we live in harmony and when we are talking of harmony, let me also say that it is the elder brother, it is the elder partner, we are far from calling each other brothers, but it's the elder brother who has to show magnanimity. It is the bigger partner who has to show magnanimity.

Magnanimity does not come from the smaller partner. It is always from the bigger one. If I have a relationship with a smaller country, I have to show magnanimity. I will not expect magnanimity from a smaller country because it has its honour to guard, its dignity to protect. It is the bigger one, which should stoop down and give them ease and comfort... that's not being done by the bigger force here. Unfortunately, they are expecting every time the smaller force to come begging and crawling to them. We don't crawl. We are not going to crawl. ■

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DOCUMENT No. 12

President, General Pervez Musharraf's Address to the Nation April 5, 2002

My dear Countrymen; *Assalam-o-Alekum*,

Pakistan is once again at a historic juncture. October 2002 is fast approaching. And a new political era is going to commence. Some very important decisions have to be taken by me and by all of you. Genuine democracy, as I have been saying all along, which is the essence of democracy has to be introduced in Pakistan. It has to be placed on firm foundations. During the past two and a half

years, we have done a lot, and in my opinion all the reforms and restructuring that we have done in various sectors will go waste if we do not cap it with true democracy.

I am addressing you today, because this is a historic moment. In the past also I have, on every occasion, taken the people of Pakistan into confidence whenever any important national issue has arisen. I am aware that you have never disappointed me in the past and will not let me down in future. I am never worried about the views of any group, or any individual or for that matter any organisation. But I am always deeply concerned about your views. When I have your support, I feel confident. Therefore, in the same spirit I am talking to you today. It is my firm belief that if the intentions are good and the desire is for the betterment of Pakistan, and the people of Pakistan are with us, then I am sure that God is with us too.

We started in October 1999 with a seven point agenda. I will briefly inform you how we have progressed on each of them:

- a. **Rebuild National Confidence and Morale.** in my opinion we have a number of achievements in this regard. We can now see a sense of confidence among Pakistanis both at home and abroad. People now say that they are proud to be Pakistanis. With the passage of time, this will improve further.
- b. **Strengthen Federation, Remove Inter-provincial Disharmony and Restore National Cohesion.** We have successes in this too. National cohesion has taken place. Inter- provincial disharmony has been removed to a large extent. We have to do more in this regard. But I am confident that our evenhanded policy towards the four provinces will further enhance inter-provincial harmony.
- c. **Revive Economy and Restore Investor Confidence.** We have indeed revived the economy and taken it out from a failed state situation. Investor confidence is gradually building up and will improve further.
- d. **Ensure Law and Order and Dispense Speedy Justice.** A lot remains to be done in this regard. I will dwell upon it a little later. What we have already done to achieve this; we have undertaken far-reaching reforms and restructuring. With the passage of time further improvements will come about.
- e. **Depoliticise State Institutions.** I have no doubt whatsoever that state institutions have been depoliticised. We are strictly following the policy and nothing is being done on personal whims.
- f. **Devolution of Power to the Grass Roots Level.** We have already done this. I will speak about it later. As you know already, the local government has been functioning since last August.
- g. **Lastly, Ensuring Swift and Across the Board Accountability.** We have done quite a lot in this regard. We can never be fully satisfied. But whatever we have done, no government in the past or even in the future will be able to match our performance.

Now keeping these seven points agenda as a base, an implementation plan, an implementation strategy has been given a practical shape. The focus of our development strategy has been on four issues:

- a. Economic revival.
- b. Bringing good governance.
- c. Poverty alleviation.
- d. Political restructuring

These four were extracted from the seven point agenda. You also know that the Supreme Court judgement, which was passed in favour of our government, gave us a three-year period for whatever reforms and restructuring that we wanted to do. The court also gave us the permission to make essential amendments to the constitution. We will uphold the decision of the Supreme Court in letter and spirit. Now, I would like to speak a little on the areas of focus:

Economic Revival. First of all, what have we achieved? During these two and half years, what we have achieved was neither attempted by any previous government, neither was it planned by them, nor did they have any strategy nor any achievement on ground. First of, I would take the macro economic indicators and explain them to you.

The most important factor in this connection is fiscal deficit. We have managed to bring it down from 7 per cent to 5.2 per cent. This is very significant because it means that the gap between of our expenditure and our income has been greatly reduced. It has far reaching consequences on the domestic and external debt. This means we have reduced our fiscal deficit.

Secondly, Foreign Exchange Reserves. We have increased the foreign exchange reserves from just 500 million dollars to 5.3 billion dollars by the grace of Allah Almighty. On the issue of foreign debt, a lot of people have been saying that you are also borrowing and so were other governments in the past, so what is the difference between your government and the previous governments? There is a world of difference. Yes, we are borrowing. But our debt, which was 38 billion dollars in 1999, has not increased by a single paisa. As a matter of fact, it has reduced by a few hundred million dollars. This is our achievement. We are borrowing but not increasing our debt. We are also repaying our debt. And I would like to mention here that we have repaid almost all of our commercial debt that has heavy interest. Only 600 million dollars of commercial debt remains, meaning thereby that only two percent of our total debt is commercial debt. This is no mean achievement. Some people say all this has happened because of 11th September incident and that we have not done anything extraordinary. I would like to tell you that foreign exchange reserves in July 2001 had crossed the three billion dollars mark, which is a new record for Pakistan. And since then, we have reached 5.3 billion dollars mark. I would like to say that during the past twelve years, previous governments had been receiving money. On an average, our debt has increased from 14 billion dollars to 38 billion dollars during 12 years. So, on an average every year, two billion dollars were coming in. That is why debt has increased. The previous governments were neither repaying debt, which in fact, was increasing and reached 38 billion dollars nor were the loans being utilized in accordance with any economic revival strategy or developmental plan. The difference is clear. Even after taking loans, we are making repayment and utilising them according to a developmental strategy and plan. The difference is great.

Now I would also like to talk about the Domestic Debt. When we assumed office in 1999, the domestic debt had been increasing at the rate of 15.5 per cent over a period of 10 years and was almost 50 per cent of the GDP. We contained this downward slide but have also, you would be happy to learn reduced it by 6.2 per cent in the last year. We have brought the figure down from 50 per cent of the GDP to 45 per cent of the GDP.

Regarding the exchange rates, you must be aware that the rupee is today quite strong vis-à-vis the dollar. This is also due to the strength and success of our economic policies. Look at the Karachi Stock Exchange; its index has crossed the

1800 mark. It is being said today that the performance of Pakistan's Stock Market is the best in the world. This is our achievement.

Look at the remittances. Last year, these increased from 750 million dollars to 900 million dollars. This was a good achievement, an increase of about 15 to 20 per cent. This year our remittances have already crossed 1.4 billion dollars mark. And God willing, by the end of the year we will reach the 2 billion dollars mark.

So, our overall strategy to take the country out of the debt trap has been brought to the implementation mode. I am very happy that it is now being implemented. Our strategy has been to gain fiscal space, so that we could begin development work.

Secondly, we have money in our hands, which by the grace of God is now with us. All donor agencies now have confidence in us. We have been given the PRGF facility. All donor agencies are lending us money and our own foreign exchange reserves have increased.

Now that we have the money, we have to utilize it on development projects, which can give quick returns. We need such returns in four to five years, which is more than our debt servicing liability. This strategy too by the grace of God is moving successfully. The projects we have launched are Gomalzam Dam, Mirani Dam, Gwadar Port, Coastal Highway, Raineer Canal, RBOD, Kacchi Canal Project, raising of Mangla Dam. All these projects are aimed at giving us quick returns.

By the grace of God our strategy of getting out of the debt trap and regaining national sovereignty, and honour and dignity is fully into its implementation phase. This we have achieved as a result of our macro economic reforms.

Coming on **Good Governance**. It is our second area of focus after Economic Revival. I will not go into details but touch upon some areas because many questions are asked.

First of all, as far as the law and order is concerned, I would like to say that there are no quick fix, short cut solutions. We are now trying to tackle the root cause of the poor law and order. I would like to briefly inform about the steps we are taking. We have taken steps to prevent internal violence. We have taken actions against external extremism and the atmosphere of intolerance. I would not like to repeat them but I would like to emphasize the concrete actions that the government intends to take.

First of all, in order to improve the law and order, so that there is no incident, you need to pre-empt the incident. How can you pre-empt. We can do that if our intelligence organizations have the capability to penetrate into organisations that indulge in violence. Therefore, our first task is to effectively train and equip our intelligence organizations. We are doing that. We are establishing a counter terrorism organization throughout the country. When it is established, it will be given good training and equipment. Our endeavour, therefore, is to control extremism through infiltration.

Secondly, we have to improve conditions of our law enforcement agencies so that they can perform their duties in a better manner. How we are going to do that? We have to improve the Police and the Rangers so that they can act as deterrence against those who intend to indulge in acts of extremism. In this respect, I am happy to say that this government has replaced the 140-year-old Police Ordinance of 1861 by Police Ordinance of 2002. We have divided policing into three separate wings, i.e., watch and ward wing, investigation wing and prosecution wing. This step will make a lot of difference. The watch and ward wing, consisting of the main police force, is being equipped on modern lines. At present, they neither have

transport, nor communication facility, not even good accommodation. How can you expect good performance from them? We are now providing these. We have provided them funds and we are also getting assistance from abroad for their training. Their induction into service is being done as per criteria and on merit, not like in the past. Their training has been entirely rehashed. And finally we are also looking into the quality of their equipment and improving them.

Thirdly, investigation. Presently, we do not reach out to the culprits whenever any crime takes place because our investigation system is outmoded. We are developing the system. We should have investigative resources i.e. laboratories, expertise, and trained manpower so that we can reach out and apprehend the culprit. We have received a lot of assistance in this field. I have asked for assistance from abroad. By the grace of God we are making improvements.

And lastly, the judiciary. I am glad that the Chief Justice of Pakistan and the Chief Justices of the High Courts are making efforts to bring about internal improvements so that the judiciary, anti-terrorist courts and other courts can perform their duties in a better manner. I would like to say that law and order cannot be improved through cosmetic means i.e. by reshuffling some IGs [Inspector General of Police] and SPs [Superintendent of Police]. I am going into the root causes. We are improving police, improving investigation agencies. God willing there will be improvement in law and order with the passage of time. I am fully confident that this is the only course and there is no short cut.

