

POLICY STATEMENTS**(JULY - DEC 2001)****DOCUMENT # 1****Trade Policy**

**Following is the Text of the Trade Policy 2001-2002 Announced by
Minister of Commerce Abdul Razzaq Dawood
July 9, 2001**

Fellow Citizens

Ladies and Gentlemen

It is my privilege to present to you Government of Pakistan's Trade Policy for this year.

Last year when I presented to you my first Trade Policy we had been in office for less than nine months. We were determined and exuberant. We knew things were difficult but not how difficult. We knew there were no quick-fixes but not how long it takes to fix things up when the institutional support system is weak. We knew we faced a challenge but not the enormity of this challenge.

Allow me to recall the export goals that we had set ourselves last year. These were export target of \$ 10 billion. Sustainable and consistent growth in export earnings Diversification of our export base Greater value addition

How have we fared? I think it is only fair that we submit ourselves to your scrutiny; to your judgment.

With all the candour at my command, and in all humility, I wish to draw up for you the balance sheet of what we have achieved - and not achieved.

Our success have been:

In the last two years exports have gone up by \$ 1.4 billion - from 7.7 billion to \$ 9.14 billion this year. For the first time in our history we have crossed the \$ 9 billion export mark. I would like to congratulate all the stakeholders for this achievement.

There has been a remarkable growth in quantitative terms.

For instance during 2000.01

Volume of Rice export went up by 28% to reach record levels,

Raw Cotton went up by 90%,

Leather by 35%,

Towels by 32%,

Readymade Garments by 17%,

Synthetic Textiles by 35%,

Petroleum Products by 87%, and

Cutlery by 22%.

Although in dollar terms our export this year grew by only 6.7%, in rupee terms the gain was an impressive 21%. There was significant growth, in dollar terms, in such non-traditional products as Chemicals & Pharmaceuticals (59%), oil seeds, nuts and kernels (136%), and Gems and jewellery and fans by more than 100% each. The "miscellaneous" or "others" group's exports went up from \$ 550 million last year to \$676 million this year.

Export performance during the year also needs to be viewed in the context of the following developments:

The exporters faced a serious liquidity crunch, almost throughout the year, due to delayed and held back refunds of Sales Tax and Duty Drawbacks.

The Real Effective Exchange Rate was not as favourable as it looks. While the Rupee depreciated by about 22% vis-à-vis the dollar, the gain in respect of Euro was only 9%. It needs to be borne in mind that about 30% of our exports go to Europe.

Draught conditions caused a set back to our Livestock which affected our export of leather. Draught also affected horticulture exports. Similarly, lower catch of fish affected the export of our seafood.

When I view our failings clearly the most compelling one is our inability to create the 'export culture.' A major manifestation of this was the stir caused by the infamous SRO 417 and the stuck up refunds. Generally speaking we have not been able to make the overall environment as exporter friendly as we would like it to be.

The other failure has been our inability to ensure a greater degree of product and market diversification. Our exports continue to remain concentrated in very few products and markets. However, this is not something that can be corrected over the short term. We have initiated the necessary measures, as I shall elaborate later on, and there has been some improvement, but it will be 2-3 years before we see a meaningful shift.

Finally, we have not been able to do much to make the terms of trade more favourable. Per prices of most of our exports especially in the Textile sector have been falling. While this downward trend is a worldwide phenomenon it is more pronounced in the case of Pakistan which faces a situation of 'buyers market' in respect of most of its exportable goods. Unless we can check the decline in our unit prices it will be difficult to register significant growth without making costly additions to our production capacities in most sectors of our export interest. I must, however, share with you the encouraging trend of shift towards the higher ends of the value chain. For instance, in the Textile sector the ratio of made-ups has gone up from 35% in 1995/96 to 52% this year.

Fellow Citizens

We like to think we have learnt a lot from our successes as well as our failures and that we are building on the experience that we have gained. I would like to identify at least two areas, where we used this experience to correct things. One area is the direction of our exports and the other reduction of the anti-export bias. For geographical diversification serious efforts were made, with the full involvement of our Embassies. Some results, even if small, are beginning to come our way: our exports to China went up by 75% to UAE and S. Arabia by 25% each, to Bangladesh by 20%, to Indonesia by 161% and to Korea and Australia by 9% each. Other than UAE and Saudi Arabia these are all what we refer to as 'non-traditional' markets. Impressive gains in percentage terms though not in over all value terms have also been made in Kenya, Nigeria, Iraq and Syria. The point that I wish to make in this regard is that we have recognized the importance of spreading out into new markets, and, slowly but surely, we are beginning to achieve this objective, although, I repeat, we cannot expect immediate gains.

The second area is the anti-export bias. High incidence of import levies has two somewhat pernicious effects on exports: first, it becomes more profitable to do business within the country than abroad; second, high level of protection induces an across the board cost-spiralling effect that obviously undermines the competitiveness of our exports. We, therefore, undertook a massive tariff revision exercise. Every single one of the over 6000 tariff lines was examined and

intensively reviewed in a three-month exercise carried out by the Commerce Division. The Industries Division then held exhaustive discussions with trade and industry to address their legitimate concerns. Finally, we took it to the CBR and the Ministry of Finance in order to ensure that the Government's revenue imperatives were not unduly compromised. I am glad to be able to report that the final outcome has been generally well received. We now have a tariff structure that will lead to productivity gains that will clearly help our exports. Here I would be failing in my duty if I do not recognize the highly professional work done by the officers of the Commerce and Industries Divisions and the CBR in the completion of this enormous exercise.

I would like to announce here that this effort to reduce the anti-export bias shall continue this year. Our maximum tariff will be lowered to 25% next year. I think we have given sufficient warning, and time, to our industry to become more efficient. They should not link their profitability to protection at levels that not only hurt exports but also make the consumers pay for their profits.

At the same time I am fully mindful of the legitimate expectation of our Industry to be protected against unfair competition. To this end we have put in place the anti-dumping, countervailing and safeguards laws. National Tariff Commission, who will administer these laws, are being equipped better, in terms of quality manpower as well as autonomy of operations. The new National Tariff Commission Act, that will cover both these aspects, has been drafted and will be submitted for Cabinet approval early next month.

Ladies & Gentlemen

After this somewhat detailed prelude I now turn to the contours of this year's **Trade Policy**.

This year we are departing from tradition. Traditionally, Trade Policy has almost always been perceived as an occasion for the Commerce Minister to arrive with a bag full of gifts. We are departing from this tradition for two good reasons.

First, in our view, Trade Policy should confine itself to the strategic aspects. It should seek to give a clear signal to the producers and the exporters of the policy direction of the Government. It should signify durability, consistency and predictability; and this is just what we are doing. We are building on past year's work and keeping the strategic direction the same; only changing tactics and area of emphasis.

Second, and I had emphasized this in my speech last year; specific issues and remedial measures pertaining to exports can not afford to wait for the next year's Trade Policy. Clearly, if these are important enough they ought to be resolved promptly.

For a quick and effective resolution of sector-specific and all export related issues we have found a highly useful platform in the Federal Export Promotion Board. This Board, headed by the President and Chief Executive, has started to meet regularly. It has met five times already and has amply demonstrated its ability to take on-the-spot decisions. During the coming year we propose to strengthen this process and take up all tactical and micro-level issues in this forum.

Ladies and Gentlemen

Let me now share with you our objectives, forecasts, and major focus of our Policy. Our objectives for this year are:

Achieve our export forecast of \$ 10.1 billion Continue previous year's objective of greater value addition and diversification of products and markets Reduce anti-export bias and improve the export culture Achieve greater market access

In the pursuit of these objectives we will continue to be guided by the demand led strategy developed last year by the Export Promotion Bureau, namely to get a greater market share in our major products, like Textiles, Leathers and Rice.

The focus to develop certain sectors like fishery, fruit and vegetables, gem & jewellery will continue. However, in the light of the tariff reforms greater focus will be placed on engineering, chemicals and ceramics.

We will build on the geographical success, I talked about earlier, in Africa and China, while looking for opportunities in South America & Eastern Europe. The EPB has set country-wise target for each product sector.

Before I give you the overall trade forecasts for the fiscal 2-1-01 I find it pertinent to share with you an overview of the factors that are likely to impinge upon our trade performance during the year.

On the global scene we see a continuation, for some more time, of the slow down in the U.S., with its fall-out effect on the other major markets. Given the time lag between external developments and their effect on Pakistan we feel that the full impact of the slow down will be faced this year.

We also anticipate a stable to soft trend in the prices of primary commodities, including oil. While this will have a benign effect on our import bill it will adversely affect export of our Rice, Cotton, Petroleum products, and, to a certain extent, synthetic textiles.

For Raw Cotton the pundits are forecasting a bearish trend in international prices as the demand is falling short of the supply position. While generally speaking our textile exports do well in years of low cotton prices, our per unit prices will come under increased pressure. Although import of textile machinery these last two years has been quite encouraging we need to do much more in terms of capacity additions - and productivity gains - to compensate for per unit losses.

On the domestic front the roll back of subsidies on export finance and rationalization of drawback rates will require an adjustment effort.

Keeping these and other factors in view we are pitching our exports forecast at \$ 10.1 billion this year. With projected imports of \$ 11 billion we expect the trade deficit to stay below one billion Dollars.

In designing this year's Trade Policy the question that we put to ourselves was: what will it take to facilitate a quantum jump, and then sustain it. In our pursuit for this quest we have closely studied the policies and experiences of several countries around the world. We have come to the conclusion that before anything else the 'structural weaknesses' need to be corrected.

Ladies & Gentlemen

Let me submit to you what in my view are the five major '**structural weaknesses**' or the '**fault lines**' of our export effort.

First and foremost it is the exporter profitability. It is axiomatic that if adequate profits are not there the desired effort will not be there either.

The entire export infrastructure has to be smooth and free of irritants so that exporters can devote themselves to production and marketing rather than waiting outside Government offices.

Our competitiveness has to be improved through adequate availability of export finance, greater productivity, and lower tariff—induced costs.

Barriers to entry of new exporters need to be lowered. In every country with significant export growth the main thrust, particularly for product and market diversification, has been led by an emerging generation of exporters, often from the ranks of small and medium enterprises.

Easier and more meaningful access for our products to our main markets abroad. To improve exporter profitability we are taking the following measures. Delayed refunds have become a matter of acute embarrassment for the Government. It has created serious liquidity problem for our exporters and has hampered growth of exports. We are determined to correct this. We will make sure that the system neither provides for any abuse by the unscrupulous parties nor brooks any delays. In the meanwhile we will actively market the Duty and Tax Remission for Export (DTRE) rules. Before we do so we will of course remove some of the procedural snags inherent in these rules that have been identified by the Trade. We feel exporter - friendly remission rules will enormously help the exporters as their funds will not be tied up in the duty, excise, and sales tax elements of their input goods. It will also (debug) the refund system by eliminating, quite substantially, the need to seek refunds.

To supplement the DTRE rules it is important that the scheme of Common Bonded Warehouses is immediately revived and put into place. This will reduce the 'carrying costs' of exporters as they will not need to stock up on a large array of raw materials and accessories. The Common Bonded Warehouses will work as a virtual Duty Free shop for their inputs.

As you are aware the duty drawback rates have been revised. We are not in favour of artificially high drawback rates as such subsidies create a moribund cartel of beneficiaries and discourage the entry of new comers. Having said this, I am informed by several exporters that these revised rates have not been correctly worked out. I have had a word with the Finance Minister and the Chairman CBR who have assured me that all legitimate objections will be fully redressed within the first quarter of this financial year. If Commerce, Industries and CBR can work well together to tackle tariff restructuring, I am sure we can solve refund and rebate issues as well. Inshallah we will.

In addition, we are providing the following facilities to exporters

- i. An exporter who posts at least a ten percent growth over his last year's exports will be allowed to retain 50% of his additional exports in his local foreign currency account. He may use this amount for purchase of machinery and equipment and raw materials and payment of commission, promotional expenses etc.
- ii. Export Development Surcharge will be waived on the additional exports.
- iii. Exporters who show better performance will be given monetary rewards. An 'incentivization scheme' that seeks to reward three categories of exporters (large, medium and small) for increase in overall exports, new markets, value addition etc. has been devised. An amount of Rs. 2 billion has been allocated for this scheme.

Now a word about export infrastructure. While there are many areas that come in the way of flow of goods and services from the production point to destination, we first want to attack the systemic obstacles in our procedures and process. Outdated laws and regulations, and the plethora of procedural 'formalities' have become a key constraint to accelerating trade. They also impose high compliance costs. Delaying of this multitude of regulations is being consistently cited as a priority reform area.

It is proposed to set up a Deregulation Committee consisting of representatives from the concerned Ministries and Provinces with the following specific task:

Review Commercial regulations and laws constraining competition and/or imposing high and unnecessary compliance costs.

Reduce the public-private interface (reporting requirements, permissions, record keeping, discretionary authority of public officials in granting approvals. etc.) to a minimum.

Identify and remove entry barriers where they exist.

Alongwith the deregulation committee we need to improve certain critical areas of Trade and Transport Facilitation viz the standardization, simplification and harmonization of commercial trade and transport aspects Customs processing procedures. Ports procedures.

All aspects of inland transportation, including multimodal.

We have already started to work on this and the National Trade and Transport Facilitation Committee has become functional. The Secretariat of this Committee is in FPCCI (Pakistan Shippers Council).

Export Finance

In the area of enhanced export competitiveness export finance occupies a central position. While the 'subsidy' on export finance has been withdrawn as part of the commitment with the IMF - henceforth interest rates will be linked to Market-based Treasury Bills (MBT) -- we have been working with the State Bank to put together new instruments that will facilitate easier and greater access to export finance.

The main elements of the new export finance package are:

Greater availability. With the subsidy element gone more funds have been 'unlocked' to make it possible for SBP to provide to the Banks greater funds for export finance; a kind of an "open line of credit". This will enable the banks to get SBP to reimburse to them the credit extended to exporters, without the restrictions of deposit ratio requirement etc. Separately, SBP has set up Credit Advisory committees in various cities to facilitate lending to exporters, especially Small, Medium, and emerging exporters.

Pre-shipment export finance guarantee. A new agency in the private sector (Pakistan Export Finance Guarantee Agency—PEFGA) has been set up that will facilitate SME's to access bank financing for working capital. PEFGA will provide bankable guarantees that may be used as collateral. PEFGA will start its operations during the current month. It is also in the process of finalizing arrangements with international credit insures to provide post-shipment cover. I will formally launch this scheme on 16th July, inshallah, when PEFGA opens its doors for business.

Foreign currency export finance facility (FCEF). This \$ 150 million facility will enable exporters to meet their import requirements by borrowing from this facility (in US dollars) at LIBOR +2%. Repayment will be made from their export proceeds. ADB has already released the first tranche (\$ 30 million) to the SBP. If there is adequate additional demand for this facility it will be enlarged.

Political risk guarantee (PRG): This facility seeks to convert Pakistan triple C country risk into triple A risk. The PRG facility will effectively transfer key Pakistan country risk into ADB risk, helping to:

Keep Pakistan country limits open for international banks confirming eligible import L/C's;

Ensure continued access to finance and effectively reduce the cost of import for export production.

The political risks covered will include inconvertibility, debt moratorium, change of law, expropriation and political violence. This facility, due to be launched this month, will help exporters achieve better terms in negotiation of their import L/C's.

New Generation of exporters.

It is important to facilitate entry of new exporters and encourage the emerging ones. As I said earlier it is an established fact that the strongest impetus to export growth comes from the small and medium emerging exporters. Pakistan's subsidy regime and lack of a proactive policy for the promotion of SME's has contributed to raising of barriers for the entry of new comers. This fact at least partly explains our failure to achieve the desired product and geographical diversification.

During the year we propose to induct a large number of new/emerging exporters through a "hand-holding" exercise. Major components of the scheme will be:

Capacity building of identified SME's that will cover product development, quality upgrade, cost reduction measures and sale promotional efforts through private sector professionals. For the first year estimated expenditure of Rs. 20 million shall be provided from the Export Development Fund.

Organically grown "industrial clusters" (Sialkot, Gujranwala, Faisalabad, Korangi etc.) have enormous locked -in potential that can be unleashed by creating the necessary synergy among them. By providing common facilities through collaborative interaction not only will cost reducing economies of scale be generated but the backward linkages will also be strengthened. The basic concept, based on international experience, is being developed in collaboration with UNIDO and shall be launched by the end of the year.

EPB will sponsor special delegations abroad of the selected SME's to explore market prospects. Special facilities will also be provided to these SME's in the overseas trade fairs sponsored by the EPB.

It is proposed to exempt exporters with total export of less than dollar one million from the Export Development Surcharge.

In the context of exports it has long been said that we should produce what the markets want instead of trying to market what we produce. Unfortunately, this has not been possible for want of organizational support through the entire production and supply chain. The linkage between production and markets has been a weak one. To counter this it is proposed to set up special organizations that will be responsible for the furtherance and development of the entire range of activities from production to export marketing. To begin with, organizations for Rice, Engineering, Horticultural, Plastics and Leather products shall be set up. These organizations will be autonomous and run by experts hired from the market, and where-ever we find a willing and institutionally well organized Trade Association we will be happy to entrust it with the responsibility of overall management of the organization.

Market Access

I look upon providing unhindered access for our exports to world markets as the primary responsibility of the Government. If we cannot ensure this the noble philosophy of WTO shall be reduced to naught. WTO will then be looked upon as an instrument of neo-imperialism. I sincerely hope this does not happen and that the whole debate does not degenerate into a North - South battle of attrition of the 60's.

To provide effective market access Ministry of Commerce has already compiled a comprehensive list of all kinds of barriers that our products are faced with in the various markets. Necessary remedial measures are now being initiated.

On a more pro-active side, we propose to undertake the following specific measures to facilitate effective market access.

Preferential tariffs. Pakistan is placed at a disadvantage in major markets of its export interest (USA, EU, ASEAN) who have regional trading blocks/preferential

tariff rates for some of our competitors. Unfortunately, the two regional trading blocks that Pakistan belongs to (SAARC and ECO) do not provide any meaningful opportunities for Pakistan's exports. We wish to seek, both multilaterally and bilaterally, a more meaningful access to our major markets. Towards this end we are already in negotiation with some of our major trading partners. Lower tariffs for our products will give the desired impetus to our export drive.

Creation of equity assets abroad. One of the weaknesses of our export drive has been our inability to effectively counter buyer perception that Pakistan is an unreliable supplier, especially in terms of quality and "in-time" delivery. To counter this a major scheme is being introduced for Warehousing of Pakistani products abroad. Under this scheme groups of exporters will be encouraged to set up a company in major cities around the world to market their products through 'bonded stores' in these cities. Partial funding will be provided from the EDF.

This facility will not only reassure the buyers regarding the quality of the products but the 'just in time' delivery will also cut down their carrying costs.

Social compliance. There is an increasing buyer emphasis on the suppliers meeting social, environmental and labour standards. This is in response to strong consumer demand. Barring the major ones our exporters are not geared to meet these requirements and to this extent lose out on significant marketing opportunities.

We are setting up a scheme, through funding from the EDF, to help exporters acquire SA 8000 certification that will clear them, for purchases by major buying houses.

Export to Afghanistan. Currently zero rating of dollar exports to Afghanistan is available on only six items (Cement, Rice, Pharmaceuticals, Glass sheets, G.I. Pipes and Hardware Items). It is proposed to expand this list to include the following products (subject of-course to existing safeguards on zero-rated exports to Afghanistan):

Safety Matches;

Furniture (wood, plastic, metal & fibre glass);

Water Storage Tanks (fibre glass, plastics, and metal);

Tobacco leaf (in crates/cartons);

Gur;

Agricultural machinery, electric motors, pumps, fans, transformers; Leather manufacturers and footwear; and Confectionery items, jams, juices, pickles.

This will not only expand our exports but also help redress a long-standing demand of the NWFP government.

Having deliberated upon the structural weaknesses and our policy response to them, let me assure you I am not suggesting for a moment that this is an exhaustive list of weaknesses; nor that we are the first ones to have stumbled upon them. All I want to say is that we will relentlessly pursue this five point agenda all through the year. To ensure that we do not let this agenda get lost in the maze of government routine I am setting up an Implementation Task Force headed by the Commerce Secretary. I shall personally review the progress of the Task Force every second month, and where necessary take the matter up to the Federal Export Promotion Board for resolution and direction.

Ladies & Gentlemen

Despite all the rhetoric surrounding it there is one important sector that Pakistan has not so far capitalized upon. This is the export of services. The General Agreement on Trade in Services recognizes 161 services that are globally traded. Except for some attention to I.T Services the sector has been largely neglected. We are looking

upon a one billion dollar accretion to our export in this sector that can be achieved over the short term.

It is proposed to take the following measures to promote the export of services.

Institutional Support. It is important to set up an organization that caters to the export needs of all these services and is dedicated to the following objectives:-

- Provide advice and guidance to service providers,
- Interact with the Government agencies to 'debug' the system and seek appropriate remedies and facilities, Take all measures necessary to promote exports, and
- Adjudicate of default cases

This organization will be professionally managed with the stakeholders having the main say in the running of this body. Initial funding shall be provided from the EDF.

While this organization will take some time to get operationalised, we are providing the following facilities to the export of entire range of 'services'

- i. Retention from export proceeds for commission etc. @ 35%, as is the case with I.T.
- ii. Permission to export equipment from Pakistan, without a bank guarantee, and its free re-import upon conclusion of contract.
- iii. Facilities from banks for bonds, performance guarantees and advance payments. Details will be work out in consultation with State Bank of Pakistan/Banks/Insurance Companies.
- iv. Work actively to provide Technical Assistance to friendly countries for this sector.

Of the many different service categories we hope to see Financial, Architectural, Educational, Engineering, Construction and Technical Services to be among the first to take advantage of the facilities being provided.

Ladies & Gentlemen

It is also important that we prepare the groundwork in new sectors for further exports. A new area started a few years ago was local assembly of Televisions. The encouragement given last year has enabled this activity to progress substantially. Encouraged by the success we have now finalized what is known as the Emerging Electronic Products Assembly Scheme (EEPAS). Under this scheme we have expanded the range of products to include mobile phones, cassette players, electronic calculators. DVD players etc.

Objective of this scheme is to become a recognized world-class assembler of local and foreign branded goods. It will encourage investment and create employment, especially for women. Once adequate experience has been gained we hope these products will become export earners.

In order to enable investors to chart out their own course the following main facilities are announced:-

- i. EEPAS is an ongoing scheme and there shall be no deletion programme for the next 5 years.
- ii. CKD kits would attract customs duty of 5%.
- iii. EDB and CBR will work together with stakeholders for necessary survey reports etc.
- iv. There will be no limit on number of units any assembler may like to assemble.

With the formulation of this policy we hope investment and job creation will start and locally assembled products will be available in the market.

To sum up, Ladies and Gentlemen, the focus of this year's policy is on correcting the fundamentals. Yes, it is short on incentives and rewards, but having carefully studied the last five or so 'incentive-studded' Trade Policies, I am convinced the way forward is in visiting and resolving the key constraints to a sustainable export growth. The basic export strategy has been developed together with the stakeholders and this is being maintained and you will agree that long-term thinking is setting in. The fundamentals to correct our refund, rebates, export finance, less government and market access. We are determined to resolve these, and as always in full consultation with the exporters.

In my speech last year I had said, " things today are more challenging than yesterday". The emerging world environment obliges me to add that things will be even more challenging next year. However, we have all worked hard together and achieved a record figure. Let us resolve to maintain this tempo, and build on our successes and release our full potential.

We may have missed the 10 billion dollar mark but I draw sustenance from the \$ 1.4 billion increase during these last tow years and the significant volumetric increases posted by us. This is a tribute to the determination of our exporters. I have no doubt the same determination will help them prevail against all odds. We can do it and Inshallah we will.

Pakistan Zindabad. ■

DOCUMENT # 2

AGRA SUMMIT 2001

Arrival Statement of President General Pervez Musharraf in New Delhi July 14, 2001

On my arrival in India at the kind invitation of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, I would like to extend warm greetings to the Government and people of India on my personal behalf and on behalf of the people of Pakistan. I have come with an open mind and look forward to my discussions with Indian leaders on establishing peaceful, tension-free and co-operative relations between our two countries.

For the sake of economic prosperity and peaceful co-existence, Pakistan and India need to maintain dialogue to resolve disputes and to explore opportunities for improving bilateral relations. I am glad that this dialogue has now been resumed. For more than half a century, the Kashmir dispute has cast a shadow on relations between Pakistan and India. In my talks with the Indian leaders, I will be looking forward to a meaningful, frank and substantial discussion urging them to join hands with us in resolving this dispute in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people. This will facilitate resolution of other issues and lead to a full normalization of relations. I am hopeful that my talks with Prime Minister Vajpayee will pave the way for better relations between Pakistan and India. ■

DOCUMENT # 3**Speech by President General Pervez Musharraf at
Banquet in New Delhi
14 July, 2001**

Bismillah

Your Excellencies the President and Mrs. Narayanan
Your Excellency Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen
Assalam-o-Alaikum

It is a privilege and a pleasure for my delegation, my wife and myself to visit India and its historic capital. We are also looking forward to visiting Agra and Ajmer Sharif in the next two days. To us in Pakistan, these are familiar names that evoke glorious memories of powerful empires of a flourishing culture and of saintly figures that stirred the souls of countless millions. On our return to Pakistan, we will carry with us indelible images of the richness of this historical legacy.

I thank you, Mr. President, for the warm hospitality extended to us since our arrival in Delhi, the city where I spent my early childhood. I thank you also for the opportunity, my wife and I had, earlier this evening, of meeting you and the gracious First Lady, Mrs. Narayanan. Your wisdom and warmth of personality have left a deep impression on both of us.

My meeting with Prime Minister Vajpayee, at lunch today, was extremely rewarding. I am deeply impressed by his wisdom and dignity. During the next two days, we will hold discussions on the future direction of our difficult and troubled relationship.

My presence in your great country brings to an end a hiatus of more than two years, which I believe, has not served the broader interests of either side. As neighbouring countries, we need to bridge the gulf that divides us. I come to India with this purpose.

Fifty-four years ago to the day, in this city, the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, said and I quote “ sincerely hope that relations between Pakistan and Hindustan will be friendly and cordial. We have a great deal to do, both states, and I think that we can be of use to each other, not to say to the world. Being neighbours, from our side, I do not think you will find goodwill wanting” unquote. Mahatama Gandhi, Bapu of Indian Nation, also laid down his life in the cause of non-violence and peaceful coexistence.

Fifty-four years and two generations have passed since then. The world has entered a new century and a new millennium. Regions around the world are focusing on reducing tension for economic prosperity, social well-being and poverty alleviation. Regional associations for this purpose are gaining strength.

Where does our region stand? With 1/5th of the world’s population our masses live in poverty and deprivation. Our region needs co-operation, mutual trust and peace.

