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DOCUMENTS

(1 JULY - 31 DECEMBER 2006)

DOCUMENT NO 1

PRESIDENT'S INTERVIEW WITH BUSINESS PLUS

Question: I feel honoured to have the President of Pakistan with us in this special edition of Business Plus. Mr. President first of all I congratulate you for your decision that facilitated the release of several hundred women languishing in prisons for long. Many of us now think after watching these women on TV screens that the government should have taken this decision much earlier. I think it is a good decision sir.

Answer: Thank you very much I would like to respond by saying that much more decision coming in the coming months and also to assure all women that I am on their side. And we will make sure that there is progress on all women issues.

Question: Mr. President you have once idealized Attaturk as leader who inspired you but which one is the country in the world, which you would like to idealize for Pakistan as a role model, or may be some books or some figures sir?

Answer: Among the Muslim countries it is Malaysia, which is a progressive society and their economy is doing very well. Its an example of progressive Islamic society and I think that is what we need to emulate in Pakistan. As far as reading is concerned, I don't have much time for that therefore I only go through the newspapers and important magazines especially Indian magazines as to what they are saying about us. Some of the headlines are marked by the staff. My wife contributes a lot. I don't have much time left for reading books after the official work.

Question: Since you have mentioned about your hectic schedule. We have been hearing that you yourself are in the process of writing a book. An autobiography, would you like to share with us or is it too soon that I am putting up this question to you?

Answer: It's out in the open. But I would not like to say anything about it other than, yes I have written an autobiography it will be out in the market in September. It contains everything absolutely - my comments and my thoughts concerning Pakistan.

Question: Just you have mentioned about Malaysia, when talk about amenities very few people avail them in Pakistan, including the electricity, irrespective of GDP figures how come the ordinary man who is suffering can have his lot improved, as our leaders kept promising broad, clothing etc for years, but a middle man is still suffering?

Answer: Whatever I say I deliver on it. People will get electricity, gas, water etc. etc. But this is a country of 150 million people, which had very limited resources. We are now in a much better shape and providing these basic amenities to the people. Let's

take electricity for example. From 1988 to 1999 only about 1200 to 1300 villages were being electrified. Last year, 13500 villages were provided electricity while this year some 15,000 villages will be provided electricity. By December 2007, every village having ten or more houses will get the power supply although some remote areas in NWFP and Balochistan may not get electricity by that time. This is the magnitude of the progress. We should look at the positive side. Similarly I have promised to provide safe drinking water and the work is going on. Our economy has stabilized and doing very well. Macro economic indicators are positive. Now our efforts are aimed at passing on the benefits of economic upsurge to the common people.

As the economy stabilized people will automatically get fruits of development. Now our focus is in three directions - poverty alleviation, unemployment control and inflation control. Secondly we should provide the facilities that have been promised - electricity, gas and safe drinking water. We are working to provide safe drinking water down to Union level and the situation will gradually improve. Similarly we are targeting to provide piped gas and electricity to every at least every *Tehsil* Headquarters with the exception of a few. At other places we are making alternative arrangements. We are also focusing on qualitative improvement in human resources, health and education. There is definitely an impact of government's efforts at the grassroots level. But there is a lot to be done. Poverty and unemployment ratio have shown decline that has also been noted by the World Bank and Asian Development Bank. But if there is still 25 percent poverty, it is bad. One out of four is poor and one should never say that poverty has been eliminated. Although it has come down from 33 percent to 25 percent which is a success of the government. But there are pessimists who continue to criticize and do not see the progress. No one has a magic wand. There is poverty and unemployment even in the United States. How can I claim to end poverty from Pakistan. But I promise to lower it further. The UN has the target to bring it below 15 percent by the year 2015. We will meet this target ahead of cut off date.

Question: Indeed Mr. President people do have their faith on the long term planning as far as the major dams are concerned, but the way we have had power crisis and later else where wherein the federal government had to intervene one need to ask whether we have some short term objectives as well?

Answer: I am thinking of addressing the nation also to put things in order. Unfortunately the people do not understand the situation. First we need to know what is the problem. The problem is of development, which is so rapid that we should be proud of it. In three years the GDP growth has remained 7.5 percent. Lets leave aside tractors, motorcycles, cars etc and talk of just electricity. There has been 1000 per cent increase in the sale of air conditioners; new industries are being set up. Therefore the demand is rising for gas and electricity. We are facing electricity shortage because of rapid economic development. We have to take steps to meet the demand. (About lesser gas demand in the country in 2002): During my visit to Iran I held talks with Iranian President Mr. Khatmi on the proposed gas pipeline project. I told him that unless India comes on board, Pakistan does not have the market (demand for gas). Today, the economy has started to boom, now I am telling them (Iran) that even if there is no trilateral arrangement (with India), we need gas. So it is developmental fallout. There is traffic choke-up, even in Islamabad. It is because there is a

development, people are buying cars. The sale has gone up from 33,000 a year to over 200,000. So we have to meet the challenges of posed by development. Now we are looking at the solutions. I am taking personal interest to meet the demand by following procedures but on the fast-track basis. My target is December 2007 and early 2008. We are looking at gas and power projects that have immediate responses. In the mid-term, from 2008 to 2012 onward, we are looking at hydroelectricity, gas, coal, alternate (winds, sun and nuclear). We want to avoid oil, as it is the most expensive input for producing electricity. Even we can import coal, it is very cheap, we are going for that in the mid-term. In the long-term, we have to built dams. Therefore, we have launched Bhasha dam and we are also working on other such large water reservoirs. This is the strategy. Now load shedding, I have asked Prime Minister to take the nation into confidence about the gap in supply and demand. The nation should know that the problem is due to rapid development and that the government is making all efforts to meet the demand. Tell the nation that it cannot be done overnight. They should show patience, as the government would be able to meet this challenge in a year and a half time. One should come upfront. I am coming upfront and saying to the nation, give us time; we have a short-term, mid-term and long-term strategy, which we will implement. There has been manifold increase in demand in big cities. In cities like Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, multi-storeyed buildings have replaced single-storey houses and there are hundred air conditioners where there used by one. So there has been tremendous load on KESE and other power networks but it is a fallout of development.

Question: Stock markets face ups and downs all over the world, but what was the reason that there have been series of allegations and counter allegations in the case of the crashes in the stock markets:

Answer: All the stock exchanges in the world are linked; there is an integration of all the stock markets in the world. I have reviewed the entire situation, especially, when our stock market started to go up - we do make comparison of our stock market with those of the region and the developing world. From the review of the stock market from 2000 onward, some prominent developments emerged. There is a relationship throughout between the country's stock market and those of the region as it goes up and down with them. But in the last year, our (stock market) graph suddenly went up while those of others did not. So there is some issue, which is related only to our stock exchange and not to all others. So we needed to look at it and, therefore, the government immediately set up a Committee that comprises people, whose names I would not like to mention who have always been anti-government, it is their report, which has been published and is available. The report did not blame the government (for the crash). Mr. Tariq Hassan, Chairman of the SECP, is now making hue and cry over it. It is the responsibility of the SECP to oversee that the stock exchanges behave in a regulated pattern. What did he do, why did this happen and this particularly only to Karachi Stock Exchange (KSE). Why did he allow this to happen? He himself is to blame and nobody else. All that happens or does not happen in that organisation, it is his responsibility. So it clearly happened last year, and it was specific to KSE. Now, what is happening today in KSE is relative to all other markets as it is going up and down in relation to all other markets. So there is no problem, this is a phenomenon, which happened also in Bombay, Saudi Arabia, UAE. I am bothered about last year,

why did it happen only in KSE. That has been investigated and the government took corrective action and he (Tariq Hassan) has been sacked. In my opinion he should have been sacked a little earlier. He is to blame. People have lost billions of rupees. But they have also gained when the market went up from 1000 to 10,000. This is how it (stock market) works. People gained by making billions of rupees and then they lost millions. But they gained more as the KSE- index shot up to 10,000 from 1000 points. So people gain and lose and this is the game of stock exchange. So, I think, the government has no problem with it. The problem is that, as the elections are coming up in 2007, the opposition is now trying to see how to let down the government. They have no issues to exploit for political mileage as the economy is doing well and the development is taking place. And if we keep our political dimensions right, the country will continue to progress. Therefore, they (the opposition) try to play up issues such as stock market crash, load-shedding etc. to let down the people. But, I would like to tell those politicians, who are trying to let down the government, that we are not like them who use to plunder the national exchequer. Those days are gone. You want to return and do the same and that is why you are trying to malign the government. So let's stop all this. The government is doing pretty OK. There are problems but we will rectify them. When you take decisions, a few may go wrong which we will rectify. But it is better than taking no decisions. One should not worry, if one or two decisions go wrong, we will correct them. So, I am quite satisfied that the Stock Exchange is doing very well. The fluctuations now are relative to all stock markets of the world and the region. But in 2005, it was specific to KSE and we needed to take proper and quick action, the government took action and I think we have done well.