Good Governance. I come to education. I will not go into details. You know human resource development is one of our top priorities. We cannot progress unless we improve the quality of education. We are a developing nation and could not become a progressive, dynamic, developing nation. So, education is an act of root of improvement of the Pakistani society. What are we doing in this regard? We have addressed the education sector in its entirety. How first of all, no government looked into the problems of the *Madrisa* system. We have formulated a *Madrisa* strategy. I will not go into its details. Through the strategy, we have advised them about the subjects they should include in their Curriculum. And we will provide them with resources. We want to regulate their functioning like other educational institutions at the primary and secondary level. We want to improve our literacy level. We want to bring about a qualitative improvement in our education. We are improving our syllabus and curriculum. We are improving our educational system and are improving the teachers' training as well.

Thirdly, we are introducing a technical scheme in Pakistan. This is being addressed at the primary and secondary level and then we have addressed higher education level as well. You will be glad to know that I have approved an improvement strategy for higher education. We have also made a lot of achievements in the health sector as well. I would like to say that we are concentrating on primary and secondary level health care.

Besides this, in the last, as for good governance, I would like to inform you about the health of the public sector corporations. They were incurring losses worth billions of rupees. First of all, I would like to tell you about their position as it stood in 1999 and 2000. You will be glad to know that railways that was incurring loss in billions is no more in loss. PIA was at the brink of bankruptcy and we did not know what to do with it. You will be glad that it has started earning profit this year. I hope it will earn a profit of 2.5 billion rupees this year. We are planning to acquire new aircraft. Steel Mills was also at the verge of collapse. This too is now earning profit. I have been told it has repaid its debt worth 2.5 billion rupees. Take the example of WAPDA. This too was about to collapse threatening to sink the country as well.

When we took over, its annual revenues were 92 billion rupees, which have now soared to 175 billion rupees. Their electricity line losses have come down from 42 to 25 per cent. In addition, we have provided 2 million new power connections during three years as compared to only one million during the last 10 years. WAPDA owes its achievement to the Army. This turn around has been brought about by the Army. Efforts are also being made to bring about a turn around in PIA. We have initiated a number of steps and God willing, further improvement will soon be visible. These were our achievements in good governance, in the field of education, law and order and improvement in the health of government corporations.

Now I am coming towards a complicated but very important subject of **Poverty Alleviation**. What are our achievements in poverty alleviation and what we intend to do. This is my prime concern. The question of poverty alleviation agitates me. My heart weeps at the plight of the poor but I feel sorry when someone asks me what I have done for the common man. I want to clearly tell you what our plan is, what we have achieved and what we cannot. The question is what to do for the common man, how to alleviate poverty. This always agitates my mind. If it were possible, I would go to every poor man, embrace him and redress his grievances. I want to do this. But the question arises how to redress this problem. To me there are three methods for this and there is no fourth one. Can I provide subsistence to 140 million people of Pakistan? How? That is not possible.

We have to judge where is poverty? First you have to address it in the rural area and this can be done through agriculture and we are addressing the very sector of agriculture to eradicate it. I will not go into the details you know it well.

The other is the urban area, the cities and towns. In these areas poverty exists due to joblessness. How to address it? We thought Information Technology is the answer as we have the resources and the infrastructure and we are doing a lot to address issue through IT.

The third thing, labour needs jobs. This can be achieved through revival of industry and let us see what we have done? First we started the Khushal Pakistan Project. Thousands of jobs are being generated by the developmental project that we are launching, which are in addition to the employment in agriculture. We have so far spent 23 billion rupees on the Khushal Pakistan Project and every year, are giving billions of rupees to the provinces in this regard, they launch small schemes and projects which result in job generation. I know that there are roughly around 5,000 ongoing projects in the country and every year approximately 500,000 people would gain employment as a result of these schemes. We have done this; no one did it before us. Talking of factories, a number of them were closed and in order to revive them we established the CIRC organisation. I am happy to note that 185 factories have been revived so far and thousands of jobs generated. In addition to this the development projects, which I do not want to repeat, have resulted in jobs for thousands of people and as they are going to gain speed, because they are four to five year projects, all eight or nine that I have enumerated. This is our achievement.

However, I would like to point out over here that this is not enough till such time that we are able to arrest the rapid population rate in the country. Past governments have not done this. Coming over to another aspect, I had said that the poor people must be given money so that they can start their own business. You know the *Zakat* Strategy, out of which 2 billion rupees have already been released. This year 5 billion rupees have been released. There are some problems of distribution which I intend to solve personally so that the process of distribution is speeded up and the poorest of the poor can benefit from these billions that we are giving him and stand up on his own two feet. Had any government done this? Had

any government evolved the strategy to go to the people and hand each person up to 50,000 rupees. We have done this. We have started Khushali Bank, which has spread over 30 districts, and my effort is to further expand it to all the districts of the country. This Bank is providing loan up to 30,000 rupees to the extremely poor. They utilize the loan and benefit from it. I am hopeful that we shall provide loan up to 30,000 rupees to 100,000 people each year. This is our target and we will achieve it.

I am extremely grateful to His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan that on my request, he opened a micro credit bank in Pakistan for the benefit of the poor.

Lets take Agriculture Development Bank of Pakistan. Big landlords obtained loans worth billions of rupees from ADBP and did not return them. We took a policy decision that the bank will not give loan beyond one million rupees. Bigger chunk of loans will be reserved for the lower level farms. I want to present figures to you: the bank provided loans worth 20 billion rupees from July last year to February this year and about 300,000 people benefited. I also want to tell you that out of 20 billion rupees, 11 billion rupees in the forms of loans worth fifty five to sixty thousand rupees on average. This would mean that these loans were given at the low level and this is our achievement. ADBP will provide loans worth 32 billion rupees to the farmers up to the close of current financial year. This is what we are doing for the poor and people of fewer resources. This is our achievement. We have increased salaries of the employed at a time when we were faced with so many economy problems. We have given major pay increase, besides we are providing support prices and base prices in the agricultural sector. I want to tell my farmer brethren that the support price of 300 rupees for wheat will be maintained. I will try my best to provide to you 300 rupees as support price for wheat production.

Now the third element is to provide job to the poor and they should be provided with financial assistance. Another point is to keep prices under control and this is a complicated issue. First I come to positive aspects. There is no change in the prices of essential items for the poor including *Atta*, *Ghee*, Rice and Sugar. There is only minimum change in their prices if any. Over the past three years there is decrease in prices of one or two essential items but there is some increase in the prices of pulses. Prices of vegetables fluctuate. This is a bit of achievement if not much. But let us go to the causes and other areas affecting prices. Oil prices have tremendously increased at world level and this phenomenon is beyond our control. Naturally it affects fuel prices in the country but still we have been able to control Kerosene price. There is some increase in the price of Kerosene but our effort has been to keep the increase to the minimum. We have kept interests of the poor in our view. Take electricity, in 1999 per unit cost was 3.48 rupees and the present cost is 3.6 rupees, showing increase of 12 paise. Thermal electricity being produced by IPPs have to face increased import bill. Oil prices have doubled i.e. from 5,500 rupees to 10,800 rupees per ton. But the electricity price has increased by 12 paise. However, those consuming electricity up to fifty units are exempt from such increase. We have done this, keeping in view interest of the poor. Let me explain further that how the country came to face this misfortune. I want to tell you the reality. We have been blessed by Allah Almighty with rivers which can be utilised for the production of Hydro Electricity, two times than our requirements.

Now I would like to narrate to you the injustice, which has been done to this country by previous governments. In 1988, 60 per cent of our electricity was generated through water, the price per unit of this was 73 paise, while 40 per cent was Thermal i.e. from furnace oil. In 1994-95, the then government had a brain wave. Now you can yourself imagine which government I am referring to. 14 IPPs

were established, all thermal and oil based. This changed the ratio of electricity generation to 70 per cent of thermal electricity and only 30 per cent hydro electricity. Average price of IPP produced unit of electricity came to 4 rupees. Compare 73 paise per hydro electricity unit to 4.73 rupees per unit of thermal electricity. Who did this? I know why these units were established in 1994-95. I will give you a figure to elaborate. If the per unit price of electricity was increased by 20 paise, it made a difference of 2 billion rupees. The company to which I give a contract and bring it to Pakistan and give it an increase of just 20 paise, would earn an additional 2 billion rupees and you can imagine how much I would pocket as a result of such a deal. These 14 companies are the cause of ruin and problems being faced by Pakistan today.

We are now trying to correct the situation, but it cannot be done in two days. Our policy is to change the ratio again hydro electricity to be the maximum. Ten-year projects have been planned by WAPDA. I am pursuing with the Prime Minister of China, Mr. Zhu Rongji for developing Thar Coal, which is also cheap raw material for producing electricity. In addition, we are trying to convert oil-based units to gas. This is a triple strategy. The oil-based units also are a burden as they add one billion dollars to our oil import bill. This is a double fault. One, cost of electricity is high and secondly, a one billion dollar oil import bill. We want to change to coal, to hydro and to gas, which is not easy. This is a four to five year plan and would be totally completed in 10 to 15 years. But positive indicators would be visible in four to five years. However, despite this major problem, we have not increased the price of electricity for consumers of 50 units or less.

On the subject of gas prices, why have they increased? As I told you, we are converting oil thermal units to gas but foreign firms are not prepared to explore, extract and develop the many gas fields in our country because our tariff structure is not viable for them. They say they cannot invest in the gas sector unless the tariff structure is improved. Therefore, the prices of gas have been increased. However, despite this increase, those consumers who use up to 100 units only and are the poor ones, we have not increased price of gas by a single paise for them. Nobody writes this. Nobody says that gas prices have been increased but not for the poor. Now, who consumes gas? Only 15 per cent of the population of Pakistan. 85 per cent do not. They live in villages and there is no gas in villages. Meaning thereby, where the poor are, there is no gas and they have to burn wood or Kerosene oil or other fuel or burn trees and eliminate them. You must understand that our gas price is half the price of wood and the poor 85 per cent use/burn expensive Kerosene oil, wood, coal and those who are better off, the 15 per cent, are enjoying inexpensive gas. We have taken care of the poor among these and not increased the price of gas for those who consume one hundred units or less. We are looking after the poor. I am sorry that I got carried away as these are emotional issues.

Poverty Alleviation. We are not making hollow claims. We take counter actions. We are not hypocrites and do not believe in hypocrisy. We do not sit abroad and talk of Awam, or bread, cloth and shelter. Purchasing houses in London, Paris, Dubai and establishing businesses over there while talking of the people here. What interest do they have for you or for the welfare of the people when billions of dollars have been carted away by them from the country. We speak truth. We have welfare of the people at heart. We do not raise hollow slogans or indulge in hypocrisy.

My dear countrymen, I realise we need to do much more. There are two major issues. The first is **population growth**. We have the highest population growth in the world. We need to check our population growth. Those who say it is un-Islamic are wrong. It is not un-Islamic. The second is the **revival of economy**.