I believe in Quaid-e-Azam’s vision of good relations between Pakistan and India. I believe also that this vision is not beyond our grasp. I have come to India because I would like to do everything possible to realise the dream of the Quaid-e-Azam.

The legacy of the past years is not a happy one. Our two countries have been through wars. Blood has been spilt; precious lives have been lost. We have been locked in mutual suspicion and hostility. We have paid a heavy price for it. We owe

it to our future generations to do our utmost to open a new chapter of good-will and cooperation.

We must not allow the past to dictate the future. Our nuclear status imposes new responsibilities on us. We must overcome the burden of history. Other nations have done it. We must also do so.

The experience of the last decades and more is before us. The Jammu and Kashmir dispute continues to block progress towards normalisation of our relations. I believe that there can be no military solution of this dispute. It can and must be resolved peacefully. We must be bold enough to face this issue squarely and resolve it once and for all. This indeed, will open a new chapter of fruitful relations between our two countries and also put an end to the sufferings of the people of Kashmir.

Our capabilities and responsibilities in the new century no longer offer us the option of continuing on the path of a sterile impasse, continued hostility and mistrust.

I am deeply committed to finding a path towards normal relations between our countries. I would like communications to open, trade to flourish, mindsets to change and stereotypes to disappear. The children of Pakistan and India must not be made to live under the constant shadow of conflict. They must also not be made to live in deprivation and crippling poverty. The energies of our peoples must be diverted to the immense and challenging task of social and economic uplift of banishing misery and ushering in an era of progress and prosperity.

I would like to conclude with another quote from Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the eve of his departure for Karachi from New Delhi on 7th Aug. 1947 he said, "The past must be buried and let us start afresh as two independent sovereign states of Hindustan and Pakistan. I wish Hindustan prosperity and peace". Unquote. Today again I urge you to join me in this noble endeavour. Let us begin this effort now. Let us today embark upon this challenging and rewarding task. Let us join hands in building a better future for our succeeding generations.

With these words, I request you to join me in wishing health, happiness and well-being for his Excellency the President and Mrs. Narayanan, progress and prosperity for the people of India and peace and security for the entire region. Thank you, Excellency. ■

DOCUMENT # 4

Speech by the President of India, K. R. Narayanan at the Bouquet in Honour of General Pervez Musharraf, the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on July 14, 2001

Excellency President Musharraf, Begum Musharraf, Distinguished Guests from Pakistan, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with the greatest pleasure that I extend to you and Begum Musharraf and the distinguished members of your delegation, a cordial welcome on behalf of the Government and the people of India. You must have, Excellency, sensed the warmth with which Delhi is welcoming one of its distinguished sons on his first visit to the city after nearly half a century. From this capital city that throbs with old and new history, the heart of a modern and resurgent India, may I give expression to the hope of our people that your visit, on any reckoning a historic one, will open a new chapter in the relations between our two countries that will enable us to walk

together on the high road of peace and friendship to our common goal of progress and prosperity.

In 1945-46, when the partition of India appeared almost inevitable, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, sitting in a cell in a British jail, wrote in his book "The Discovery of India" and I quote "It is obvious that whatever be the future of India, even if there is regular partition, the different parts of India, will have to co-operate with each other, in a hundred different ways". And after the partition took place, he declared his belief that "it is to India's advantage that Pakistan should be a secure and prosperous State with which we can develop close and friendly relations." Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah expressing the same sentiment to the press said that "now that the division of India has been brought about by a solemn agreement between the two Dominions, we should bury the past and resolve that, despite all that has happened, we shall remain friends". There are many things which we need from each other as neighbours, morally, materially and politically, and thereby raise the prestige and status of both the Dominions". It is this vision of the future articulated by the leaders of both our countries that we have to pursue as the unfinished agenda of partition for resolving all the differences between us and for ensuring peace and prosperity for our peoples.

India, Your Excellency, is home to one-sixth of humanity. It is a nation of unparalleled diversities, held together by the spirit of tolerance, by its policy and practice of secularism, and its deep attachment to democracy. The words of Emperor Ashoka still rings in our ears, "all sects deserve reverence . . . By thus acting a man exalts his own and at the same time does service to others". It was the same message that Akbar the Great proclaimed. I recall the words of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah in Pakistan Constituent Assembly when he referred to the tolerance and goodwill that Emperor Akbar showed to all as something that should be followed and practised. We in India hold fast to the fundamentals of tolerance and secular democratic principles and it is our conviction that on the basis of these principles India and Pakistan can regulate their relationship to one of genuine peace, friendship and co-operation.

Excellency, history has left behind many issues and problems between our two countries. But the major and the overriding issue for the millions that inhabit the sub-continent is that of poverty, illiteracy and ill health, in short general and massive deprivation. You have, Excellency, often talked about this. In India it has been our main preoccupation since Independence to eradicate poverty and to elevate the levels of living of our people. ■

DOCUMENT # 5

Text of Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar's Statement

July 16, 2001

The following is the text of statement issued by Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar here on Tuesday, a day after the summit between Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf.

President Pervez Musharraf has returned from India optimistic about prospects for better relations between Pakistan and India. Considerable progress was made in summit level discussions and in evolving the text of a declaration.

It is unfortunate that the expected consummation did not materialise. Nevertheless, the president remains convinced that the existing goodwill on both sides can and will achieve mutually desired results.

President Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee share a common vision of peace, progress and prosperity for their peoples in the 21st century. The president has complimented the Indian Prime Minister for the gracious initiative to invite him for the resumption of dialogue between the two countries after a hiatus of nearly two years.

Recognising the benefits of peace and cooperation between the two neighbouring countries, President Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee held wide-ranging discussions on Pakistan-India relations, particularly on Jammu and Kashmir.

They affirmed commitment to addressing each other's expressed concerns, creating an environment conducive to the establishment of peaceful, friendly and cooperative ties, for the welfare of the two peoples.

While in New Delhi, President Musharraf welcomed the opportunity to meet with the leaders of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference. We hope India would accord them travel documents to visit Pakistan for consultations.

Time did not permit substantive discussion on any specific issue. But valuable progress was made at Agra on evolving a structure for a sustained dialogue process, that would take up Jammu and Kashmir, peace and security, and terrorism and drug trafficking at the political level.

Economic and commercial cooperation, Siachin, Wuller Barrage, Sir Creek and promotion of friendly exchanges in various levels would be addressed at the level of high officials.

All these issues need to be addressed purposefully, constructively and in an integrated manner, with a sense of urgency.

Responding to press questions, the President of Pakistan was forthcoming on discussion of any issues of concern to India. He emphasised again and again that realism requires a focus, and that progress on settlement of Jammu and Kashmir would be conducive to normalisation of bilateral relations.

Prime Minister Vajpayee has accepted our president's invitation for a return visit. The two leaders are expected to meet in New York in September and continue efforts to promote agreement. The goodwill between them is an asset for better relations between the two countries.

President Musharraf had a valuable opportunity to meet a large number of prominent Indian leaders. His exchanges of views with intellectuals and media luminaries will no doubt contribute to better mutual understanding.

Enlightened opinion in India is no less keen than that in Pakistan to extricate bilateral relations from the time warp in which they have been trapped for 54 years.

Like the Indian Prime Minister, the Minister for External affairs, Mr Jaswant Singh brought equal goodwill to the task of translating the convergence of thoughts at the summit level into words.

The two sides came very close to bringing the declaration close to adoption and approval. In fact twice yesterday it appeared we had succeeded in arriving at a mutually acceptable formulation. It is unfortunate that the fruition of the exercise was aborted.

The Agra Summit remained inconclusive but it did not fail. In fact, the two leaders succeeded in covering a broad area of common ground in the draft declaration. That will provide a valuable foundation for the two leaders to reach full agreement at their next meeting.

Compliments are due also to intellectuals, media and the common people in India as in Pakistan for their contribution to building an environment of opinion conducive to forward movement. Heartened by the prevalent goodwill, President Musharraf believes popular support will be an asset also to leaders in India who want to work for a future better than the past." ■

DOCUMENT # 6

President General Pervez Musharraf's Press Conference 20 July 2001

Opening Statement

My visit to India was a mission of peace and friendship. I went to India to discuss ways of closing the chapter of hostility and confrontation between our two countries and to urge the Prime Minister of India to join hands with me in opening an era of friendship, good-neighbourliness and co-operation. In undertaking the visit to India, I was guided by the conviction that the legacy of mistrust between Pakistan and India can and must be overcome. As neighbours, the two countries have no other option but to live as friends. We both need an environment of peace and security. Development of normal, good-neighbourly relations between the two countries is in the interest of both. Pakistan is firmly committed to this goal.

The failure to resolve disputes between Pakistan and India has retarded economic and social development. Having become nuclear powers, it is even more essential that we take steps to remove the underlying causes of tension and confrontation. I held a series of meetings with Prime Minister Vajpayee on Pakistan-India relations. These meetings, the first at the Summit level between the two countries in the new century, were held in a cordial atmosphere and were marked by complete candour. I was impressed by Prime Minister Vajpayee's commitment to the normalisation of our bilateral relations. Our ultimate goal is the full normalisation of relations with India. We would like to see enhanced trade and economic co-operation, free travel and increased cultural exchanges. All this can be achieved if disputes that exist between us are resolved and there is no tension and mistrust. A just and peaceful resolution of Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people is central to the normalisation of relations.

In my talks with the Indian Prime Minister, I stressed that we have a historic opportunity to resolve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute and develop peaceful, tension-free and co-operative relations. This opportunity must be seized. I emphasised that a settlement of Kashmir would open the doors of friendship and co-operation. The road to this destination cannot bypass Kashmir.

I reiterated our view that a settlement of the Kashmir dispute must be in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir. The APHC must participate in negotiations on the future of Kashmir.

During my visit to India, I had very useful discussions with the APHC on a peaceful settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. I assured them that Pakistan will continue to extend its moral, political and diplomatic support to the just struggle of the Kashmiri people. My visit to India marked the end of a two-year hiatus in Pakistan-India dialogue. It was our effort at the Summit meeting that this dialogue should be institutionalised. It was also our effort that discussions on a peaceful

settlement of Kashmir should take place at a political level and should be substantive and meaningful. We were prevented from signing the mutually agreed Joint Declaration because the Indian side had second thoughts about it. We are disappointed that a Joint Declaration which could have laid down the road map for the establishment of a peaceful tension-free and co-operative relationship between the two countries could not be signed. Nevertheless, we reached understandings which signify a substantial forward step in our bilateral relations. Pakistan would like to build on this and move rapidly towards the destination of amity, good-neighbourliness and co-operation with India.

Pakistan attaches particular importance to a discussion on nuclear risk reduction and nuclear-related confidence building measures. We are committed to a nuclear policy of restraint and responsibility. We have strengthened custodial controls in Pakistan. The two countries need to take further steps, unilaterally and jointly, to reduce the risk of accidental and unauthorised use of nuclear weapons. We look forward to discussions on this issue at the level of Foreign Ministers.

We also discussed the important issue of regional co-operation in South Asia. We agreed that the SAARC process should be fully resumed in accordance with the Charter and that the Eleventh SAARC Summit should be convened on the earliest possible dates. Prime Minister Vajpayee has accepted my invitation to visit Pakistan. We also agreed to meet in New York on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly this September. The Foreign Minister invited his Indian counterpart to visit Pakistan at an early date. We look forward to these visits to carry forward the process initiated at Agra. Pakistan remains committed to the path of amity, good-neighbourliness and co-operation with India. The Agra Summit was an important step on this path. We intend to continue this journey. ■

DOCUMENT # 7

AGRA SUMMIT

Breakfast Meeting of President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf with Indian Print and Electronic Media, Agra July 16, 2001

First of all let me say it is indeed my pleasure to be in the company of such luminaries as the High Commissioner is saying and that certainly you are. I see most of you or have heard most of you or read most of you, so it is really my pleasure indeed that you have joined me for this breakfast. I am grateful to my High Commissioner who arranged this breakfast, meeting.

I think this is a very historic event that we are passing through. We can, I would say, really convert it into a historic one for India and Pakistan. And I have certainly come here with this idea that we need to convert our relations, we need to turn the corner, we need to certainly improve our relations for the sake of this region. I am extremely conscious that this is the only region which is economically deprived, which is not collaborating for economic well-being of the people, and all this happening because of just one thing i.e. the Indo-Pak conflict, the Indo-Pak differences, tensions. So therefore, quite clearly any sane person would like this conflict or differences or tensions: removed. I come here with this in mind. But I would like to emphasize one thing certainly which must be understood and which is nothing great that I am saying. Every country has its principles, has its stands, has its dignity and honour to guard. In this regard we do understand India is the biggest

country. India is the most populous country but Pakistan is not a small country. We are also at I think 6th or 7th position in the world.

But the point I would like to make is that whether small or big every country has its honour and dignity to guard and I may like to add that it falls upon the bigger partner to ensure the honour and dignity of the smaller partners to be guarded. Now the other point I would like to make is that I try to be a realist. I do not believe in living in a make believe world. We must confront realities as they are. We must not brush them under the carpet or like an ostrich live in its own world, not seeing what is happening around or presuming or imagining that we are not seeing what is happening around. I don't believe in this because I feel that if we do not face issues squarely, frontally, if we do not catch the bull by the horns and we don't put the horse before the cart we hardly can move forward. If we keep sticking to our own positions rigidly we cannot move forward. So, therefore there is a degree of flexibility, open-mindedness, understanding of each other's problems, that is the pre-requisite for any forward movement. Another thing that I would like to say about myself is that I believe in a sincere and an honest way of approaching things. I do believe in saying what I mean or saying, may I say, what I am thinking. So as I said in the past I do believe in maintaining balance between the mind, the heart and the tongue. What talk anywhere I mean it and I am prepared to face whatever I talk. So the issues which we will talk about are extremely important.

Having said that if we see the reality on ground, what is the reality that I am talking of ladies and gentlemen! Let's not remain in any illusion that the main issue confronting us is Kashmir. I am not saying anything which is unrealistic or imaginary. That is the reality on ground whether we like it or not. There may be some compulsions on your part not to talk about it. There are definite compulsions on my part that I must talk about it, on Pakistan's part. So if India expects that I should ignore Kashmir then I better buy the Nehruvali Haveli back and stay there. So these are the facts of the matter. So what is the move forward. We spent 50 years fighting each other. I was extremely sorry when I heard day before yesterday a very old parents looking for their son who they think is a POW in Pakistan since 71. We would be mad to retain a POW for thirty years. I am a soldier. I would be the first man to release a POW if I know where a POW is. We have our own mothers. We have lost children in wars with you. So we understand and most of all I understand. I am a man in uniform. I have seen my officers and my soldiers die. So I certainly have sympathy with any parents who many have lost their son. So on that issue I will go back and personally get involved because I know that previously people have looked around and even a delegation went from here but still you are not believing and this issue is again and again being raised by you. So I said I will look into it and only then I will give a verdict that they are not there. Now if after that somebody keeps disbelieving me or Pakistan, it is just bad luck. There is no way of proving it otherwise. But I will certainly, irrespective of whatever talks are on this issue of POWs will personally look into it.

Now I digress from the main subject. Why such sad stories. Where did this POW come from. What was the issue involved. Why this human tragedy? This human tragedy is because of Kashmir. We have fought wars on Kashmir. What else we have fought wars over. You keep talking of Kargil. People keep talking of Siachen. What is all this. Its all Kashmir. What is happening on the LOC? What is happening in the valley? Its all Kashmir. Where else is anything happening? So if I say we need to resolve this issue, I know you, are extremely sensitive, extremely allergic to the word 'dispute'. I really don't know why. I think it very much is a dispute. But, however, OK lets find some other word for it. Its certainly a dispute but in

deference to your views I will call it an issue. OK, it's an issue but if anyone says no it's not an issue that is wrong.

Let me talk of your media which am seeing for the last two three days. Whenever I have time I switch on TV and watch it. I was seeing your Information Minister talk on the TV and she was talking of every thing. She spoke of everything. She said that the Prime Minister, myself and the delegation spoke of cross border terrorism, nuclear issue, POW issue, but she did not say a word on Kashmir. She did not speak on Kashmir. Ladies and Gentlemen! , The most part of the meeting was spent on discussing Kashmir. So I am just wondering where are we? What we want to do? Should we end up? I keep, talking of Kashmir. You keep talking of cross border terrorism and confidence building. What confidence building? CB is the issue of Kashmir. That is the biggest confidence building measure. Is a CBM possible when we are fighting just across the border and killing each other and have CBM on opening the routes, trade, economy, and culture? How can this be? Is this practical? I think it's just not practical. I can't live in this make believe world. I can't live in this illusion. That's what I said. I said I try to be a realist. Lets see the realities. I am not saying anything which is not real. I am not saying a word which is wrong. So this is what you as media people should see. I feel maybe there is some restraint on the media, on government personalities here, on use of word Kashmir or even discussing it, talking of it. I am really reasonably sure that there is a constraint. We don't even want to address it. We don't want to talk about it. So this is the reality. I think now I personally feel that the time is there, an environment has been built, a hype has been created because of this visit, not only in Pakistan and India but the worldwide and I think the public of India, may I say, and also the public in Pakistan really are looking for a move forward and a solution to our problems. And I think this is the right environment, I am reasonably sure of the need on both countries to address the core issues. They will go along on this I am sure.

Addressing the issue is not easy for me also. One must know. There are differences of opinion in Pakistan also, where some people are against this peaceful dialogue process and friendship with India. So I am prepared to move forward because I know 100% consensus will never be achieved. But I also at the same time expect that here the public should be told that the main issue between Pakistan and India is Kashmir. And also that I've never said that I refuse to talk on any other issue. I've never said it. Please don't project it on the media. All that I've been saying is please understand Kashmir is the main issue, and I will carry on saying it whether anyone agrees or not. Because this is what we have killed each other for, and as I said I know much more than anyone else because I have fought the two wars. I've been in the Northern areas everywhere. In the sun I know what it is when one fights. So this is the issue. The public is prepared to accept that yes this is the issue. I am sure they are not going to create a hue and cry on our calling the Kashmir the issue and why are we trying to say that we want to resolve it. But if we have some kind of a constraint or restraint in our own minds then I am afraid it is very difficult to move forward. But however, I am saying as I learn in diplomacy through my Foreign Minister, Foreign Secretary and the High Commissioner, never close the door even in shut diplomacy. We will not close the door certainly. We must always continue with this process of dialogue which has been initiated very well, the dialogue which has been extremely fruitful, I must say, and is still going on. My meeting with the Prime Minister Vajpayee, I respect him, I honour him for his dignity, for his statesmanship, the decision that he took to invite me, the initiation of the dialogue process and also the understanding that he shows towards our concerns and, the dignity, the method, the way that he adopts to put across his own views. But we

need to translate all that into some form, and that we are trying to do. You have to pray that we succeed. I have to meet the Prime Minister again. There was an interaction at the officials level at night, till very late, I think till four o' clock in the morning. These interactions are taking place. I cannot say anything more than that. Certain things have to be ironed out and I believe they can be ironed out by me and the Prime Minister. I am an optimist. I will always remain an optimist. Lets hope for the best. I thank you very much.

Question-Answers Session

Q. You have been saying that Kashmir is the core issue. It is the issue, OK fine. But can this really give us anything unless a solution is opted. So till we know what is the solution that you have in mind for this dispute mere recognition of the fact that this is a dispute will not probably get us anywhere. Could we hear you once again?

A. Yes, certainly we should not at this stage, get bogged down in getting involved in the solutions because then we would not proceed further. What I would like to say is one can't Jump from the first zero run to 10 run. Lets go step by step. Step one was the initiation of the dialogue and again I would like to give all the credit to Prime Minister Vajpayee for his statesmanship, for having invited me. This is a great act, a Gpurageous and a bold step. I recognise it: That was step one. Now step two. I feel this acceptance that Kashmir is an issue, it must be resolved, and may I say when I say it must be resolved obviously there are three parties to it. It is Pakistan India and also Kashmiris. Can we resolve Kashmir if we decide to resolve it without their wishes, without some way of ascertaining their views. Can we do something for them over their heads. So this acceptance of the main issue is step two. One can then after entering into dialogue move further. This requires just boldness and courage to accept the reality. Nothing more than that. This is not such a difficult step to take. This is the reality. You just accept the reality. Then we are entering now into troubled waters. I do understand that we are entering now into the area: of what is the solution. How do we move forward. This I feel we all know and I don't want to discuss the solution. There are a number of solutions, but maybe at the step two one could negate certain solutions if possible. Obviously national consensus will be required. Can we negate certain solutions that these are not the solutions? Would one keep saying stated positions and all that lets leave this.

So negation of some solutions, if possible, again national consensus as I said is required on both sides. For me, I would like to take the nation along, and certainly this is required by Mr. Vajpayee also. Having done that we have come a little, one more run forward and then we go on to discussing, OK negate it. Now in the area that we are left with, are the possibilities. So I think these are the steps. Step one we have taken. Step two, I would say, can be taken today. Step three can be taken later and step four will be more later. That's what I have to say.

Q. If you are moving toward a mechanism of the dialogue, the way you are, it does not let you, what to talk of step two, take effect. But if you are moving towards a mechanism like a joint working group or something, would not that help to focus subject towards making headway in this direction?

A. Yes certainly it can. But as I said this is step two, I am calling step one, I hope you are on the same grid on steps. Step one is what we have initiated. Step two is the acceptance of the issue, the reality. I said that can be taken immediately, that can be taken today. But if you are asking if that facilitates step three?

Q. The mechanism, yes, the step forward.

A. Certainly in this acceptance of reality we must also include what is the way forward. A structure, for a process of dialogue, future dialogue and also, may I say,

may be we need to put urgency required if! Whatever wants to do if we want to move on a fast track. So the structure is required, an urgency should be agreed on. That is how we proceed and we will come to step III then.

Q. I wanted to say that there is another theory. I don't know whether you have considered it or not. There were certain Acts which led to the Partition of British India, and two separate countries--- India and Pakistan---came into being. Under this Act the states were given certain choices what to do and whom to join, whether they should join India or Pakistan. What do you think of this Act? Didn't Kashmir become a part of India under this very Act?

A. We are getting involved in contentious issues.

Q. I told you the theory?

A. Certainly. UN has a ruling over this. In the 1948 Resolution Kashmir is recognised to be a dispute which needs to be resolved through plebiscite. That is very clear. We say that we should stick to this Resolution. We want to stick to self-determination and plebiscite. This is an international resolution and India agreed to this. Right up to 1958 we were, in agreement on that, if I am not wrong. Is that correct? In 1958 we heard that no, Kashmir is a part of India. Otherwise right for over ten years this was an accepted dispute which had to be resolved through plebiscite and self-determination.

Q. Mr. President, I just wanted to reassure you, and I think I speak for everybody in the media that there are no institutional constraints in discussions on Kashmir in the media. We often use your favourite word when it comes to Kashmir here in the media when we say that it is the core issue. We use it quite frequently. There is a wide variety of opinions on Kashmir in the Indian media. Perhaps you have not had the opportunity to see that but I think we are a step ahead of the Indian Government in that respect. The thing that I really wanted to ask you is that would you be satisfied in this Summit if step one was taken and formalised in some way, if we accepted your views, supposing we also use the word 'main issue', formalise the joint working group, you are meeting with the Prime Minister of India in September-October, he accepted your invitation, would you wait or you want step-two to be taken in Agra today. Would you be satisfied if a complex step- one wherein a negotiating process, a dialogue process was started. Step-two Mr. President is going to initially cause problems. You are a great realist. I think if in the Summit we can agree on a dialogue, have an elaborate dialogue you can even suggest a time- frame, working group, whatever it is, and perhaps if you can leave stage-II to September-October meeting you are likely to have with our Prime Minister?

A. You mean acceptance of the issue or the 'main issue' or core issue', are you talking about that?

Q. We concede that Kashmir is the main issue between us. Nobody is questioning that.

A. I hope the government agrees with your statement. Yes I will be happy with that if we accept, if we give a framework where we accept the reality on ground. We accept what the issue is and have a framework. I will be satisfied. Now these steps are confusing. Are you talking of the negotiation part? I accept what you say. I am saying step two is accepting what you are saying. In step one I have given the credit to the Prime Minister for inviting me.

Q. Let me have a clarification of my own. On behalf of all of us I say that not only there are no constraints on any of us on saying anything about Kashmir ever. We say this being very. honourable journalists that never, even in my 35 years of reporting most troubled problems of India have I felt the, restraint and none of us

has. The second thing is that please don't take us so seriously. Our government does not take us so seriously so it is very rare that our government and we agree on anything. We think we have more wisdom than all the rest of them as all journalists do and they think we are fools. So I think it is very difficult to apply the understanding that you see here to anything that you might see at later stage. So that is very clear. So I think that is the vision with which we must be tried so far.

A. Ok.

Q. *Mr. President I want to take this discussion a little bit away from step-one, step two or whatever you have in mind because you have been articulating your positions in the various interviews.*

A. I have been articulating it so much, so much that even I sometimes say that why I keep harping on the same thing but unfortunately that is the issue. That is why one has to even embarrass himself.

Q. *Now, here listening to you just now one does not quite know how your talks with the PM have gone. You mentioned all kinds of qualities about the Prime Minister, his statesmanship etc. but how would you describe the substantive portion of your discussion with the Prime Minister, point number one. Point two is would it be accurate on our part after listening to you that this visit is not going to end the way we expected it to, which is with some movement forward?*

A. As I spoke about the steps and I said the best is to identify the issues to be negated. Here I would like to just identify the issues, that they are positive, and that we will certainly continue with the dialogue process in future, will continue to address the issues involved, and our mutual stands. Other than this it would be premature to give a statement because I have still to go and meet the PM and we have still some work left to be done. Therefore I would not be able to comment on that. The positive side is that certainly we will keep talking in the future.

Q. *Are there any reasons to be optimistic?*

A. Again I think it would be rather premature if I say anything, we need to wait for the final dialogue.

Q. *This is a considerable opportunity for you. The reason I say this is that I am comparing what you have to say with actions rather than words. I think in the very act of inviting you, Mr. Vajpayee has conceded that Kashmir is a central issue. Its one thing whether you are saying a declaratory statement has its own reverberations and they are often wrong ones. They will create a backlash. That you do not have to make a statement, you can act. Actions will speak the same language. I would like to bear this in mind sir because I think this is the way that all of us have received it and this is why there is so much more. Second thing in your case also sir, accepting this invitation has signaled quite a sizeable degree of realism and flexibility in your approach to the progressive stages of trying to resolve this dispute. So given the extreme difficulty of a subject it is hardly surprising that at the delegation level the progress is very slow and I think personally that in fact in each of your meetings with Prime Minister Vajpayee you will be able to resolve one set of problems and I hope the actual concrete working out process one step further. This is going to take time and- therefore, I am not discussing this part two. I would request you not to pay too much attention to the speculation in the media on this because due to lack of news, we have to make news. There are going to be many voices, I am sure, in your country and in our country also which will be speaking of the absence of news and I think that we should not pay much attention to that. But the central issue is, I do not believe that anyone in this country seriously thinks that Kashmir is not a central issue, a 'core issue'. It is the main cause. We also have a long history of distrust regrettably and therefore, there is no certainty that even if*

this issue is resolved we are going to have amity in the future. But the kind of upwaking of sentiment that we have seen in both countries in the last two months and of which you have in fact done a great deal in Pakistan to help create that and we hope that it will come up. I feel that this is a process that can gather momentum, that it will carry us all away and I can give you credit for that.