Question: You have mentioned about the politicians and have made references to those. We are listening to the CoD and many more things as well as tall claims. There was an issue of their accountability but now they are planning to return to the country and contesting elections, why the government could not expose all their misdeeds or was it so well hidden that could not come to the public view or was there some compromise?

Answer: According to our laws, trial cannot be held in absentia. There is a case in Geneva and court also announced punishment that case is still going on, lets see the results. Secondly, there is Mr. Nawaz Sharif who is sitting in London. He went abroad after a deal that was brokered by a very close friend of Pakistan. It was because of him that he went abroad. He (Nawaz Sharif) has been sentenced by the court. So they all have cases against them. Under the law both of them (Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto) cannot be prime minister as they have served two terms.

As far as elections are concerned, the Election Commission is fully autonomous and independent and it can decide whether, under the law, the two can contest elections.

Question: Mr. Nawaz Sharif has often stated that he was not aware of the Kargil operation, and was kept in the dark and he came to know about it from his friend Mr. Vajpayee, what is truth about it, the people of Pakistan want to know as to why a former prime minister levels such allegations?

Answer: Nawaz Sharif was very much on board on Kargil plan and he attended a briefing on it by senior Army commanders on February 5, 1999 in Kel sector. He is consistently lying that he did not know and came to know about it from his Indian counterpart. I will show you these pictures which will prove that he knew about the Kargil plan. In one picture Nawaz Sharif is attending a briefing by the Corps Commander Lt Gen Mahmood. The other pictures also shows Sharif addressing the troops sitting on heaps of snow. There was no purpose of visiting Kel, which is south of Kargil Sector during such an adverse weather condition other than knowing the operational details first hand. The pictures taken on February 5, 1999, prove that the former prime minister was briefed and was on board on the Kargil Plan when Indian Prime Minister Mr. Vajpayee came on Bus to Lahore and met Mr. Sharif on February 19, 1999. These pictures belie Nawaz Sharif's claim that he had come to know about Kargil from his Indian counterpart Vajpayee. Look at these pictures, in one of these pictures, I am receiving him (Nawaz Sharif) -- in another, he is being briefed by Corps Commander Mahmood, who later became DG ISI, while in another picture he is addressing the troops. Now why had he gone to Kel during heavy snow? I would say that a prime minister is not worth his salt if he is being informed about such issues by his Indian counterpart.

Question: You have mentioned about Kashmir, we have seen there was a stand off on this issue with India and we have had tension, and then you moved ahead and took CBMs and talks are also continuing, but you have said in an interview in Davos and later as well that the core issues are not being addressed properly. How do you see it now, whether we are doing enough and they are doing less, what is it all about?

Answer: Elections will be held in 2007 and are very important. But according to law and constitution, they have a leeway of two months so perhaps it can be extended to January 2008. But, as such, there is no problem and they should be held in 2007. These elections are very important because it will be first time that a parliament will complete its 5-year term. I have all along been emphasizing, political problems aside, the Assemblies must complete their mandated term. That culture must come into Pakistan and I am very glad that I have introduced that culture. Local Bodies completed their tenure. Half of the Senate members completed their tenure and now national and provincial assemblies elections will be held.

Now, these elections will be held. They are very important; they will be fair and transparent. I feel the environment is very very critical. There are progressive forces and there are retrogressive forces - forces which encourage extremism. It is a contest between them. My hope is that progressive forces should be together to defeat the extremist retrogressive forces. I would like to leave at this. I hope everyone realizes, especially the leaders sitting outside. Pakistan is bigger than they themselves. Pakistan is bigger than any individual. Pakistan is bigger than me. Pakistan is more important. I or they are not important. So, therefore, it is the parties, which are important. All parties, as far as I am concerned, are welcome to contest elections. It will be transparent, it will be absolutely fair. Let there be a fair and transparent election according to the constitution of Pakistan. Let progressive forces join to defeat retrogressive forces.

Now at the international level, let me assure with all my guarantees that there is no pressure on me with regard to the ongoing fight against terrorism. Official stand of all the important countries is very favourable towards Pakistan. And they understand what Pakistan was doing to fight terrorism and extremism. No nation has done this much and they (world leaders) only express their gratitude to me (for what Pakistan is doing in the fight against terrorism). These are individuals who say that Pakistan is not doing enough. This is not the official stance. Who can say this. If Pakistan is not doing than which other country is doing that much against terrorism and extremism. Only we have captured 600 to 700 terrorists. We have killed many *al-Qaeda* terrorists and the rest are on the run. We have destroyed their sanctuaries. Our 300 men have embraced martyrdom. Who else have done so much. So, this is an absolute aspersion which is only being done in the media, otherwise, it is not the stance of the world leadership. So there is gap in what the media is saying and the official position of the world leadership. Whatever one say in media is his own view and does not reflect his country's official position. So, therefore, I am fully satisfied on that. On democracy, if you ask a foreigner about his views, one would naturally say he looks forward to free and fair elections. It does not mean that he is telling me to hold fair and free elections. Nobody is telling me anything; I am not at all under pressure. They are very happy and they say that they are worried about the continuity of our policies. Leadership is very happy, they only ask me how will I ensure continuity of the policies, this is their worry. But media will project it in a way as if someone is giving me lecture. First of all, I am not ready to listen to any lecture about Pakistan from a non-Pakistani. Every one knows this and let me say through this channel to the world, to anyone. I don't accept any dictate on Pakistan by a non-Pakistani. So I am looking after Pakistan's interest to the best of my honest ability and, therefore, we don't need advice from anyone.

However, we are conscious of democracy and we are conscious that we have to have fair, impartial, transparent elections. We are very conscious ourselves in our own interest. We are fighting extremism and terrorism because of our own interest and not because of interests of others. Because it is in the interest of Pakistan that Pakistan society does away with extremism. I am doing this (fighting terrorism) for my country but this also suits others. We will continue to do that as it suits us as well as them (world). I want to tell the entire nation that there is no pressure on me. You will only read that in media but no official, has to this date, told me to do anything other than expressing his gratitude and thanks. We take lesson from no one, we know what we are doing and whatever we are doing is right.

Question: Mr. President! The most important event in the political history is the coming elections. The entire world is watching us. You yourself have spoken about it and have told about it. The western World, too, is watching us. How do you see it in the perspective of “inter-political dynamics”? What are your own expectations of these elections? What do you think when the Western views come before us which say that we need to do more or there has to be more democracy in Pakistan? How do you feel then? What do you have to say about that?

Answer: I have explained to the nation many a times. But let me here say that the opposition is setting a very bad precedent. They don't understand, to what extent we are degrading ourselves. There has to be a pride in a man, in a nation. A nation without a dignity cannot be called a nation. I have my own pride. I will never swallow

this disgrace of somebody coming and dictating to me what I need to do or why I do certain things. I don't take such dictations. We know our environment and we will do things our way. I will do things my way. I will take suggestions. But we do not take dictation, we are a nation 160 and a nuclear state. What dictation are they talking about. At the United Nations we oppose the US on many resolutions. The US knows it. This is no secret. There is no problem at all. We oppose what is not in our national interest. The Opposition says that the visitors come and dictate us. As if it is at behest of Condoleezza Rice that we change our syllabus of Islamyat and Urdu. Unfortunately this is not true. For Heaven's sake let us have pride in ourselves as a nation. Nobody is telling me to do something. Nobody is dictating me on nuclear, democracy and extremism terrorism issues. Everything we are doing for Pakistan's interest, whether it is in the interest of others, if it happens to be, very good. If it does not happen to be, we don't care.