We cannot eradicate poverty until the economy improves. I am working in this direction and all our projects are aimed at improving the economy of the country. There are some of improvement and once it improves further I will allocate more money for the welfare of the people. I would like to say that we have done a lot to eradicate poverty. Foreign investors are astonished at the measures that we have taken for poverty alleviation. Our strategies are very good. But unfortunately, some people say that we have done nothing. Not only do I feel sad but angry too.

Now let me focus on **political restructuring**. These four areas have remained under our focus since 1999. As to the political structure we decided to adopt a bottoms up approach from the local government to the province and then to the centre. I am of the view that local government system is real democracy and real empowerment of the people of Pakistan. This is empowerment in three areas, political, administrative and financial empowerment. We are also giving funds at the gross root levels. In addition, for the first time women have been given 33 per cent representation in the local government levels. We are also bringing the empowerment of farmers and labourers. We are bringing the poor people into the assemblies, and into the decision making process. They will sit as equals with the rich who have been looting them in the past. This is a silent revolution. You would have heard, read and seen various opinion in this regard. But the local government system is the most important step for Pakistan. We will not allow it to be reversed. It is Pakistan's requirement. It is the requirement of the people and it must continue. Now, we shall come to the provincial level. We are considering holding provincial elections in October. Both Provincial and National elections will be held in October as I have declared again and again. However, some people try to create doubt that perhaps elections will not be held. We want to ensure maximum autonomy at the provincial level. People say that local government under devolution of power plan has undone provinces. This is wrong. This view is peddled by either those who do not understand it, or those who want to create misgivings in the minds of people. We have devolved power to the districts and now we are going to devolve power to the provinces. Provinces will get what they need. They will enjoy autonomy as enshrined in the Constitution. We will improve financial position of the provinces. We will provide funds to the provinces in accordance with Provincial Finance Award. We are trying to address the acute financial situation faced by the provinces. We want to ensure that the nation, the provinces and the districts have smooth functioning under a comprehensive plan by October. This will promote provincial harmony and any apprehensions God willing will end.

Now let us come to national level. In my view, it is important to keep democracy on rails. Democracy should never derail. It must take root in Pakistan. It must function. This is what I want. I want to bring real democracy to the country because it is the only way out. I am not trying to deceive nor am I indulging in hypocrisy. Democracy is the only way and I want it. Now the questions is that democracy does not have any set rule. Democracy is not a constant factor. I have said this to foreign dignitaries. I said the same thing to the Commonwealth Secretary General when he came to see me. British model democracy cannot be introduced in Pakistan or the democracy in Zimbabwe be introduced in Pakistan or any other democracy in the East. Democracy has to be adjusted according to environment prevailing local environment. Democracy in Pakistan should be based on environment in Pakistan. Now what is the environment in Pakistan? I will explain to you my own views in this regard. As I have always said there are four pre-requisites for the functioning of democracy. These pre-requisites have been derived from our past political history. We have to cover what has been happening here. We have to

negate that. Number one is checks and balances on the power brokers of Pakistan. People are shy of naming power brokers. There have been three power brokers namely President, Prime Minister and Chief of Army Staff. I am the Chief of Army Staff and a power broker. There should be checks and balances for me. There must be checks and balances for all the three power brokers. I am saying this because the three power brokers have in the past committed violation. Let us not get into that debate. That is why; there should be checks and balances. This is the realistic approach. The second thing is that national interest should be supreme. Let me ask whether governments in the past kept the national interest supreme? I have talked of the problems of IPPs. Was that in supreme national interest? Colossal damage was caused to the nation. National interest was not kept in view while making laws or introducing Constitutional Amendments. Personal interest and political interest took precedence. Rules and regulations were manipulated and national industry was damaged for petty personal gains. As far as I know, one SRO was withdrawn by CBR for two days to allow import of vehicles. After that the action was reversed. Crores of rupees were pocketed. This was how the national interest was served. That was being done by a government. National interest should remain supreme above personal and political interest. I am saying this because the previous governments were not doing that.

The third point is to ensure continuity of our restructuring and reforms programmes. In my view this is in the best interest of Pakistan. This should continue. Whatever we have done in political, economic and governance areas must continue.

Finally, there was Inter-Provincial disharmony. Hatred against each other must end. A strong Pakistan should be governed on the basis of justice and total integration. Now, the first three objectives including national interest, checks and balances and continuity of reforms should be institutionalised. That is why we are thinking of setting up the National Security Council. I will not go into details. You will know about its composition. People will be informed when we decide about it as was done in case of local governments.

First, we will make up our own mind and then your views will be invited. The decision will be taken after that in the interest of Pakistan. The idea is not based on any negative point of view. It is not meant to dismiss any government. The foremost objective of National Security Council should be to reinforce the government, to strengthen and to help it do what good it may be doing. You have seen the atmosphere in the assembly where there was leg pulling so that no government could complete its five year tenure. Efforts were made to demolish the government after a year. This situation will not be allowed to repeat. The National Security Council will ensure completion of tenure of governments so that the government will focus on development of the nation. The second aim should be checking every one including the Chief of Army Staff, Prime Minister and the President from taking any unbalanced, impulsive action. Now, someone can say that the elected government should be supreme and why the need for an undemocratic Security Council. The problem is that the elected governments have been indulging in loot and corruption. It destroyed governance. It destroyed economy. Our problem is that those who are voted into power and trusted by the people, betrayed that trust. Should there not be check on them. Check must be there. We are thinking on these lines. There are people who say there should be no amendment in the Constitution but no responsible or educated person can say this. The Supreme Court has allowed amendments in the Constitution. However, amendments will not be based on whims. National interest will be kept in view while amending the Constitution only when it is utmost necessary and in the interest of Pakistan. No assembly brought amendment

in the interest of Pakistan. Why should we not bring some amendment in the interest of Pakistan and for the promotion of the democratic environment. However, I shall take along the people while deciding on any Constitutional Amendment. I will invite their views and then decide. I shall not take any impulsive decision alone, nor for myself. There is lot of talk of 'Power Sharing' as if I am going to have powers as President of Pakistan. The problem is that everything is viewed in the negative perspective because of the pessimistic trend. Such has been our history based on fraud and hypocrisy. I want to say that I am not power hungry. I do not believe in power sharing. I am a soldier and believe in the unity of command. I believe that there should be one authority to run things rightly. If there are two authorities nothing can be accomplished properly. What I want to say is that in the parliamentary system, the Prime Minister is the Chief Executive of the Country. He will have all the powers. He must run the government with all the authority. I have firm belief that the Prime Minister should have power and I do not want to share this power. However, I want to have power to the extent that he dares not undo what I have said. He dare not violate national interests. He dare not reverse the reforms agenda. I want to assure that I will support the Prime Minister if he practices governance rightly and in the interest of Pakistan. I will back him up. I will strengthen him fully. That is how democracy in Pakistan will function. I cannot allow him to manipulate institutions. Banks, State Bank, Nationalized Banks were plundered in the past. This will not be allowed. So there is no question of sharing of power. I want to ensure checks and balances on the functioning of every one. Authority not only to govern, but also govern well. Authority does not mean that one should indulge in corruption and loot without being challenged. We will not let this happen again. This is not democracy.

Now way forward. Ladies and Gentlemen the word has changed in the wake of September 11 events. What is our role in the changed world? I am proud to note that we have been able to raise our stature. We have saved the economy. We have preserved the national interest. This is our achievement. Now Pakistan enjoys prestige abroad. Now, no one is saying that you are a failed state. No one is saying that we should be declared as terrorist state, a Damocles sword hanging on our heads every year. I will move forward. I had clearly enunciated in my 12th January speech and I will make a brief mention if it. We brought internal stability. Internal stability is important. We will establish the writ of the government and the supremacy of law. For this we will have to eliminate sectarian violence, extremism and internal terrorism. We have to address it. I had mentioned what the government was doing. We are pursuing the same path.

Another factor of internal stability is our national development strategy, which we will have to pursue relentlessly. This is our way forward.

Now I come to the more important issue, i.e., political. I would like to talk about our future political course. I am getting involved in politics — albeit not directly. I do not need votes in elections, I have no ambition to enter into politics but I am involving myself in politics in the interest of democracy, maturing democracy and consolidating democracy. I want democracy to take firm roots in Pakistan. I want democracy to consolidate and not to derail or fail. I want a constitutional answer to every political crisis. There have been problems, destabilization and political crisis in the past for which there was no constitutional answer. Sometimes, some military man comes, sometime a President dismisses the Prime Minister and sometime a Prime Minister gets after the Chief Justice. We had turned the entire country into a political wrestling pad. We want to eliminate it. There must be a constitutional answer, an institutionalised method to address such political crises.

This is being done in all developed, balanced and matured countries and all other countries where this is not done, are dubbed as backward. We want to change this.

To my mind there are two issues:

- a. What is my personal role? Am I required for Pakistan? Is there any role for me?
- b. What should be the environment of the Assembly and the Cabinet in the post-October period? If I have some role in this country, then what should be the environment of the Assembly and the Cabinet? I am not looking at it for my personal interest. I am saying that if I have a role in the post-October Pakistan then I should have the right kind of interaction with the Prime Minister that Cabinet and the National Assembly otherwise democracy will stand where it was. They will be after me and I will be after them. Some people say that the 8th amendment should be restored and I should have the authority to dismiss them. This is a childish and immature statement. This should not happen. If then it happens, democracy will derail. We will be standing where we were i.e. at square one. I have said that our programme - economy, governance, poverty alleviation - we have to crown them with a political structure through introducing the essence of democracy. Only then Pakistan will move forward. Again the question arises what should be my relationship with the Assembly. What should be the environment, which is essential for the future of Pakistan and the future of democracy.

We should look forward in the national interest. I am now addressing those who write articles with an idealistic approach keeping aside realism without deep thought. The two issues are: What should be my role and if I have some role, what is the environment of National Assembly and what it ought to be?

First my primary requirement is that of Pakistan. Am I needed for Pakistan? I want you, I want the people of Pakistan to tell me whether I am required or not? I want the confidence in me that comes from your trust. I have confidence in me but when you tell me that you have confidence in me, my confidence and strength would increase. I want your strength, the strength that comes from the people, strength of one hundred and forty million people. The world must know. The whole world and all Pakistanis must know. All those who want to derail or destabilize Pakistan; those people must know that I am not alone. 140 Million Pakistanis are behind me. This must be known to all, that is why, I have decided to hold referendum. I will give more details about it. I will come back to it.