Let me ask one more thing, you talked about big and small countries. Size is not important. The pre-requisite of any dialogue is a presumption in equality, and I think that from this mere fact that you are having this extended talks with Mr. Vajpayee, that requirement is met.

A. Yes, I certainly would like to make a comment on one, the first aspect as you said that a lot of things can be implied. So we must understand the environment that is existing, the environment of mistrust, suspicion and I am sure you must be knowing the environment in Pakistan. I would very bluntly like to give out this environment. The people of Pakistan do not trust the Indian government, to put it very bluntly. And same is, maybe, the case on this side. I have no qualms about that. But the issue is that the people of Pakistan think that we are purposely denied, there is a design behind not saying that Kashmir is an issue. So therefore, to allay these fears of the people, the suspicions that are so engraved and deep set we have to come out openly to say these things. Otherwise I can assure you when I go back those who are extremist in their views they will say we are not interested because they say that the strategy is to buy time and then kill the issue. Call them for negotiations, buy time. This is the strategy and don't address the issue and may be the issue subsides and that is all. This is the suspicion there, so we need to kill the suspicion by coming into open that yes this is an issue. We will address it and we will try to resolve it amicably in the interest of both the peoples and both the countries. This suspicion part is very important because even on words like "dispute" there is such a diplomacy. In diplomacy each and every word has to weigh. Now you don't want to use the word dispute. I fail to understand why this is so. Is this not a dispute. Dispute is always between the two people. If somebody insists the more that no this is a problem, I will feel suspicious myself if he is trying to tell me no you are not concerned, this is my problem. And dispute is usually between the two people. So I think by all definitions this is a dispute. OK I give in, I will call it an issue. But look where we are. We can't even agree to a word that this is a dispute. So how can we go forward when you are not saying it a dispute. How can we move forward with this mindset?

Q. *Step-two has two components if I am correct. They say that you accept first that Kashmir is a main issue and not dispute. Number two there are three parties into it. It is part of the step-two that you have to insist in your statement that ok this is not only a dispute but a dispute which involves three parties Pakistan, India and Kashmiri people. Is that the part of that composite statement that you are recommending?*

A. I think these are nuances which need to be addressed frankly with the Foreign Minister, Foreign Secretary, and they are doing. As long as we understand each other's compulsions and we also take the reality. I stated a reality. This is a reality. Let's not pin down to the subject of what the substance should be. One would like to keep it open. You see there is a way of putting things. As long as it is put in a manner which is sort out, acceptable, we need to frame it in a manner that can be acceptable. These things can be certainly looked into later how it should be included in step two. But I don't want to get involved into the details.

Q. *Two parties to the dispute — India and Pakistan — are already there. If we exclude the third party then can there be some solution?*

A. We cannot exclude them permanently. I am talking about a permanent solution. If you are trying to issue a declaration, the declaration is not for all times to come. It is for today, or for two weeks or for a year or so. So that way we need to have a framework which is for all times to come. So far, we have not insisted that there should be Kashmiris in our talks. We said OK we agree that we will talk without them. But we must understand sometime or the other they have to be involved. That is all that I am saying. Some other time, in the next meeting or after that if we progress they will have to be involved, especially if we progress on the issue of Kashmir. In the initial stages of the dialogue where we are identifying the issue, their involvement is not required but if we move towards a solution then don't you think their involvement will be required. That's what I am saying. So let's put it in the framework in such a manner that futuristically we accept that when we move forward towards a solution, then their involvement will be required essentially. Otherwise, it will not be implementable because, maybe, they don't want it. So, therefore, it is the requirement.

Q. Mr. President, last night around midnight there was a statement issued by the Pakistani spokesperson which said referring to the statement of the Information Broadcasting Minister of India which said that, the gist was that until Kashmir is taken up and now I am quoting 'until it is discussed and resolved that this is the main issue'. Now I just want to ask you sir, is it, are we saying that you wish to have it discussed or also you wish to have it discussed and resolved and prior to that nothing else can be discussed. You have mentioned poverty. Can we go ahead on things like that? Can we equally today start on something which is to do with non-Kashmir, also in action?

A. Yes, certainly. Again I reiterate, absolutely. We can address all issues, having identified the main issue but then another suspicion in Pakistan is that they always involve us in other issues, brushing the main issues aside and then start leading others. This happened with Dr. Mahboob-ul-Haque. He came here with President Zia. And I believe he was a very dynamic man and may be the finance minister here was equally dynamic and they started moving very fast on trade and commerce and economic activity. Whereas this political activity remained at zero point wherever it was. They had to come back, we had to come back. Where are you going? Every thing stopped and every thing fizzled out. So, therefore, we start together, we are open but we must progress in tandem. All issues must make progress. You cannot, no leader in Pakistan can allow the sidelining of Kashmir for the sake of economy and confidence building and nuclear and every thing. They have to progress in tandem. There has to be a relationship to keep progressing on all issues together.

Q. People of Pakistan don't trust the government of India. I think that is a reality and I am glad that you have brought it up. Can I give you something from our perspective? The people of India, perhaps feel differently about the government of Pakistan and one reason why there is so much mistrust is because of what we see as the failure at the Lahore Summit. We see the Lahore Summit failing because of Kargil. We see Kargil as having been a betrayal and unfortunately, we see you as having been an architect of that betrayal. What is your perspective on this?

A. Yes, you raised an issue. The first thing on which I want to comment. In fact, this was in Asia News, what you are saying, of trust on people here, on the government, people trusting the government. I was seeing the television last evening and it was Asia News. There was a lady, who said that if this man can be trusted. I think I would like to tell this woman that this should have been asked before this man was invited here. And it hurt me. Traditionally, we Pakistanis and Indians, are very

hospitable. We talk to the guests in a civilized manner. It really hurt me. You have talked of Kargil. If you see history, I don't know there is a tendency to stop at Kargil. If we look at history, I know there is a lot of pain that has been caused on Kargil. And I am supposed to be Kargil man. Well, I was the Chief of Staff and there was a government in Pakistan and the army does certain things in a certain way. And obviously there were the Mujahideen. Kargil had its own dynamics. However, I would want to leave that. I would like to tell you how much hurt do you think was caused when in 1971 the Mukti Bahani, who had been trained, supported and armed by India and were sent into East Pakistan. How much hurt did it cause in Pakistan when in violation of the Simla Accord the Indian Army intruded into Siachen. How much hurt and indignity was caused to us. So let's leave history because there has been hurts caused by both sides accusing each other. So, therefore, I think it will be in the fitness of things that we forget the past and move forward. I have always been saying that. We need to move forward with the understanding that all those pains and hurts have been caused due to Kashmir. And we are not prepared to address the Kashmir issue. So let's address the Kashmir issue and resolve it once and for all so that these things don't happen, do not recur. That is all I would like to say. So whereas I understand how you are feeling about Kargil, but you must come and see what Pakistanis feel about 1971 and Siachen also.

Q. Mr. President, on Kashmir, just a small reiteration. Last evening I was on a channel which no one watches any more, thanks to Pruna Roy. That happens to be Door Darshan. And for two hours we had been pictured, myself and Inder Gujral. There was nothing else but Kashmir discussed. So we certainly have changed the agenda here in terms of our public discussions. But here the most significant part of your visit has been your conscious visit to Mahatma Gandhi Samadhi and your Venkat speech in which you made certain things that just as a human being you know I welcomed very much, your reiteration that this problem cannot be solved by violence. You talk of the future you talk next generation. But I just want an answer to a simple question. Is your commitment to the absence of violence or the non use of violence conditional upon progress or are you committed to a non use of violence irrespective of whether we hear good news in four hours or not?

A. That is. We are not encouraging any violence in Kashmir. This is an indigenous freedom struggle going on. You keep calling it terrorism and violence. We in Pakistan keep calling it a freedom struggle. Who is right, who is wrong? We keep saying that there are atrocities and repression against the civilians by the Indian army of over 600,00 people. So where do we land up? Yes, these are issues which must be addressed. These issues, I am sure, and all the issues, whether it is the repression by the Indian forces which we say and the cross border terrorism which is always mentioned from this 23 side. In tandem every thing proceeds further with the progress on Kashmir. That is how I feel because I am sure the progress on Kashmir will certainly have its effects, and indirect effects on what ever is happening in Kashmir.

Q. Mr. President you're hurt and anger which is quite apparent, is primarily, (maybe) because of the Indian Information Minister that what you heard and what did some one else say in this regard. I want to say a couple of things to you. One, that keep media separate from the government because here what media says and what government says there is not much connection between the two. And second, what you said about constraints. Shekhar also said the same thing. I would like to tell you once again that here there are no constraints on media. And it is because of it that you are praising Mr. Vajpayee's statesmanship but you seem overtly hurt as far as the media is concerned. The simple reason is that government does not have

any sort of control on media. Whatever the media says or does, it is its own thinking. You will read as much in media on cross-border terrorism as on the question of army. No one has ever put any constraints on media, neither has the media, entirely on its own, placed any sort of self-imposed constraints. Therefore, when we talk of the Kashmir dispute then obviously a question springs up in the minds of people over here, and the media over here-the question that M.J. (Akbar) had also raised, whether the terrorism will end or not. Now you can call it terrorism or freedom struggle. But the point is whether the bloodshed will stop or not? And in order to stop the bloodshed whether the government of Pakistan will take initiative or not? This is the basic concern of the media.

A. Exactly, this is the whole thing. Tell me about the bloodshed, on both sides as a result of which army men are being killed, civilians are being killed. Can this be stopped? Why is this happening? This is happening because of the Kashmir dispute. Can anyone expect this bloodshed to stop and yet expect the Kashmir dispute to stay intact. Is this realistic? Ok. Ok. I am saying this so that it should end. It should end, absolutely. Who dares say that the bloodshed should go on, fighting should go on and the killing should go on. Only an extremist could harbour these sort of views. So I say it should end. But it will end only when we will go hand in hand, expand the issues and go towards a solution. It will de-escalate automatically because when we will solve the problem then why people will fight over there. This is my viewpoint. If your question is that it should end, it should end. But if you are under the impression that 'it will end and Kashmir problem will stay intact then this is not practical. Therefore, we should keep abreast of each other. This is what I am saying.

Q. *One more thing that I wanted to say earlier that media might have hurt your at some centre. But by and large the perception is that media has welcomed you extraordinarily.*

A. I acknowledge. Exactly. I am extremely grateful to the Indian media for all the projection, all the warmth and hospitality and a lot of other things that I am viewing. That I have quoted one or two incidents, don't think that I am speaking against the entire media. I have not been able to meet the entire media. The fifteen to twenty minutes that are available to me, I meet the press in that particular time.

Q. *Sir, fine. The way you have frankly discussed the Kashmir issue with the Indian media, even the Indian government has not discussed it with us in that manner.*

A. That is what I am saying that they don't want to discuss the Kashmir issue.

Q. *Right, sir. I think all of us have been impressed and taken the message that you are a soldier, you have, come here and you know what it feels like to, fight a war. And that you, have a great concern for the people of Kashmir and the will of the people of Kashmir. There are two questions which are often brought to us, which I think I should put to you and perhaps you could answer them. One refers to, you condemn the security forces in Kashmir and some of their actions against civilians. What about innocent people at a bus stop and the militants bomb killing them? You know soldiers fighting soldiers. You appreciate that, that's part of your life. Militants fighting security forces that is part of a soldier's life. But an innocent person at the hands of militants dying. And that is what the people of Kashmir face every day. I would like to have your view on that. And second, on the will of the people. A lot of people say that your concern for the will of the people of Kashmir is understandable. But you are a soldier and you have not been elected in Pakistan. So without the will of the people of Pakistan how are you so concerned about the will of the people of some where else. These are the questions that are often raised.*

A. Yes, on the first one I would say any casualty to civilians is deplorable. But at the same time I would like to say if we see history and see history of all freedom struggles around the world there is lot of innocent bloodshed. If we see what is happening in Palestine, the same story. If you look at an): freedom struggle anywhere around the world, its history, there is so much of suffering of innocents and that is applying in Kashmir also, unfortunately. Nobody can support it. Not body, obviously. I will be out of my mind to say that I support it. But again the same repeat deduction that one gets. In army when we talk of appreciation we say that it is a premise which has a particular deduction. You have talked of the premise what have you deducted from it. The deduction is that we should solve the Kashmir problem and every thing will be alright. Now the other issue is about my legitimacy. Although it is an internal affair of Pakistan, but since you have raised the question I will reply. Things happened on 12th October. I did not take over, really. I was thrust into this position by my predecessor. I need to thank him for that for the sake of Pakistan. Because I think in the interest of Pakistan this was required I was not required may be. But his going was certainly required. That was the demand of the entire people of Pakistan, every individual in Pakistan. So in the interest of Pakistan whatever change was thrust on me was welcomed by the people of Pakistan. And I can with total confidence say that majority of the people of Pakistan support me on whatever I am doing. If you come to Pakistan and find out what is happening, I am sure you must have studied or analyzed. But you do visit us. Let me give you a briefing on what we are doing in Pakistan. You come there and look around in any department of governance in Pakistan, whether it is economy, whether it is governance, whether it is education, whether it is poverty alleviation, you talk of any thing. Whether it is the government corporations, whether, it is the railways or WAPDA or KESC. You tell me what you want and I will send you there and you ask them what has happened in the last one arid a half years in any sphere of activity. I leave it open as a challenge to you. Now having said that I certainly will like to I am going to hold the elections next year. And we have started the process where the local government is coming up. You need to analyze what this local government is. It is going to bring a revolutionary change. The real democracy is now being introduced by me in Pakistan. Democracy never existed in Pakistan before this. So this is all what is happening which is In the Interest of Pakistan. So I know that the Pakistanis are very satisfied with what is happening and I will do every thing in Pakistan's interest.

Q. Now, Mr. President. You rightly said that Kashmir is the core issue or the main issue between India and Pakistan and unless Kashmir is resolved there can be no, I mean friendship between the two countries. But gradually both India and Pakistan are looking at Kashmir as a territorial dispute between the two countries. They are not taking the people into consideration. Primarily there, is only one party to the Kashmir dispute and that is the people of Jammu and Kashmir State. And they should have freedom to decide not only that whether they want to join India or Pakistan, there are other options open to them. It should be left to them. In fact, for that purpose I think if you want to proceed to resolve the Kashmir crisis the right approach would be that you allow them instead of India harping on the theme of 'Attoot Ang' or Kashmir being life line of Pakistan. They should allow that the people of Jammu and Kashmir, not only the Hurriyat Conference or the people from the valley but people in all parts of Jammu and Kashmir, to have dialogue among themselves. There are people who live in those areas which are under Pakistan control or in which are under the Indian control. People from both the areas should be allowed to interact, to have a dialogue to evolve a consensus that what kind of

future they desire for themselves and that a consensus formula should be acceptable to both India and Pakistan. I think that is the only way, realistic way to resolve this crisis. Do not you agree with it?

A. Well, again these are ascertaining of views, what you are saying. This is a methodology of ascertaining of views of the people of Kashmir. And that is basically 1948 Resolution. That was the methodology of plebiscite and self-determination. Now these are solutions. This could be one solution and certainly I think this is- quite a reasonable solution. If you ask Pakistan, if you were to tell the Pakistanis that we need to ascertain the views of the Kashmiris, I think everyone will agree. You need to sell this idea here. No third option, I am reasonably sure with ascertaining of views. Let's leave it at that, it is an important issue and one can go along with this. But this is one of the options which will come in step four as I would say. Let's leave it at that. But this could be considered as one of the options. I am sorry, I would have loved to sit here and interact with you. And you are the luminaries as the High and interact with you. And you are the luminaries as the High Commissioner has said. I would have loved to sit down' and talk to you for another few hours because this is a very interesting discussion going on but I think more important is my meeting with Prime Minister Vajpayee. And I need to talk there. ■

DOCUMENT # 8

Vajpayee's Opening Remarks at Indo-Pak Summit July 15, 2001

I extend you and your delegation a warm welcome to this ancient and historic city of Agra. I hope that your stay here will be comfortable and that our deliberations will take our relations forward positively and constructively.

Through the past five decades, India has held firm in its abiding desire for peace and friendship with Pakistan. We remain committed to the establishment of trust and confidence to developing mutually beneficial cooperation and to addressing all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir. We believe that the core concern of our people is their struggle against poverty, want, hunger and deprivation.

We have always taken a comprehensive view of India-Pakistan relations because it is our conviction that we must progress where we can, even as we address the more complex issues. We believe that, rather than operating in segments, we should take a broad based approach across the spectrum of possibilities in our relationship.

It is with these perspectives that we announced a few decisions in advance to your visit, aimed at addressing some of the mutual concerns of our peoples. These relate to peace and security, to the development of people to people ties, and to promote contacts by facilitating travel.

We have already had a frank discussions on important matters, we look forward to a further detailed exchange of views on all issues including that of Jammu and Kashmir. You are fully aware of our views on the subject and we have heard yours. We cannot deny that there are vast differences between us on this.

I wish to refer to certain additional specific measures:

We have consistently for over two decades urged Pakistan to release the 54 Indian PoWs that we strongly believe remain in your custody. This is a human problem. I would urge that Pakistan takes urgent and purposeful action to end the agony of the families of the soldiers.

We know that some terrorists and criminals, guilty of crimes like the bomb blasts in Mumbai in 1993 and the hijacking of the Indian Airlines flight, are living in

Pakistan. We have requested Pakistan that they should be arrested and handed over to us. They have to be brought to justice.

We have recently issued instructions to our Coast Guards not to take into custody Pakistani fisherman, who inadvertently stray into our waters, but to turn them back after due warning. A similar reciprocal gesture on Pakistan's part would lead to a permanent resolution of this recurring problem.

Pilgrims to religious shrines in both countries have to be facilitated and their sentiments respected. The presence of known terrorists who have been allowed to stay in Sikh gurudwaras in Pakistan is a matter of grave concern to our Sikhs. We have formally requested your authorities that these terrorists be handed over to us to face due process of law in connection with crimes for which they are wanted in India. I wish to specifically reiterate this request to you. While on the subject of religious shrine, the upkeep of Hindu temples and the treatment of Hindu pilgrims is also a matter of concern to us.

The enhancement of trade ties would be mutually beneficial, we seek no unilateral advantage. Trade and industry circles have constantly urged both governments to respond to the desire for greater interaction. We are willing to take further major steps in this direction. We have already announced a reduction or elimination of tariffs on 50 tariff lines to encourage Pakistani imports to India. I propose that a group of experts of both countries be constituted to recommend measures to increase bilateral trade, economic and technical interaction.

Our vision for the future of India-Pakistan relations has to construct a durable road map for the future based firmly on the lessons of its often troubled history. We should respond not only to our immediate need for peace and progress for our peoples but also to an international environment that increasingly stresses interdependence and cooperation over conflict and discord. Let us grasp this opportunity to create the lasting peace and amity which has eluded us for past 54 years. ■

DOCUMENT # 9

Statement by Defence and External Affairs Minister of India on Indo-Pak Summit July 17, 2001

"At the invitation of Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the President of Pakistan H.E. General Pervez Musharraf visited India on 14-16 July, 2001.

In keeping with his abiding vision of good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan, the Prime Minister had invited President General Pervez Musharraf to walk the high road of peace and reconciliation. Our commitment to that noble objective, upon the attainment of which, rests the welfare of many, is not transitory. It is that commitment, which was demonstrated at Simla, in Lahore and recently during President General Pervez Musharraf's visit.

Significant CBMs that were announced prior to President Musharraf's visit would be fully implemented on our part. It is our conviction that, when put in place, they will make an important contribution to our relations.

During his visit, the President of Pakistan had extensive discussions with our entire leadership. These included three rounds of one-on-one meetings with the Prime Minister and an hour-long farewell call prior to his departure yesterday night. There were also detailed discussions during delegation level talks. All these meetings were marked by cordiality and candour. They provided an invaluable opportunity to both sides to understand each others' viewpoints, concerns and compulsions.

Our negotiations for an agreed text of a document were seriously pursued. There were long hours of discussions at official and political levels. During these negotiations India did not shy away from any issue. In keeping with the confidentiality, which is necessary for these negotiations, and the maintenance of which is essential for the future of bilateral relations themselves, it would not be proper to go into details. However, it needs assertion that, during the negotiating process, India fully respected all established international norms. As a mature and responsible democracy, we negotiate to improve bilateral relations with our neighbours, not to indulge in public relations.

We are of course, disappointed that the two sides could not arrive at an agreed text. It will not be a breach of confidentiality to clarify that this was on an account of the difficulty in reconciling our basic approaches to bilateral relations. India is convinced that narrow, segmented or unifocal approaches, will simply not work. Our focus has to remain on the totality of relationship; our endeavour to build trust and confidence, and a mutually beneficial relationship even as we address and move forward on all outstanding issues, including Jammu & Kashmir; building upon the existing compacts of Simla and Lahore.

It was also made abundantly clear to the Pakistan side during the visit, that the promotion of cross-border terrorism and violence are unacceptable and must cease. Let there be no illusions on this score: India has the will and resolve to defeat all such challenges.

We will pick up the threads from the visit of the President of Pakistan. We will unceasingly endeavour to realise our vision of a relationship of peace, friendship and cooperation with Pakistan. ■

Reference: <http://www.satp.org/>

DOCUMENT # 9

Statement by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar at the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, September 1, 2001

Mr. President, Excellencies,
Distinguished delegates,

It is an honour to be in South Africa. The history of the South African people - their travail, their fortitude in the protracted struggle against tyrannical Apartheid and their glorious triumph - is an inspiring epic of humanity's irresistible determination to win freedom and equality, and glorify the dignity of the human person.

This being my first visit to South Africa, I want to offer tribute to Nelson Mandela. His life testifies to the transcendence of the human spirit over oppression and persecution, hatred and vengeance. He and his intrepid companions - Steve Biko, Olivier Tambo, Alfred Xuma, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Thabo Mbeki among others - etched their immortal names in the history of humanity's march to civilization. They suffered and sacrificed so that others may live in honour and dignity, free from alien domination and dehumanizing discrimination. [We join in the grief of the people of South Africa at the passing of Govan Mbeki.]

Mr. President,

Long before Pakistan won independence in 1947, the leaders of our freedom struggle denounced the repressive and discriminatory laws enacted by the Smuts regime as "sinister" and a "relapse to the prejudices and taboos of the dark ages." In another resolution they declared: "The conscience of the world cannot turn a deaf ear to the groans of the oppressed". Pakistan sponsored the inscription of the item on Apartheid on the agenda of the UN General Assembly and extended unstinting support for struggle of the South African people for human dignity, equality and non-discrimination.

I recall the historical position taken by our nation not to seek credit but to emphasize that the cause we upheld was - and is - righteous, founded in principles of justice and in the articles of our faith. God says:

"O humankind. We created you male and female, and made you nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Surely the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the best in conduct." [AI Quran: 49: 13]

Prophet Mohammad (may peace be upon him) said: "Neither a black person has superiority over a white person nor a white person over a black person."

The Pakistan delegation comes to this Conference with pride in the faith of our people in human equality, and the commitment of the founding fathers of our State to practice and promote equal rights among people of different races and religions at the domestic as well as international levels.

That vision of ideas is embedded in our Constitution. It forbids discrimination on grounds of race, religion, caste or sect [Articles 26 and 27 of Constitution].

"All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law." [Article 25 (I) of the Constitution of Pakistan].

"Every citizen shall have the right to profess, practice and propagate his religion." [Art. 20 (a) of Constitution].

The Constitution imposes an obligation on the State to "safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of minorities, including their due representation in the Federal and Provincial services." Affirmative action to implement that provision includes reserved seats and weighted representation of minorities in Federal and Provincial Assemblies and elected urban and rural Councils.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Pakistan participated constructively in the preparatory work for this Conference. We shall do the same here, confident that under the wise and able leadership of the President, this conference will achieve significant success. The sagacious contribution of Secretary General Kofi Annan and the sincere endeavors of Human Rights High Commissioner, Mary Robinson, will be essential ingredients for a consensus outcome on ways and means to address and overcome the scourge of racism.

Racism and racial discrimination were inventions of the powerful. Their egocentric claims to superiority were self-serving illusions, rooted in avarice and exploitation. Colonial powers took shelter behind presumptuous slogans - "White man's burden", "Civilizing Mission" and "Manifest Destiny" - to justify slavery, colonial domination and exploitation. Indigenous populations of new continents were subjected to slaughter and genocide.

The past cannot be undone, but clearly the scars of deep wounds will not heal with the passage of time alone. Nor will verbal atonement suffice. A measure of restitution is necessary, through concrete affirmative action to redress the economic, social and psychological ravages suffered by victim communities.

Even while rectifying the wrongs of the past, the world community cannot be complacent about the present situation. Racism, xenophobia and intolerance persist. Millions have perished in the genocide in Rwanda, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia Herzegovina and in Kosovo. As we speak, savage repression is taking place in several parts of the world.

It is a sad commentary on the painful crawl of human civilization that policies of domination, racial prejudice, xenophobia and intolerance persist in our own time. Sadder still, politically motivated propagandists, sometimes in scholarly garb, concoct irrational theories to demonize people of other races and religions predicting, justifying and indeed inciting vendettas by one human community against another.

Mr. President,

Vilification of Islam, verging on racism, is an extremely disturbing trend. A billion Muslims alone outraged that their religion of peace, with its liberal, humanist ideals, is deliberately defamed and maligned by xenophobic lobbies.

It is sad that the Jewish people who were the victims of racism - the Holocaust - are themselves succumbing to false rationales to justify the Israeli repression and discrimination against Muslim and Arab peoples. An Israeli Prime Minister projected his country's policy against the Palestinian people as a fight against "the threat of Islamic terror groups not only to Israel (but to) all moderate regimes".

Projecting the Palestinian people's struggle for self determination as terrorism is a deliberate, discriminatory and unacceptable justification for the policies of blockade, assassinations, collective punishment and settler colonization which are being imposed against the Palestinian people. The Conference cannot but speak out on this issue.

It is sad that, in our own region, this theme of denigrating the struggle for self-determination as terrorism, and associating terrorism with Islam, is being actively promoted to justify the on-going brutal repression of the Kashmiri people. The effort by Indian publicists to exploit prevalent prejudices cannot mask the fact that seventy-five thousand Kashmiris have been killed in the last decade of their struggle for freedom. It is clear that a solution for Kashmir will have to respond to the wishes of the Kashmiri people, and that such a solution is essential to establish normal relations between Pakistan and India.