Question: Mr. President why we did not have an efficient nuclear control and command system prior to the year 2000 dur to which we “suffered A. Q. Khan” why it was so?

Answer - India conducted first nuclear test in 1974. When it conducted the nuclear test, a force imbalance came about – our strategy is of defensive deterrence - we quantify it in army, air force and navy. But when India carried out the nuclear test, the imbalance emerged in unconventional field. And so the decision was taken that Pakistan will also go nuclear. When they (India) tested missile in 1990s, we also decided to test missiles.

We had to do in a clandestine manner as the world was against it. We had to keep everything top secret. So, I will say that everyone who is involved in this since 1970s, whether I like them or not, but I give credit to them to keeping it secret. How we could keep it secret. If we had set up authorities, SPD (Strategic Planning Division) earlier, we could not have kept our programme secret. So it was between presidents and scientists.

In the tenure of Mr. Bhutto, it was between Bhutto and A.Q. Khan and no body else knew. During President Ziaul-Haq's time, it was between him and scientists and no one else knew. After his *Shahadat*, the governments came, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and subsequently, they also involved the army chief and it continued. And for the science organisation - the organisation of Dr. A.Q. Khan - two things were very important, i.e. security and financing. They themselves were responsible for security and they had the total financial autonomy as it had to be done in a clandestine manner. So it should be understood by the nation that it was the only way to do it. Now we tested our nuclear devices in 1998, so there is nothing to hide. Everybody knows that we are making nuclear (bombs) and missiles and we will continue our strategic programmes, we are afraid of no one. Now the question was to have a control. In 1998-99, when I became the army chief. The first thing I told Mr. Nawaz Sharif, and I am saying that with full credibility, I said we have these assets and they should be brought under authority as to who will look after them, and secondly, they should have a guidance on what they are doing.

So I formed the system, that is now currently in place, and presented to Nawaz Sharif and I asked him to establish these institutions. But the way he was, he did not do it for whatever reasons. After October 12 (1999), the first thing I did was to

get it approved and that is how the National Command and Control Authority and SPD came into being to guide them what to do and control the finances and security. Secondly, for the placement of our strategic nuclear and missile assets and to look after them, we formed army, navy, Air Force Strategic Force Command. Now I know what comes under whose control and what these science organisations are doing and how, what finances they are getting and we are controlling their security. That is what needed. The systems are working very well.

Question: What do you think the issue of Dr. Qadeer Khan stands or closed and would we not be subjected to any arm twisting during the days to come on this issue?

Answer: Let me assure you and I am saying it openly and the whole world sees. Nobody does arm twisting on me and nobody is doing it. I have said that Dr A.Q Khan will not be handed over to anyone. Nobody will interrogate him, we will do that. And this is I am saying from the very first day and it remains the same. We don't accept any arm twisting nor we do it in future.

Unfortunately, it is media, which is talking about any arm-twisting. Nobody is telling me anything and nobody is asking that Dr Khan be handed over to them. Initially they asked, but I said no, we will investigate. Is there anyone who can better investigate than we do. Secondly we are not liar. So what is the issue? We are telling you everything, we will investigate and there is no pressure on me.

But having said that, unfortunately, new facts emerge internationally and we have to ask from Dr A. Q Khan again which he had not told earlier. When documentary evidences come we have to ask and only our people do the interrogation. We are given the evidences and we investigate.

Question: How you react to the recent judgement of the Supreme Court which has generated two impressions that the judiciary is independent enough and second that there was something wrong the way we are carrying out the privatisation and that these wrongs may have negative implications and that is why inquires into the matter are being demanded?

Answer: Judiciary is independent. They have given their view, which is good. They have taken a view and passed the judgement and we must honour that. Judiciary, Supreme Court has its standing. It is independent. They passed the judgement. We need to see that their observations are rectified and they should not happen again.

The other aspect is that privatisation is the core of our economic strategy. It is not the business of the government to be in business. Wherever it got involved in business, it produced disastrous results. Everything was running in losses. Billions of rupees are being spent to run the state owned entities like the Steel Mills, WAPDA, KESC, Rice Export Corporation of Pakistan. It is better to sell them to make them profitable. People take loans from the banks, being run by the government, and never pay them back. Billions have been lost. And wherever the government has privatised these banks there has been tremendous improvement in their working and it should not be impeded. We have a trade deficit because of increase in imports due to import of machinery, raw material, which ultimately will benefit the industry. Now to maintain a balance in trade FDI remittances, exports. In FDI, privatisation forms an important component. We will turn the deficit into surplus.

The government, legislature, executive and judiciary should be conscious of keeping the national interest supreme and do not let the privatisation process suffer. I can assure the nation and the world that the privatisation process of Pakistan is very transparent, is very fair and very good. I take personal responsibility that it is transparent and it is very good because I oversee it. I see and make sure that it is transparent. I keep in touch with those people who are coming to invest and they tell me that your process is very good. They are very impressed about the transparency of privatisation process. All the privatisation, whether it is PTCL, whether it is bank, or anything, it has been very very fair, above board and transparent. I give all the credit to Privatisation Commission and all the people involved it. Let this issue of the Steel Mills not cast an aspersion on the privatisation. It will be sad day for Pakistan if that happens, because then foreign investors will shy away and we will not like foreign investors to shy away. Let the system function.

We have set up regulatory authorities and built checks in the system. These checks and controls are very good. There can be some mistakes, which we will rectify. In the wake of elections, the opposition will try to play up this issue and disgrace the government. But it is an unfortunate reality that they do not look at the national interests. Their only interests are to let down the government, the privatisation process.

People are talking about the involvement of the Prime Minister in stock exchange crash. I say that Prime Minister is not involved, I know it, I would be the last man to absolve a prime minister who is involve in something which damages the nation. I say Prime Minister has nothing to do with it, he is not involved in the stock exchange, neither he is involved in buying of shares etc. They continue to malign the Prime Minister in the media. This is their stance and they will continue to more till the 2007 elections. This is the unfortunate reality of the nation that we keep our personal rivalry ahead of national interests. Nation is more important. Whenever i see that by saying something against a person whom I dislike will make nation suffer, I never do that because i will think that nation will suffer. This should be the spirit, which is not. This is a problem. Unless we learn a lesson as a nation that Pakistan is important and nobody else is important, Pakistan cannot progress. ■

Islamabad, 12 July, 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesPressRoom/Interviews/718200622358AMBBusiness%20Plus.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 2

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE INAUGURAL CEREMONY OF THE LOWARI RAIL TUNNEL

Governor NWFP Orakzai, Chief Minister Durani, Federal Minister, Commander 11 Corps, General Hamid, Minister, ladies and gentlemen:

It is indeed a great pleasure and unique privilege for me to talk on the important occasion of earth breaking of the Lawari tunnel. It is my pleasure to be here because I know this project is ultimate desire of the people of Chitral. I am extremely

grateful to the Minister for carrying out my instructions, inaugurating and making it possible that I am here for this earth breaking ceremony.

I would like to say no one should get political get advantage from this project. This project is for the public of Chitral and this is my project. No one has pressurised me. Previous government have been making all kinds of promises for development in this region. It seems that firstly they did not have the will to do this task and secondly they did not have the resources. They made false promises because they did not have recourses so they used to come and make false promises of developmental projects but actually they did not have resources. I will not go into the detail of economic revival of Pakistan but will give an example to prove the lack of economic resources with previous governments. The allocation of fund for PSDP (Public Sector Development Project) between 1988 and 1999, for was around 70-80 billion rupees (US\$1.1 or 1.2 billion). Today by the grace of Allah because of the economic revival of Pakistan, the PSDP is Rs.415 billion .This is four hundred percent increase PSDP.