My brothers and sisters, I have talked to you on the two issues agitating my mind. I have told you that my services are for Pakistan and with this in view I am going for referendum. I will come back to the subject later. Another thing, agitating my mind is the atmosphere of the Assemblies and the Cabinet and the Prime Minister's relationship with me. If there is a need for me then there is positive response to the first question. I have some expectations from the Assembly and the Cabinet. As I have stated, the Assembly, the Cabinet and the Prime Minister should work in harmony with me to take democracy forward. Not because this is in my personal interest, but because it is in the interest of democracy so that they complete their full term. As I have said, I want to strengthen them with such harmony. Now the question arises what to do to ensure strengthening of the democracy and maturity of the political system. How to transform this into reality?

Ladies & Gentlemen, I have opted for a difficult course. The easiest way, as many people say would have been to distance myself from politics. There is no need to hold a referendum. Just maintain your moral ascendancy by distancing from politics. Take a back seat and let anything happen to Pakistan. This was the easiest course for me. My image will be enhanced. But is it in national interest? Think about this. To me it is not in the national interest. There is a conflict in my mind. There is a conflict vs. pragmatism because of which we could not bring any social change in three years. We have made some endeavours, Local Governments have been established. I know a lot of changes have come in and there will be more changes with the passage of time. However, it would be unrealistic to think that we have changed the social fabric and that the political environment has changed leading to new faces in the Assemblies and that the environment would become better. We will make our fullest efforts to bring about change in the Assemblies but we should have a complete understanding of the realities of the ground. All of us, specially the intelligentsia, and those who write in the newspaper columns and give ideas, they should have the understanding and consciousness that there is not much change in the social fabrics that would ensure that democracy is not derailed in this conflict of idealism vs. pragmatism. I fear that idealistically we will become very clean and pure. However, if democracy were derailed would it be in the interest of Pakistan? No. Therefore, we have to see the social environment with a pragmatic futuristic approach. We should not expect that now angels would return to the Assemblies. Assembly is important and Cabinet is also important and it will be our endeavour that we have a better Assembly and Cabinet. This would be possible only when you vote in the October elections. The government can formulate rules and regulations and facilitate the environment but ultimately it is the people who have to cast their votes and elect their representatives to the Assemblies. We will do our best to minimize the role of money in the election so that better representatives could emerge out of the elections. Even if they have less resources. We will also try to formulate rules to check the education of candidates. We will continue our endeavours but I request you not to be too idealistic and adopt a pragmatic approach according to our social environment.

My brothers and sisters. Today, I want to draw a line in politics. On the one side of the line there are people who want my continuation, they see a need for me and they are in favour of reforms and restructuring. They want continuation of the reforms process and want my continuity in the office. And on the other side of the line are those who are against reforms and restructuring. There are also a number of people who are fence sitters waiting to go to this side or that side of the fence. There is confusion in their minds and I want to remove this uncertainty and confusion. Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto have no role in Pakistan's politics. This should be clear. The line which I want to draw today for referendum will also be valid for the October elections and thereafter. Now it is for the fence sitters to decide. Some people are trying to destabilize. The talk about emissaries and deals is all absurd. I have not made any deal, nor have I sent any emissary to anyone. Leave aside all this talk to those who want to return from abroad and have their eyes fixed on 5 billion dollars. I want to tell them that they will not be allowed to indulge in loot and plunder all over again. They have no role in the politics of Pakistan.

Let me come back to the issue of referendum. Why have I to adopt this course? I am aware that newspapers are writing critically about it. That being so, why am I insisting on it. I want to tell you why I am taking this difficult route. There was an easy way out for me just by keeping away from politics. There would be no need for holding of referendum then. But why do I want to hold referendum.

I want to be sure that the entire nation wants the continuity of the reforms and the restructuring that we have introduced I have explained in detail about the reforms and I would not repeat them. One of the major reforms is the establishment of the Local Government system besides economic revival and achievements in diplomacy. I seek your confidence so that not only I but also the entire world is reassured of the continuity of reforms. Secondly, it will give a boost to my self-confidence and I will have the moral strength that the entire Pakistani nation is with me. Thirdly, there are two kinds of destabilization — one because of fence sitting in the investment climate and the other because of the political fence sitters. I am confident that the referendum would be helpful in removing this destabilization in the environment both from investment and political point of view. This will be in the interest of political progress, political stability and the investment environment. Fourthly, once a line is drawn, and then the position of those in favour of the agenda of reforms will be strengthened. I want to strengthen their position because only then real democracy will usher in and there will be a better environment in the National Assembly. Democracy will consolidate and it will be important for the continuity of the reform programme.

Referendum will be publicly advantageous for me because it will introduce a stable and mature environment. I know there are several views about referendum. One view is that it is violation of the constitution. I want to tell you that there will be no violation of the constitution. We have consulted legal experts. And the question that will be asked will not be in violation of the constitution either I assure you that there will be no violation of the constitution in future as well.

Secondly, some people are talking about electing of the President by *Nazims* as was done in the case of Basic Democrats. This is wrong. I want a vote from you.

Thirdly, it is also being said that President Ziaul Haq had asked an irrelevant question. I am neither Zia nor Ayub. I am Musharraf. I will not ask such a question. This was about referendum. Let me come to its details: It will be held in the first week of May. The Chief Election Commissioner will announce the exact date, but it will not be held later than the 1st week. As for its methodology, I want to tell you that it will be simple and easy. Every citizen above the age of 18 will be eligible to cast his or her vote in the referendum as was done in the case of Local Government Elections. Vote can be cast on production of National Identity Card. There will be single constituency and the number of polling stations would be increased considerably. There will be about 100,000 polling stations to facilitate voting.

I have great hopes in the people of Pakistan. I am confident that they will come out in great number for the referendum. You will come forward and cast your vote in favour of my continuity and in support of my agenda of reforms. This is my expectation from you. I hope you will defeat agents of doom harbouring ill will against Pakistan. My well-wishers are asking me why am I taking this great risk. I tell them that I will take the biggest risk if it is in the interest of Pakistan. I am soldier and never hesitate from taking risks. I conclude with a verse, which I was given by someone and I act upon it:

*“Mera Azm Itna Bulund Hey Key Prae Sholon Ka Dar Naheen
Mujhey Khauf Aatish-e-Gul Say Hei Ke Kaheen Chaman Ko Jala Na Day”*

I and all of you will not, God willing, allow this fire to ignite.
Pakistan *Paindabad*.■

DOCUMENT No. 13**President, General Pervez Musharraf's Address to the Nation
May 27, 2002**

Bismillah-ar-Rahman-ar-Rahim. My Dear Pakistani brothers and sisters, *Assalam-o-Alaikum.*

Pakistan is currently passing through a critical juncture. We are faced with a grave situation and we are standing at the cross road of history. Today's decision will have serious internal and external effects on our future.

I think under the present situation consultation is very important. I want to take you fully into confidence. I have met journalists, all the politicians and Kashmiri leaders for consultations. I had very useful discussions with them. I am grateful to all those politicians who met me and informed me of their views.

But unfortunately there were some politicians who did not come to meet me. I think at this critical juncture, national unity is need of the hour. We must all think in terms of national interests by rising above personal and party interests. Many politicians advised me that I should again invite those politicians who did not come to meet me. I accepted their advice and I have invited them again, and meetings with them are continuing.

I again invite all of them through this address to the nation. I want to remove their doubts and apprehensions through consultations with them. First of all I want to assure them today before the nation that the process of true democracy will begin in the month of October. Elections will be held between the 7th and 11th of October 2002. This is my promise to the nation that these elections will be fair and transparent and we shall invite all those foreign observers who wish to observe these elections.

I would like to say a few words with reference to the Referendum. First of all I most sincerely want to assure the nation that no official interference of any kind was permitted during the referendum. The proof of this is that it was for the first time that the Army was not deployed at the polling stations. So that the impression is not created that the Army is being used. Therefore the Army was deliberately kept away.

As I was confident that all those who had never exercised their right of franchise were going to cast their votes in my favour. I also knew that the young generation, particularly those between the ages of 18 and 21, as well as the minorities wanted to vote for me and they did.

I had the support of the labour. The labour union leaders extended total support to me from every part of Pakistan. Besides, all Chambers of Commerce supported me. People in the rural areas and the masses were in my favour. I was however getting some unofficial reports that at lower level, due to unnecessary enthusiasm and carelessness, inefficiency and ignorance, there might have been some improper case of voting in some areas. If this is true, I regret it from the core of my heart. I feel sad and sorry for it. I feel sad particularly because I think that perhaps even my well-wishers, who had always supported me, might have felt that such things should not have happened.

Now I would like to refer to some of the external dangers. As you know the enemy's forces are deployed on our borders. The enemy has brought forward its Army, Navy and Air Force. They are being faced by the Pakistan Army, Navy and the Air Force and they are serving as a bulwark. The entire nation is with the armed

forces and will shed the last drop of their blood but would not allow any harm to come to the motherland.

Tension is at its height. The danger of war is not yet over. How this situation was created. I would like to make an assessment of the situation. As you know there was an attack on the Indian Parliament on 13th of December. This was a terrorist attack which we had fully condemned and said that it was a terrorist attack. But the Indian leadership acted in a hasty manner and adopted extremely irresponsible behaviour. This was a demonstration of their traditional enmity towards Pakistan. By showing enmity towards Pakistan, they put the blame on us and consequently brought their forces on the border. Though the tension was building up, some improvement in the situation was being witnessed when there was an attack on a garrison in Jammu on May 14th in which many civilians were killed. We felt sad about it, as we believe that targeting any civilian in such a manner is a terrorist attack.

We condemned this, and we think that whosoever is involved in such terrorist attacks wants to de-stabilise Pakistan. I understand this and the whole world knows that there were many acts of terrorism in Pakistan also. There was an attack on our Church in which many foreign nationals were killed. Later on French nationals were killed in a suicide bomber attack in Karachi.

But we did not blame India for these attacks. We did not increase tension. I think such acts of terrorism are being committed by the people of such organisations or such groups who want to destabilise us. We condemn them. But this should not become a justification for increasing tension. Now recently there was martyrdom of Abdul Ghani Lone. It is a very sad incident. May *Allah Ta'la* rest his soul in peace. He was an important member of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference. We are extremely grieved over his martyrdom. Now the blame for this was at once put by India on Pakistan and on ISI. I would like to ask the Indian authorities that at a place where a public meeting was being held and thousands of people were present and thousands of troops deployed all around, how come those who martyred Abdul Ghani Lone had disappeared. Did they vanish in thin air? We still have no clue about them whereas in all other previous attacks all those allegedly involved were either killed or apprehended.

They were always dubbed as ISI agents. But now where have the killers of Abdul Ghani Lone disappeared. We want to know about this. I would like to say that all these allegations with aggressive overtones show highly irresponsible behaviour on the part of Indian leadership. This increases the heat of war and creates war hysteria.