Mr. President,

During the preparations for this Conference, the OIC members adopted two non-papers which outlined their concerns relating to Palestine as well as Jammu and Kashmir and other issues of concern to the Islamic countries.

The OIC paper on Palestine has already been submitted during the negotiations in Geneva. I wish to inform the Conference of the Second OIC paper, whose text reads as follows:

"We express our concern at the grave violations of human rights in many parts of the world and express our determination to work together to prevent their occurrence. The victims of human rights violations in occupied Azerbaijan territories and in Jammu and Kashmir must never be forgotten.

We stress importance of full implementation of the Dayton peace accords in Bosnia/Herzegovina and economic recovery for the consolidation of peace and stability. We are deeply concerned about the difficulties faced by the returnees and the fate of over 20,000 missing persons and absence of functional central institutions."

Mr. President,

A contemporary and ugly manifestation of racism is the discrimination against non European migrants to the affluent countries. Resisting the logic of free movement of goods, capital and services, some industrialized States exclude immigrants on basis of race or national origin. Political parties in some of these countries openly engage in virulent tirades against Asian and African migrants. State authorities remain apathetic to discrimination in wages, housing, and education, and even to incidents of violence against migrants.

Some States prohibit discrimination on paper but do not act to prevent and punish violations. Their authorities abuse anti-terrorism laws to detain immigrants claiming to possess "secret evidence". Media in these countries promote prejudice and discrimination.

Xenophobic political groups in some countries openly proclaim and advocate discrimination and exclusion on basis of race or religion. Muslim girls and women are frequent victims in education and employment if they prefer to wear apparel appropriate to their own culture and tradition.

Paradoxically, some of these very countries criticize emergent polities for systemic imperfections and absence of complete equality among citizens. Ignoring the Biblical exhortation they behold the mote in their brother's eye but do not consider the beam in their own.

Mr. President,

Pakistan hopes that the Declaration and Programme of Action to be adopted by this Conference will reject imposition of concepts and value systems of one civilization on others. We must instead encourage harmony in diversity.

The Vatican is to be commended for launching the Interfaith Dialogue to overcome the prejudices of the past and strive for mutual understanding.

Similarly laudable is Iranian President Syed Mohammad Khatami's initiative for a "Dialogue among Civilizations".

The world community will benefit by promoting understanding and respect for all cultures and civilizations. It will inculcate tolerance between individuals, groups and nations.

This important conference provides an opportunity to initiate further programmes and actions to comprehensively address and overcome the scourges of racism, xenophobia and related intolerance.

Past crimes must be acknowledged and affirmative action set in motion to repair the ravages inflicted on human communities. To that end, Pakistan suggests that this Conference request the UN Secretary General to appoint a group of eminent experts with a mandate to recommend appropriate measures for redress and restitution.

We must uphold the rights of indigenous peoples and ethnic groups to retain and express their distinctive identities.

The rights of migrant and expatriate communities to maintain their cultural and religious identities must be forcefully affirmed.

Poverty is the consequence of and also a justification for racism. The elimination of racism can be most effectively advanced by bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, within and across national boundaries. This Conference must adopt recommendations for action at the national and international level to promote equitable economic development throughout the world on the basis of human solidarity. Globalization should advance global development.

National legislation must be adopted and effectively implemented to suppress and eradicate racist ideologies and practices. The sense of impunity for racist crimes

evident in certain societies must be eliminated through effective prosecution and swift retribution. Freedom of speech must not be a license for propagation of racist prejudice or religious intolerance.

Finally, as President Mbeki said yesterday, racism has always been an instrument for the exploitation and subjugation of other peoples. A central pillar of the struggle against racism is to enable peoples to exercise their right of self-determination. Experience has made it evident that suppression of this right is no longer an acceptable or wise option. A new international and political endeavour is requested to inject deeper and wider content into the right of self-determination in the modern era.

We believe this conference can make a difference.

We must act collectively to ensure action at the global level.

We must also commit us to take action at home.

If we do what we should, the world will be a better place for our peoples and for our children.

I thank you. ■

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

DOCUMENT # 10

Statement by the President of Pakistan on September 11, 2001 September 12, 2001

The people of Pakistan are deeply shocked and outraged at the dreadful terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, which have resulted in unprecedented loss of thousands of innocent lives. It is difficult to describe in words our sorrow and grief at this moment of national tragedy for the American people. I have conveyed the deepest condolences and sympathy of the people and Government of Pakistan to President George Bush, the bereaved families and the American people in a message last evening.

We strongly condemn this barbaric act of terrorism, which will live in memory as a most heinous crime against humanity. As the world tries to grasp the magnitude of the tragedy and mourns those who have perished, we pray for the recovery of thousands of others who have suffered injuries.

We regard terrorism as an evil that threatens the world community. Concerted international effort is needed to fight terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. The carnage in New York and Washington has raised this struggle to a new level. Pakistan has been extending cooperation to international efforts to combat terrorism in the past and will continue to do so. All countries must join hands in this common cause.

I wish to assure President Bush and the US Government of our unstinted cooperation in the fight against terrorism. ■

Reference: <http://www.forisb.org/PR01-161.htm>

DOCUMENT # 11**President Pervez Musharraf's Address to the Nation
September 19, 2001**

Asalam-o- Alaikum

I am here to talk about the episode of terrorism that we have all witnessed in New York which involved 45 countries and people of all ages were killed. There were capable Pakistanis and I would like to convey my deep sympathy to their family members.

America has 3 targets:

Osama Bin Laden (Al-Quaida Movement)

Taliban

International terrorism

Now I shall share with you the kind of support that they expect from us.

Intelligence - Information exchange

Use of Air Space

Logistic Support

No operations plans are ready or available at the moment.

Their target from the beginning has been Osama bin Laden, and his movement. Their second target is the Taliban. This has been their demand for many years - to bring Osama to trial. Now they have also announced a war against terrorism.

We do not have any details from the U.S of the exact nature of the support from us. But we do know that they have the support of the UN Security Council. The UN resolution specifies punishment for those committing terrorism. This has been supported by all the Islamic countries.

We in Pakistan are facing a very critical situation. Perhaps as critical as the events in 1971. If we make the wrong decisions our vital interests will be harmed.

I have discussed all this with my corps commanders, politicians and prominent Pakistanis. Tomorrow I am meeting the tribal chiefs. I have to say that opinions are divided, but the vast majority supports us. I would say that about 15% are tending towards emotional reactions.

Lets look at our neighbors. They have promised US all cooperation. They want to isolate us, get us declared a terrorist state.

They have met in Dushanbe with some other countries and plan to try and install anti Pakistani government in Afghanistan. So our neighbor is busy trying to harm us. If you see their television they are busy with propaganda against us.

I want to tell them to 'lay off'. Our forces are on full alert and ready for a do or die mission. In this situation if we make the wrong decisions it can be very bad for us. Our critical concerns are our sovereignty, second our economy, third our strategic assets (nuclear and missiles), and forth our Kashmir cause. All four will be harmed if we make the wrong decision. When we make these decisions they must be according to Islam.

It's not a question of bravery or cowardice. But bravery without thinking is stupidity. Allah has said that he who has 'hikmat' has a huge blessing. We have to save our interests. Pakistan comes first, everything else is secondary.

Some 'ulema' are trying to react on pure emotions. I want to remind them of Islam's early history. The moved from Mecca to Medina (hijrat). Was this (God forbid) cowardice? This was wisdom to save Islam.

Then when the Jews saw that Islam was getting stronger they started to conspire against the Muslims. When the Prophet (PBUH) saw this happening he signed a no war pact with his enemies in Mecca. I want to remind you of that pact. At the end of the pact, where his signature was required, the Meccans demanded that he cannot sign it as "Prophet Mohammed". The Prophet (PBUH) agreed.

The Prophet explained later that its best for Islam, and it's the right thing to do. And time proved him right. Six months later there was a war with the Jews and the Meccans did not support the Jews and the Muslim forces won. And some time after that Mecca also fell to Islamic mujahideen.

Let me say that I am concerned about Afghanistan and the Taliban. I have tried to convince world leaders not to impose sanctions on them in the past. I have tried my best, but sadly without much success.

In the present situation we have been trying to convince the Taliban to be wise. We have also asked the US for evidence about Osama bin Laden. Also how do we best serve Afghanistan's interests? By going against the world community or by working with the international community. I am sure you will agree with me that we can only do the later.

I also know that there are people who are using this to promote their personal agendas. At this time, we have to be make sure that our enemies do not succeed in their designs to harm us. Pakistan is regarded as a fort of Islam. If this fort is damaged, Islam will be damaged.

I ask you to trust me, like you trusted me when I went to Agra.

May Allah guide and protect us.

Pakistan Zindabad.■

Reference: <http://www.satp.org>

DOCUMENT # 12

The Joint Press Conference Addressed by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and the Visiting European Union Delegation September 25 2001

Opening Comments by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan

It is a great honour for me to welcome Deputy Prime Minister of Belgium, current President of the European Council Mr. Louis Michel, and his distinguished colleagues, Mr. Javier Solana, Mr. Chris Patten and Mr. Joseph Piqui, the next President of European Council. We greatly respect the members of the delegation for choosing this difficult moment to visit Pakistan. We consider it a manifestation of solidarity of the European Union with Pakistan at this difficult moment. The delegation has met with the President of Pakistan. As a witness to the conversation at the table, I am very glad to be able to tell you that the exchange of views between the President and the members of the delegation was very cordial, very inter-active and the President himself greatly appreciated this opportunity of his meeting with the delegation.

With these words I hand over the mike to the leader of the delegation, Mr. Louis Michel.

Statement by the Leader of the EU Delegation

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank sincerely my colleague, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. I also thank, of course, the President and the other colleagues we had the opportunity to meet. First of all, I want to say that we were very favorably impressed by the cordiality of Pakistani authorities.

As you know, a fortnight ago the world witnessed an act of terrorism which has no precedent. The world has reacted to these acts of barbarism with outrage and revulsion. Never again the terrorists will be allowed to commit such acts against human beings. Pakistan has taken a very courageous stand. It has decided to stand in solidarity with the United States. The EU considers this as a very great stance, which has our full and unreserved support. Pakistan has shown that it can and it is willing in very difficult circumstances to take up its responsibility as a member of the international community. The EU greatly appreciates this courageous posture.

Our Mission came to Pakistan to convey to the Pakistan Government and indeed to the entire world the message of full support from EU to Pakistan. The EU heads of State and Government met in Brussels last Friday and there was a general praise for the position the Pakistan Government has taken. I want you to know this. We also came to Pakistan to explain our policy in the fight against terrorism. Since 11 September, the EU has embarked on a strategy of full solidarity with the US in building a worldwide alliance against terrorism. What are the key elements of this EU policy? First of all solidarity, not only with the US but also with all those nations who want to join in the fight against terrorism. No country can combat this menace of terrorism alone. Only together the world can get rid of the evil of terrorism. Determination is another key element of the EU policy. Let there be no doubt about our resolve to bring to justice those responsible for those barbaric acts and all those who support or finance terrorists. There are no good and bad terrorists. The Washington and New York attacks have the impact on the entire international community of every faith and culture. The nature of our society makes it imperative to protect our citizens from terrorist attacks. Therefore, terrorism is a global challenge demanding a global answer. The EU heads of States and Government explicitly have rejected any equation of groups or political terrorists with the Arabs and Muslim world. They also emphasized the need to combat any nationalist, racist and xenophobic trends. The support of the Arab and the Muslim world to the international alliance against terrorism is essential. The EU wants to step up international actions against terrorism to a coordinated and inter-disciplinary approach embracing all possible means. The EU stated that on the basis of the UNSC Resolution 1368 response by the US is legitimate. The EU members are prepared to undertake such actions each according to its needs. These actions must be targeted and also be directed against states abetting, supporting and harboring terrorists. These are the key elements of the EU policy.

Let me add that for the EU, the integration of all countries into a very well system of security, prosperity and development is the condition for a strong and sustainable community for combating terrorism. The EU will give special attention to the problem of refugee flows, particularly the Afghan refugees. The EU also recognizes the difficulties Pakistan is facing as a result of recent developments. It wants to help overcome these difficulties by increasing its cooperation with Pakistan. We also think that time has come to try to build new conditions to improve and to build new

relationship between Pakistan and the European Union in order to construct and to feed a new long term partnership between Pakistan and European Union.

Statement by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan

The EU delegation has been here for few hours and we had a very short time at our disposal. But let me tell you that each and every minute of the stay has been fully utilized for the discussions between the delegation and the President, the Finance Minister and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

We have been deeply impressed by many things; but I want to highlight three or four points. Firstly, we have deeply welcomed the observation made by the delegation that any equation of fanatical terrorists with Arab or Muslim world is wrong. The terrorists are criminal and they must be dealt with as criminals. Secondly, we have deeply appreciated the emphasis that the delegation placed on the need for long-term cooperation at the global level in the fight against terrorism and that this cooperation needs to be continued so that the problem of terrorism can be eradicated and its root causes are eliminated. Thirdly, we have welcomed the decision of the EU to resume dialogue with Pakistan. We have traditionally very close and friendly relations with Europe. The EU countries are our biggest trading partners. We have maintained relationship between the Pakistan and the EU, but we look forward to further discussion and dialogue in order to increase cooperation between Pakistan and European Union in economic and trade fields. Finally, I wish to pay tribute to the distinguished members of the delegation for the sympathetic and friendly observations and remarks they have made with regard to the difficult situation in which Pakistan finds itself at this time, and we look forward to their continued interest and sympathy so that together we can cross this crisis.

Question-Answer Session

Q. Asked whether Pakistan was in touch with the Taliban at the moment and if Islamabad was also considering to sever diplomatic ties with Kabul like the UAE and Saudi Arabia, the Foreign Minister stated:

A. You must have read in the morning newspapers that because of difficult situation, Pakistan has withdrawn almost all personnel from our diplomatic and consular missions in Afghanistan. But we maintain contacts through the Afghanistan Embassy in Islamabad, and as the President said a few minutes ago, Pakistan is the only country that has contacts with the Government of Afghanistan. Maybe this can serve a window for communication between the world community and the Government of Afghanistan.

Q. When asked about the specific steps, which the European Union could take to help out Pakistan in its economic difficulties, a member of the delegation, Mr. Chris Patton, said:

A. The first thing we have told to the Government is that after the 14 August statement of President Musharraf regarding the road map to democracy we would be prepared to recommend to the European General Council to move to sign the (Third Generation) cooperation agreement with Pakistan which has been initialed. European Union will also assist Pakistan with its development. We appreciate the steps being taken by the Pakistan Government for economic revival. We are also conscious of the refugee burden on Pakistan, and EU has decided to allocate 20 million Euros. This will help in addressing this humanitarian crisis, and to ensure that Pakistan is not destabilized by this crisis. We will also provide Pakistan with development assistance.

Q. When his comments were sought on various moves being rumoured about with regard to support for Northern Alliance and installation of this or that government in Afghanistan, the Foreign Minister said:

A. I think it is very important for the world at large to understand Afghanistan. People of Afghanistan are fiercely protective of their independence. They have never accepted a proxy government imposed upon them from the outside and this factor must be borne in mind also for the future. Those who intervene in Afghanistan to plant their own preferred leaders there paid a very high price for that blunder.

Q. Asked if the remarks of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan should be taken as a warning to the United States, the Foreign Minister observed:

A. I am not warning any body. I was just answering a question, which implicitly blamed Pakistan of the rise of the Taliban Government. We ourselves, learning lessons from history, knowing our brothers in Afghanistan and their furious sense of independence, did not in the past and will not in future commit that blunder of trying to impose a government on that country.

Q. Asked as to how the EU delegation felt about the position taken by Pakistan against international terrorism, the leader of EU delegation said:

A. We are well aware that at present Pakistan faces a very delicate and difficult situation. We know that the particular case of Pakistan is not easy. We have been very impressed by the courageous stand that Islamabad has taken in this particular situation. We are here to show that we appreciate this position, which is of course very important. I think we have to see and understand that the position taken by the Government of Pakistan is not only a show of solidarity with the US but also a show of solidarity with and defence of human values. We have spoken with the President and the Ministers about the particular difficulties they face and we are here to bring our support and help to Pakistan.

Q. Asked as to what was the position of the EU vis-à-vis a popular demand emanating from various capitals of the world that the US must come out with a solid evidence against Osama bin Laden before going for any action against the Taliban, the leader of EU delegation said:

A. We were very happy listening to Mr. Colin Powell, when he announced the other day that there were solid proofs of Osama bin Laden's involvement in the recent events.

Q. To a question with regard to financing of terrorist groups across the globe, a member of the delegation said:

A. You know very well that in the last meeting of the European Union one of the most important things was to stop the financing of terrorist groups. We have talked to our friend and would remain in touch with them in future, too. We would make all the efforts in order to stop the financing of terrorist groups. I think this is a serious challenge with the international community should be taken up collectively.

Q. When his comments were sought on a recent meeting held in Dushambe, where Pakistan was accused of collaboration with NATO, the Foreign Minister said:

A. I am not aware of any accusation. But I want to take this opportunity to say that we are concerned to read news that Afghan groups are asking for foreign military assistance. The Northern Alliance has said so, and we fear that any such decision on the part of foreign powers to give assistance to one side or the other in Afghanistan, is a recipe for great suffering for the people of Afghanistan.

Secondly, immediately on seeing the attacks in New York and Washington, the Government of Pakistan made an announcement condemning international terrorism, extending condolence and sympathy to the American people and

announcing at the same time that Pakistan would implement the resolutions of the Security Council. Pakistan's policy for the fight against international terrorism is cast in the mould of the resolutions of the Security Council. Based on that principle, Pakistan can be relied upon to be steadfast in its cooperation in the fight against terrorism now and for the duration, which it has been necessary. ■

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

DOCUMENT # 13

Statement by Ambassador Shamshad Ahmad, the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations on Agenda Item 10: "Report of the Secretary General on the Work of Organization" 25 September 2001

Mr. President,

This year as we address ourselves to the Secretary-General's Annual report, we should be doing more than just a ritual. It is a different year that we look at in retrospect. The Millennium year, the first of the 21st Century, as it would be remembered in history, started with a renewed commitment of the UN membership at the highest level, to the timeless and universal purposes and principles of the Charter. Our leaders adopted the historic Millennium Declaration last year as a blueprint of their vision for the 21st century.

It is not a time for clichés and the same old complimentary or critical attributes to the Secretary-General's report. I think this comprehensive, focused and action-oriented report has been overtaken by events. The Secretary-General has himself added a postscript to his own report. We all read, the other day, his op-ed article in the New York Times, which could be made a new chapter of his report as an adjunct. He defines, in the wake of what we all saw with horror and shock in this city and in the city of Washington, a new challenge to humanity and the need for a global response. Terrorism is a universal evil with tentacles in all societies, irrespective of religion, ethnicity and even the level of affluence or development.

If ever there was a wake up call, it came on 11th September. This wake up call came not to any one country or any one society but to humanity as a whole. Consequently, it is humanity, which now has to respond to this challenge – this universal evil. Our response must not be based on retribution alone, nor on emotion or anger. It must be guided by wisdom and facts and motivated by the need to remedy the disease by addressing its root causes.

Terrorism lurks in the shadows and wilderness. It breeds on disillusionment and suspicion and on fear and hopelessness. It is fed by ignorance and poverty. It is exploited by hatred, resentment, and the perceived invasion of cultures. The roots of terrorism lie in the inequity of societies, in the despair of slums, and in the bewilderment of the human soul. This is a problem that has to be dealt with in a long-term manner. It needs a new, measured, sustained and holistic approach, which aims at rooting out injustice and oppression that lie at the heart of this phenomenon. The Secretary-General has rightly said in his article that the United Nations, as representative body of humanity, is uniquely placed to mobilize a concerted and continued response to the challenge that is before us. Let us hold each other's hands. Let us not turn our backs on each other. Let us strengthen each other. Let us respect each other and each other's culture and value systems. Let us enable this world body to play its Charter role in preventing conflicts and resolving disputes. Let us

persevere, as the Secretary-General has said, “in creating a stronger, more just, more benevolent and more genuine international community.”

Mr. President,

We in Pakistan abhor and condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, including state terrorism. We agree with the Secretary-General that the United Nations provides the forum and global legitimacy for a universal response against terrorism. Pakistan has pledged its full and unstinted support in the fight against international terrorism. This is a pledge, rooted in our commitment to the principles, for which my country stands. In the past, when the world was polarized between two ideologies, we chose the side that stood for freedom and justice. Today, we again stand on the side of right and we are still upholding the flag of freedom and justice.

Mr. President,

My comments on the Secretary-General’s report in light of the changed situation will have to be selective and focused. Indeed, we are today at a crossroad facing yet another defining moment. Last century was full of many defining moments. We saw great upheavals in the form of economic disasters and great wars during the first half of the 20th Century. The United Nations was born out of these upheavals to provide a moral edifice for the reordering of the global system. In the perennial struggle that runs through the history of mankind, the United Nations was to imprint what is good and combat what is evil.

Multilateral cooperation was to be the norm for resolving “all” global problems. The United Nations, as mankind's “last best hope” was to chart the way to a new and better world -- a world free of violence, injustice and oppression. The United Nations also signified the dawn of decolonization as the age of colonial and racial powers had run its course. In those early decades of the 50s, 60s and 70s, the peoples of Kashmir, Palestine, South Africa, Namibia and those from scores of other regions won legitimacy as well as political and moral endorsement for their just causes. Unfortunately, the world today is still experiencing violence, injustice and oppression. The struggle of those who remain deprived of their legitimate inalienable rights continues.

Mr. President,

We note in the Secretary-General’s report the reference to both Kashmir and Palestine – two of the longest unresolved disputes of our time. We agree with his assessment that “the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians can be resolved only through a political settlement.” We also agree with his observation that the tragic loss of life has underlined the urgency of reaching a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict on the basis of Security Council resolutions. His observations on Palestine are equally valid for Kashmir, where also thousands of innocent lives have been lost necessitating an early solution of the problem in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council.

Mr. President,

We are happy that the Secretary General was able to visit South Asia in March and lent his support for the resumption of bilateral dialogue between Pakistan and India. The dialogue was indeed resumed later in the year. We hope that the Secretary-General and the international community will continue to encourage this dialogue to meaningfully reach its logical and honourable conclusion – a final settlement of the Kashmir issue in accordance with the Security Council resolutions and in conformity with the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

Pakistan, for its part, remains fully committed to sustaining a purposeful and result-oriented dialogue with India with a view to finding a just and equitable settlement of the core dispute of Kashmir and addressing other outstanding issues. We seek durable peace with India. Both our countries need to free ourselves from the legacy of the last century, and begin a new relationship focusing on the socio-economic development of our peoples.

Another conflict, which has eluded resolution for over two decades, is Afghanistan. Today, it is the focus of the world community in a tragic context. As the international community responds to the current crisis, it must also address the grave humanitarian situation in that country through reconstruction and reconciliation. We welcome the Secretary General's offer in his report that the UN is prepared to assist "in the political, developmental and humanitarian fields in order to address the root causes of instability".

Pakistan has for more than two decades borne the burden of millions of Afghan refugees. We continue to host the world's largest refugee population, which touched the peak figure of 4.5 million in the 1980's, while the international assistance continued to progressively decline. As rightly pointed out by the Secretary General in his report, this year alone 200,000 Afghans have left their homes due to protracted conflict and acute drought conditions and sought shelter in Pakistan. With the situation unfolding before us, the UNHCR is of the view that nearly 1.5 million more Afghan refugees may enter Pakistan. How the international community copes with the impending humanitarian crisis will be a real test not only of its ability but also of its moral responsibility. We appreciate the personal interest that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Ruud Lubbers, is taking in this emerging humanitarian crisis.

Mr. President,

We note with satisfaction that one area where the United Nations has begun to improve its performance in the last year is peacekeeping. It is in no small measure a tribute to determination of this Organization and the world community to work effectively towards a common goal. Pakistan, as a leading troop contributing country, has also played its due role both here in UN headquarters and in the field. We, as ever, remain committed to supporting this Organization in its efforts to maintain international peace and security. We are encouraged by the Secretary-General's interest in conflict-prevention and peacemaking and we urge him to broaden the scope of his efforts and that of this Organization to cover those areas which have thus far not received due attention by the international community.

Another area that deserves greater attention of the international community is the eradication of poverty. At the Millennium Summit, our leaders "resolved to wage war on poverty by launching a sustained campaign to make the right to development a reality for everyone." We need concrete steps to achieve this goal. We agree with the Secretary-General that if the international community is to meet its goals of development and poverty eradication, economic growth in developing countries must accelerate. To this end, we are currently pursuing the financing for development process in a holistic manner with the participation of all major stakeholders including the Bretton Woods Institutions. This process cannot produce miracles but it is worth making a collective effort to create an enabling environment for socio-economic growth.

While we must do more, as the Secretary-General says, "to render globalization inclusive and equitable," for the international community, this "daunting" task acquires an added importance and urgency in light of the new grim reality we face

today. The world community, and this Organization must, therefore, think long and hard at its priorities and the ways it deals with those parts of the world or societies which have missed out on the benefits of our times. Thus, in the context of globalization, it becomes all the more necessary and urgent, that the United Nations must seriously review its policies and programmes to deal with the new challenge, which has unfortunately redefined this new Century. We must, therefore, respond appropriately and review our policies. The conditions in which we live have now been changed forever. Let us hope that the best that is in our humanity has not.

The Founding Fathers of this Organization had a vision. They envisioned a future where our succeeding generations would live in peace and prosperity, a world order based on our faith in fundamental human rights, socio-economic equity, rule of international law and dignity of human beings and justice. Let us re-affirm those ideals and re-dedicate ourselves to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

I thank you, Mr. President. ■

<http://www.forish.org>

DOCUMENT # 14

**Statement by Ambassador Shamshad Ahmad, the Permanent Representative of
Pakistan to the United Nations at the General Assembly on agenda item
"Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism"
2 October 2001**

Mr. President,

Only a year ago, our leaders assembled in this great city, the capital of the world, to reaffirm their faith in the ideals of the United Nations and to pledge to work together for a better world, a more peaceful and just world. They renewed their commitment to the timeless and universal purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The new millennium gave us a new hope embedded in the fundamental values of mankind — the values of freedom, equality, justice, solidarity, tolerance and shared responsibility.

Unfortunately, hard realities seem to have intervened in our journey to our envisioned goal. We were struck by a new face of universal evil that we call terrorism. This scourge knows no geographic boundaries and haunts all regions, countries and societies. The terrorists did not strike at the World Trade Center -- they struck at the World. It was an attack against humanity. Nationals of more than 80 countries, including from my own, lost their lives in this tragedy.