We have all the resources to complete the Lowari Tunnel project and I mean every word of it. The resources will be made available for this project. If you people want we can make it in two years and the resources will be available. We will not have a delay in this project and this is because of strength of economy of Pakistan. These are not just slogans but a reality. This project, which the people of Chitral wanted, is for their fulfilment. This project will bring the prosperity to the people of Chitral. There will be increased human interaction and this project will end many troubles faced previously by the residents of Chitral. It will lead to a tremendous amount of economic activity. I know that there are precious stones and tremendous quantity of marble in Chitral. We cannot explore the marble resources without this tunnel. It will add to the marble resources of the country especially in all the tribal agencies of the frontier province. These mountains are loaded with marble. We have decided to explore all these resources and we have taken much big a lead forward. For this we have combined the public and private sector and we have decided to open an organisation in public-private sector namely Pakistan

Stone Development Corporation. Its a public-private combination under the ministry of industry but the person who will run it belongs to the FATA and he is already involved in the business of marble so we have decided to open cluster of a number of queries mines in Sindh, in FATA and also in Chitral. They will have modern facilities of mining, cutting and polishing. These clusters will have all the equipment available for the people who want to join this business. Not only that we will have the model query in that cluster, run by through the government equipped with all the machinery.

Today 70% of our rocks are wasted in mining. Because we use obsolete methods of explosives. We will cut down this waste. The people of this are will not only get jobs but they will earn much more from the natural resources that they have.

Every nation's development depends a lot on the communication infrastructure. The basic and prerequisite of the development is an effective communication infrastructure with the rest of the world and internally. We are moving in this direction in the strongest possible manner. First of all communication infrastructure involves ports. We are choked with only Karachi. We have now opened the Gawadar port. This port has tremendous future potential. We will give this port to

the best port operators of the world. We will expand it when we open it in a most modern manner. Then we look at the rail and road infrastructure of Pakistan. We are taking it into multiple dimensions. We take it from the two south ports up north, linking into Iran, through main roads and railway lines of Pakistan and to Afghanistan through Kandhar, and through northern areas to China. This is the future of communication network that we are developing in Pakistan. I don't want to go in details. We would like to have a rail link, going to Northern Areas into China. While this is the internal communication network, its external linkages are with China, Central Asian Republics, Afghanistan and China. We lie at the centre of all land lock countries who wants to trade with the world. Pakistan provides the linkages within the region and out side the region. Only Pakistan can facilitate these linkages. And we are very conscious of that. And *InshAllah*, the communication infrastructure will be developed in Pakistan. And the linkages with the sub region of this area. whether it is Central Asia, Afghanistan, china even to our East, India with peace returning to this region, the linkages provided by Pakistan and that is the future and again if we see it at the domestic level, this Lawari tunnel coming to Chitral, we are looking at the road link from this area from Chitral linking through Afghanistan into Tajikistan. If that happens, this will be another link of Central Asian Republics through Afghanistan through this narrow strip of Afghanistan to Chitral down to Pakistan. So the future of Chitral depends so much on Lawari tunnel and *Insha-Allah* in the future we would like to make it into road tunnel. Let me say that resources are not less. Pakistan can easily afford this project and it's just a matter of priority. Where we want to lay the priorities and where we want to plug-in the money. Because so much has to be done so at the moment we thought that because of the traffic that is today running on this route it is adequate with that we have this tunnel. Now if the traffic increases we will shift the priority and will give priority to this project of Lawari tunnel, the road tunnel. We will be able to do it in coming years because as I said about PSDP allocation having increased by 400% that is because of our revenue generation has increased from Rs.304 Billion in 1999- 2000 to Rs.700 billion and it is going to cross 1 trillion rupees in 2007 *InshAllah*. When it crosses 1 trillion rupees what is our problem to give Rs.25B to this Lawari tunnel. There is no problem what so ever, so money is not the problem, priorities are the problem. And at the moment we think that priorities are enough for the rail tunnel and not the road tunnel. But we will make the road tunnel *InshAllah* in future. Ladies and gentle man in conclusion I would like to congratulate NHA Chairman and the minister for working so well to start the project and especially our foreign friends who have come here to this remote place left their homes and hearts, to participate in the development of Pakistan. I salute you and I thank you. I only wish and pray that the people of this area understand what we are doing for them. And they welcome you and they show their hospitality to you in this area. Because you come here to do something for them.

Thank you very much. I would like to congratulate the people of Chitral. It is for them that this project is coming in. I would like to congratulate them from the bottom of my heart i had committed to them that we will get this tunnel through *inshAllah*. And I congratulate every individual of Chitral. Many of them are here, Prince Mohi-ud-din is here he knows it. I would like to congratulate Chitral's people. I would like to wish and hope that the constructors, NHA and everyone will stick to the mission and if possible complete it in the reduced time. We will support through

funding which will be available all time. Thank you very much Ladies and gentle men for being here it's been my honour.

Pakistan *Paendabad*. Thank you. ■

Chitral, 9 July 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/719200614344AMLowari%20Tunnel.pd>>

DOCUMENT NO 3

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION

My dear Pakistani brothers and sisters: *Assalam o Alaikum!*

A crisis is developing around us and in the world as well and there are some internal elements who are trying to create a chaos in the country. It can have a negative impact on Pakistan. We have to guard and strengthen our security. So I thought I should address my brothers and sisters and present realities before you.

First of all I would like to talk about the international situation and I will focus only on the situation in Lebanon. Israel earlier had hostilities with Hamas and Hizbullah but it has now openly attacked Lebanon. The conflict has been escalated; the bigger fear is that it can also engulf Syria and Iran, which can also have spill over effects on Pakistan.

I will talk about two main points. Firstly, we have to ensure our own security through internal cohesion. Secondly, I appeal to the world to end this crisis, move towards a ceasefire and resolve the crisis through dialogue. The Palestine dispute should be resolved which is at the heart of this conflict. This issue has a far-reaching impact on the world, so I appeal to the world to resolve this crisis.

Now, I want to talk about the regional situation. Firstly, I want to talk about Mumbai bomb blasts in India. Pakistan, the entire nation, the government and myself strongly condemn these blasts. We are all opposed to terrorism and extremism and Pakistan itself is fighting against terrorism.

And God willing Pakistan will succeed in this regard. I assure you that Pakistan would continue its fight against extremism and terrorism. I want to address to the people of Mumbai and say to them that we are shocked over the loss of lives in the terrorist attack.

I condole with the families who lost their dear ones.

Pakistan itself is a victim of terrorism and is fighting against it. And we stand by you in fight against it. But I also want to say something on this occasion. The attitude of the Indian government after this incident was somewhat regrettable. To say that the dialogue process should be postponed or halted, in my view, is a victory for terrorists. Terrorists want to stop the peace process and the normalization process and I am sure that Indian government would not like them (terrorists) to win. We all oppose terrorism. Pakistan is part of the international coalition in the fight against terrorism. If we put blame on each other it will be a defeatist attitude. So I would suggest that we should carefully think before giving any comments. No one should give unsubstantiated comments. We are all together against terrorism.

I assure that Pakistan will fully help India to identify terrorists or their organization if we are provided with specific information and evidence. We stand by you against those who undertook such terrorist attacks making you suffer so much. Secondly, I would talk about Afghanistan. The situation has changed somewhat in Afghanistan. We tackled *al-Qaeda* and made offensives against its operatives in cities and mountains as well as in North and South Waziristan and its operatives are on the run. They now hide in mountains in small groups. We have broken their network.

I think, the situation has transformed (the focus has shifted) from *al-Qaeda* to *Taliban*. Its centre is southern Afghanistan, Kandahar region where Mullah Omer is still controlling *Taliban* and this is negatively impacting Pakistan. Some elements are also in Pakistan's FATA area, who are involved in cross border activities.

We are strongly taking action against them. We have designed a new strategy against *Taliban* and I would give its details later. I want to say that we are together against terrorism and cooperating with the coalition forces. Pakistan will not accept any allegations in this respect. I have already mentioned in the case of India that blame game is a sign of defeat and weakness and they should stop.

We can respond strongly but I think it is inappropriate. We have to fight together against terrorism. I would say on this occasion that foreign interference into Pakistan from Afghanistan must stop.

Now, we look at the internal situation. The opposition is making hue and cry over poverty. Unemployment and price hike. They found no negative element in the budget and I think it was the best budget, which was pro-poor, and development oriented budget. The total budget outlay in 1999 was Rs. 642 billion, which now stands at Rs. 1.3 trillion, which means it is now more than double. The funds allocated for public sector development programme in 1999 were between Rs 75 and 80 billions. But this year it is 415 billion rupees.

The basic reason I want to mention is that our revenue generation has increased from 304 billion to 710 billion rupees, showing an increase of 400 billion rupees. Thus, the allocation for PSDP has increased from 80 to 415 billion rupees indicating an increase of 320 or 330 billion rupees.