This is unacceptable to us. Now look at our attitude. Despite such provocations, we have exercised restraint and adopted a wise and sane policy. But this should never be construed as weakness. In the meantime, we have continued to build up our defences and will continue to do so. Pakistan is a responsible state. I had said in my January 12 address that Pakistani soil would not be allowed to be used for terrorism against anybody. I repeat we will not allow this. I also want to tell the world and give the assurance that no infiltration is taking place across the Line of Control. But I want to make one thing quite clear. A liberation movement is going on in Occupied Kashmir and Pakistan cannot be held responsible for any action against the Indian tyranny and repression.

We do not want war. But if war is thrust upon us, we would respond with full might, and give a befitting reply.

I would now like to convey a message to the world community, Pakistan does not want war. Pakistan will not be the one to initiate war. We want peace in the

region. Let me also assure the world community that Pakistan is doing nothing across the Line of Control and Pakistan will never allow the export of terrorism anywhere in the world from within Pakistan.

Let me also say that Pakistan has taken very bold steps and initiatives since my speech on 12th January but unfortunately we have not seen any positive response from the Indian side. I urge the world community to ask India to move towards normalisation of relations, which really implies de-escalation, and reduction of tension on the borders, which is of mutual benefit to both countries, initiation of process of dialogue, cessation of atrocities being perpetuated on the people of Kashmir, allowing international media and Human Rights organisations to enter Kashmir and see the realities on ground.

I also urge the world that they must take note of the atrocities being committed by the Hindu extremists and terrorists in Kashmir, in Gujarat and else where in India and against Muslims, Christians Sikhs and also their own scheduled caste.

Now I want to give a message to my Kashmiri brothers and sisters. Kashmir resides in the heart of every Pakistani. Pakistan will always fulfil its duty of providing moral, political and diplomatic support to the cause of Kashmir. Pakistan will always support the Kashmiri struggle for liberation.

In the end, I want to give a message, a special message to my countrymen. We are not a nation to be intimidated by the enemy's threat. We will face the situation with courage and restraint. Islam is a religion of peace. Islam teaches us the lesson of peace, justice and prosperity. But if war is thrust, then the Muslim is not afraid of it and does not step back. He enters the battlefield by raising the slogan of *Allah-o-Akbar* and he becomes *Ghazi* or embraces martyrdom. A situation somewhat like this is prevailing today. Atrocities are being perpetrated on Kashmiris. The enemy is trying to intimidate us by hurling threats of war. Our national security, honour and dignity are being challenged. The armed forces of Pakistan are in a state of ever preparedness.

The entire nation stands united and is imbued with the spirit of defending the homeland and ready to render all sacrifices.

My brothers and sisters, you have always reposed confidence in me. With the help of *Allah Ta'la* and your support, I shall come up to your expectations in this hour of trial and tribulation.

Pakistan Armed Forces *Zindabad*. Pakistani nation *Zindabad* and Pakistan *Paindabad*.■

<http://www.outlookindia.com/>

DOCUMENT No. 14

CNN Interview with President, General Pervez Musharraf June 1, 2002

The following is a transcript of Musharraf's exclusive interview with CNN's Tom Mintier.

Mintier. General Musharraf, the world is holding its breath right now. Should they be?

Musharraf. Yes, the situation is dangerous. But one needs to de-escalate and reduce this tension.

Mintier. You've been calling for de-escalation and reduction of tensions, but nothing seems to happen. In a couple of days, you'll be in Kazakhstan, where Russian President [Vladimir] Putin has attempted to put together a face-to-face meeting with you and [Indian] Prime Minister [Atal Behari] Vajpayee. Will the two of you meet?

Musharraf. It depends more on Prime Minister Vajpayee. I have no problem in meeting him, and I've been saying that all along. So this question needs to be put to him.

Mintier. You said it's a dangerous situation. But should the world be worried about a nuclear conflict between your two countries?

Musharraf. I would say no. I don't think either side is that irresponsible to go to that limit. I would even go to the extent of saying one shouldn't even be discussing these things, because any sane individual cannot even think of going into this unconventional mode, whatever the pressures.

Mintier. India has a no-first-use policy. Pakistan does not. Why not?

Musharraf. We have called for much bigger than that, a bigger policy than that. We've called for a no-war pact, that there shouldn't be any war. We have called for de-nuclearization of South Asia. So, we've called for reduction of forces. So what we are saying is much higher and much bigger than what India is proposing.

Mintier. There have been accusations that you have moved your nuclear assets into front-line positions. There have been accusations that India has re-outfitted their ballistic missiles with conventional warheads and that there could be confusion if there is a launch. What precautions have you taken, and have you changed the status of your nuclear weapons?

Musharraf. No, not at all. Now, let's — as I said, I would not even like to discuss the nuclear issue, because it's very irresponsible of any leader to act — to even discuss, rather than acting. Now, it's absolutely baseless, absolute baseless accusation that Pakistan ever moved any nuclear assets at any time, or deployed its missiles at any time. This is absolutely baseless. And that holds good even now.

Now, if at all, Indians have moved missiles. This is extremely dangerous, and this is a very serious escalation, extremely serious escalation which the world needs to take note of, because this is — you can't differentiate between what is conventional and what is unconventional, coming from a missile. I mean, we don't know — one doesn't know what it is carrying. So let's hope that good sense prevails and this does not lead to escalation. It has not, because of the restraint that we are — we are restraining ourselves.

So let India not test our patience and restraint. It will be very dangerous.

Mintier. The issue that seems to be in contention is infiltration across the Line of Control in Kashmir, that following your speech on January 12, you said that there is no cross-border export of terrorism from Pakistan. Can you still say that today?

Musharraf. Yes, indeed. I can say that with full conviction today.

Mintier. Have you changed your orders at all to those along the Line of Control to be more vigilant, to be more careful, to prevent from what you're saying being countermanded on the ground?

Musharraf. Well, the orders were there immediately after my January 12 speech, all instructions, all orders were given in - for compliance of whatever I said on the 12th of January. Now the situation has worsened, certainly, because of certain actions since then. And one has assured — I have assured that there is nothing happening on the Line of Control. And we need to be more vigilant, yes.

Mintier. British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw came through here and said you need to do more. George W. Bush came out and this week and said you need to show you're doing more. In your mind, what more can you do?

Musharraf. Yes, I know that they've said this. I know that the international concern is on cross-border terrorism, and the international concern is to defuse the situation arising out of this confrontation between India and Pakistan.

Now I certainly have given a commitment. I've given a commitment that nothing is happening across the Line of Control. And I've also said that we will not allow Pakistan territory to be used for any purposes of terrorism across its borders against any country.

Now we stand by it, I stand by this. But my disappointment that I would like to also express is, what more has to be done? I think the amount or the decision that I've taken, and the amount that we have done, starting from the time that operation has been going on in Afghanistan against *al-Qaeda*, the amount of actions that we've taken against *al-Qaeda* in Pakistan, within Pakistan, on the borders, on the western borders, is things that could not have been done by anyone.

Even internally, when we moved against a number of extremist organizations, I don't think any government, any leader in Pakistan, could have even imagined to handle such a situation. So I personally feel that I've taken actions which couldn't have been imagined before.

Mintier. There is a perception in some corners that those 2,000 or so people that you arrested leading up to and following your speech on January 12, that you let them all go.

Musharraf. But this is absolutely baseless, absolutely baseless. Let me give a short explanation of this. Pakistan and I, my government, want to root out militancy from our internal environment. We will do anything toward rooting out this militancy, and we are doing that.

Now, that is why we banned parties which couldn't even be touched. The previous governments used to be hobnobbing with these very leaders, with these very parties. I have banned them. I have sealed their offices. I have frozen their accounts. And there are hundreds of their members behind bars now.

Now, I having said that, coming to your question, we did — whenever there's a crackdown, we take in a lot of people. And then we start interrogating and investigating. Whoever is declared white is let go. And this is happening exactly with the *al-Qaeda*, even. The number of people that get arrested are far more than those who are retained, because anyone declared white is left.

After all, you haven't given life imprisonment to anyone that you've taken. You move against them, you have a crackdown, and then you analyse, who are the people who you grade black, and who are those who are in the grey area, who need further investigation, and the whites are — those who are declared white are left.

Now, to say that all of them are — there are hundreds of their members still behind bars. And so this is absolutely baseless.

Mintier. Speaking of who they are, there have been accusations that maybe a third hand might be at work here, that *al-Qaeda*, *Taliban*, may have regrouped in Kashmir and may try to start a conflict between Pakistan and India. Is that a concern?

Musharraf. To an extent, yes, to an extent, yes, it is. But one has to understand the dynamics of all that is happening. There is militancy in the west, there is militancy in the east, now, and it has fallout here on — inside Pakistan, internally.

So therefore, certainly *al-Qaeda* has its effect, and the freedom struggle in Kashmir has its own fallout, has its own effect. So therefore certainly with over a decade of this militancy going on — in fact, two decades, if you include when we started at the — during the cold war period of fighting in Afghanistan — two decades of military action has its fallout.

And there are independent minded people who are operating maybe independently. So therefore, one cannot blame or cast aspersions on Pakistan, on my government, on whatever happens around. This is absolutely...

Mintier. But they do.

Musharraf. Yes, that is unfortunate.

Mintier. They still are.

Musharraf. That is unfortunate, and that must be understood by everyone, especially the leadership in the United States, that we will move according to the promises made. But if that means that nothing will be happening around, I mean, we are a victim of terrorism ourselves. What happened here, what is happening here, we are a victim ourselves. So who's doing that?

So one must understand, there is a fallout of whatever is happening, and we must be bold enough to face this fallout and understand that it is not government sponsored. It doesn't have the backing of Pakistan government. So that must be understood. So the differentiation has to be made between what I am doing and the government is doing, and what any individual person or group or organization may do on their own. So this differentiation has to be made. And there has to be some trust placed that we are against militancy. We will fight militancy in any form.

So this is the assurance that I am giving. Now let us understand the nuances of this. Let us understand the dynamics of this within our own region, and then see and observe what we are doing, what myself and my government is doing.

Mintier. How can you prove to the world that your government, your military, doesn't allow this to take place? There are UN observers along the Line of Control, but probably not enough to ensure that this doesn't take place. The terrain in that part of the country is extremely rugged, extremely difficult to control, extremely difficult to patrol.

Musharraf. I mean, first of all, my word has to be taken. Secondly, I know that the United States, Britain, all the leaders that I've spoken to, say that they have independent ways of checking and knowing what is happening on the Line of Control. So if they have that, and they are very confident, they will know. They have to be knowing what is happening on the Line of Control.