Our hearts go out to the bereaved families and we pray for the departed souls. We also pray for those who are still missing. We share the grief and indignation of the people of the United States and stand by them in this hour of their supreme national tragedy.

Mr. President,

We have had occasions to pay tributes to this city, its people and administration for being wonderful hosts to the UN and for making it possible for the world community's leaders to assemble here in the cause of peace and security and other great causes of humanity, not only in yearly sessions and meetings but also for historic summits and conferences.

Today we pay tribute to the city and the people of New York and those who manage its stupendous affairs in felicity and adversity, for the valour, forbearance and compassion with which they handled this tragedy. We compliment Governor Pataki and Mayor Giuliani for leading this unprecedented operation. We were privileged to have with us in this Plenary, Mayor Giuliani, and to share with him our thoughts and sentiments over this tragedy.

Mr. President,

At the UN, despite diversity in regions and religions, cultures and values, economic and political disparities that we all represent here, our reaction was spontaneous and swift. We condemned the terrorist attacks in the United States and resolved to work together not only to bring the perpetrators to justice but also to prevent and suppress terrorism. The Security Council and the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolutions on 12 September providing legitimacy to the international coalition against this abominable phenomenon. To underscore the seriousness of our purpose in dealing with the question of terrorism, we took an exceptional step by shifting this debate from its traditional forum, the Sixth Committee, to the Plenary of the General Assembly B the chief deliberative, policy making and representative organ of the UN system.

Mr. President,

My own country, Pakistan, which abhors terrorism and deplors violence of all sorts and scales, did not hesitate to respect and accept the international consensus. We have always condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, including state terrorism. We have never condoned acts of terrorism and have been cooperating with international community in combating this universal evil. Today again, we have pledged our full support and unstinted cooperation to the fight against terrorism.

We welcome this important and serious issue being discussed in the Plenary of the General Assembly. The resultant approach shall, of course, be encapsulated in the resolution to be worked out in the Sixth Committee. Meanwhile, the Security Council has also adopted a comprehensive resolution last Friday giving the fight against terrorism a new momentum. It obliges all member states to deny financing, support and safe haven to terrorists. We hope that this coupled with the existing international conventions relating to terrorism would provide an effective normative framework to the world community to deal with this global menace.

We in Pakistan will continue to abide by our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. President Musharraf has clearly pronounced our policy on this matter and has taken our people into confidence in support of our decision to be part of international coalition against terrorism. It is a difficult path but we are determined to support what is right and what is just.

Mr. President,

As we seek to grapple with the worst ever challenge to humanity, our approach should not be cosmetic nor guided by emotion or anger. Surely the perpetrators of terrorism, whosoever they are and wherever they may be, must be brought to justice. But our battle must not remain confined to retaliation and retribution alone. We must tackle the causes that give rise to forces of hatred and violence. Individual acts of madness or behavioral insanity of groups that snuff innocent lives are both crime and disease. Crimes must be punished; disease treated at its roots.

International conventions and resolutions are indeed necessary. We must implement them. Freezing of assets, closing of bank accounts, denying safe haven and

information sharing are important steps in controlling terrorist acts. For a long-term solution, we must unearth the source of the problem and diagnose the disease beneath the skin. Sheer bandages will not heal the wounds that are rooted in the injustices of systems and societies.

No matter what actions we might contemplate against terrorism, this faceless enemy, which lurks on the shadows of fear and frustration, breeds on hatred and disillusionment and fed by ignorance and poverty will not disappear unless we build global harmony and stability through mutual tolerance and shared prosperity. It will continue to haunt us if the roots of terrorism which lie in the inequality of societies, in the exploitation of downtrodden, in the denial of fundamental rights and in the sense of injustice are not addressed. It would be too simplistic to merely focus on the symptoms or their ugly manifestations. Terrorism has now emerged as a different challenge which has to be dealt with in a resolute and measured manner.

Mr. President,

Terrorism is the negation of human dignity. Human dignity can neither be achieved nor guaranteed in an environment of abject poverty and denial of inalienable rights. Most countries, if not all, represented here today have at one point in history or another chosen their own destinies based on the principle of self-determination of peoples. Yet, in contravention of this universal principle, there are peoples even today who remain deprived of their fundamental right of self-determination. The Security Council resolutions pertaining to their destiny and future remain unimplemented in the archives of this Organization. It is time for courageous decisions, for correcting historic wrongs and for redressing endemic injustices. Our universal obligation to fight terrorism in all its forms must not deflect us from the need for a just, lasting and honorable settlement of the Palestine and Kashmir disputes, which will bring durable peace and stability to the world at large.

Mr. President,

In the face of the current crisis, we fear an impending humanitarian tragedy. Millions of Afghans are leaving their homes in the fear of war. Pakistan, which has been home to world's largest refugee population for more than two decades, is now faced with the massive new influx of nearly 1.5 million Afghan refugees. Secretary-General Kofi Annan has called for a donor alert. UNHCR has issued warnings about the magnitude of the emerging humanitarian crisis. How the international community responds to this crisis will be a real test not only of its ability but also of its moral responsibility.

To make our world better, we also need economic well being in all parts of the world. At the Millennium Summit last year, our leaders resolved "to wage a war on poverty, to make the right to development a reality for everyone and to free the entire human race from want". We need concrete steps to achieve this goal. The ongoing Financing for Development process gives us an opportunity to address this issue in a holistic manner with the participation of all major stakeholders including the Bretton Woods institutions and private sector. We must initiate, through this process, a collective effort towards new patterns of cooperation in terms of trade, partnership and interdependence.

I would like to conclude by quoting from the preamble of President Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points: "It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for

our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us".

I thank you, Mr. President. ■

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DOCUMENT # 15

Statement by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar at the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, Doha, State of Qatar October 10 2001

Excellency Mr. Chairman,
Excellencies and Dear Brothers,
Respected Secretary General,
Distinguished Delegates,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

The terrorist outrage on 11 September triggered worldwide shock and horror, evoking condemnation of the criminal act, grief and sorrow for the victims, condolence for the families, and sympathy and solidarity with the people of the United States. Governments, including those of the OIC countries, voiced these sentiments spontaneously. States, including ours, supported the UN General Assembly resolution of September 12.

Our position is thus clear and emphatic. Yet we instinctively felt that individual statements were not enough. The magnitude of the crime and its circumstances, and the dangers that surfaced, called for a Special Session to proclaim a collective position by the Islamic Conference.

We need to tell the world that Islam is a religion of peace, that it considers human life sacred, and that it abhors the killing of innocent people. The eternal principles of our faith equate murder of a single person with murder of humanity. Anyone who violates this injunction is doomed to eternal damnation.

We need to explain this urgently. Hostile lobbies have been engaged in perverse propaganda against Islam spreading prejudice and hatred against the Muslim people. Muslim residents in Western countries are exposed to discrimination and danger.

This special session of the ICFM was therefore an imperative necessity, in defence of our collective interest. Our Brother and distinguished colleague, Excellency Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim bin Jabor Al-Thani is entitled to our heartfelt appreciation and compliments for the efforts he made to consult with the Member States in favour of an early meeting.

Having joined the fight against international terrorism Pakistan took up the question of the defamation of Islam. President Pervez Musharraf spoke to world leaders. Thanks also to the intercessions made by other Muslim statesmen, we are relieved that the United States and the European Union have contained the anti-Islam campaign.

In charting the course of policy in response to events following 11 September; President Pervez Musharraf acted as is to be expected of a leader. He embarked on extensive consultations with opinion leaders from all sections of the Pakistani

society. He sought the counsel of farsighted leaders of friendly and fraternal States. He is grateful to them for their encouragement and support, as am I to Brother Foreign Ministers who kindly shared their valuable views with me.

Our policy is cast in the mould of international legality. Our Government decided we would do whatever lay in our means to implement the Security Council Resolution of September 12, as we had decided in respect of the resolutions on Afghanistan, namely, 1267 (1999) and 1333 (2000).

Excellencies and Dear Brothers:

You are well aware that Pakistan cherishes great respect and affection for Afghanistan, our neighbour, and friend. Our President therefore, sent high-level emissaries to Kabul and Kandahar to share our best information and assessment with the Taliban leadership. We apprised them of our reading of the dangers implicit in the situation resulting from the September 11 catastrophe, and the necessity of compliance with Security Council Resolutions.

We also took initiatives to promote contacts between officials of Afghanistan and important foreign countries in the hope that solutions could be found through peaceful means.

Regrettably, our efforts failed, and Afghanistan came under military attack. Still we continue to make all efforts to alleviate the suffering of the people of Afghanistan. We have been told that the Coalition forces will not target the people of Afghanistan, We hope that the military action will be limited to the aims identified in the Security Council resolutions.

Also, we have urged the United Nations to provide humanitarian relief inside Afghanistan so as to prevent exodus. Already our resources are strained and the continued presence of three million refugees has created onerous problems for our Government and people. Still compassion has moved us to admit over fifty thousand displaced persons in the past month.

Peace and stability has long eluded Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan deserve an end to their travail. Time has come for the Afghan parties to show greater accommodation for national reconciliation.

Efforts need to be intensified for the promotion of a broad-based, representative and multiethnic government in Afghanistan. The UN Secretary General is reinvigorating his initiative. OIC could supplement these efforts.

Peace and stability in Afghanistan calls for a genuinely representative government taking into account the demographic structure of the nation and assure participation to its major ethnic components. Any attempt by one Afghan group or the other to impose its rule on Afghanistan with outside assistance, would be a recipe for further strife and chaos.

For the sake of the Afghan people it must be hoped that the current military operation will be short, that a broad-based government will then be formed and focus would shift to reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan. This time the world must not leave Afghanistan in the lurch. The Islamic countries would no doubt wish to participate in assistance to fraternal Afghanistan.

One other aspect merits our close attention. In order to eradicate terrorism the world community will need to address its root causes. These are basically political and their common feature is injustice. Failure to resolve problems involving fundamental human right in conformity with principles of justice and law breeds hopelessness and desperation that can drive individuals to extremism and irrationality.

The world community needs to look beyond the present and lay emphasis on the longer-term perspective. We must begin the process of eradication of the root causes of terrorism.

Palestine in the Middle East and Kashmir in South Asia have bled for more than a half century. Millions of people have suffered denial of their fundamental rights, and oppression and repression of their freedom struggles. Tens of thousands of innocent people have been killed by occupation forces of States. The world must ask itself Who is the terrorist? The victim or the perpetrator of repression and death? In closing, we unequivocally reiterate condemnation of the terrorist attacks of 11 September. And even as the world community resolves to fight terrorism, it must simultaneously reaffirm its commitment to ensure justice. It must honour the pledge given in the Charter of the United Nations. Disputes and issues should be settled peacefully but they need to be solved, and solved in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

A future better than the past can only be built on the foundation of justice. ■

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DOCUMENT # 16

US Secretary of State's Visit to Pakistan

Joint Press Conference

October 16, 2001

President Musharraf: (In Arabic: In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful) Ladies and gentlemen, I welcome you to this press conference. Let me say that we have had very useful discussions. The visit of the United States' Secretary of State comes at a time of great challenge for Pakistan. His presence here symbolizes the new, rejuvenated relationship between Pakistan and the United States. We discussed a whole range of bilateral issues. The two sides agreed to work together in order to develop and strengthen cooperation in all possible areas. The terrorist outrage in New York and Washington on 11th September was rightly condemned by the whole world community. The government and people of Pakistan spontaneously expressed shock and grief over the death of innocent people, offered condolences to the bereaved families all over the world and affirmed solidarity with the American people. We joined the world community in offering cooperation to bring perpetrators, organizers, and sponsors of the terrorist attacks to justice. Compliance with the relevant United Nations 'Security Council Resolutions' by the Taliban government would have saved Afghanistan from the damage it is suffering since 7th of October.

We grieve for the innocent victims in Afghanistan. We regret that the Government of Afghanistan jeopardized the interests of millions of its own people. Our decision to support the international campaign against terrorism in all its manifestations is based on Principles.

The extraordinary session of the OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference) Foreign Ministers held on the 10th of October has endorsed this position taken by Pakistan. It has also denounced the minority and fringe voices that tried to cause harm to Islam and the Muslims. I emphasized to the Secretary that the root-causes of most acts of terrorism lie in political oppression and denial of justice. In order to achieve durable peace or durable results, the Current war on terrorism must address

and eliminate its root-causes. The situation in Afghanistan presents a challenge as well as an opportunity. We should focus not only on combating terrorism, but also on helping the Afghans establish a durable political system and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of their country.

We agreed that durable peace in Afghanistan would only be possible through the establishment of a broad-based multi-ethnic government representing the demographic contours of Afghanistan freely chosen by the Afghans without outside interference. Former King Zahir Shah, political leaders, moderate Taliban leaders, elements from the Northern Alliance, tribal elders, the Afghans living outside their country, all can play a role in this regard. The political process needs to be placed on a fast track in order to forestall the possibility for a political vacuum. It should not lag behind the fast-moving events in the military field nor should any attempt be made by any waning faction to impose itself on Afghanistan in the wake of the military strikes against the Taliban.

The success of any political process will also depend on the economic conditions. Afghanistan has been destroyed by over two decades of conflict. The socioeconomic infrastructure has been devastated. Agriculture is in ruins. Pastures have been destroyed. Millions of mines litter the landscape. A massive reconstruction effort is required to revive the economy.

Assistance would also be required for the repatriation of the millions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran and for the millions of Afghans displaced internally due to fighting, drought, and economic difficulties. A durable political settlement, economic reconstruction and return of the Afghans to their country would also eliminate the terrorists who have found safe havens in a war-torn Afghanistan. This is why I believe that the military campaign in Afghanistan should be short and targeted and it should be followed immediately by application of viable political and economic strategies.

I briefed Secretary Powell about Pakistan's desire to develop tension-free relations with India. I emphasized that normalization of relations would require that the Kashmir dispute is resolved in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

Kashmir remains at the heart of Pakistan-India tension. We agreed on the need for the two sides to address this and other bilateral issues with sincerity and with a sense of purpose; Secretary Powell informed me about USA's willingness to play a helpful role in the resolution of Pakistan-India differences.

We agreed that peace and stability in South Asia is not only in the interest of Pakistan and India, but also of the entire region and the world at large.

In the end, I would like to say that we have ushered in an era of closer bilateral relations between Pakistan and the United States. Thank you very much.

Secretary Powell: Thank you very much, Mr. President. Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to be here in Pakistan and I have had excellent discussions with the President, his cabinet, and colleagues in the course of the morning and our discussions will continue into the afternoon. President Bush asked me to come to Pakistan to demonstrate our enduring commitment to our relationship with Pakistan. We are focusing today on the terrorist threat emanating from Afghanistan, the Al-Qaida organization and Osama bin Laden.

But we did not stop there. We are also looking forward to strengthening our cooperation on a full range of bilateral and regional issues. And I made the point to the President that this is not just a temporary spike in our relationship, but, we believe, as a result of the actions taken by Pakistan over the last five weeks, we are truly at the beginning of a strengthened relationship, a relationship that will grow and thrive in the months and years ahead.

We have had good talks today on how to build on our current excellent cooperation against international terrorism. The United States views that what we are building here is, as I just said, a solid foundation for a long-term and improved relationship. I expressed our thanks to President Musharraf for his bold and courageous actions as part of the global coalition against international terrorism.

I also expressed our condolences for the many Pakistanis who were lost in the attacks on September 11. It reminds us once again that this attack in New York and the attacks in Washington and what happened in Pennsylvania, but especially, in New York, was an attack against the civilized world.

Some 80 nations lost citizens in that attack and we must always keep that uppermost in mind. I expressed our thanks to President Musharraf for coming forward so quickly and recognizing that the attacks of September 11 may have taken place on the American soil, but they were in fact attacks on Pakistan as well as all members of the civilized world.

As we met today in Pakistan, a great Muslim nation, I reiterated we have no quarrel with the Islamic faith or the Afghan people. Our campaign is against those who pervert a great religion in the service of evil. We also discussed how to ease the plight of the Afghan refugees who are fleeing Taliban misrule. Pakistan has played a leading role in receiving and caring for Afghan refugees for many years and the United States has been the largest foreign donor of humanitarian aid.

Even today, as part of our military campaign, US planes have been dropping badly needed food supplies to the Afghan people. We also discussed, as the President noted, of mutual interest in a stable Afghanistan. I shared with him and he shared with me our thoughts on how to begin the process of rebuilding Afghanistan even as the military element of our strategy continues and how to help the people of that country establish a stable broad-based government one that does not harbor terrorists and one that welcomes refugees instead of produced them.

I also reassured Pakistan of America's support and the support of the international community as Pakistan joins the international community in this campaign. For example, President Bush has lifted a number of sanctions to allow us to resume cooperation with Pakistan. We have also helped reschedule 379, million dollars in Pakistan's bilateral debt and voted for new IMF loans.

We had a very straightforward discussion on the debt problem that is facing Pakistan. And I have told the President that I would take his strong message of what needs to be done back to my colleagues, in Washington and do everything we can to address the debt issue with rescheduling and with respect to other activities that we can take that will help Pakistan in this time of need. Finally, we discussed ways to promote stability in South Asia, which, we all know, is a critically important part of the world. I praised President Musharraf's recent phone call to Prime Minister Vajpayee and we, too, believe that the Kashmir issue is central to the relationship and can be resolved if all parties are engaged with a willingness to address the concerns in mutually acceptable ways.

Issues must be resolved through peaceful, political and diplomatic means, not through violence and reliance on force, but, with a determined respect for human rights. The campaign against Al-Qaida and Osama bin Laden and those who harbor them is our top priority. This is what brought me here today, but I am also confident that over a period of time we will be able to expand our cooperation to accomplish the full range of bilateral and multilateral issues that are of importance to both the nations,

President Musharraf's commitment to return Pakistan to democracy will enhance his effort to deepen social reform, improve education, and improve the lives of his

people, We share those important and lofty goals and, in the coming months, the United States will take concrete steps to strengthen Pakistan's economy and further broaden our commercial and trade ties. Together, we can accomplish great things and the American people look forward to the challenge of working with the people of Pakistan in the achievement of those goals. I shall be happy along with the President to take a few questions.

Q. While condemning terrorism of September 11 and expressing heart-felt sympathies with your great country, I will to know your views about the struggle of the oppressed people granted by the United Nations Security Council against oppressive regimes which is fairly and sternly still engaged in state terrorism, How would you differentiate between such legitimate movements and terrorism? My clear reference is towards the dispute of Kashmir and will you impress upon India to refrain from state terrorism towards the Kashmiri people?

Thank you.

A. Secretary Powell: In my conversations here and my conversations in India, I will press upon both sides as I have already done here today and it is not a matter of pressing, we have a mutual view on this, that dialogue between the two sides is important, that terrorism has no place in the civilized world and I have expressed my thanks to the President for his condemnation of terrorism of the kind that we saw in Sri nagger on the 151 of October. Mutual respect for each other, a desire to accommodate the aspirations of the Kashmiri people and respect for avoiding confrontation, but, above all, the beginning of a dialogue between the two sides is the most important thing that is needed now. And that is the message I will also be taking to India.

Q. Could you please clarify the situation? There have been a couple of different stories. One is that the Taliban's Foreign Minister has defected, the second one is that there is an offer on the table presented by the President last night to you that the Taliban are prepared to hand over Osama bin Laden in exchange for two or three days of halting of the bombardment. Can you tell us if there is any other offer on the table that could resolve this?

A. Secretary Powell: The President did not say that to me last night. And with respect to where the foreign minister is, I cannot confirm where he is.

Q. Secretary Powell, what assurances have you offered to President Musharraf that any post- Taliban government in Afghanistan would be one that is friendly to Pakistan and did you meet with the representatives who are here, representing Zahir Shah, in the meeting with the Pakistani Government and President Musharraf? Are you prepared to support a US military campaign in Afghanistan as long as it lasts, as long as you believe it needs to last, in other words, is there a deadline that's in your mind for such a campaign?

A. Secretary Powell: I did not meet with representatives of the King who are here. With respect to your first question, in our discussions there was no doubt that both our common goal of seeing that the post- Taliban government in Kabul would be one than represent all the people of Afghanistan and would be a regime that would, obviously be friendly towards all its neighbors, including Pakistan. There has to be one of our goals, otherwise, we are just creating a new situation of instability and potential violence.

President Musharraf: On my part of the question, we have decided to be with the coalition in the fight against terrorism and whatever operation is going on in Afghanistan within the parameters, within three parameters which have been enUllciated, the intelligence cooperation, use of air space and logistical support. And to this extent, will certainly carryon cooperating as long as the operation lasts.

There's no deadlines which have been fixed as you have indicated, but, one real hopes that the operation is short and obviously the duration of, operation is relative to the achievement of military objectives. Therefore, one hopes that the military objectives are achieved and the operation is short.

Q. President Musharraf, may I ask what you mean by "moderate" Taliban." Is there such a thing? Mr. Secretary, does the United States agree that a moderate Taliban belongs in a new Afghanistan?

A. President Musharraf: Certainly, there are a lot of moderate Taliban. Yes, I certainly believe so. Extremism is not in every Taliban that one comes across. I would not like to get into the details of who are moderates, but one knows for sure that there are many moderate elements within the Taliban community.

Secretary Powell: The term "Taliban" defines the current regime but also defines a group of individuals, a group of people. And if you get rid of the regime there would still be those who might find that the teachings and the feeling and the beliefs of that movement are still very important and, to the extent, that they are willing to participate in the development of a new Afghanistan, with everybody being represented, then, we would have to listen to them, or, at least, take them into account. You cannot export them. You cannot send them to another country. You cannot ethnically cleanse Afghanistan after this is over, but, you can certainly get rid of this particular regime that has driven this country to such devastation and see whether those who used to be adherents of such regime are now willing to participate in a different kind of government where the rights of all are respected and where it is accepted by the international community.

Q. Our President has advised you or given the proposal that this operation against Afghanistan should be short and should be target-oriented and, Pakistan has also concerns about Northern Alliance being included in the broad-based government that you are looking for. What are your comments on this?

A. Secretary Powell: First of all, we would like the military campaign to be as short as possible. We have no desire to extend the campaign beyond the achievement of its goal. As the President said, it has to be as long as necessary to achieve the military goal. With respect to the Northern Alliance, I think we both agree that all elements have to be included in discussions concerning the future of Afghanistan that would include the Northern Alliance, the Southern Taliban leaders and all other elements. When you say broad-based, it means all have to have an opportunity to participate in how Afghanistan will be governed in the future.

Q. President Musharraf, your country, according to a Gallup poll and certainly, the symptoms on the street is very much against the US-led campaign, 87 per cent against the military strikes. How can you sustain your support if this does become an open-ended commitment and it is not short and targeted as we are sure that Secretary Powell would like it to be? What if it does take a long time as many US military officials have projected?

A. President Musharraf: First of all, I would like to say that the results of the polls ought to be taken with a pinch of salt because it depends on how you address the question and you get the results, accordingly. However, having said that, one would like to say, certainly majority of the people are against the operation in Afghanistan. They would like to see this operation to be terminated as fast as possible and that is what I would urge the coalition to achieve the military objective and terminate the operation. However, one more factor needs to be taken, into account the majority of the people of Pakistan are with my government's action. That also is a result of the same Gallup Poll that you are talking of. So, may be you have to analyze both parts

and see which one features where. There is a degree of dichotomy in the results of each question.

Q. A question for Secretary Powell. You have expressed thanks for the "bold and courageous actions" as you put it, of President Musharraf at the same time, the United States has frozen the assets of a major charity, the Rabita charity, and there are hundreds of schools teaching young boys in this country that Osama bin Laden is a hero. How can you win a war against terrorism if children and young men are being taught that Osama is a role model?

A. Secretary Powell: I think it is false teaching. What kind of a role model is it to be someone who invades another country, helps destroy it, uses it for evil purposes and then goes out murdering innocent civilians and claims he is doing that on the basis of his faith that provides for no such action on the part of anyone. So it is false teaching. I am confident that as Pakistan moves forward it will put in place an education system that will teach respect for all faiths, that will be balanced and will be concerned as much about educating youngsters for a bright future as it will be about teaching them false lessons about evil people.

President Musharraf: I would like to chip in with whatever the Secretary has said and I totally agree with him. I think these are extremist views and these are extremist tendencies which are not wide-based at all in Pakistan. Therefore, we need to take deeper actions, long-term actions, to check such extremist views.

Q. You have spoken a lot about a post-Taliban Afghanistan. How close do you think the regime is to collapsing?

A. Secretary Powell: I do not know and I think it best not to speculate. I think the regime is under enormous pressure. Every neighbor that it has, has turned against it. It is the subject of the efforts of the entire international community to go after its finances. There is also a military campaign being directed against it and there are forces inside the country that are operating against it. So, it is under enormous pressure, but, I cannot tell you when that pressure will cause it to collapse. I just cannot put a time line on it.

Q. Do you see any anecdotal evidence about what you are seeing in Taliban forces?

A. Secretary Powell: There is anecdotal evidence that some of the leaders are defecting and that some of the provinces have shifted allegiance. But it does not yet paint a complete picture that I can have confidence in.

Q. President Musharraf, the objective, you have said you would like to have it achieved quickly. What objective would you like to gain? Would you like the action carried out to be terminated quickly and what exactly would be the objective?

A. President Musharraf: No, I would not like to go into the details of the military implementation or the military operation. But, this is in the realm of the military action that you certainly need to identify the military objectives to be achieved and then push through those objectives through military action. I would not like to go into the details of what military objectives specifically are.

Thank you. ■

DOCUMENT # 17**Moscow Declaration Between Indian and the Russian Federation on
International Terrorism
November 6, 2001**

India and the Russian Federation affirm that international terrorism is a threat to peace and security, a grave violation of human rights and a crime against humanity. The struggle against international terrorism has become one of the priority tasks of the world community. This evil can be vanquished only by combining the efforts of all States.

Whatever be the motive of their perpetration – political, ideological, philosophical, racial, ethnic, religious or any other, terrorist acts are unjustifiable.

India and the Russian Federation support the adoption on the basis of international law of decisive measures against all States, individuals, and entities which render support, harbour, finance, instigate or train terrorists or promote terrorism. It is essential that all States, without exception, should pay particular attention to the prevention of access of terrorists and extremist organisations and groups to financial resources on the basis of international law.

In multi-ethnic and democratic countries such as India and the Russian Federation, violent actions being perpetrated under the slogan of self-determination, in reality represent acts of terrorism which in most cases have strong international links. In addition, all acts and methods and practices of terrorism constitute a grave violation of the purposes and the principles of the United Nations, jeopardise friendly relations amongst States and are aimed at destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and democratic basis of society. Multi-ethnic and democratic societies are especially vulnerable to acts of terrorism which are an attack against the values and freedoms enshrined in such societies.