Now a total of 330 or 340 billion rupees have been spent on the development. It is pertinent to note that the government is utilizing all the revenue collection on development.

Firstly, I would talk about price hike. It is true that it has increased. But we must think what is the reason behind this price-hike and we must understand it. The main reason of price hike is an upsurge in national economy.

The economy is fast growing and there is a lot of money with the people. Our per capita income has doubled and now stands at 840 dollar. Now Pakistan has been included in the middle-income category. The people having money are spending a lot.

In economic terms when people spend more it creates a demand-supply gap, which in turn gives rise to price hike. But I am not trying to justify it. In my opinion it should be fully controlled.

The government must take all possible steps to restrict inflation and bring down price hike. I am glad to say that the government has taken measures in this regard. The inflation, which at one point had increased to double figure now stands at 8 percent. The inflation has been reduced but it is not at the desired level as more

steps are still needed. I have collected the figures; the prices of pulses and sugar have come down. But it is also not enough and we have to take more steps.

We have decided to provide essential items such as pulses, sugar, ghee, flour and tea etc. These items will be sold at controlled prices to the poor people through utility stores. The government will set up thousands of static and mobile utility stores at *Tehsil* level and at thousands of union council level.

The subsidized items will also be sold at controlled prices at the mobile utility stores. Our effort will not end here. We will ensure it that all the commodities are sold at controlled prices. The prices will be made public on television and newspapers. And any one who has any complaint regarding violation of controlled prices can contact on phone numbers and action will be taken against violators.

These utility stores will be outsourced. There will be thousand of utility stores, which will sell items on controlled prices. It is also a matter of satisfaction that the government has appointed Price Magistrates to keep vigil over the prices, which are sometimes increased without any reason.

I also make it clear here. Some say that the government should provide subsidy. My dear brother and sisters I want to tell you how much subsidy is being given by the government. You should note it. The government is providing subsidy of Rs. 56 billion on power sector otherwise the charges would have been increased. I have always mentioned it that it unfortunately was done through an agreement between the government and independent power producers in 1994.

The per unit cost fixed for fourteen oil based thermal units was also high due to which we suffer; we are improving the situation gradually. But subsidy of 56 billion rupees is being given in power sector. Also a subsidy of 10 billion rupees is being provided on petrol and diesel, Otherwise prices would have further increased. You see the oil prices are increasing in the world. But they are being controlled here.

The government is providing subsidy of 15 billion rupees on sugar and pulses and 13 billion rupees subsidy on fertilizers used by farmers. An amount of 10 billion rupees is distributed among poor through Bait ul Mall. The total subsidy provided by the national exchequer amounts to 104 billion rupees.

You can explore prices anywhere in the world. The prices of essential commodities are comparatively lower in Pakistan than anywhere in the region but I assure my Pakistan brothers and sisters that myself and the government will not only control the prices but also bring them down, besides providing subsidized items to facilitate the people.

Now I want to touch the issue of poverty and unemployment. Earlier, poverty was around 34%. It means among every three persons, one was living below the poverty line. Thanks God! During the last five years, it has now been reduced by 10%. Now it is around 24%.

It is true that the present situation of poverty is not good. Poverty still persists though it has come down from 34% to 24%. It means one out of four persons lives below poverty line. This situation is very bad. I would not say that poverty and unemployment has been eliminated.

I do not have any magical wand to bring it to an end. But we will reduce its intensity progressively every year. But I want to state it clearly that these figures should not be doubted by anybody.

Let me say it clearly that these figures stand verified by the World Bank, ADB, DFID and UNDP and poverty centre Pakistan, which is sub-organization of UN, it is UK based. These are their figures. Poverty centre Pakistan hired the services of experts from Brazil. They thoroughly scrutinized these figures and checked them. These figures tally with the government's figures.

So! Do believe these figures, which are really true. You better look at the facts. It's not fair to sit in drawing rooms and claim that poverty and unemployment is increasing without basing their claim on any genuine data.

I want to tell you about some ground realities. Let us take.... In the industry, first, I gladly inform you that hundreds of industries have sprung up, "green field" is another name of new industries. Currently all these industries are running in Pakistan at 100% capacity. Many of these new industries are operating in two or three shifts. Resultantly, production has increased. One can ask are these industries being run by the angles? It is obvious that new industries have been installed and instead of one shift there are now three shifts so it has generated employment for Pakistanis.

In support of my argument, I give you some figures. Time and again, I have told you that number of motorcycles has increased from 85,000 to 800,000. I am told that in every village motorcycles have replaced cycles, even in some cases cars have replaced cycles. Cars manufacturing has increased from 33,000 to more than 200,000. Formerly TV manufacturing was 120,000 now their production is more than one million.

Formerly refrigerator production was 200,000, now it's one million, which is five times more. Air conditioners (I will discuss electricity latter) now please note these figures. During 1999-2000 AC manufacturing was around 500,000, currently 700,000 ACs are being produced and sold annually like hot cakes. This is fourteen times increase. Now who is manufacturing them, naturally, it is the Pakistani labour. So labour is getting jobs. If production increases by five to ten times, as a consequence the quantum of labour force will also increase and who is the buyer? It's not the people coming from America to buy Pakistani goods. They are Pakistanis. They have enough money to purchase it. This proves my point that poverty and unemployment has decreased.

I forgot to mention the sale of tractors. Formerly, its production was about 20,000. Currently 50,000 tractors are being produced and sold. An industrialist told me about the labour pay. Earlier, we used to hire the labour at Rs. 90 per day. Actually they were paid only 60 to 70 rupees. And a large number of persons were seeking jobs.

Today it is said that labour is not available even at the rate of 130 to 140 per day. So these were the issues covering poverty and money. Poverty has been certainly reduced.

Telecommunication is another example. Three years back mobile phone users, which I have mentioned many times, were only 6 lakhs. Today there are 34 million mobile phone users in Pakistan.

If 34 million mobile phones have been sold in Pakistan and one mobile phone's average price is roughly 10,000 rupees then I estimated that 340 billion rupees have been spent on mobile phone purchase in Pakistan.

It is the common man who purchased it. Today everybody is carrying a mobile phone, so, it shows that they have had the money to purchase these mobile phones. I also thought in terms of job opportunities.

Telecommunication has enabled the people to open thousands of franchises, 15 to 20 persons are employed on every franchise. Obviously, there were sufficient resources to purchase millions of mobile phones and open its franchise as outlets recruiting 15 to 20 people.

More towers have been erected. Every company is erecting its towers in Pakistan. I have been told that 70,000 towers are such that are the source of income for those in whose land, these have been erected. Many people are involved in this sector. They are getting approximately 50,000 rupees per month as its rent. Thus people are making money.

No telecommunication engineer is available in the market. All are enjoying good jobs, and are getting handsome salaries. In the convocation of Bahria University, I was told that 90 to 95% of students have been offered jobs even before they completed their studies.

Almost 150,000 people are employed in information technology sector. If we look at construction sector, no skilled manpower is available at the moment. A huge number of people are employed in this sector. You can judge the situation from the fact that production of cement has increased from 9 million to 17 million tons. It will soon double. It shows that a large number of people are working in this sector.

Look at the mega projects. The work is underway on Mangla Dam, Meerani Dam, Kachi Canal, Raini Canal, RBOD Thal Canal, Subkzai Dam and a number of others. The rough estimate shows that there are 800,000 direct and 160,00,00 indirect jobs which have been provided to the people in these projects.

Take the case of television channels, dozens of TV channels are operating in the country, and thousands of people are employed there. Whether you talk about musicians, those who conduct talk shows, newsreaders or religious programmers, where religious scholars are participating.

Let us talk about police force. More than 100,000 people have been inducted in the police force. Similarly more than 100,000 teachers have been inducted in new schools in the four provinces. I want to inform you that the level of poverty, joblessness and unemployment has decreased.

The wages of salaried class have been increased by 50% in the last 3 to 4 years. The government's efforts in this regard do not end here. We have launched self-employment programme. Almost 190,00,00 people will benefit from this scheme. There are many more schemes in next 4 to 5 years.