Mintier. Don't they provide you the intelligence?

Musharraf. Yes, they do. They do. We have a good interaction with the intelligence of the United States, so we, we've said that there's nothing happening. Let us see what they say now. And as far as physically giving a guarantee that this rugged terrain, in this rugged terrain nobody at all will move across, is expecting too much, because that has not been possible by the Indian Army, to seal the borders. We are for monitoring the Line of Control. Any assistance of this, any increase in the force of United Nations, we welcome that. Let's beef them up. Let's survey on the Line of Control more effectively.

Mintier. Let's talk about troop movements. There are reports that Pakistani units are moving away from the Afghan border and being redeployed along the Indian border, along the Line of Control. Why did you do this?

Musharraf. Well, we haven't moved the entire troops. We have moved elements. But let me first of all say that the western border, the sealing of the western border even now, wherever the passes have to be sealed, is complete, even now.

But we were moving — we had moved certain larger elements into the western border, out of them a part has been moved, and we are watching the situation on the east. Obviously, I said that the security of Pakistan is much dearer to us. We haven't moved the entire force. There's no change on the western border. In effect —

the effects are not — there is no change. But if the situation worsens in the east, yes, we have plans to move more from the western border.

Mintier. You talked about terrorism, you talked about security. What about your personal security? It's no secret in this town that there are several motorcades that go around that the President is not riding in. Have there been threats by terrorist groups against your life?

Musharraf. Well, this is — yes, there have been. There have been threats from all directions. When we — what I said, the bold actions that we've taken, which unfortunately are not being gauged when somebody says that we haven't moved enough, we have stepped on the toes of a lot of people, a lot of extremists also. So a lot of people may be having reasons to take action against me. So therefore, certain security arrangements are being taken.

Mintier. Are you afraid?

Musharraf. No, I'm a soldier, frankly, I believe in destiny, and I'm not afraid.

Mintier. Let's talk about dialogue. You have been calling for months for dialogue with Mr. Vajpayee. You had an opportunity in Agra [summit meeting in July 2001]. It didn't work out. What's it going to take to get it restarted?

Musharraf. Again, I would say this question has to be asked from Mr. Vajpayee. The issue is very clear. We — the world is firstly concerned on de-escalation, and we go along with that, we must de-escalate and reduce tension. The world is concerned about cross-border terrorism, and I've given a statement, nothing is happening across Line of Control.

Now, it should not end there. There has to be some movement forward. And the movement forward is certainly the issue of addressing — initiating the process of dialogue and squarely addressing the dispute of Kashmir, the Kashmir dispute. After all, there is a United Nations Security Council resolution which must be adhered. And I would request all world leaders, the United States leaders, the people of the United States, to understand that this — the stand that the Kashmiris have taken, the freedom struggle there, it is a genuine freedom struggle going on, and their demand for the — on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council is extremely genuine.

And they must be heard in that direction. We expect the world to help the Kashmiris to get their right of self-determination as promised to them by the United Nations Security Council resolution.

So why we are moving to address the immediate problems of escalation and this region being engulfed in war, we must think of the long-term strategy of how to resolve this dispute permanently. This is...

Mintier. You call them freedom fighters, but some people call them terrorists. I mean, there's been a lot made of that differentiation. You say that you don't supply financial aid, organization, military assistance, that it's simply moral and diplomatic support.

Musharraf. Yes.

Mintier: What is that moral and diplomatic support?

Musharraf. Well, we - right since partition, right since the time that this United Nations Security Council resolution was passed, we have been giving, assuring Kashmiris of all our support, because we must understand there are Kashmiris here. There are Kashmiris all over Pakistan. And there are Kashmiris all around the world. They all give their moral support, diplomatic, political support to whatever is happening in Kashmir. Now, when this Kashmir struggle started in 1989, it was — it's totally indigenous. It started because the people of Kashmir, of the Indian-

occupied Kashmir, rose against Indian — Indians. And they came out in the streets. It was a political struggle.

But when there was a clampdown on them, and when the army moved in, and with — started its atrocities, this political movement converted — got converted into a military struggle. And this is how it got initiated. And that is how it is going on.

Mintier. The Indian government's talking about elections in Kashmir again.

Musharraf. Yes, they are. I wonder whether the people of Kashmir want the elections.

Mintier. Do you think they'll happen?

Musharraf. I can't say, I can't say. But one thing I'm very sure of, the people of Kashmir don't want the election. And I know that the blame is, again, said from Pakistan, that it is we who forced them not to go on election.

No country from outside can force a people, where there are 700,000 Indian occupation troops, not to go for polls. It is their own desire that they don't want to go for polls. How can we sitting here force them not to do that? It is actually the Indian forces who undertake such atrocities, force them to go for the vote. That is what happened last time. They were forced to go and vote. And yet the turnout was extremely dismal.

Now again they are saying, there's — I know that there's a lot of thinking that Pakistan forces them not to go to. We don't have to do anything, because I know that the Kashmiris don't want to go to polls themselves. So let the — if at all the elections are held, let the world see itself what happens there.

Mintier: This past week, you had British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw here, saying that the issue of Kashmir is a bilateral dispute, must be settled between India and Pakistan. You have the US Secretary of Defense coming, Donald Rumsfeld. Do these attempts at mediation, at clarification, help?

Musharraf. Now, I really don't believe in mincing words, saying something, meaning something else. Certainly there's a mediation going on. I mean, yes, this issue of bilateralism was introduced in the Simla Accord [of 1972], that we need to resolve all disputes bilaterally.

Yes, but then, what, 30 years have passed since then, and nothing has moved forward bilaterally, unfortunately. Therefore, I feel that this term is being misused, bilateralism. And may I also say that even India allows mediation, what is happening now is mediation or facilitation or whatever you want to call it. When Jack Straw comes here and then goes across the border to India, when Donald Rumsfeld is coming and going to India also, so, after all, what are we talking? I think there is a degree of mediation going on, a third-party mediation going on. I think this is required. This is very much required, because bilateralism has not solved the problem.

Mintier. Do you ever think about picking up the phone and just call Mr. Vajpayee and say, Let's go back to Agra?

Musharraf. Frankly, I didn't think of it. I didn't think of it because, I don't know, I have initiated such steps so many times, and I thought maybe a response needs to come from the other side now.

Mintier. Where does it move forward? How does it move forward? What would you like to see happen in the next five to seven days that can change this from the current situation, which is not good, to something which is better?

Musharraf. I think the realities on ground must be seen. And steps, certain definite steps for de-escalation taking — taken by both sides. And within five or seven days,

yes, if we make our minds that we cannot go to war, war is an expensive hobby for both sides.

Let us also understand that this is not a run-through, this is not a situation where the Indian forces are going to have a sort of a run-through victory over Pakistan. This is not the case. We are going to defend every inch of Pakistan, there's no doubt in my mind, and there should be no illusions of any — or miscalculations from the other side that if there is a sort of an air attack or a cross-border hot pursuit operation, that Pakistan is going to sit and watch.

This is not going to take place. And we have a very strong force. Therefore, both sides, leadership on both sides must realize that this is a very dangerous situation. There should be no miscalculation on either side. And I would hope that I don't miscalculate, and I've said that I'm not going to initiate war. But if at all we are - war is thrust on us, we are going to fight.

So in these five or seven days, we must make up our mind that war is not the answer. Let us see the realities on ground. And let us go and start addressing the core issues and start the process of dialogue.

Mintier. The Chairman of the Afghan Administration, Chairman Karzai, was here, and made the comment in a press conference, to both you and Mr. Vajpayee, "If you want to see what war is, come to Kabul, then decide if you want to do it." Did that strike a chord with you?

Musharraf. Yes, it did, and my reply to it was that I appreciated that remark, and I said I do understand that, and one should not go to war. I do understand that, absolutely.

Mintier. You've made it quite clear that you don't want war. War wouldn't be good for your country. War wouldn't be good for your military.

Musharraf. Yes, and it would be equally bad for India. That is also what I am trying to make clear. And they should understand that. It will be not good for Pakistan, it will be not good for India also.

Mintier. And the rest of the world?

Musharraf. That is the only way that war will not take place, if both understand it won't be good for both sides. If it is taken by India that it will not be good for Pakistan alone, then maybe there will be war, because they'll be encouraged by that. So I would feel that the world must understand, and India should also understand, that it will not be good for either side.

Mintier. Mr. President, thank you very much.

Musharraf. Thank you very much. ■

<http://www.forisb.org/>

DOCUMENT No. 15

President, General Pervez Musharraf's Address at CICA Summit, Almaty, Kazakhstan June 4, 2002

President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Chairman of the Summit, distinguished heads of state and government, excellencies,

I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the fruition of your vision, embodied in the initiative for the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA). We admire your sustained guidance that help to identify the principles for cooperation among our countries for peace and a better future. The

culmination of your initiative at this Summit Meeting in this beautiful city of Almaty located at the very center of Asia is, indeed, auspicious for the Asian continent.

Mr. Chairman, you had initiated this noble venture nearly ten years ago at a time of great hope and promise arising from a momentous upsurge for freedom witnessed around the globe. The end of the Cold War and the elimination of the danger of global annihilation, heightened prospects for global peace. Ten years later, that optimism has been tempered by unfortunate events and trends. New threats and new prejudices darken the horizon. In these circumstances, interaction, dialogue and confidence building have assumed greater urgency for the revival of a fading promise. We must ask ourselves whether the present situation has been brought about because of a sudden eruption of violence and terrorism by misguided individuals and desperate groups that threaten to destabilize the international community. Or is there a deeper malaise and terrorism is a symptom of this malaise. September 11 brought home to the world the horror of terrorism and galvanized international resolve to fight and eliminate this modern day scourge. Targeting of innocent people cannot be justified under any circumstances. We do and we must reject terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. However, as we wage war on terrorism, there also is the need for introspection. Violence in the world is not because of terrorism alone. The international community had identified the root causes of violence more than five decades ago and had enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, the principles and the framework for global peace. Disregard of these principles constitutes the main source of violence and suffering in the world and lies many a time at the door of member states themselves. We cannot allow individual or group terrorism on any pretext.