Fully resolved to developing cooperation in the struggle against new challenges in international terrorism including in the nuclear, chemical, biological, space, cybernetics and other spheres, both Sides noted the presence of close nexus between terrorism and illegal trafficking in narcotics, trade in arms and organised crime and pointed to the significance of the need for close interaction at the bilateral, as also at the multilateral level in combating these challenges to international stability and security.

India and the Russian Federation are closely following the development of the situation in and around Afghanistan and emphasise the necessity to avert the spilling over of the conflict beyond the boundaries of one region, to prevent further extension of terrorism. The Sides accorded highest priority to the continuation of effective interaction on Afghanistan in the framework of the Indo-Russian Joint Working Group on Afghanistan established between the two countries in October 2000.

India and the Russian Federation reaffirmed the central role of the United Nations in the efforts of the international community in the struggle against terrorism. They agreed that such a struggle must be conducted on the basis of international law including the United Nations Charter. In this connection, the Sides called for early completion of negotiations under U.N. auspices on the draft Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism and the Convention for the suppression of acts of Nuclear Terrorism. Adoption of these Conventions would assist in

strengthening the international legal basis for effectively combating the global menace of terrorism.

Signed on 6th November 2001 at Moscow in two originals, each in Hindi, Russian and English languages. ■

Atal Behari Vajpayee
Prime Minister of the Republic of India

Vladimir Putin
President of the Russian Federation
Moscow

Reference: <http://www.meadev.nic.in/foreign/moscow-decl.htm>

DOCUMENT # 18

President Pervez Musharraf's Speech at 56th UNGA Session November 10, 2001

Mr. President
Mr. Secretary General
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to extend to you Mr. President, my felicitations on your election. I also wish to congratulate your predecessor Mr. Harri Hokeri for his stewardship of the millennium session of the General Assembly. Deep appreciation is also due to the Secretary General, Mr. Kofi Annan for his untiring efforts to translate the vision of the Millennium Declaration into policies and actions by the World Community. Mr. Secretary General, please also accept my heartiest congratulations on the award of the centenary Nobel Peace Prize conferred upon you and your organization and your election for a second term to your prestigious office.

Last year, at the Millennium Summit, all of us were looking forward to a renaissance in the new Millennium. A renaissance in the hearts and minds of people, for a better world where peace and justice would prevail. Unfortunately, today we gather against the somber backdrop of the terrorist outrage that the world witnessed in shock and honour on that fateful day of 11 September. In seconds images of fire and death reached all of us. Thousands of innocent lives were lost in minutes. Eighty nations lost some of their brightest and their best. Pakistan like the rest of the world mourned the colossal loss of innocent lives. The map of the world changed and the entire globe descended into a deep crisis. At a time of such great turmoil when there is indeed a need for clear thought and firm action. I come from Pakistan with a message of determination and resolve as well as a message of peace for all peoples.

The General Assembly this year meets under the shadow of a horrendous act of terror perpetrated against the people of the United States, an act for which no grievance or cause can ever be a justification, an act that must be condemned unambiguously and in the strongest words. This was an attack on humanity itself, and we all must therefore, unite to fight this scourge.

Mr. President,

Now that the world has bonded itself to fight against terrorism, it is time for introspection. We owe it to posterity that in this dark hour we shed light on some

dangerous and growing trends, misconceptions and misperceptions which, if not cleared, may lead the world into even greater disorder and disharmony.

The religion of Islam, and Muslims in various parts of the world, are being held responsible for the trials the world is facing. This point of view is totally misplaced. Just as all religions teach peace and love for fellow beings, so does Islam place upon its adherents the obligation to do good, to be generous, merciful, kind and just to fellow beings. The Muslim greeting Assalam-e-Allaikim meaning "Peace be upon you" symbolizes the very essence of Islamic faith. Islam is a religion of peace, of compassion and of tolerance. Terrorism is not a Christian, Buddhist, Jewish or a Muslim relief. It is to be condemned no matter who the perpetrator, be it an individual, a group or a state.

We need to ask ourselves what really causes these extreme acts around the world. To my mind it is the unresolved political disputes the world over, disputes in Bosnia, Kosovo, Palestine, Kashmir and other places. Unfortunately all these disputes involve Muslims, and more sadly the Muslims happen to be the victims in all which tends to give a religious tinge to these otherwise political disputes. The lack of progress in resolution of these disputes has created in them a sense of deprivation, hopelessness and powerlessness. The frustration gets even worse when such dispute like Kashmir and Palestine remain unsettled for decades despite the United Nations Security Council resolutions. The question then is, whether it is the people asking for their rights in accordance with UN resolutions who are to be called terrorist or whether it is the countries refusing to implement the UN resolutions who are perpetrators of state terrorism. In Kashmir, Indian occupation forces have killed over 75,000 Kashmiris attributing these killings to foreign terrorists. It is time India must stop such deceit. UN Security Council Resolutions on Kashmir must be implemented. Media images of the Palestine child Muhammad Al Durrah were etched on the hearts and minds of people all over the world. It is perverse to regard the rape of Kashmiri women as a punishment inflicted in the course of war. The images of that moment when the World Trade Centre Tower came down will remain definitive for all the agony, disbelief and loss that people suffer them acts of terror all over the world. All forms of terror must be condemned, prevented and fought against, but in so doing the world must not trample upon the genuine rights, aspirations and urges of the people, who are fighting for their liberation and are subjected to state terrorism.

To fight the extremist, deprive him of his motivation. The extremist survives in an environment where millions suffer injustice and indignity. Deprive him of his support by giving the world peace, security, justice and dignity for all peoples regardless of faith, religion or creed.

A just and honourable solution for the people of Kashmir, an end to the miseries of the people of Palestine are the major burning issues that have to be addressed vigorously, badly, imaginatively and urgently. Unless we go to the root causes, cosmetics will only make matters worse. Consider the analogy of a tree. Terrorists are like so many leaves, you take out some, there will be plenty more and an unending growth. Terrorist networks are branches, you prune a few and there will be others and more growth. The only way to go, is to go for the roots. Eliminate the roots and there will be no tree. The roots, Mr. President, are the causes, which need to be addressed, tackled and eliminated, fairly, justly and honourably. Give people back their dignity, their self-respect, their honour. In essence, therefore, to tackle the issue of terrorism in its entirety we need to follow a three-pronged strategy of going for individual terrorists, moving against terrorist organizations and addressing disputes around the world in a just manner. After the events of 11th September,

Pakistan took a deliberate principled decision to join the World Coalition in its fight against terrorism. This decision has catapulted us, once again, as a frontline state in the battle against terrorism. While the people of Pakistan have accepted this new reality, they still suffer from a sense of betrayal and abandonment, when they were left in the lurch in 1989 after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Then also, we were a frontline state and what we got in return was three million refugees, a shattered economy, drugs and Kalashnikov culture, to be faced single handedly through our limited resources. Pakistan only hopes that the mistakes of the past will not be repeated and Pakistan's legitimate concerns will be addressed. Our economy again faces a crisis of fallout of the operations in Afghanistan. We need financial and commercial support on an urgent basis and hope that this will be forthcoming.

Mr. President,

After 11 September Pakistan had been trying its utmost with the Afghan government ever since Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda became an international issue, till the last moment to avert military action in Afghanistan. Regrettably, we did not meet with success and the coalition operation against terrorist in Afghanistan continues with no immediate end in sight. Sadly enough, the civilian casualties in this action are getting projected more as an open war against the already poor, suffering and innocent people of Afghanistan. The World in general and Pakistan in particular mourns the loss of these innocent lives and sympathizes with the bereaved. It is desirable that the military operation be as short and accurately targeted as possible. It is also essential that a fall back political strategy be evolved which could attain the same objective as being sought through military application. In its entirety dealing with Afghanistan, involves a three-pronged strategy—the Military, Political and Humanitarian cum Rehabilitation Strategies. It must remain the effort of the coalition to prevent a vacuum, leading to anarchy, after achieving military objectives, through immediate application of political and rehabilitation strategies.

In our view, the political set up in Afghanistan must be home-grown and not imposed, ensuring the unity and territorial integrity, of Afghanistan, with a broad-based, multi-ethnic dispensation, representative of the demographic composition of the country.

The people of Afghanistan have been suffering the ravages and devastation of conflicts for over two decades. It is the moral obligation of the World Community to support them generously. Assistance to Afghanistan should be in two forms. Firstly, the ongoing humanitarian assistance and secondly, the post-military operations, rehabilitation and reconstruction. To offset the ill effects of the ongoing military operation, it is imperative that we launch a more coordinated and concerned humanitarian relief effort inside and outside Afghanistan with a more generous funding. This will go a long way to alleviate the sufferings of the common Afghan. It is equally important that concurrently we formulate a post operation rehabilitation programme, once peace returns to Afghanistan. This effort would entail, at the minimum, restoration of water management systems, reviving of agriculture through land development, reconstruction of physical infrastructure (roads, buildings & utilities) and establishment of institutions.

A stable and peaceful Afghanistan is in the vital interest of the region and in particular of Pakistan. Conditions must be created for more than three million refugees in Pakistan to return to their country. We propose the establishment of an "Afghan Trust Fund under UN auspices for the rehabilitation and reconstruction process.

Mr. President,

I would now like to focus on the harsh realities in the developing countries which have a relationship with extremism of all forms. Poverty and deprivation lead to frustration, making the masses vulnerable to exploitation by extremist organizations. It is the collective, moral responsibility of the developed world to address this issue squarely. Through substantive economic uplift, poverty alleviation and social action programmes in the developing countries. Economic imbalances have to be removed for a just, equitable and harmonious World Order. A major step in this direction would be to reduce, if not eliminate, the debt burden, hanging as a millstone around the necks of the poor and the under developed. The bigger tragedy of the third world is that their rulers, together with their minions the country's wealth and are afforded easy access and safe havens to stash away the loot in the First World. Since long restrictions have been imposed on laundering of drug money and recently money for terrorists is being choked. Why can similar restrictions not be imposed on loot money laundering?

I appeal through this forum to all the developed countries to legislate against deposits of ill-gotten money, to assist in investigation against the looters and to ensure the early return of the plundered wealth to the countries of their origin. In fact, I would not be far off the mark if I stated that with the return of this looted money, many of the developing countries may be able to pay back their debts and revive their economies.

Mr. President,

Pakistan is also deeply conscious of the nuclear dimension of the security environment of our region, the danger it poses and the responsibility it places on nuclear weapon states, particularly the two nuclear states in South Asia. We are ready to discuss how Pakistan and India can create a stable South Asian Security mechanism through a peaceful resolution of disputes, preservation of nuclear and conventional balance, confidence building measures and non-use of force prescribed by the UN Charter. In this context, we are ready to discuss nuclear and missile restraints as well as nuclear risk reduction measures with India in a structured, comprehensive and integrated dialogue.

Pakistan is fully alive to the responsibilities of its nuclear status. We have declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing. Pakistan was not the first to initiate nuclear tests and will not be the first to resume them. We are ready to formalize a bilateral treaty with India for mutual test ban. We have strengthened our export controls and have established multi-layered custodial controls on our nuclear assets. Let me assure you all, that our strategic assets are well guarded and in very safe hands.

We have constantly upgraded our command and control measures and instituted an elaborate nuclear command control mechanism for iron clad custodial controls to ensure the safety and security of our assets. Pakistan is opposed to an arms race in South Asia, be it nuclear or conventional. We will maintain deterrence at the minimum level.

Mr. President,

I would now like to very briefly cover the internal developments in Pakistan. Over the past two years the focus has been on our economic revival, Poverty Alleviation, improving Governance, Political Restructuring and Introducing Genuine Democracy in the country. We have successfully put in place a sound democratic structure, based on empowerment of the people at the grassroots levels. A

revolutionary step has been taken by providing one-third of the seats to women at District level governing councils.

I want to put on record in this august gathering that Pakistan is proud of this representation and empowerment of women, which is a unique feature in the world. Our resolve of holding elections to Provincial and National Assemblies and the Senate in October 2002 in accordance with the road map announced last August, will remain unchanged in spite of the prevailing environment in the region.

Mr. President,

In conclusion and, in keeping with this time of enormous trial and tribulations we are going through, I wish to make an appeal.

An appeal for the sake of mankind, for the sake of our future generations and for the sake of a better world. Let justice prevail, let no people be wronged, let sufferings be eliminated, let discontent be addressed, let humanity rise as one Nation to eliminate subjugation of the weak, and let there be PEACE.

Thank you. ■

DOCUMENT # 19

Statement by Mr. Abdul Sattar, Foreign Minister of Pakistan at the Public Meeting on "Afghanistan" in the Security Council November 13, 2001

Mr. President,

I am grateful to you and the distinguished Members of the Security Council for this opportunity to make a statement on the situation in Afghanistan.

This morning, we listened with attention and respect to the statement of the Secretary General envisioning a hopeful evolution in Afghanistan. The process proposed by Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi testifies to his insights into the problem in Afghanistan.

At the Six-plus-Two Meeting yesterday, Pakistan joined in pledging full support for the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan, and its unity and territorial integrity. An interim administration of the Afghans for their country needs to be urgently facilitated.

We greatly appreciate that the Security Council Members are intensely engaged in efforts for bringing peace to Afghanistan. These efforts have assumed greater urgency as the situation in Afghanistan is evolving fast.

Afghanistan and its people deserve an end to their travail. For over two decades they have suffered at the hands of both man and nature. They have been victims of foreign intervention and internecine war, ambitions of warlords and irrational obsessions of Osama Bin Laden who has abused the Afghan tradition of hospitality to spread terror across the globe.

The terrorist attacks of 11 September, killing thousand of innocent people in New York and Washington provoked righteous condemnation by the United Nations. Pakistan joined the world community in expressing our grief and condolences. We also followed words with actions and joined the coalition for the war against international terrorism in order to bring perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of the outrage to justice.

The military action has inflicted unintended suffering on innocent people in Afghanistan. We grieve for them, too. We believe that the military action will be as

short as possible and that the achievements of its objectives will also pave the way for bringing an end to the suffering of the Afghan people.

In his speech to the General Assembly on 10 November, President Pervez Musharraf called for the military strategy to be combined with political and humanitarian strategies to bring peace and stability to Afghanistan as well as relief and reconstruction to its people.

The United Nations has long endorsed the principle that the government in Afghanistan should be broad-based, representative and multi-ethnic. Pakistan has emphasized that for stability the government should be representative of the demography of Afghanistan. The political strategy should ensure the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. The process of formation of the post-Taliban government should be home-grown as far as possible with the United Nations and OIC providing needed facilitation. Another important principle to be kept in view is that the new government should commit itself to implementation of Security Council resolutions. In the interest of peace and stability in the region, it should maintain friendly relations with all the neighbours of Afghanistan. We are happy to see that these ideas are fully shared by the Six-plus-Two Group and are the basis of the plan prepared by Ambassador Brahimi.

Afghan groups have become more active since early October. The Northern Alliance entered into an agreement with King Zahir Shah for the formation of an interim government.

On October 24-25 the Assembly for Peace and Unity of Afghanistan held a large conference of more than 1500 Afghan notables, including Mujahideen leaders and commanders, influential Maliks of powerful tribes, and dignitaries of ethnic communities. The conference adopted a resolution in favour of the traditional Afghan process of a Loya Jirga for the formation of a government of peace and unity. It envisaged an important role for King Zahir Shah in efforts to end the crisis. The King expressed appreciation for the conference as a beneficial opportunity for an intra-Afghan dialogue aimed at forging national unity.

The military situation in Afghanistan is changing at accelerating pace. The Northern Alliance forces have claimed control of large territory, and are reported to be pressing on Kabul.

It is particularly important at such moment to retain political objectives in focus. The hope of forming a broad-based, multi-ethnic government is at stake. We would, therefore, urge acceleration of political action, to convene a meeting of eminent and influential Afghans as soon as possible for the formation of a broad-based, multi-ethnic interim arrangement. In this regard, we endorse the four-step approach proposed by Ambassador Brahimi. However, speed is of the essence. Withdrawal of the Taliban from Kabul has created a dangerous political vacuum. Unless the United Nations is able to put together a political dispensation which is representative of all segments of the Afghan population, conflict and turmoil would continue to afflict that unfortunate country.

For such an interim political dispensation and administration to play the expected role for the peace, stability and unity of Afghanistan, it would be vital for it to move to Kabul, the capital and the symbol of unity of the State.

Peace and security of Kabul should have to be secured. A multi-national force should be created with the coalition providing back up support.

Fears have been expressed of reprisals and even ethnic cleansing in parts of Afghanistan.

Such a disaster needs to be prevented. Otherwise, hopes of preserving the unity of Afghanistan could suffer a mortal blow.

Pakistan hopes that peace in Afghanistan would be followed by international efforts for rehabilitation and reconstruction in Afghanistan. Only thus can we in Pakistan hope for the refugees to return to their country.

In addition to the military and political strategies, there is a need to urgently address the grave humanitarian situation in Afghanistan. This requires urgent concerted and coordinated efforts, supported with generous funding, to address the needs of the Afghans not only in refuge camps but also inside Afghanistan. This involves the delivery inside Afghanistan of humanitarian assistance to the people in their home localities. It also involves the setting up of camps inside Afghanistan to provide emergency support and assistance to internally displaced persons.

Except for Afghanistan itself, no country has suffered more than Pakistan as a result of turmoil in Afghanistan. For more than two decades we have provided asylum to over three million refugees. The economic and social burden on Pakistan aggravated after 1989 as world assistance for their maintenance dried to a trickle. The refugees entered the labour force, displacing Pakistanis and increasing unemployment in our country. We are not in a position to open our borders for all those who may want to enter Pakistan in search for food and relief. Despite restrictions, over 80,000 Afghans have crossed into Pakistan in the past two months. Opening of the borders will bring a massive influx of refugees into Pakistan, which we cannot afford. There are more than one and half million internally displaced persons in Afghanistan and around 5 to 7 million vulnerable people. It is, therefore, essential to provide assistance to the need Afghans inside their own country. However, Pakistan continues to allow the vulnerable Afghans and injured civilians, women and children to be housed in refugee camps close to the border in Pakistan on a temporary basis. Pakistan, for its part, will continue to do whatever it can to alleviate the hardship of the Afghans.

Once peace returns to Afghanistan, humanitarian relief has to be sustained. No peace process can work without commensurate support to rebuild and rehabilitate this war-ravaged nation. The need to concurrently evolve a comprehensive post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation plan is, therefore, equally important which will be put in place as soon as peace returns to Afghanistan. It is imperative for the international community to immediately begin work on this plan and arrange the necessary finances to support and sustain it. Any reconstruction effort in Afghanistan must, at the minimum, entail the restoration of water management systems, reviving of agriculture, reconstruction of the infrastructure, rebuilding of institutions as well as the continued humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people. To this end the President of Pakistan proposed the establishment of an “Afghan Trust Fund” under UN auspices to assist in humanitarian relief as well as national reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts in Afghanistan.

This time, the international community must not walk away from Afghanistan. It must demonstrate the political will and the determination to engage and help the Afghan people in rebuilding peace and the economy of their country. We disappointed the Afghans in the past.

The negative consequence of that neglect is clear for everyone to see. We must not repeat that mistake. Before concluding, Mr. President, I wish to reiterate Pakistan’s commitment to full cooperation with the United Nations in its efforts to promote peace and stability in Afghanistan.

I thank you, Mr. President. ■

Reference: <http://www.un.int/pakistan/08011113.html>

DOCUMENT # 20**The Press Conference Addressed by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and the
Foreign Minister of Iran, Dr. Kamal Kharrazi
30 November, 2001****Opening Statements**

The Foreign Minister's opening statement:

Ladies and gentlemen of the media,

I welcome you to this press conference which has been arranged to brief you about our meetings that have been held with His Excellency Dr. Kamal Kharrazi, Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He also had an opportunity to meet President General Musharraf this morning. Members of his delegation, drawn from a large number of Ministries of the Islamic Republic of Iran had bilateral meetings with their counterparts in Pakistan. I am glad to state that in terms of our bilateral relations Foreign Minister Kharrazi's visit has made a very substantial contribution to the development of our relations in various fields and the expansion of cooperation between us. His Excellency's visit has of course provided an opportunity for us to discuss the obvious issues of great importance in our region, namely, developments in Afghanistan.

You are all well aware that Pakistan and Iran have supported the resolution of the Security Council of 14th November. Both of our countries sincerely hope that the Bonn meeting of the Afghans, which is in currently in progress, will achieve success towards the establishment of a transitional administration, that this administration will be, as envisaged in the resolution 1378, broad-based, multi-ethnic and fully representative of Afghan people and that this administration will be committed to peace with all neighbours. Both of us, in our meetings, have underlined the need for peaceful and stable Afghanistan which would be in the interest, of course, of its own people as well as of all the neighbours of Afghanistan. Pakistan and Iran have agreed to play a role, according to our capabilities, in facilitating the success of the efforts of the United Nations. We have reviewed entire range of bilateral relations and it was decided that necessary measures would be taken to enhance trade, particularly trade in wheat, rice and gasoline from Pakistan. We, over the last couple of years, have increased to double our imports from Iran and we are, of course, desirous to take advantage of the opportunities that exist for further expansion of cooperation to the mutual advantage of our two nations. The members of the Iranian delegation have held very productive meetings with their counterparts from the Pakistan side and I will request the Foreign Minister of Iran, His Excellency Dr. Kamal Kharrazi not only to share his own assessment of the visit with us but also to apprise you of the decisions that have been made. In conclusion, I wish to express our gratitude to His Excellency Dr. Kamal Kharrazi for accepting our invitation, coming here, and have substantive discussions with us and especially I want to thank him for the very important contribution that he has made to the further development of Pakistan-Iran relations.

The Foreign Minister of Iran's Statement

Thank you very much, Mr. Minister. As a matter of fact we have had very productive and fruitful discussions since yesterday. My visit was pre-planned before 11th of September but due to the developments on 11th of September and afterwards it was postponed to this one. I am very happy that I have made this visit

and have very good opportunity to discuss bilateral relations as well as regional issues and Afghanistan. Iran and Pakistan are playing very important role in this region and the security of the region depends on the cooperation between Iran and Pakistan.

On bilateral issues we discussed defence and matters of economic cooperation. We have decided to establish a Joint Technical Committee to look up the projects of gas pipelines from Iran to Pakistan and through Pakistan to India. We have similar Technical Committee with India. Right now feasibility study is undergoing to see how feasible this project is and this will be taken to the Committee that we decided to establish, to do its best to facilitate this project of transit of gas through Pakistan. Also we decided to operate higher level of trade and business and to that extent, our experts are coming to Islamabad next Wednesday to talk to their counterparts on the conditions of wheat produced in Pakistan. If this meets the standard of Iranian markets then we can buy wheat from Pakistan. As well there have been negotiations to buy rice from Pakistan and also sugar if the quality of sugar produced in Iran could meet the needs. More than that with a high delegation which is accompanying me, from various sectors, Iranian private sectors, had a very good opportunity here to talk to their counterparts for investment in Pakistan, for doing projects jointly in Pakistan and for selling Railway cargo wagons to Pakistan. This is under discussion. And there has been a lot of activity since yesterday here. I hope that all this is to increase our level of trade and business between the two sides. More than that on bilateral cooperation we had very good discussions on how to cooperate in cultural fields and, I believe, Iran and Pakistan enjoy to have very rich culture, a common culture. I understand Farsi is very popular here, there are many Persian words in Urdu language. We share common heritage and learning Persian, certainly will facilitate your access to the heritage as people. There are many written Persian books in this country and to that extent have already an institution here, a joint institute between Iran and Pakistan to study about Iran and Pakistan's cultural heritage. I am glad to inform you that Minister Sattar was prominent to facilitate the construction of a new building for this Institute which has been running here for years and years and has good collection of hand-written books collected from defence personnel of Pakistan to be preserved in this institution.

On the question of Afghanistan, we really had very good discussion. I believe after years of ups and downs, turmoil and problems that we all have faced from the developments in Afghanistan, now it is time to cooperate and to help the establishment of broad-based, multi-ethnic government in Afghanistan, and I am sure, Iran and Pakistan have a big role to play not only during the establishment of such a broad-based government and reconciliation between different parties in Afghanistan, different ethnic groups and the participation in a broad-based government, but also they have great responsibility for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Both Iran and Pakistan have suffered throughout all these years. To mention are the millions of refugees who have been living in Iran and Pakistan. Both Iran and Pakistan now are in need as to how to help them to reconstruct their country. Therefore, we decided to establish a joint committee for the Reconstruction of Afghanistan in cooperation with UNDP and other international organizations and other countries who can help Afghanistan to reconstruct. Both Iran and Pakistan are to help Afghanistan to be reconstructed. Therefore, in general we are happy out of this visit. We are entering into a new era of relationship between Iran and Pakistan. I am very hopeful and we look forward to see how these relations will be developing. Thank you.

Question –Answer Session

The following issues were discussed during the question-answer session:

Q. When asked if the American war against terrorism is turning as war against Islam, the Foreign Minister of Iran said:

A. Certainly, this is not acceptable. If any country would allow itself to attack another country just with allegations. This would be a chaos. I think, nobody in Islamic world or outside the Islamic world would accept this strategy if Americans are going to follow. Therefore, I leave it better for them to think twice that attacking any Muslim country. In the Islamic world it will help a heavy backfire. There is no excuse to justify any military operation in any other Islamic nation.

Q. When asked as to what he foresees role of Rabbani in the future set up of Afghanistan as well as his comments on the wishes of Rabbani to visit Pakistan, the Iranian Foreign Minister said:

A. The role of Mr. Rabbani for the future of Afghanistan will be decided by the Afghan people themselves to choose their leaders but visit of Mr. Rabbani to Islamabad certainly will be a gesture. I believe, we have to take steps for removing the clogs which have been created between Pakistanis and Afghans and therefore any contact between the Northern Alliance officials and leaders and Pakistani leaders would be welcome.

Foreign Minister Sattar added: In response to this issue. You are absolutely right. President Burhanuddin Rabbani made a statement, he wishes to visit Pakistan. I want to tell you also that we have received several other communications from other Afghan dignitaries inside and outside Afghanistan who have indicated their desire to visit Pakistan. We respect them all and we will respond to their desire in due course. At this time our eyes are fixed on the Bonn meeting and we hope that the Bonn meeting will contribute to the formation of a transitional administration and it is only after the success of that process that Pakistan will consider extending recognition to the authority on behalf of Afghanistan. Any visits prior to that which have taken place or may take place will not in any way signify recognition of these leaders in the capacity of their role in the future government.

Q. When asked to explain the position of Pakistan over possible attack by the US on Iraq and the US officials' saying that Hizbullah group in Lebanon is a terrorist organization, the Foreign Minister said:

A. The first thing I want to tell is that we have in our discussions with the United States, never received any indication or even a mention of the possibility of United States or coalition attacks on any other country. Our position has been stated by the President in the United Nations General Assembly namely that terrorism cannot be equated with Islam and therefore any attempt that is made to generalize the issue of terrorism in a way that reflects on Islam would be unacceptable to us. Now on this specific issue, as I have already said, we have absolutely no information that United States has any such plans, both on Iraq and Hizbullah, as you mentioned. I said we have never heard any mention of either in our discussions with the United States.