Special credit will be provided to people on low interest rates to enable them to create their own means of income. NADRA has given one of the major indicators that show that the level of unemployment has decreased. They issued 24.6 million national identity cards by 2002. Out of them 5.2 million were unemployed. That constitutes 22%. The people themselves had filled up these forms.

They (NADRA) say they have issued 25 million cards from 2003 to 2006 out of which 2.8 million people were unemployed, which is 12% of the total showing a sharp decline in unemployment.

My dear countrymen! Now talk about power sector. I want to clarify the situation. There is certainly a power shortage and people are suffering. I am watching television and I am also listening to news in this regard and I apologize for this. Poor people are no doubt suffering so much but I want to say that we should examine the reasons behind the power shortage.

Is it government's failure? No, I will explain. This has direct relationship with the economic development. I have told you that the sale of air conditioners has gone up 14 folds. Several hundred new factories have come up. Thirdly, our factories were not producing to their full capacities, now they are running in three shifts. They all need energy, they all need electricity.

This demand has created a shortfall in electricity. It is due to increased demand that created the problem. This is a development related problem. Look at the traffic problem, which as I told you is due to large-scale sales of cars and motorcycles. You look at traffic problem in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. Islamabad's roads are quite wide and of good quality but still there is traffic problem. This again is development related problem.

On the one hand, this should be a cause of happiness for us that we are making progress but at the same time we should also realize that when consumption of energy increases, it is due to development activity. This is a matter to rejoice over. On the other hand, the government is bound to manage the shortfall occurring in the energy availability. The problem should be addressed under a comprehensive strategy.

Now I explain the strategy in brief. We have prepared a strategy keeping in view the shortfall and further energy needs, related to our growth. It is a three-pronged strategy namely, short term, mid term and long term.

Under the short-term strategy we will overcome shortfall by December next year. In about eight to nine months, two plants of 300 MW each would be operational. We are trying to set up a third one also, which will produce 100 MW. DHA Karachi is installing destination plant. Its capacity is 80 MW. This project will be operational by March next year. Barge mounted plant of KESC will produce 45 MW.

Four gas turbine units will be completed by next year. They will produce 550 MW. There is a wind power project to produce 50 MW. The project will be operational next year during April-August period.

Then there is a Lakhra power project, which has a capacity of 150 MW but now produces only 30 MW. It is a WAPDA project. Its production capacity is being raised to 100 MW in a few months time. Taken together, all these projects will produce about 8,100 MW of electricity by mid 2007.

I want to tell you about gas turbines, and wind power projects also. We are trying to complete all hydroelectric projects now in hand. We want to complete them as soon as possible. They are in all 45 projects and they will produce 8,600 MW of electricity. In mid term we will produce 8,600 MW, in 2008-2010 period. Then we have the long-term projects covering period of 2011 to 2016. All these 31 projects will be undertaken during this period. They are mainly hydroelectric power projects. They will produce 19150 MW of electricity, *Inshallah*.

What I want to tell you is that shortfall in electricity also affects our development. It also hurts you. But I appeal to you to bear with this discomfort for some time. I have explained and you will realize that it is not due to any government slackness. This has happened due to increased development activities.

I appeal to the people to please bear with this situation. I would like to direct the government and WAPDA to resort to load shedding, only when needed and in an organised way. People should know before hand about the load-shedding programme in their areas.

My dear countrymen!

Security emanates from power, not from weakness. A weak country cannot guarantee its security. Power provides guarantee for security. Look at Lebanon. What is happening there? This becomes the fate of a weak country. If you have power, nobody can dare harm you.

God forbids Pakistan does not face such a situation. Those who talk of reducing strength of our forces, and weak defence of the country, do they want Lebanon like situation for Pakistan?

Inshallah, this will never happen in case of Pakistan, because the armed forces of Pakistan will be made stronger. What is spent on the defense sector is actually GDP related. Now as our GDP has increased from 63 billion dollars to 135 billion dollars, so our defense expenditure has already been halved. Try to understand this as well. Let me say that the defense of Pakistan would be made stronger; the needs and requirements of army, navy and air force will be fulfilled without affecting the economy and it would be minimal, because firstly we are spending on defense procurement quite rationally. Secondly, we will buy them on the basis of long-term credit. Therefore, we would make it certain that our defense growth does not affect our economic growth.

My dear countrymen! Now let me talk on some domestic developments. The issues are mainly two i.e. Fata and Balochistan. And I can proudly give happy tidings to the nation that our strategy in all the areas is going towards success, and *Inshallah* the situation will take a happy turn in the days to come.

So, let me start with FATA. There we launched an action against terrorism. We eliminated about 600 to 700 of the terrorists in the settled areas. We launched an action against them in the mountains, and we were successful. The armed forces of Pakistan initiated this campaign and they were braced with success.

But now the focus has shifted. As I told you earlier, there is an increase in the activities of *Taliban*. Now the focus is on *Taliban*. Their base is in Afghanistan, in fact southern Afghanistan and Kandahar.

There are some elements in Pakistan who cross the border and take part in these activities. Thirdly, an attempt is being made to carry a backward culture to the settled areas; this is being done in FATA as well. This is a culture in which people are forced not to watch television. TV sets are smashed; music listening is prohibited. People are forced to grow beard; action is taken against those barbers who make shaves. This is a negative activity. It is backward culture and it is forcibly imposed.

That is what *Talibanisation* is. That is what we are to take action against. Now, we have evolved a new strategy to cope with the situation, which is being implemented. It is not all about the military action – military action is taken against terrorists and that will continue. The new action we have thought out is to strengthen the hitherto dormant institution of the political agent. The best officer will be posted there, and they will be provided the best of facilities. They must have a force of

frontier constabulary and levies at their disposal. These forces were virtually non-existent, we would reinforce them, and would make new recruitments.

Then, we have reorganized the FATA secretariat, which controls all the related activities, and operates under the governor, so that it becomes more effective. And then the tribal *Maliks*' who were earlier the centre of gravity, have been obliterated and suppressed and their writ curtailed by the *al-Qaeda* and *Taliban*. We want that these *Maliks* re-emerge and re-establish their control in Fata.

Therefore, tribal *Maliks* would be elevated so that, together with political agents, they contribute in the development and establishment of peace in FATA. We have established FATA Development Authority that operates from FATA secretariat. All the development project that have been visualised and planned by us, and the minimum of Rs. 10 billion that will be spent on these development projects annually, will be utilised and supervised by the FATA development authority.

Besides, the provision of jobs to the local people, economic activities, health, education and social sector development will also be carried out through this authority. The new governor has been given complete authority in this regard, and he will get this strategy implemented. I am happy that he has taken good steps and initiative as a result of which a grand *Jirga* has been formed and would decide on resolving all the conflicts.

However, let me give a bottom-line i.e. No foreigner (terrorist) would be allowed to remain on the soil of Pakistan. Either he should leave this place, or surrender and live peacefully there, otherwise he would be killed.

Secondly, no person would go to Afghanistan from Pakistan to take part in war and conflict there. Thirdly, this *Talibanisation*, which I called as a backward culture should not be imposed on others.

This is the bottom-line. I extend my full support to the Grand *Jirga* to the NWFP governor, tribal *Maliks* and all those involved in bringing about peace and harmony in the frontier (region). The civil institutions and particularly the political agents should play their role so that strength of the army is gradually reduced, and ultimately withdrawn from the area.

My dear countrymen! Now I would like to talk about Balochistan in some detail. There is a need to look at the past environment in order to understand the true nature of the situation there. There was a sense of deprivation and there was no development in the province. There appears to be

If we look at the period prior to 1999, there appears to be no project that was undertaken in Balochistan. That is why the province and this area remained backward. So the sense of deprivation there was justified.

Ninety-five per cent area of Balochistan is called as "b" area, 5 per cent of the area is "a". "B" area is that part of the province where the writ of the government was not fully exercised. Policing is carried out in "a" areas i.e. only 5 per cent of the total area of the province. Balochistan has a total of 77 *Sardars*' some of them are in the government as well. The chief minister himself is a *Sardar*. Only three out of them are anti-development and anti-democracy; they do not want democracy, rather they want to exercise their complete dictatorship and control in their areas. They are against development. They want to keep their people backward. I would even say that they are not only anti-government, but are actually anti-Pakistan.