Similarly, we cannot condone for any reason the rapacious policies of certain states that forcibly occupy territories and deny freedom to peoples for decades on end, with total disdain for Charter, principles and decisions of the United Nations. Global peace has remained hostage to the expansionist ambitions of such states and their ruthless campaigns to suppress, through brutal use of force, the legitimate struggles of peoples to gain their internationally recognized fundamental right to freedom and self-determination. Terrorism by states apart from inflicting massive suffering on occupied people, spawns spiral of violence and terrorism. Denial of freedom and the resulting desperation and humiliation are the breeding grounds for extremism. To eradicate terrorism we must address the root causes by eliminating injustice and honouring the commitments consecrated in the Charter principles. Mr. Chairman, we note with satisfaction that the Almaty Act to be adopted by the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia has reaffirmed the core principles of the UN Charter, namely:

- Respect for sovereign equality and territorial integrity of states,
- Respect for the right of self determination of peoples under occupation and colonial domination,
- Peaceful settlement of disputes through dialogue and international intercession and mediation, and
- Mutually beneficial cooperation.

Our faith in the validity of these principles has been reinforced by the unfortunate history of South Asia. The people of South Asia continue to pay a heavy price for the refusal by India to resolve the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions and the wishes of the Kashmiri people. I travelled to Agra nearly a year ago in the hope of setting into motion a dialogue process to address Kashmir and all other outstanding issues with India. Regrettably, the Summit

remained inconclusive. For the past several months, tension along our borders with India and the Line of Control is high, stirring deep fears in South Asia and around the world over the real possibility of a conflict. We do not want war. We will not initiate a war. But if war is imposed on us, we will defend ourselves with the utmost resolution and determination. We have stated repeatedly that instead of accusations, threats and dangerous escalation, India should return to the path of dialogue and negotiations, which is the only sane option, especially in the dangerous environment of South Asia.

Mr. Chairman, the continent of Asia is a cradle of diverse civilizations, cultures, religions and traditions. Confidence-building, understanding and peace in Asia can transform the world. Imagine the change in global environment, if all the participants of this Conference were to resolve their differences and conflicts on the basis of equity, justice, international law and the principles of the UN Charter. Imagine the creative energy that would be released and the development and progress that would result in the new scenario for the deprived people of Asia and the blessings it can bring to the entire world. This objective should define the CICA undertaking and our common efforts to promote it. We, therefore, welcome the principles and the mechanism elaborated in the Almaty Act. We believe that this mechanism supplements and reinforces the commitment of the Member States to the purposes and principles for the United Nations Charter. In this age of information when we can instantaneously share the pain and joy of our fellow beings anywhere in the world, it is vital to promote understanding among peoples and cultures through a sustained effort. We, therefore, fully endorse the positive elements of the 'Declaration on Eliminating Terrorism and Promoting Dialogue among Civilizations' which are inspired by the idea of greater interaction and cooperation among civilizations. We reject the flawed and dangerous postulate of an inexorable clash of civilizations, which can only resurrect medieval prejudices and fears and lead the world on a dark and dangerous path of confrontation and conflict. I conclude, by expressing sincere gratitude and appreciation for the warm hospitality and courtesies extended to me and my delegation since our arrival in this beautiful city of Almaty.

I thank you Mr. Chairman. ■

<http://www.pak.gov.pk/>

DOCUMENT No. 16

Almaty Act

June 4, 2002

Preamble

We, the Heads of State or Government of the Member States of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA),

Having met in Almaty at a time of profound changes which are taking place in Asia and the world to set up our vision of security in Asia and enhance our capabilities for co-operation on issues of common concern for our peoples;

Recognising the close link between peace, security and stability in Asia and in the rest of the Committee ourselves to working to ensure peace and security in Asia and making it a region open to dialogue and co-operation;

Believing that the CICA process presents new opportunities for co-operation, peace and security in Asia;

Declaring our determination to form in Asia a common and indivisible area of security, where all states peacefully co-exist, and their peoples live in conditions of peace, freedom and prosperity, and confident that peace, security and development complement, sustain and reinforce each other;

Reaffirming our commitment to the UN Charter, as well as to the Declaration on the Principles Guiding Relations among CICA Member States, which is an integral part of the Almaty Act, as the basis for our future co-operation;

Considering that all aspects of comprehensive security in Asia, including its political and military aspects, confidence-building measures, economic and environmental issues, humanitarian and cultural co-operation, are interdependent and interrelated and should be pursued actively.

Confident that full, equal and comprehensive implementation and observance of the principles, provisions and commitments enshrined in the Almaty Act will create the conditions for advanced cooperation among the CICA Member States and will guide us towards a better future which our peoples deserve; Have adopted the following:

I. Security and Co-operation

The main objective and thrust of the CICA will be to enhance co-operation through elaborating multilateral approaches towards promoting peace, security and stability in Asia.

In order to achieve this objective, the Member States will take the necessary steps to develop the CICA as a forum for dialogue, consultations and adoption of decisions and measures on the basis of consensus on security issues in Asia.

We call upon and continue to encourage all Member States who are parties to a dispute to settle this peacefully in conformity with the principles envisaged in the UN Charter.

Recognizing the contribution which increased trade and economic co-operation can make for the prosperity and stability in Asia and to the well-being of their peoples, we will make further efforts to promote initiatives in these fields, as mentioned in the Declaration on the Principles Guiding Relations among the CICA Member States. We also recognize the need for better co-operation on all issues which constitute risks to the environment.

The Member States reiterate their belief that protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the UN Charter and the international conventions and instruments to which they are parties contributes to the consolidation of peace, security and stability in Asia. They also declare their readiness to further their cooperation in this field in a spirit of friendliness.

We consider that humanitarian issues, such as natural disasters and refugee flows, are areas of common concern since they also affect stability and security in the region. The Member States are resolved to developing measures, where necessary, to address these issues through co-operation in the region as well as with the UN and other relevant international organizations.

We believe that enhancing mutual respect, mutual understanding and tolerance in the relations among civilisations is an important goal for our times. Noting with satisfaction the designation of the first year of the millennium as the year of Dialogue among Civilisations, we shall encourage and strengthen this process.

We consider globalization as a challenge of our time. While it could offer certain opportunities for growth and development, at present the benefits of

globalization are unevenly shared among the nations and much remains to be done to ensure that its benefits be comprehensively and equitably distributed at the global level.

Joint actions and coordinated responses are necessary to deal with challenges and threats that our states and peoples are faced with.

II. Challenges to Security

The Member States seek to promote regional and international security and stability, which will also contribute to peaceful settlement of existing and prevention of the emergence of new crisis situations and disputes.

The continuing existence and proliferation in all its aspects of nuclear weapons, as well as chemical and biological weapons, pose a great threat to all humanity. The Member States pledge to support the efforts for the global elimination of all Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and therefore they commit themselves to an increased co-operation for the prevention of proliferation of all such weapons, including nuclear weapons, which constitute a particular danger to international peace and security.

With the end of the Cold War, the opportunity now exists for the international community to pursue nuclear disarmament as a matter of the highest priority. We shall encourage all nations to keep all options open for achieving this aim, including the possibilities of convening an international conference to identify ways of eliminating nuclear dangers and negotiating a comprehensive and verifiable nuclear weapons convention. We affirm the importance of the early realization of the universal adherence to the multilaterally negotiated instruments on the elimination of WMD, and urge those states not yet party to these instruments to accede to them as soon as possible.

We support the establishment of zones free from nuclear weapons and other WMD in Asia on the basis of arrangements freely arrived among the states of the region concerned. The establishment of such zones in regions for which consensus resolutions of the UN General Assembly exist, such as the Middle East and Central Asia, should be encouraged; in this context, we invite adherence to internationally negotiated disarmament and non-proliferation instruments in accordance with all the provisions of the relevant consensus resolutions of the UN and the positions of states concerned on the implementation of these resolutions.

The Member States reaffirm their belief in the need of ensuring security at the lowest level of armament and military forces. We recognize the necessity to curb excessive and destabilizing accumulation of conventional armaments. We emphasize the importance of the maintenance of the international strategic stability to world peace and security and to the continued progress of arms control and disarmament. We emphasize the importance of multilateral negotiations on the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

We believe that direct or indirect threat or use of force in violation of the UN Charter and international law against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the states; denial of the rights to self determination of peoples which remain under foreign occupation (a right which has to be exercised in accordance with the UN Charter and international law); interference in the internal affairs of states and offensive strategic doctrines pose threats to regional and international peace.

The Member States unconditionally and unequivocally condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations as well as any support or acquiescence to it and the failure to directly condemn it. The threat posed by terrorism has been

increasingly growing over the last decade. Terrorism in all its forms is a trans-national threat, which endangers the lives of individuals and peoples and undermines the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and security of states. The menace of terrorism has been magnified by its close links with drug trafficking, illicit trafficking of small arms and light weapons (SLAWs) and their transfers in any form to terrorist groups, racist ideologies, separatism, all forms of extremism which present basic sources of financing and providing manpower for terrorist activities. We regard as criminal all acts, methods and practices of terrorism and declare our determination to cooperate on bilateral as well as multilateral basis to combat terrorism including its possible sources of financing and providing manpower for terrorist activities. We regard as criminal all acts and methods and practices of terrorism and declare our determination to cooperate on bilateral as well as multi lateral basis to combat terrorism including its possible sources. In not to allow terrorism in any form to be prepared, assisted, launched and financed from the territory of any state and we shall refuse to provide terrorists with safe haven and protection.

We recognise that implementation of the UN Conventions will contribute to tackling the problems of terrorism and support the elaboration of a Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism.

Separatism is one of the main threats and challenges to the security and stability, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of states. The Member States shall not support on the, territory of another Member State any separatist movements and entities, and, if such emerge, not to establish political, economic and other kinds of relations with them, not to allow the territories and communications of the Member States to be used by the above-mentioned movements and entities, and not to render them any kind of economic, financial and other assistance. We reaffirm the right of people living under foreign occupation for self-determination in accordance with the UN and international law.

We reject the use of religion as a pretext by terrorists and separatist movements and groups to achieve their objectives. We also reject all forms of extremism and will work to promote tolerance among our nations and peoples.

Illicit drug trafficking represents a major threat to internal and international stability and security of our states and our continent as a whole as well as to the well being of our peoples. This problem is closely linked with the socio-economic and political situation in several relations, terrorist activities across the world, and international criminal groups engaged in trans-national crime, money laundering and illicit SALW trafficking. We recognise that there are several states in Asia which require priority attention and assistance by the international community in order to combat drug trafficking. We also recognise the need for effective strategies to reduce production, supply and demand for drugs. In this respect, we will co-operate to monitor suspicious financial flows, including issues related to incomes and transparency of bank operations in accordance with the existing international legal instruments, and to identify the sources of production, consumption and trafficking of drugs. In order to assist the practical implementation of these tasks, multinational training courses and exercises as well as exchange of information among the competent authorities of the Member States will be promoted. We also call upon major consuming countries to play a more active role in providing equipment, training and educational courses, rehabilitation, technical and financial assistance to Asian drug producing and transit countries. Adoption and implementation of crop substitution plans and alternative development strategies in

drug producing regions in Asia should also be encouraged to tackle the menace of illicit drugs more effectively.