Q. When asked to tell about his meeting with President Musharraf this morning and how much will it affect the change of policy towards Pakistan, the Iranian Foreign Minister said:

A. As there is a change of policy of Pakistan towards the Taliban, there is no more gaps between Iran and Pakistan. That is why I say that both Iran and Pakistan have to play their role for the establishment of a broad-based government in Afghanistan, as well for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. That is why we have decided to establish a Joint Committee for Reconstruction of Afghanistan.

The Foreign Minister continued: I just want to add one point that many countries including our very good friends historically exaggerated Pakistan's influence over the Taliban government. I think, a number of events have taken place during this year. I refer particularly to the decision of the Taliban to destroy the statues in Bamiyan which illustrated that Pakistan did not have the kind of influence that some of our friends attributed to Pakistan with regard to the Taliban government. Similarly in the month of September the Government of Pakistan sent a very high level delegation to Kabul and Kandahar to share with them our views with regard to the compliance with Security Council resolution of September 12 and once again the results illustrated that assumptions with regard to Pakistan's influence over the Taliban were incorrect. This is a matter, however, in the past. The Taliban are no longer on the scene and Pakistan and Iran today ripped off the shadow that existed on our relations. Sun is shining and Insha-Ullah, we shall take full advantage in order to develop and intensify our bilateral cooperation.

Q. To a question that whether the political differences between Pakistan and Iran on the subject of Afghanistan are now over, the Iranian Foreign Minister commented:

A. Countries do have minor differences, no question over that. I believe, major differences have now been over and that is why we are planning for cooperation between Iran and Pakistan. Because of recent differences in recent years which had created such a gap between Iran and Pakistan. Now that the issues are over, so we have to speed up the process of cooperation between Iran and Pakistan.

Q. To a question that Pakistan has been very open to give help to coalition partners, what has been Iran's role in the fight against terrorism, the Iranian Foreign Minister said:

A. We have been alert to fight terrorism based on our peace efforts that has been the part of this coalition with the United States, from the beginning that any effort that has to be undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations has to be with consensus. On our part, in terms of implementation of resolution 1373 as well as in fighting terrorism, as you know, Iran has been one of the victims of terrorism all 26 years since the revolution and we closed our border with Afghanistan to prevent any movement from Iran to Afghanistan or from Afghanistan to Iran. And this has been appreciated internationally.

Q. To a question whether the Great Britain's troops have entered Pakistan, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan said:

A. I will check and then give you response later. At present, unfortunately, I don't have any information on this question whether the UK forces entered into Pakistan territory.

Q. To a question whether the US forces will stay for a long time in the region, the Foreign Minister of Iran said:

A. We do not find it productive for American troops will stay in Afghanistan. Basically we are against deployment of foreign troops in Afghanistan. It is a very sensitive issue. American troops should not be deployed. Instead efforts should be made to establish a national police and army for the country.

Q. When asked about his government views on the so-called establishment of peacekeeping forces in Afghanistan especially after the incident of Qilla Jangi and on the future of ECO in the context of Iran-Pakistan relations, the Iranian Foreign Minister said:

A. If the United Nations would decide to deploy United Nations Observers to monitor the situation in Afghanistan that is something else, very different from multi-national forces to be deployed in Afghanistan. In case of Qilla Jangi events it

was unfortunate that such a thing happened. It was against Geneva Conventions and American airplanes and helicopters' bombardment is not acceptable. We took position in Iran and condemned this. Any prisoner of war which has been under custody has to be respected as human being. Of course, if they have indulged in crimes they should be brought to justice but killing prisoners is a crime. ECO is developing gradually, and I believe, it is a very good organization for this region and, I am sure, for Afghanistan it can be very helpful. So, how we can mobilize the ECO potentials for the Afghans and its future especially in era of reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Q. To a question if Osama enters Iran what would be Iran's position, the Foreign Minister of Iran said:

A. We don't let him to move towards Iran. We are there we don't let him to move. Actually, they have to be in Iran to be arrested and when they are not in Iran we can't arrest.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan added: A reference was made, I think to multi-national force. The subject, as you know, is under discussion in Bonn and so far as the Government Pakistan is concerned we would wait for the outcome of that meeting and if the Afghans and the future transitional administration believe that a UN or multi-national force can assist them in establishing peace and stability in their country and prevent the kind of incidents that have taken place these reprisals that have been taken place then we would respect the wishes of the people of Afghanistan.

Q. When asked to explain about reports that two Taliban Ministers and intelligence chief are in Pakistan, the Foreign Minister said:

A. Unfortunately, I don't have any information but we will get it and my colleague Additional Secretary Aziz Ahmed Khan will respond to that.

Q. To a question as to what will be the position of Iran if multi-national force is deployed in Afghanistan, the Iranian Foreign Minister said:

A. This is not the case that Afghans groups in Bonn about their acceptance on multi-national forces to be deployed to Afghanistan. I said this is very different from any United Nations observers. They may like to have United Nations observers, that is something else.

Q. To a question that if multinational force is deployed in Afghanistan, will Pakistan send its troops there, Pakistan Foreign Minister said:

A. Just to make reference to Pakistani troops, I just want to remind you that the Government of Pakistan has stated again and again that Pakistan has no intention of sending Pakistani forces outside into Afghanistan.

Q. To a question whether Pakistan will not invite the displeasure of Northern Alliance by making the wishes of Prof. Rabbani to visit Pakistan contingent upon the outcome of Bonn meeting, the Foreign Minister said:

A. I made three points. You lost sight of two of them, first of all I said Mr. Rabbani has publicly expressed the wish to visit Pakistan and secondly, I said that other Afghan dignitaries have done the same and thirdly, I said that while these people will come in due course, the question of recognition is not involved unless and until the Bonn process succeeds in producing a transitional administration. In other words, visit of Afghan dignitaries to Pakistan does not involve the issue of recognition of their status within Afghanistan.

Q. To a question whether Iran has decided to offer any support to the United States in fight against terrorism, the Iranian Foreign Minister said:

A. With regard to the cooperation with the United States, no there has not been any cooperation between Iran and the United States. The only thing which they ask was

the case of pilots which may be dropped in Iranian territory in an accident of their aircraft. About which we said if that happens, under international conventions we will take care of this pilot. That was the only thing that was communicated between Iran and US. There was no more cooperation between Iran and the United States.

Q. To a question whether Iranian airplanes were chartered to bring in foreign troops inside Afghanistan, the Iranian Foreign Minister said:

A. No, that is not right. ■

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

DOCUMENT # 21

Bonn Agreement December 5, 2001

The Interim Authority

I. General provisions

- 1) An Interim Authority shall be established upon the official transfer of power on 22 December 2001.
- 2) The Interim Authority shall consist of an Interim Administration presided over by a Chairman, a Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, and a Supreme Court of Afghanistan, as well as such other courts as may be established by the Interim Administration. The composition, functions and governing procedures for the Interim Administration and the Special Independent Commission are set forth in this agreement.
- 3) Upon the official transfer of power, the Interim Authority shall be the repository of Afghan sovereignty, with immediate effect. As such, it shall, throughout the interim period, represent Afghanistan in its external relations and shall occupy the seat of Afghanistan at the United Nations and in its specialized agencies, as well as in other international institutions and conferences.
- 4) An Emergency Loya Jirga shall be convened within six months of the establishment of the Interim Authority. The Emergency Loya Jirga will be opened by His Majesty Mohammed Zaher, the former King of Afghanistan. The Emergency Loya Jirga shall decide on a Transitional Authority, including a broad-based transitional administration, to lead Afghanistan until such time as a fully representative government can be elected through free and fair elections to be held no later than two years from the date of the convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga.
- 5) The Interim Authority shall cease to exist once the Transitional Authority has been established by the Emergency Loya Jirga.
- 6) A Constitutional Loya Jirga shall be convened within eighteen months of the establishment of the Transitional Authority, in order to adopt a new constitution for Afghanistan. In order to assist the Constitutional Loya Jirga prepare the proposed Constitution, the Transitional Administration shall, within two months of its commencement and with the assistance of the United Nations, establish a Constitutional Commission.

II. Legal framework and judicial system

- 1) The following legal framework shall be applicable on an interim basis until the adoption of the new Constitution referred to above:
 - i) The Constitution of 1964, a/ to the extent that its provisions are not inconsistent with those contained in this agreement, and b/ with the exception of those provisions relating to the monarchy and to the executive and legislative bodies provided in the Constitution; and
 - ii) existing laws and regulations, to the extent that they are not inconsistent with this agreement or with international legal obligations to which Afghanistan is a party, or with those applicable provisions contained in the Constitution of 1964, provided that the Interim Authority shall have the power to repeal or amend those laws and regulations.
- 2) The judicial power of Afghanistan shall be independent and shall be vested in a Supreme Court of Afghanistan, and such other courts as may be established by the Interim Administration. The Interim Administration shall establish, with the assistance of the United Nations, a Judicial Commission to rebuild the domestic justice system in accordance with Islamic principles, international standards, the rule of law and Afghan legal traditions.

III. Interim Administration

A. *Composition*

- 1) The Interim Administration shall be composed of a Chairman, five Vice Chairmen and 24 other members. Each member, except the Chairman, may head a department of the Interim Administration.
- 2) The participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan have invited His Majesty Mohammed Zaher, the former King of Afghanistan, to chair the Interim Administration. His Majesty has indicated that he would prefer that a suitable candidate acceptable to the participants be selected as the Chair of the Interim Administration.
- 3) The Chairman, the Vice Chairmen and other members of the Interim Administration have been selected by the participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan, as listed in Annex IV to this agreement. The selection has been made on the basis of professional competence and personal integrity from lists submitted by the participants in the UN Talks, with due regard to the ethnic, geographic and religious composition of Afghanistan and to the importance of the participation of women.
- 4) No person serving as a member of the Interim Administration may simultaneously hold membership of the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga.

B. *Procedures*

- 1) The Chairman of the Interim Administration, or in his/her absence one of the Vice Chairmen, shall call and chair meetings and propose the agenda for these meetings.
- 2) The Interim Administration shall endeavour to reach its decisions by consensus. In order for any decision to be taken, at least 22 members must be in attendance. If a vote becomes necessary, decisions shall be taken by a majority of the members present and voting, unless otherwise stipulated in

this agreement. The Chairman shall cast the deciding vote in the event that the members are divided equally.

C. Functions

- 1) The Interim Administration shall be entrusted with the day-to-day conduct of the affairs of state, and shall have the right to issue decrees for the peace, order and good government of Afghanistan.
- 2) The Chairman of the Interim Administration or, in his/her absence, one of the Vice Chairmen, shall represent the Interim Administration as appropriate.
- 3) Those members responsible for the administration of individual departments shall also be responsible for implementing the policies of the Interim Administration within their areas of responsibility.
- 4) Upon the official transfer of power, the Interim Administration shall have full jurisdiction over the printing and delivery of the national currency and special drawing rights from international financial institutions. The Interim Administration shall establish, with the assistance of the United Nations, a Central Bank of Afghanistan that will regulate the money supply of the country through transparent and accountable procedures.
- 5) The Interim Administration shall establish, with the assistance of the United Nations, an independent Civil Service Commission to provide the Interim Authority and the future Transitional Authority with shortlists of candidates for key posts in the administrative departments, as well as those of governors and uluswals, in order to ensure their competence and integrity.
- 6) The Interim Administration shall, with the assistance of the United Nations, establish an independent Human Rights Commission, whose responsibilities will include human rights monitoring, investigation of violations of human rights, and development of domestic human rights institutions. The Interim Administration may, with the assistance of the United Nations, also establish any other commissions to review matters not covered in this agreement.
- 7) The members of the Interim Administration shall abide by a Code of Conduct elaborated in accordance with international standards
- 8) Failure by a member of the Interim Administration to abide by the provisions of the Code of Conduct shall lead to his/her suspension from that body. The decision to suspend a member shall be taken by a two-thirds majority of the membership of the Interim Administration on the proposal of its Chairman or any of its Vice Chairmen.
- 9) The functions and powers of members of the Interim Administration will be further elaborated, as appropriate, with the assistance of the United Nations.

IV. The Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga

- 1) The Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga shall be established within one month of the establishment of the Interim Authority. The Special Independent Commission will consist of twenty-one members, a number of whom should have expertise in constitutional or customary law. The members will be selected from lists of candidates submitted by participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan as

well as Afghan professional and civil society groups. The United Nations will assist with the establishment and functioning of the commission and of a substantial secretariat.

- 2) The Special Independent Commission will have the final authority for determining the procedures for and the number of people who will participate in the Emergency Loya Jirga. The Special Independent Commission will draft rules and procedures specifying (i) criteria for allocation of seats to the settled and nomadic population residing in the country; (ii) criteria for allocation of seats to the Afghan refugees living in Iran, Pakistan, and elsewhere, and Afghans from the diaspora; (iii) criteria for inclusion of civil society organizations and prominent individuals, including Islamic scholars, intellectuals, and traders, both within the country and in the diaspora. The Special Independent Commission will ensure that due attention is paid to the representation in the Emergency Loya Jirga of a significant number of women as well as all other segments of the Afghan population.
- 3) The Special Independent Commission will publish and disseminate the rules and procedures for the convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga at least ten weeks before the Emergency Loya Jirga convenes, together with the date for its commencement and its suggested location and duration.
- 4) The Special Independent Commission will adopt and implement procedures for monitoring the process of nomination of individuals to the Emergency Loya Jirga to ensure that the process of indirect election or selection is transparent and fair. To pre-empt conflict over nominations, the Special Independent Commission will specify mechanisms for filing of grievances and rules for arbitration of disputes.
- 5) The Emergency Loya Jirga will elect a Head of the State for the Transitional Administration and will approve proposals for the structure and key personnel of the Transitional Administration.

V. Final provisions

- 1) Upon the official transfer of power, all mujahidin, Afghan armed forces and armed groups in the country shall come under the command and control of the Interim Authority, and be reorganized according to the requirements of the new Afghan security and armed forces.
- 2) The Interim Authority and the Emergency Loya Jirga shall act in accordance with basic principles and provisions contained in international instruments on human rights and international humanitarian law to which Afghanistan is a party.
- 3) The Interim Authority shall cooperate with the international community in the fight against terrorism, drugs and organized crime. It shall commit itself to respect international law and maintain peaceful and friendly relations with neighbouring countries and the rest of the international community.
- 4) The Interim Authority and the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga will ensure the participation of women as well as the equitable representation of all ethnic and religious communities in the Interim Administration and the Emergency Loya Jirga.

- 5) All actions taken by the Interim Authority shall be consistent with Security Council resolution 1378 (14 November 2001) and other relevant Security Council resolutions relating to Afghanistan.
- 6) Rules of procedure for the organs established under the Interim Authority will be elaborated as appropriate with the assistance of the United Nations.

This agreement, of which the annexes constitute an integral part, done in Bonn on this 5th day of December 2001 in the English language, shall be the authentic text, in a single copy which shall remain deposited in the archives of the United Nations. Official texts shall be provided in Dari and Pashto, and such other languages as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General may designate. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General shall send certified copies in English, Dari and Pashto to each of the participants.

For the participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan:

Ms. Amena Afzali
Mr. S. Hussain Anwari
Mr. Hedayat Amin Arsala
Mr. Sayed Hamed Gailani
Mr. Rahmatullah Musa Ghazi
Eng. Abdul Hakim
Mr. Houmayoun Jareer
Mr. Abbas Karimi
Mr. Mustafa Kazimi
Dr. Azizullah Ludin
Mr. Ahmad Wali Massoud
Mr. Hafizullah Asif Mohseni
Prof. Mohammad Ishaq Nadiri
Mr. Mohammad Natiqi
Mr. Yunus Qanooni
Dr. Zalmai Rassoul
Mr. H. Mirwais Sadeq
Dr. Mohammad Jalil Shams
Prof. Abdul Sattar Sirat
Mr. Humayun Tandar
Mrs. Sima Wali
General Abdul Rahim Wardak
Mr. Pacha Khan Zadran

Witnessed for the United Nations by:

Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi
Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan ■

Reference: <http://www.uno.de>

ANNEX-I**International Security Force**

The participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan recognize that the responsibility for providing security and law and order throughout the country resides with the Afghans themselves. To this end, they pledge their commitment to do all within their means and influence to ensure such security, including for all United Nations and other personnel of international governmental and non-governmental organizations deployed in Afghanistan.

With this objective in mind, the participants request the assistance of the international community in helping the new Afghan authorities in the establishment and training of new Afghan security and armed forces.

Conscious that some time may be required for the new Afghan security and armed forces to be fully constituted and functioning, the participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan request the United Nations Security Council to consider authorizing the early deployment to Afghanistan of a United Nations mandated force. This force will assist in the maintenance of security for Kabul and its surrounding areas. Such a force could, as appropriate, be progressively expanded to other urban centres and other areas.

The participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan pledge to withdraw all military units from Kabul and other urban centers or other areas in which the UN mandated force is deployed. It would also be desirable if such a force were to assist in the rehabilitation of Afghanistan's infrastructure. ■

ANNEX-II**Role of the United Nations During the Interim Period**

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General will be responsible for all aspects of the United Nations' work in Afghanistan.

The Special Representative shall monitor and assist in the implementation of all aspects of this agreement.

The United Nations shall advise the Interim Authority in establishing a politically neutral environment conducive to the holding of the Emergency Loya Jirga in free and fair conditions. The United Nations shall pay special attention to the conduct of those bodies and administrative departments which could directly influence the convening and outcome of the Emergency Loya Jirga.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General or his/her delegate may be invited to attend the meetings of the Interim Administration and the Special Independent Commission on the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga.

If for whatever reason the Interim Administration or the Special Independent Commission were actively prevented from meeting or unable to reach a decision on a matter related to the convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General shall, taking into account the views expressed in the Interim Administration or in the Special Independent Commission, use his/her good offices with a view to facilitating a resolution to the impasse or a decision.

The United Nations shall have the right to investigate human rights violations and, where necessary, recommend corrective action. It will also be responsible for the development and implementation of a programme of human rights education to promote respect for and understanding of human rights. ■

ANNEX- III

***Request to the United Nations by the Participants at the UN
Talks on Afghanistan***

The participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan hereby Request that the United Nations and the international community take the necessary measures to guarantee the national sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Afghanistan as well as the non-interference by foreign countries in Afghanistan's internal affairs;

Urge the United Nations, the international community, particularly donor countries and multilateral institutions, to reaffirm, strengthen and implement their commitment to assist with the rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction of Afghanistan, in coordination with the Interim Authority;

Request the United Nations to conduct as soon as possible (i) a registration of voters in advance of the general elections that will be held upon the adoption of the new constitution by the constitutional Loya Jirga and (ii) a census of the population of Afghanistan.

Urge the United Nations and the international community, in recognition of the heroic role played by the mujahidin in protecting the independence of Afghanistan and the dignity of its people, to take the necessary measures, in coordination with the Interim Authority, to assist in the reintegration of the mujahidin into the new Afghan security and armed forces;

Invite the United Nations and the international community to create a fund to assist the families and other dependents of martyrs and victims of the war, as well as the war disabled;

Strongly urge that the United Nations, the international community and regional organizations cooperate with the Interim Authority to combat international terrorism, cultivation and trafficking of illicit drugs and provide Afghan farmers with financial, material and technical resources for alternative crop production. ■

ANNEX IV

Composition of the Interim Administration

Chairman:	Hamid Karzai
Vice Chairmen:	
Vice-Chair & Women's Affairs:	Dr. Sima Samar
Vice-Chair & Defence:	Muhammad Qassem Fahim
Vice-Chair & Planning:	Haji Muhammad Mohaqqueq

Vice-Chair & Water and Electricity:	Shaker Kargar
Vice-Chair & Finance:	Hedayat Amin Arsala
Members:	
Department of Foreign Affairs:	Dr. Abdullah Abdullah
Department of the Interior:	Muhammad Yunus Qanooni
Department of Commerce:	Seyyed Mustafa Kazemi
Department of Mines & Industries:	Muhammad Alem Razm
Department of Small Industries:	Aref Noorzai
Department of Information & Culture:	Dr. Raheen Makhdoom
Department of Communication:	Ing. Abdul Rahim
Department of Labour & Social Affairs:	Mir Wais Sadeq
Department of Hajj & Auqaf:	Mohammad Hanif Hanif Balkhi
Department of Martyrs & Disabled:	Abdullah Wardak
Department of Education:	Abdul Rassoul Amin
Department of Higher Education:	Dr. Sharif Faez
Department of Public Health:	Dr. Suhaila Seddiqi
Department of Public Works:	Abdul Khaliq Fazal
Department of Rural Development:	Abdul Malik Anwar
Department of Urban Development:	Haji Abdul Qadir
Department of Reconstruction:	Amin Farhang
Department of Transport:	Sultan Hamid Sultan
Department for the Return of Refugees:	Enayatullah Nazeri
Department of Agriculture:	Seyyed Hussein Anwari
Department of Irrigation:	Haji Mangal Hussein
Department of Justice:	Abdul Rahim Karimi
Department of Air Transport & Tourism:	Abdul Rahman
Department of Border Affairs:	Amanullah Zadran

DOCUMENT # 22**The Joint Press Conference Addressed by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and
the Secretary General of the OIC,
His Excellency Mr. Abdelouahed Belkeziz
6 December, 2001****Foreign Minister's Statement**

His Excellency Abdelouahed Belkeziz, Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, is here on his first long awaited visit since he assumed the charge of his important office. Yesterday, he and I had the opportunity to discuss issues of importance to the Organization, Palestine, Kashmir and the latest situation in Afghanistan. I am glad to inform you that he had an excellent meeting this morning with the President, General Pervaiz Musharraf. He also had discussions with the Minister for Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas and SAFRON (States & Frontier Regions), who, as you are well aware, is principally in charge of the humanitarian assistance for Afghan refugees.

During his call on the President, the Secretary General expressed appreciation for the role that Pakistan has played since September 11 in the fight against international terrorism. The Secretary General has said that the position taken by Pakistan was not only beneficial for Pakistan and Afghanistan, but indeed, for the entire membership of the OIC. He has joined us in expressing hopes and prayers that the agreement that was signed in Bonn yesterday (5 December), providing for the establishment of the interim Authority w.e.f 22nd of December, will open the way to the restoration of normalcy in Afghanistan, peace and security and provide an opportunity for the Afghan people to rebuild and reconstruct their country, so that they can, after a long two and a half decades, begin to lead a normal life to which all human beings are entitled.

He and I also expressed great concern over the latest escalation of violence by Israel in Palestine and the condemnable attack on the Headquarters of President Yasser Arafat. We have emphasized the need for the international community to put pressure on Israel to return to dialogue and respect the agreement with the Palestinian leadership. We agree that a lasting peace in the Middle East requires implementation of all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the establishment of a Palestinian State, with Al-Quds as its capital.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference has always given resolute support to the just struggle of the people of Kashmir. They were promised the right of self-determination more than half a century ago in resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. That pledge needs to be redeemed and the people of the State given an opportunity to decide their own destiny. I would also like to draw attention to the decisions of the OIC, which are often not given due coverage in the international media, the coverage that they deserve.

In Qatar at the 9th Extraordinary Session of the OIC Foreign Ministers on 10 October this year, we collectively highlighted that terrorism was opposed to the tolerant divine message of Islam. We called for the promotion of dialogue and the building of bridges between the Islamic World and the other Civilizations. Recently, at the OIC Foreign Ministers annual meeting on 15 November, we re-affirmed our strong opposition to terrorism and called for the convening of an International Conference under the auspices of the United Nations to draw up an international plan to fight terrorism, in accordance with international law and full respect to the

sovereignty and territorial integrity of member States. We also rejected the targeting of any OIC member State under the pretext of fighting terrorism.

Finally, I am confident that the OIC will continue to play its leading role in guiding the interests and destiny of the Islamic countries. In this context, the visit of the OIC Secretary General has, indeed, been fruitful and of immense significance. We look forward to our continuing cooperation and support to the Organization and to its distinguished Secretary General, who is guiding the work of the Organization.

Statement by the OIC Secretary General

I would like to express my happiness for being in Islamabad, capital of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Pakistan is as an influential and very important member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It is also a pioneer for the common Islamic action. This visit comes within the framework of my normal action of visiting the member States but this visit at this particular time is an occasion to exchange views with the leadership of Pakistan and also, to listen to their advice regarding how should we react to what is happening around the world, especially in these very important circumstances, especially after the September 11 incident and its repercussions on the world.

The attitude of the OIC since the beginning was very clear. Immediately after the events, we issued a statement to condemn the terrorist act that took place in the United States of America and which resulted in the killings of thousands of innocent people. This act, of course, contradicts with the tenets of Islam, which is a religion of tolerance. Islam also considers that killing one single human being is like killing of the whole humanity. Then came the meeting of the 10 October of the OIC extraordinary session, that took place in Doha. As you may all remember, this meeting condemned terrorism and declared cooperation of the Islamic world with the campaign against terrorism. And, of course, it also dwelt on other issues, like the need to stand by the legal and legitimate causes of the Islamic nations around the world.

I believe, that Pakistan behaved sagaciously regarding the fight against terrorism and I would like to congratulate its leadership, especially the President General Pervez Musharraf, for the wisdom and dexterity with which he dealt with this question under extremely delicate and difficult circumstances. The Organization of the Islamic Conference supports any agreement that will come up among the officials of Afghanistan, and also we support what has been agreed upon in Bonn. We think that this agreement comes within the framework of our Organization i.e. the unity of Afghanistan should be preserved, and that there should be a broad-based government in Afghanistan, embracing all the factions, tribes of the country, and multi-ethnic in order to reach a final solution, a solution which is according to the satisfaction of all the Afghan people. At this occasion, I would like to appeal to all the countries to come to the help of Afghanistan for its reconstruction and for the humanitarian assistance in order to help the displaced people and the refugees.

We in the OIC are working and doing our best in order to implement this agenda. We believe that fighting terrorism should be treated and tackled at the source. We believe that people who resort to violence, in many cases do so their just political aspirations are not adhered to. We believe that the people who are struggling for their independence have legitimate rights. That has been agreed upon by the international law and Security Council of the United Nations and, therefore, should be helped to achieve their goal, so they desist from using violence to reach what they are seeking for.

Regarding the question of Palestine, I would like to say that the OIC is seized with this problem for a long time. Now, I would like to inform you that contacts have been established to hold an extraordinary meeting of the OIC Foreign Ministers in Doha, next Monday. We are in the process of organizing this meeting, which will enable the Islamic Ummah to discuss what is going on in Palestine and take necessary measures. I thank you very much, and I am ready for the questions.