Look at the period of 1970 onwards, for the last 35 years, they have been displaying same attitude. I remember when I was major their in 1975, we were trying to construct a road in Kohlu, but it could not be done. Now we are constructing it. *Sardars* don't want this. They don't want that their tribesmen travel to other areas and get exposure and be able to realize what atrocities they going through. Three *Sardars* want to blackmail the government and keep their people under control by subjecting them to subjugation to keep their authority intact. They kill their people and this is the way they were maintaining their control in the area.

Where they are getting funds from? Who is supplying them arms? There are some external sources. Their arms come from Afghanistan. It is their source of money. As far as Bugti is concerned, they were minting hundreds of thousands of rupees from PPL. Marri *Sardars* occupied the coal mines. They used to collect "jagga tax" from their people. Every person was bound to pay "Jagga Tax" to sardars. This was a cruel act. *Sardars* purchased weapons through this money, which included missiles, rockets and rocket launchers. They had every kind of weapon. Had this situation continued, these *Sardars* would have purchased even tanks, guns and fighter planes as the warlords have in Afghanistan.

They maintained their own militias to control tribesmen and paid 5,000 to 6,000 thousands rupees as a salary to their militants to maintain their full authority. They want to blackmail the government and impose their authority over the people through their army and keep the people under tyrannical control. I also want to tell you that when the whole nation celebrates on 23rd of March, they used to hoist black flags. This is the way they acted in Dera Bugti in the past.

The second point is the situation prevailing there. What are our efforts in the last five years? What do I want to do for Balochistan?

First take all the development projects - the government is undertaking development projects worth 133 billion rupees. The development budget for Balochistan is bigger than that of any other province.

I will not go into details. The Gwadar port is being developed. The work on coastal highway, Subakzai Dam and Mirani Dam is underway. Dozens of roads, not small roads but having length of hundreds of kilometres, are being constructed. Rs. 8 billion rupees are being spent on water supply schemes and brick lining in Balochistan.

They used to complain that the gas was extracted from their area but was not supplied to them. I think this complaint carries weight. That is why I inaugurated extension projects of piped gas. But I tell you that many people are under misperception that gas only comes from Balochistan. This is not true. Gas also comes from Sindh and Frontier.

Only 18% of total gas comes from sui, not more than that and people should know it. Kachi canal is also being constructed there. I am proud to tell you that allocation for PSDP for Balochistan in 1999 was 2.1 billion rupees but now it has been increased to 30.6 billion rupees. We are spending this amount on development.

Besides this, we have planned to transform whole province into "a" area. I am happy that the Balochistan government has turned 13 out of 18 districts into "a" area. As far as the job opportunities are concerned. I want to give you a rough estimate that how many jobs are being provided to people in police department (in Balochistan).

In police their strength has surged from 20,000 to 29,000. Within three years, this strength will go up to 44,000. This means that we are adding 24,000 people to police force and they are all Balochs, who are being recruited. Like police, in Balochistan Constabulary, we have added 6,000 personnel to existing 4,000. We are setting up 12th wing of the Frontier Corps and thousands of people are joining it. Similarly, army has 14,700 Balochs in its ranks. There are 450 Baloch officers in army now. This is what we are doing for Balochistan now.

Similarly, in all development projects, we are giving priority to Baloch people. Baloch rural people will be given training as skilled workers to enable them to seek employment. There are nearly 37,000 people employed in Balochistan. Now I want to discuss special development package for Balochistan. We have announced Rs 1.5 billion package for roads and other infrastructure. We have given each district of Balochistan 10 crore rupees. This raises the amount to 2.8 billion rupees. So this amount, we have earmarked 3 billion rupees for Balochistan development. This money can be spent in any area, whether in Murri or Bugti areas.

We are planning to establish 6 cadet colleges in Balochistan. Saindak project was revived after my request to the Chinese government. In addition, in rakodarek (chaghi) we are working on a similar project.

My dear brothers and sisters! This is a huge copper and gold mining project, where the world's biggest firm of copper mining has come from Chile and another world's biggest gold mining firm from Canada. Both these companies are jointly engaged in mining in rakodarek. Pakistan will soon be included among the leading gold and copper mining countries. These steps are all being carried out for Balochistan.

I would also like to say that we are establishing new cantonment in Sui, Kohlu and Gwadar. This is essential to provide security in these areas for attracting foreign investment. I have told you the environment prevailing in Balochistan and what we are going to do for Balochistan, for Balochs and Pushtoons living there and for their progress.

Now I want to tell you about the reaction of three *Sardars* to our development schemes. First of all these *Sardars*, and one of these *Sardars* vowed in an interview that we don't want imposed development. During their rule, there was no development at all, but now when we are developing Balochistan, which is essentially required, they are rejecting it and calling it an imposed development. They are engaged in rocket attack, bomb blast, killing our foreign friends, sabotaged - blowing gas pipelines, railway tracks and electricity on a daily basis.

Quetta was under rocket attack every second or third day from within the city and mountains. What is more, they blew up the main plant in Sui. These disgruntled people then occupied coal mines in Saryab area near Quetta city. They put their own army in the camps which are known as 'ferrari' camps.

Approximately, 40 such camps were established by these *Sardars* in Balochistan. I want you to understand why these camps are known as ferrary camps. These camps were established by Bugti, Murri or their sons. Whenever or wherever they wanted to carry out sabotage, they sent their hired people from these ferrari camps. These three *Sardars* chalked out a strategy and where they blew up a railway track, it was definitely an act of sabotage carried out from these camps. These hired people then were given arms and 6,000 rupees as salary. They were ordered to kill Chinese, blow electricity polls, gas-lines. So, these camps served as a base to carry out

armed saboteur activity to stir commotion and disturbance in a particular area. These 40 odd camps were used for this purpose.

Now the question arises, should we bow down, as we were bowing down for 30 to 40 years in the past, to these people? Likewise, appointing them as chief minister, governor and giving them utmost authority. This authority has enabled them to evict their ownpeople forcibly from their lands. Kalpars, Masooris, Raygars are all the sub tribes of Bugti tribe.

These Bugti sub-tribes are forced to live in abject conditions in Sindh and Punjab. What should we do in such a situation? Some people advise that we should go for a political dialogue. Should we go for such a dialogue that we were doing in the past? This dialogue has resulted in such a grave situation. Should we stop development by having dialogue with them and spending this money in another province? Is this an answer to our problem?

Certainly not, we have to go for an operation to change this situation. We have to establish the writ of the government, and end the writ of *Sardars*. All government installations will be safeguarded. Whether it is in Sui or Gwadar or any other area, where security is paramount to our development schemes, because we want the development process to move ahead.

Whether it is roads construction, water schemes gas pipelines; all these projects need to move forward. This needs a security apparatus and to achieve this end, we are establishing cantonments and using force whenever necessary. Now, I want you to know that army is not being utilized. Pak army's strength in Balochistan is 1,000 thousand and the army is called only when required.

Frontier corps, FC Balochistan are being utilized. I want to pay tributes to intelligence agencies, frontier corps and the army *Jawans* for their successful campaign, which has totally changed the situation. And God willing, the law and order situation will be completely restored.

About 16,000 Kalpar, Masoori, Raygar, who were uprooted by the so-called Nawab Bugti are now back in their hometown. We have given ten goats to each family and tractors to groups so that they can lead a peaceful life as good Pakistani citizens. We want their progress and raise their living standards.

Now, I am glad to say that nearly 5,000 people are back in Dera Bugti, out of a total population of 9,000. Ahmed Bugti, cousin of Akbar Bugti himself has come back to Dera Bugti and he is calling his own people to return to Dera Bugti. All commanders of Bugti have now surrendered, some have abandoned him, several hundreds of them have laid down their arms. These include surface to air missile, multi barrel rocket launchers. Some missiles were found hidden under the ground. The Incharge of Ferrari camps used to get from people 1 million to 1.5 million rupees, in cash for payment of salaries. One person disclosed he had two boxes of cash which he had taken to a mountain cave in a helicopter, when the box was opened 50 million rupees were found.

Now there is an overall peaceful situation in Balochistan from Dera Bugti to Quetta. There are no rocket attacks and railway tracks blowing. I always had a firm faith that these sabotage activists, in reality are house of cards. Basically, the perpetrators are backed by a few people and if these few people are nabbed every thing will be all right. These people have carried out the bomb blasts in Lahore,

Karachi and Quetta. By the grace of Allah, this successful operation has led to improvement in the situation and this situation will keep on improving day by day.