We also recognise corruption as a trans-national crime which calls for concerted multilateral action. In this regard, we emphasize the need for banning the transfer of illicit funds and wealth and also the need for enhanced international co-operation in tracing and repatriating such assets.

The Member States recognize that illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons poses a threat to peace and security and is directly linked with terrorist activity, separatist movements, drug trafficking and armed conflicts. In this context, we underline the importance of the Fire Arms Protocol reached in the framework of the UN Convention against Trans-national Organized Crime and the Programme of Action adopted by the UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its aspects which was held in New York in July 2001.

We are determined to co-operate with each other on bilateral and multilateral basis to prevent such threats to peace and security in Asia.

III. *Confidence Building Measures*

In the context of achieving CICA objectives, we will take the necessary steps for the elaboration and implementation of measures aimed at enhancing co-operation and creating an atmosphere of peace, confidence and friendship. Such measures should be in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter, CICA, and international law. In doing so, we will take into account specific features and characteristics in various regions in Asia and proceed on a gradual and voluntary basis.

We encourage all states in the region having disputes to make efforts to solve their disputes peacefully through negotiations in accordance with the principles enshrined in the UN Charter and international law. We recognise that the resolution of territorial and other disputes and implementation of arms control agreements may, depending upon specific situations, facilitate implementation of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs); on the other hand, we also recognise that implementation of CBMs may, depending upon specific situations, facilitate, or create a conducive climate for, the resolution of disputes and arms control agreements.

We recognize that disarmament and arms control, universality of all internationally negotiated instruments on the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, promoting non proliferation, have a significant role in enhancing confidence building among regional states. We affirm that being a State Party to the relevant internationally negotiated instruments should not be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all parties to those treaties to develop research, production and use of nuclear technology, chemical and biological materials and equipment for peaceful purposes in accordance with the provisions of these instruments. We reiterate the importance of negative security assurances to the non-nuclear-weapon states and express our readiness to consider further steps on this subject which could take the form of an internationally binding instrument.

The Member States will prepare with mutual agreement a "CICA Catalogue of Confidence Building Measures" and proceed on a gradual basis for its implementation. The Catalogue, which will be regularly reviewed and further developed, may include, among others, measures in the military political economic and environmental and humanitarian and cultural spheres.

IV. Structure and Institutions of CICA

In order to facilitate its efficient functioning we have decided to provide for CICA the necessary structure and institutions, consisting mainly of the following:

1. **Regular Meetings**

The meetings of the Heads of State or Government will be convened every four years in order to conduct consultations, review the progress of, and set priorities for CICA activities. Special meetings may be convened as necessary by consensus, summit meetings will be preceded by meetings of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs will meet every two years. Their meetings will be the central forum for consultations and examination of all issues related to CICA activities. Special meetings may be convened as necessary by consensus.

The Committee of Senior Officials will meet at least once a year to follow-up on previous CICA decisions, carry out consultations on the current CICA issues, oversee the work of Special Working Groups and co-ordinate the work of other meetings. The Committee will also make the necessary preparations for the organization of the summit and ministerial meetings, including elaboration of draft documents.

Special Working Groups will be established to study specific issues relevant to CICA's areas of interest and to carry out the tasks mandated to them. They will submit the results of their work to the Committee of Senior Officials.

2. **Specialized Meetings**

The Member States may agree to convene meetings of other ministers or of the competent national agencies and institutions in order to discuss issues of a specific and/or technical nature.

3. **Academic and Professional Inputs**

Opportunities will be provided as necessary for academic and professional inputs and reports, as well as assistance and contributions to publications with CICA may decide to produce.

4. **Secretariat**

In order to provide follow up and administrative for regular meetings and political consultations and other activities in the Almaty Act, we support the establishment of a secretariat of the CICA. We task our Ministers of Foreign Affairs to finalise the elaboration of all aspects related to the establishment of the secretariat.

Done in Almaty, June 4, 2002

<http://www.meadev.nic.in/foreign/almaty-act.htm>

DOCUMENT No. 17

CICA Declaration on Eliminating Terrorism and Promoting Dialogue Among Civilizations, Almaty, Kazakhstan June 5, 2002

We, Heads of State or Government of the Member States of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), gathered in Almaty for the First CICA Summit, do hereby declare the following:

We are deeply concerned by the increase in all acts of terrorism worldwide, including in CICA Member States. We are fully committed to fighting terrorism and strengthening bilateral, regional and international cooperation, in accordance with the UN Charter, required to meet this challenge. We emphasize the central role of the United Nations, its General Assembly and Security Council, in developing the framework for this.

We express our deepest sorrow over the loss of innocent lives in all acts, methods or practices of terrorism and convey our sympathies and condolences to the families of the victims.

We condemn all forms and manifestations of terrorism, committed no matter when, where or by whom, as barbaric offences and criminal acts indiscriminately directed at the life and well-being of innocent individuals and peoples as well as threatening the peaceful coexistence among nations. No considerations whatsoever can be invoked to justify terrorism. We are convinced that terrorism constitutes a direct violation of human rights and, in particular, the right to life, freedom, security and development.

We emphasize that eliminating terrorism is the common goal of all cultures and civilizations. We believe that all religions of the world reject violence and terrorism and advocate the protection of human rights.

We underline that terrorism cannot be attributed to religion, nationality, or civilization. We believe that it is essential not to allow terrorists to lure us into a conflict of religions, cultures or civilizations. We also pledge to be particularly vigilant, in order to ensure that the global fight against terrorism does not become a war targeting particular cultures, regions or nations. We all stand united in this fight.

We reaffirm our strong commitment to all norms and principles of international law, the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, including the right to self-determination, and the CICA Almaty Act concerning the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of good-neighbourly and friendly relations and cooperation among countries.

We actively support efforts undertaken by the international community, in accordance with the UN Charter, to combat terrorism. The fight against terrorism should be global, comprehensive and sustained, and not selective or discriminatory and should avoid applying double standards. We are also against using the fight against terrorism as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. We reject the use of force not in compliance with the UN Charter against sovereign States.

We reaffirm the key significance of, and pledge to fully support implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No. 1373 and other relevant UN resolutions on combating terrorism which provide the basic framework for national, regional and international obligations and efforts to combat this universal evil.

We underscore the need to respect human rights and rule of law in combating terrorism.

We encourage States, parties to the various UN anti-terrorism Conventions to consult and cooperate, in accordance with the provisions of these Conventions, to ensure their effective implementation. We will contribute to the early elaboration and adoption by the UN of the other appropriate instruments, such as the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism and the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism.

We are open for cooperation in combating terrorism with all other states, regional and international organizations and forums. Taking into account the transnational character of terrorism, as well as its close links with other challenges and

threats to security such as organized crime, narcotics and human trafficking as well as illicit arms trafficking, we will seek to foster cooperation between our relevant authorities and to maintain regular exchange of information in order to enhance international capacity to stop financing of terrorism and eliminate it.

We consider as one of the primary tasks of the international community to strengthen efforts to eliminate poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, extremism, intolerance, entrenched hatred and all forms of discrimination. We believe that it is necessary to ensure sustainable development of all regions of the world and to pay more attention to the socio-economic impact of globalization. It will also be of high importance for our cause to encourage the peaceful settlement of regional and international crises and conflicts.

We support international efforts for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Afghanistan in order to help revive this country as a stable and prosperous member of the international community.

The CICA Member States intend to strengthen cooperation and dialogue among them in order to promote common values, mutual understanding and confidence for the benefit of the joint fight against terrorism.

We consider CICA as a unique Asian forum which comprises states of different cultures and traditions making it one of the most important mechanisms to promote dialogue among civilizations and cultures. In this context we reconfirm our full support for the UN General Assembly Resolution No. A/RES/56/6 on Dialogue among Civilizations and are convinced that implementation of its Programme of Action positively contributes to international efforts to attain universal peace, welfare and stability. The CICA Member States intend to comprehensively and actively promote such a dialogue taking into account that Eurasia has not only been a cradle of some of the world's largest civilizations but has also served as a bridge between them. ■

<http://www.meadev.nic.in/>

DOCUMENT No. 18

Salient Features of Budget 2002-2003

June 16, 2002

The budget 2002-03 has the following salient features:

- a. The total outlay of budget 2002-2003 is Rs. 742 billion. This size is 1.3 per cent lesser than the budget estimates 2001-2002 and 4.1 per cent over the revised estimates 2001-2002.
- b. The resource availability during 2002-2003 has been estimated at Rs. 761 billion showing an increase of 2.7 per cent and 8.3 per cent over budget estimates 2001-2002 and revised estimates 2001-2002 respectively.
- c. Net revenue receipts for 2002-2003 have been estimated at Rs. 481 billion which indicates an increase of 5.2 per cent over the revised estimates 2001-2002 and increase of 6.1 per cent over budget estimates 2001-2002.
- d. The capital receipts (net) for 2002-2003 have been estimated at Rs. 35.9 billion against Rs. (-) 5.8 billion in the budget estimates 2001-

- 2002 and Rs. (-) 73.8 billion in the revised estimates 2001-2002 respectively.
- e. The receipts from external resources in 2002-2003 are estimated at Rs. 198 billion. This shows a decrease of 24.1 per cent over the budget estimates for 2001-2002.
 - f. The overall expenditure during 2002-2003 has been estimated at Rs. 742 billion of which the current expenditure is Rs. 608 billion and development expenditure Rs. 134.0 billion. Current expenditure shows a decline of 2.3 per cent and development expenditure an increase of 3.1 per cent over budget estimate 2001-2002. When compared with revised estimates, the current expenditure decreased by 6.3 per cent and the development expenditure increased by 7.5 per cent.
 - g. The share of current expenditure in total budgetary outlay for 2002-2003 is 82.0 per cent which is same in budget and 83.9 per cent in revised estimates for 2001-2002.
 - h. The expenditure on running of civil government inclusive of Superannuation Allowance and Pensions (Rs. 34.8 billion) is estimated at Rs. 92.7 billion indicating an increase of 15 per cent over budget estimates 2001-2002 and 9.4 per cent over revised estimates 2001-2002.
 - i. The provinces will get Rs. 193.5 billion during 2002-2003 which is 1.7 per cent and 10.5 per cent higher than budget estimates 2001-2002 and revised estimates 2001-2002 respectively.
 - j. The size of public sector development programme for 2002-2003 is Rs. 134.0 billion. This shows an increase of 3 per cent over the budget estimates for 2001-2002 and 7.5 per cent over the revised estimates 2001-2002. ■

<http://www.pak.gov.pk/public/budget2002-3.htm>