Question-Answer Session

The following issues were discussed during the question-answer session:

Q. When asked to spell out the proposed goals of the Secretary General's visit to Pakistan and the measures the Organizations of the Islamic Conference intends to take in its meeting at Doha to exert pressure on Israel, the Foreign Minister said:

A. The Secretary General has been very kind to respond to our invitation to visit Pakistan. One of the functions of the Secretary General is to apprise himself fully of the views of the member States, especially on critical issues currently under the focus. This was the purpose of his visit, and as I said in my opening remarks, we had a very fruitful exchange of views on all the major issues.

Q. To a question if the OIC was planning to contribute to the multi-national force for Afghanistan and whether the Secretary General agreed that the OIC had failed to protect the hapless people of Afghanistan, the Secretary General OIC said:

A. Thank you for your question. Your question has two points. First, whether forces from Islamic countries will assist in the peace keeping efforts in Afghanistan, however, we are waiting for the return of calm to Afghanistan and for the process of re-building the country to start and then we will be able to take position on this issue. The question about the responsibility of the Islamic countries to participate in the peace keeping forces, I would like to say that if the Islamic countries were asked to do such a thing, I am sure, they will not hesitate to contribute.

The second question regarding why the Organization of Islamic Conference failed to defend the helpless people in Afghanistan, I would like to thank you because, it seems to me that you are giving to our Organization more importance than it really deserves, because as you know, we are a political organization, we have no military capabilities at all. We have taken a very clear political stance on this issue that the fight against terrorism should be directed against the terrorists and not the Afghan people. This we have emphasized before, and we have always maintained this position. I would also like to inform that a few days ago, I sent a message to Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan to initiate investigation into the massacre that has taken place next to Mazar-e-Sharif, in which many people or prisoners hailing from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Arab countries were killed. We hope that he will do this kind of investigation and inform us in due course. So I think, that if you would like to ask something from OIC, we can only do things within the framework of our responsibility, in cooperation and coordination with the member States.

I just want to add some clarifications. Firstly, the agreement that has been signed in Bonn yesterday, provides for a UN mandated security force to begin with for Kabul, and then later on, possibly for other major cities in Afghanistan. The United Nations will make a request to member States to provide contingents for that force and the OIC countries, if requested, will naturally respond positively. Secondly, the OIC on the 10th of October this year, established a fund for assistance to Afghanistan. Some money has already been contributed. An account has been opened and, Insha-Allah, with more contributions coming in, the OIC will play a part in assisting the people of Afghanistan in regard to humanitarian recovery and reconstruction programmes.

Q. Asked if he agreed that the OIC sought to evolve a pragmatic strategy to solve not only the Kashmir issue, but other issues facing the Muslims all over the world, and the Muslim countries should suspend economic ties with India until it was receptive to resolve the Kashmir issue, the Secretary General of the OIC said:

A. I would like to reiterate that the OIC is a political organization and its stand on the question of Jammu and Kashmir is very clear. I would like to state here once again that the Organization of the Islamic Conference fully supports the aspirations of the Kashmiri people for self-determination, in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations. Our position on the Kashmir question is very clear and we will not be tired to reiterate and re-emphasize this stance at all fora and on all occasions. The Ministerial Conference of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic nations demanded of the Secretary General to appoint a Special Representative for Kashmir within the framework of the OIC, and this representative will be nominated very soon. We are following this matter with great concern and if anything that the Organization can do, in cooperation and consultation with member States and Pakistan, we would be more than willing to do it, especially if this concerns a political side. This question had been put to the United Nations half a century ago. We are following it very carefully and with great resolve because we believe, that if a question of this gravity was not resolved it might, God forbid, create another problem that the world is facing now. So, we would like to prevent such an eventuality and hope that this issue will be resolved amicably.

Q. To a question whether the Government of Pakistan was planning to round up the Afghan refugees and forcibly repatriate them to Afghanistan, the Foreign Minister said:

A. The Government of Pakistan has been hoping for nearly two decades that conditions will arise in Afghanistan for the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. We are very much encouraged by the developments yesterday. We hope the establishment of an interim Authority/Administration shall create conditions for peace. The world community at this time has pledged to providing assistance to Afghanistan for humanitarian recovery and reconstruction programmes. So we believe that as a result of these developments, the hope of the Afghan refugees to return to their homes is nearing realization.

We have not embarked upon any programme of forcible repatriation of the Afghans. We have been cooperating with the world community in providing facilities. As you know, more than 160 thousand new refugees have come since September 11. Similar number came in the winter last year. We are trying our best to cope with this, but there is no decision of the Government of Pakistan that should be a cause of anxiety regarding forcible repatriation of Afghans. We hope very much that as a result of peace, people will begin to go back. You will all be very pleased to know that within the last several days more Afghans have gone back to their country than refugees have poured in.

Q. Asked if the OIC was concerned that the United States may indeed turn its military attention soon from Afghanistan to Saddam Hussain in Iraq, the Secretary General of the OIC said:

A. I can answer your question by saying that only yesterday, I heard Foreign Minister or Secretary of State Colin Powell saying that the United States has no intention or does not even think of directing any military action towards Iraq. This is a political stand on part of the United States that we appreciate, and this is an official position. But, if suppose, that the United States will direct its military action towards Iraq, that will be contrary to the decisions that have already been taken by the Islamic Foreign Ministers in Doha. We forcefully stand with the United States

for combating terrorism, but we can only reject any kind of military action against Iraq or any other Muslim country.

Q. When the Foreign Minister's attention was drawn to a statement by Pakistan's Ambassador to Russia, wherein he had expressed reservations about the viability of the proposed interim set-up in Afghanistan, the Foreign Minister said:

A. I am sorry, I am not fully aware of the statement that he has given. But if he has said that, he should read the statement issued by the Government of Pakistan in Islamabad. It is absolutely clear.

The Secretary General of the OIC said: I would like to add few things to what His Excellency the Foreign Minister has said. I would like to say that regarding the question of Afghanistan, all OIC members look forward to see stability, peace and normalcy in Afghanistan. With this, of course, we will put all our weight to help the Afghan people. I would also like to add that we are fed up of the situation in Afghanistan that has lasted for more than 20 years of turbulent life and we would like now to put all our weight in order to see that the situation in Afghanistan comes back to normalcy and that the people of Afghanistan with a free and independent will, pave the way for a lasting solution to their problems.

The Foreign Minister added: Just to re-assure you about Pakistan's stance, number one: From the very beginning, Pakistan has supported UN resolutions with regard to Afghanistan. Secondly, we appreciate the delegates at Bonn for the accommodation that they have shown and the spirit of reconciliation that is manifest in the agreement that they signed yesterday. We have also announced that Pakistan will immediately enter into relations with the interim Administration, as soon as it takes office on the 22nd of December and finally, we have publicly assured the incoming Administration that Pakistan will extend its full cooperation in the realization of the objectives to which the Afghans have agreed at Bonn.

Q. To a question whether the OIC would contemplate taking solid measures to avert another Mazar-i-Sharif like carnage in Tora Bora and Kandahar, the Secretary General of the OIC said:

A. The OIC vigilantly follows all the international events that are occurring around the world. We are not seeking to bypass certain things. We follow these things with serenity and calm. We have taken into consideration the moral and political position of the OIC with regard to what is going on around the world. We only intervene once we see that effective things are happening and then we take our responsibility and act accordingly. We are now waiting to see efforts of Mr. Kofi Annan regarding what happened in Mazar-e-Sharif and after that if anything happens in the future also, we will face it with the same resolve and attention.

Q. When asked about his personal views about the Bonn Agreement, the Foreign Minister stated:

A. I am sure, you have read this agreement as well as the composition of the interim Administration. The determining factor is that this agreement has been signed by the Afghan dignitaries, who were invited by the United Nations to meet in Bonn. Afghanistan is a sovereign state. The United Nations is trying to facilitate and has successfully facilitated an agreement. I think, at this time, all friends of Afghanistan should hope and pray that the agreement that has been signed will be implemented in the letter and the spirit. ■

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

DOCUMENT # 23**Statement by Ambassador Shamshad Ahmad, the Permanent Representative of
Pakistan to the United Nations on Afghanistan
20 December 2001**

Mr. President,

Once again, we are deliberating on an issue which has been a challenge for the international community for decades. It also represents one of those cases in contemporary history where a poor and dispossessed nation which had sacrificed so much for the cause of the free world was treated, in turn, by the international community, with callous indifference and punity. One does not have to dilate upon history. But history would have been different if Afghanistan, at the end of the Cold War, had not been left in chaos and conflict to be exploited by the evil forces of violence and hatred.

For years, Afghanistan has been the subject of debates and resolutions at the UN, aggravating, not alleviating, the suffering of the people of this war-ravaged country. Their isolation and ostracism drove them to despair and disillusionment and into the hands of Al-Qaeda – a group of non-Afghan run-away dissidents from their own countries who could not find a better hiding place than the shadows of Afghanistan's wilderness and rugged mountains. If the world had remained engaged with the people of Afghanistan and had not turned its back on them, the situation today might have been totally different. Osama Bin Laden and his associates perhaps would not have exploited Afghanistan, nor taken advantage of the Afghan traditions of hospitality and friendship, abusing their trust to spread terror across the globe.

For 22 long years, the people of Afghanistan have suffered – and suffered terribly – at the hands of both man and nature. They have been victims of the brutal foreign occupation, self-serving exploitation by the free world, a fratricidal civil war, ruthlessness of power-hungry and blood-sucking warlords and excesses of oppressive and obscurantist regimes. The UN also allowed itself to be used as a tool to punish the Afghans for the sins they never committed. The devastating drought, which has afflicted them over the past several years, has only aggravated their already severe plight. Countless Afghans have lost their lives through these difficult years. Today, over six million Afghans are sheltered as refugees in neighbouring countries and millions more are either internally displaced or face tremendous hardship in their own localities. Rather than receiving the help it deserved as being the last great battlefield of the Cold War, Afghanistan was totally isolated, reduced to a wasteland which attracted fugitives and criminals from all over the world.

But today it is not time for remorse or rhetoric, nor for remaining frozen in the past. These are unusual times demanding fresh approach and new thinking in our response to one of the gravest challenges to humanity. As we review the situation in Afghanistan, we must be guided by the need to rectify the mistakes of the past. Nothing is more important in the context of today's agenda item than the urgency of durable peace and stability in Afghanistan and its relevance to the peace and stability to the world at large. We must also take cognizance of the seriousness of the humanitarian situation in that country which warrants a corresponding global response through rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Now that the international community is fighting terrorism in Afghanistan, we hope it will not walk away from it once the immediate objectives of the military

campaign are achieved. It must remain engaged with Afghanistan and the region. A country ravaged by war has to be rebuilt. A society torn by conflict has to be healed. All this requires commitment and perseverance. The long-term solution of the problem of terrorism in Afghanistan lies in the restoration of peace and stability and a reconstruction of that country. An Afghanistan, at peace with itself and at peace with its neighbours is the sure safeguard, in the future, against any terrorist activity emanating from within its borders.

Indeed, the Afghans are not the only victims of the Afghan tragedy. Pakistan has suffered also. For almost two and a half decades, we have been providing shelter to over three million Afghans, through our own meager resources and without any appreciable assistance from the outside world. Our economy has been suffering and continues to suffer because of the situation in Afghanistan. Rampant terrorism as well as the culture of drugs and guns – that we call the “Kalashnikov Culture” – tearing apart our social and political fabric – was also a direct legacy of the protracted conflict in Afghanistan. Given this bleak scenario, no country in the world has suffered more from the conflict in Afghanistan than Pakistan and no country could have a greater stake in the return of peace and stability to Afghanistan than Pakistan.

Mr. President,

Pakistan fully supports the UN efforts to bring peace to Afghanistan. We, therefore, appreciate the efforts of the Secretary-General and those of his Special Representative, Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi. We fully support Ambassador Brahimi’s mandate to facilitate the restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan as well as assisting the rehabilitation and reconstruction of that war-ravaged country. We hope the UN will continue to play its role as a facilitator in helping the Afghans find “homegrown” solutions to their problems and bringing their country back in the comity of nations as a responsible and law abiding state.

Pakistan welcomes the swearing-in of Mr. Hamid Karzai, in two-days time in Kabul as the head of the Interim Administration. We shall extend our full support and cooperation not only to the Interim Administration, but also to the subsequent governments of Afghanistan, transitional or otherwise, in their efforts to restore peace and stability to Afghanistan. Pakistan remains fully committed to maintaining fraternal ties with Afghanistan and would be ready to assist in its rehabilitation and reconstruction. To this end the President of Pakistan has proposed the establishment of an “Afghan Trust Fund” under UN auspices to assist in humanitarian relief as well as national reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts in Afghanistan.

Mr. President,

Pakistan considers the Bonn Agreement as an important positive development in that it seeks to bring about a fundamental change in Afghanistan through peaceful means. This Agreement, in spite of its shortcomings, is, however a first step towards evolving a genuinely homegrown, broad-based and multi-ethnic political dispensation in Afghanistan, through the convening, in due course, of a Loya Jirga. We hope that this process will lead to the establishment of a genuinely representative government in Afghanistan which is acceptable to all Afghans, which promotes unity and stability and which respects its international obligations, including those to its neighbours. Any attempt motivated by intrinsic animosities from inside or sponsored by vested interests from outside to pitch this landlocked country against any of its neighbours will only prolong the misery and deprivation of its people, delaying its socio-economic and political recovery and keep the region mired in instability.

The international community, on its part, has to ensure its full support to the United Nations as it oversees the implementation of the Bonn Agreement. This includes ensuring the early deployment, as stipulated in the Agreement, of a “United Nations mandated force” for the maintenance of security for Kabul as well as other areas of the country. Efforts are needed to accelerate the deployment of this force and secure the demilitarization of Kabul and other major urban centers where it is expected to take up positions. The international community must also ensure that the warlordism, which once wreaked havoc across Afghanistan, is not given a chance to obstruct the establishment of a stable political dispensation in Afghanistan.

We hope all Afghan factions and groups will avail themselves of this unique opportunity to extricate their country from the abyss in which it has remained for the last two decades. The success of the Bonn Agreement will depend on how the Afghan leaders acquit themselves in rebuilding their country through a mutual spirit of accommodation. The tribal and ethnic structures will remain of special relevance in any future set up. In the larger measure, it is only upto the Afghans themselves to make or mar the future of their country.

Mr. President,

The two-decade long conflict in Afghanistan has taken the country back to the eighteenth century, if not beyond. The country lacks the basic infrastructure as its people remain deprived of their basic necessities. Once peace returns to Afghanistan, humanitarian relief has to be sustained. No peace process can work without commensurate support to rebuild and rehabilitate this war-ravaged nation. The need to concurrently evolve a comprehensive post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation plan is, therefore, equally important which will be put in place as soon as peace returns to Afghanistan. It is imperative for the international community to immediately begin work on this plan and arrange the necessary finances to support and sustain it. Any reconstruction effort in Afghanistan must, at the minimum, entail the restoration of water management system, reviving of agriculture, reconstruction of the infrastructure and transit routes, rebuilding of institution as well as the continued humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people.

Needless to emphasize that this time, the international community must not walk away from Afghanistan, as it did in the past. It must demonstrate the political will and the determination to engage and help the Afghan people in rebuilding peace and the economy of their country. The Afghans have been disillusioned by the treatment they have earlier received from the world community. The negative consequences of that neglect are clear for everyone to see. This mistake must not be repeated.

Mr. President,

We are turning a new leaf in Afghanistan. Let this augur well for its people and for the world community. Pakistan, like the rest of the international community, hopes that this new era will bring positive changes in Afghanistan. It is with this hope that we are co-sponsoring the present draft resolution before this assembly. We fully subscribe to its intent to restore peace and normalcy in Afghanistan as well as for the promotion of relief and reconstruction work in Afghanistan. We hope that this resolution will strengthen the United Nations’ efforts in Afghanistan and truly contribute to achievement of peace, security and development in that country which needs it so badly.

As we open a new chapter in the Afghan saga, the bitter and unpleasant chapters of the past must be closed. We must look forward, not backward. The UN sanctions imposed under Security Council resolutions 1267 and 1333 represent a painful legacy for the Afghan people. Now that the Taliban have been eliminated, the

sanctions regime which hurt only the people of Afghanistan must also come to an end. There is now Security Council resolution 1373 with wider scope and reach which has made the Taliban-specific resolutions 1267 and 1333 redundant. Once the current military campaign in Afghanistan is successfully over, all the resources that were mobilized for intrusive and punitive mechanisms under these resolutions should be placed at the disposal of Ambassador Brahimi so that he could use them, if he so requires, appropriately and constructively to rebuild Afghanistan. Tomorrow's Afghanistan will need the UN not as a policeman hunting for criminals – but as a healer and builder, promoting reconciliation and reconstruction of this war-torn nation.

I thank you, Mr. President. ■

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

DOCUMENT # 24

Text of President's Speech on the Birthday of Quaid-i-Azam December 25, 2001

Following is the Text of the speech of President General Pervez Musharraf delivered at the mausoleum of Father of the nation Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah here on Tuesday.

“As I stand here today to mark the conclusion of the year of the his greatness and his unique achievements. In the words of the famous historian, Stanley Wolpert, “Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation state Muhammad Ali Jinnah did all three. “There cannot be a more fitting and better deserved tribute to the father of this nation.

Ladies and Gentlemen, 25 Dec 1876, the birth of the Quaid and 14 Aug 1947, the birth of Pakistan. Both, the Quaid and Pakistan, we incomplete without the other. Today, we gather to salute this man, who gave us an identity — Pakistan Today I ask all those who consider themselves the sole custodians of Islam: can there be a better Muslim in the present times than this great man who created this citadel of Islam? It is fitting, therefore, that we look at our own conscience as a nation and assess our own deeds as his followers and admirers. Let us cast our thoughts back to the chaos and confusion of 1947: what did we face then? Despair and difficulties:

Our very survival questionable. Sustainability of Pakistan doubtful. Finances to run the country coffers empty. Governmental institutions non-existent. Millions homeless. Neighbour not reconciled and hostile. Nation's defence weak. Yet, with faith in Allah and the will to succeed we converted:- Chaos into order: Despair into confidence.

Doubtful sustainability into unquestionable reality —. In cohesive defence into united and motivated force. Disorganized functioning into institutionalized governance.

“How did all this phenomenal transformation occur? A leader with unquestionable integrity, honour, dignity and honesty led, and the people rose to the occasion. We proved all dooms day pundits wrong.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Where there is Unity, Faith and Discipline mountains can be scaled, oceans can be crossed and skies can be reached. The early years of Pakistan seem like good old days, a past remembered with nostalgia. Our elders call it a happy dream. Why do we have nightmares now instead of those happy dreams? What was Quaid's vision? What have we achieved? Are we following his path or deviated from it? Let us draw lessons from the Quaid. On 11 Aug 1947, in his address to the Constituent Assembly, Quaid-i-Azam said, "you are free you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship In this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the state."

Also on 10 March 1944, in his address to the Aligarh Muslim University Union he said, "No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the house as prisoners. I do not mean that we should imitate the evils of western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideals and standards."

The Quaid believed in Pakistan as a welfare state, drawing inspiration from the tenets of true Islam, built on foundations of democracy with respect and protection for the individual, with equal rights for all men, women and children irrespective of their religious faith or political views. What have we done to this vision? Leave aside tolerating other religions we refuse to accommodate views of various sects in our own religion. We are killing each other for difference in Fiqas and Muslaqs. We have undermined Islam to a level that people of the world associate it with illiteracy, backwardness, intolerance, obscurantism and militancy.

"How do we treat our women? We still take them to be second-class citizens. While Islam gives them an equal status, it is the supposed custodians of Islam who undermine their role. The Quaid was extremely conscious of the prevailing social evils in society. On 11 Aug 1947 while taking over as Governor General of Pakistan in his address to the constituent Assembly he said, "One of the biggest curses from which the subcontinent is suffering is bribery and corruption. That really his a poison. We must put it down with an iron hand. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived the great evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I will not tolerate any kind of jobbery or nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me."

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Corruption and nepotism had eaten us up like termites from within. The country is in a debt trap, looted by its elite and leaders, with its honour and dignity compromised and its future generations held to ransom. A state of degeneration had reached where earning and living on ill-gotten Haram wealth was accepted by society and no more held as shameful.

Merit became the greatest victim of nepotism. Giraeeen bazzi, cronyism, family links were used for professional acceptance and advancement to such an extent that it caused dependency, disillusionment and hopelessness in people with merit. Today we are in a state where incompetence and mediocrity reigns supreme. At the time of independence our bureaucracy played a key role in establishing governance and creating institutions of State.

While addressing Government offices on 14 April 1948 in Peshawar the Quaid had this to say, "you occupy very important positions in the administration. The first

thing is that you should never be influenced by any political pressure, by any political pressure, by any political party of any individual politician. If you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall victim to any pressure, but do your duty as servants of the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly. Governments are formed, governments are defeated. Prime Ministers and Ministers come and go but you stay on. Your duty is only to serve the Government loyally and faithfully, but at the same time maintaining your high reputation and prestige.”

“It is a pity that it did not take bureaucrats very long to forget these precious words and they too got carried away by the general decline in ethics. Compromise on principles and ethical values and adopting ‘yesmanship’ for self-promotion has become a norm rather than an exception. How can Pakistan rise in the face of such apathy? Together with all these ills, we Pakistanis, also gradually gave up our patriotic favour in favour of provincialism and regionalism. This is another area where the father of our Nation had given wise advice.

While addressing students of Islamia College Peshawar on 12 April 1948 he said, “Our duty to the State comes first, our duty to our Province, to our district, to our town and to our village and ourselves comes later. Remember, we are building up a State, which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World. We, therefore, need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces, limited nationalism and racialism. We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanize and weld us all into one united and strong nation. That is the only way in which, we can achieve our goal, the goal of our struggle, the goal for which millions of Musalmans have lost their all and laid down their lives”

Alas! Provincial disharmony through myopic, partisan, governmental decisions and actions had eroded our spirit of patriotic nationalism. Our preferences and motivations are the exact opposite of what Quaid-i-Azam told us. To use self comes first, then our village, then the district, followed by the Province, the poor Nation coming last of all.

Quaid-i-Azam was always sensitive to the security and defence of the country. He knew the threats to it when, in reply to a Swiss journalist’s question on 11 March 1984, whether Indian and Pakistan would come to a peaceful settlement of their vital differences and disputes, he replies, “yes, provided the Indian Government will shed the superiority complex and will deal with Pakistan on an equal footing and fully appreciate the realities.” How true, even today.

While addressing officers of Staff College, Quetta on 14 June 1948 he remarked, “you, along with other forces of Pakistan are the custodians of the life, property and honour of the people of Pakistan. A very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders.” To 5 Light Anti Aircraft Regiment in Malir he said, “You have fought many battles in far flung areas of the globe. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and the equality of man on your own native soil. You will have to be alert, very alert, for the time of relaxation is not yet there.” “These remarks hold true even today. We confront an external and internal challenge. But let me assure my countrymen, that your armed forces are fully prepared and capable of defeating all challenges by the grace of Allah. Those irresponsible politicians who issue distorted and self-serving statements to cause dissent among the forces have no clue about the unity and discipline that our forces enjoy. The armed forces will, Inshallah measure up to the expectations of the Quaid.

“Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let us very seriously and sincerely ponder, what should be the course ahead? Everything, God forbid is not lost. Pakistan, a nuclear power of 140 million people is alive and kicking. We have to rechart our course. The way forward is the way of the Quaid, as deified by the Father of the Nation. No bigoted extremists will be allowed to derail us, and we the vast silent majority must vow not to be voiceless, passive onlookers to our own internal destruction. We must act in unison to implement Quaid’s vision. Let us sink all religious and sectarian differences and show tolerance of others beliefs, views and thoughts. Let us vow to mind our own business and also to actively stop those who profess to be better Muslims than others.

Let us, always remember, our identity is Pakistan. Pakistan has to come first. *“PAKISTAN HAMARI JAN, SABSE PEHLE PAKISTAN”*. Our strength is in unity. How apt is Iqbal’s verse.

*“FARD QEM RABTE MILLAT SE HAI-TANHA KUCHH NAHIN
MAUJ HAI DARYA MEIN BAIROON-E-DARYA KUCHH NAHIN”*.

“Let us root our corruption, I specially appeal to the rich elite who have enough and can do without more *“HALAL KI KAMAEN AUR HALAL KI KHAEN.”* Let the society treat the corrupt with contempt so that the fear of God is put into them and they at least hide and feel ashamed instead of showing off their ill-gotten riches.

We must restore meritocracy and shun nepotism, Let the deserving get the reward. Let the deserving get the reward. Let us not equate the horse with the mule or the donkeys. How can we progress or perform well if people with merit are not in the saddle? Bureaucrats created governance in Pakistan from scratch. Where is that creed now? I appeal to all Government servants to stand up to principles against any wrong by anyone. Regain your lost prestige through integrity, dedication, honesty and selfless service.

We in the Government will follow the Quaid’s advice given during the Presidential address at the Punjab Muslim Students Federation on 2 March 1941, “there are at least three main pillars which go to make a Nation worthy of possessing a territory and running a government. One is education. Next, no nation and no people can ever do anything very much without making themselves economically powerful in commerce, trade and industry. And, last you have got to prepare yourselves for your defence — defence against external aggression and to maintain internal security.”

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In Quaid’s own words of 28 Dec 1948, while addressing officers of North Western Railway, “we are going through fire, the sunshine has yet to come. But I have no doubt that with unity, faith and discipline we will compare with any nation of the world. Are you prepared to undergo the fire? You must make up your mind now.” I am sure that our nation is determined to meet the challenge we face today with the same dauntless courage which inspired the Quaid-i-Azam to turn the dream of Pakistan into a living dynamic reality.

The challenges we face today are in no way less than what Pakistan and Pakistanis faced in 1947. Although in many ways Pakistan has progress — in many ways Pakistanis have deteriorated. Pakistan had reached a point where Pakistan’s and the Quaid’s vision had blurred. We cannot and we will not allow that to happen. For two years now we have constantly reminded ourselves that Pakistan comes first. All decisions I make are made with Pakistan and Quaid’s vision in mind.

Come, my countrymen and women, all of us who love Pakistan and who believe in this country let us today resolve to life this nation to the heights that it is capable of

achieving. It requires a super human effort, I know, but in the last two years I have seen that desire in your eyes — there is hope and there is the will. We have turned the corner.

Pakistan has the capacity, strength and resilience – it just awaits us. Let us combine and make the effort- I promise I will never let you down- Inshallah.

I cannot perhaps do better than to conclude my observations with this stirring quote from the Quaid.

Pakistan has a great future ahead of it. It is now for us, to take the fullest advantage of what nature has so abundantly provided us with, and build up a glorious and mighty state. I thank you all. Pakistan Paindabad.”■

The News, December 27, 2001