This is what they did. The operations have been successful and things are improving a lot. Take Bugti-Marri area and see what is the ratio of their population in the total population of Balochistan. Area-wise, the area is less than one-tenth of the area of the province. The population of this area is 4.5 percent of the total population of the province. The two tribes are quite large ones.

Daiga is the sub tribe of the Bugtis while Zehri is the sub tribe of the marris. These two sub tribes have problems, the rest have no problem and they support the government. Those making trouble are only one percent of the total population of the province. And I tell you many of their own people are not with them, like Gaznis or Daigas. Look at Ahmed Bugti, who is Akbar Bugti's cousin. He has now moved to Dera Bugti along with 1,000 people. I was explaining that those who gossip in their drawing rooms that whole of Balochistan is on fire; they should know the figures and then make observations. I want to clear certain misconceptions.

I regret to say that there is one well-known foreign magazine, leave aside its name; it is also suffering from the same misconception regarding the two tribes. The magazine took them for the whole of Balochistan. No sir this is absolutely wrong. The trouble was only in Barri-Bugti area and this very much part of the province. There is no trouble elsewhere in the province. They talk of human rights too. Many media networks, foreign media, talk of human rights violations. You talk about human rights violations when we have taken action against a man who is committing atrocities, killing his own people, torturing people of his own tribe, keeping families, children and women and make them live in poor conditions in Punjab and Sindh. Where is the human rights violations at that time, why don't they talk about that, why don't you go and see the 15,000 people who have come back to their own areas and now settled.

Where is the human rights violation and where is human right record? We are giving them rights, giving comforts to thousands of people, their own people, Bugti and Marri people. So, that is the human rights, which need to be seen in the correct perception.

My dear countrymen! I have gone into details. Now in conclusion, I would like to touch upon a point, which is very important. It is extremism, which has to be eliminated from our society. This is eating into our social fabric like a white ant. If we failed to curb extremism, we would not be able to sustain progress, we are making now. We have to promote tolerance in our society. We have to eschew intolerance. If you look at this issue in the international perspectives, watch world media, you will come to realize that Pakistani society is being seen as intolerant one. This is very dangerous development. I have also realized this when I go around touring foreign countries.

This is detrimental to our dignity and our honour. When we go abroad we face this problem. Millions of Pakistanis live. They also face the problem. They are looked down upon by others and dubbed as extremists. They are kept at a bay. Our economy suffers because of this image. We are trying to improve our image abroad and have achieved some success. We tell them that Pakistanis are moderate people, majority of them are moderate. Extremists are only a few. If the world comes to believe that our society is extremist, it would be tragic. What to talk of other religions,

we are not showing tolerance among ourselves. If we kill each other, if we carry out blasts, what would be the world's reaction?

How would we be counted among the developed countries? How would we ensure our progress? I earnestly appeal to you, my brother and sisters, give up extremism and adopt the path of moderation. Islam should be a unifying force, it should not be a divisive force. We are scattering and are scattered. Our strength is turning into weakness. The real power of Islam is its unifying force. We believe in moderation.

This is the way to progress. We have to take this path. In this regard I would stress on public reforms. I would urge Prime Minister and all Provincial Chief Ministers to ensure implementation of these reforms. Police must improve their attitude. Police have to take action against car snatchings, firings, theft and decoities. These crimes are prevalent, and the police have to react, but their main focus should be on curbing extremism.

You can overcome this menace when you stop misuse of loudspeakers in the mosques. They indulge in abusive language against their adversaries. They call names. They incite people against others. Muslims are pitted against Muslims. They preach hate against the whole world. There is hate material in the shape of books, magazines and other things. Such hate material must not be circulated. I don't think this is unachievable.

What I want is that the prime minister, and chief minister should look at the problem and take it seriously. They should bring about changes in the attitude of police. All intelligence agencies must play their role in curbing extremism. This is how we can move forcefully against extremists. My brothers and sisters! With your cooperation, we will be able to eliminate extremism from our society. Pakistan would be known as a moderate country and this is the path to progress.

In conclusion, I pray to Almighty Allah that He may enable us to take the right path. May Allah protect Pakistan and guide us so that we take Pakistan towards progress and the people of Pakistan towards prosperity.

Pakistan *Paindabad* ■.

Islamabad, 20 July 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/722200660926AMAddress2Nation.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 4

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. Prime Minister, Chairman Senate Mr. Soomro, Chief Justice of Pakistan, Ministers, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen. *Assalam-o-Alaikum!*

First of all I would like to congratulate the nation, citizens of Pakistan who are living in Pakistan and outside on this Independence Day. On the 59th celebration, let us promise together that we will adopt Quaid-i-Azam's saying: unity, faith and discipline, make it practical in our lives and make Pakistan dynamic, progressive and developed Islamic nation. I would like to congratulate PTV, for organizing this

wonderful program named “look at the sun arising from the East”. I would like to pay tributes to all artists, producers, directors, cameramen, technicians, and the orchestra. They have organized a motivational program and National Songs are impressive. I am thankful to the Nation for complements passed on to me. I am touched by their feelings. It puts much pressure to perform and do better in future.

I would like to say that we got independence with lot of struggle. We faced lot of hardships. Our elders have struggled hard and due to their efforts, we got independence. It is the responsibility of every citizen to look after the Country. We should be proud of our Country.

In my view, Pakistan is great, special and a unique country. This is not emotionalism that is I am showing. It is not that I am a Pakistani and must talk about Pakistan, but one has to be realistic about who are we? What is our history and what do we stand for? There should be faith in it and when I say this that our country is great, there are certain proofs that I must gave. God has bestowed many blessings to Pakistan, which no other country has. Look at our resources; there are many rivers in the country. There is no shortage of water, while many countries are suffering from a single drop of water. We have fertile land, which provides better quality of foods then any other country of the world. We have all the resources of energy and can produce hydroelectricity; we have coal through which we can produce electricity. We have gas resources as well. We have alternate resources such as wind and sun. We have nuclear resources. What do we lack in? Look at our location where we are? What is the importance of our region on the world map?

There is no region of this part of the world or group that can trade or interact with energy resources themselves until or unless Pakistan is on board. This is the importance of our geographical area and location.

Pakistanis have all the capabilities and we should utilize them. We are a unique country, look at our environment. First of all take the temperatures. There are countries, which have cold and hot conditions throughout the year. But this country has temperature ranging from 50C to -50C. There are many advantages of it. There are four seasons in our country. Due to which our crops and agriculture production is best. We have mountains and deserts. We have the best coastline. We have best agriculture plains, irrigated plains, rivers and canals. We have forests.

Look at our heritage. Maher Ghurdh in Balochistan is 8,000 years old. No country has Indus Civilization, Monjo Dahro, Harappa. We have Gandhara civilization in Taxila where there was a university having remains when people were in dark ages and used stones in wars. This is our heritage. Look at our Islamic values. Islam came through Northern Area Mountains, through deserts. Alexander - The Great passed through this region. Kalash tribes live in Kalash valleys, are the descendents of Alexander - The Great. Mughal, British and Islamic history is present here. This country is a cradle of all religions. We have a variety of religious heritage. Buddhism was there in Taxila, Charsada and Mardan. This all region was use to be the center of Buddhism. Look at the Sikhism, Puncta Sahib in Hasan Abdaal or Nankan Sahib in Sheikhpura. Hinduism was there in Katas near Kalar Khar. No country in this world has such cradle of religious heritage. This is our greatness and we should be proud of it. And we should know it. Therefore, we have to make this place safe and make it a progressive country just like before.

For this, it is very important that we should have strong economical, military and political stability. We have to work together for this stability. This is my and government's direction. This is our direction and we have done a lot for this.

Briefly, I want to tell you that we have rebuilt the economy. Now we have to transfer this advantage to the people of Pakistan. We have got the reputation in the world, now we have to make it stronger. We have to make this standing a reality, so that the world thinks that this country is not a small country, it's a big, strong and a developing country.

We are trying to implement strong democracy in the country. And in my point of view, we have established this. Parliaments are functioning and first time they are completing their period. Elections were held. We have created a three-tier system i.e. National, Provincial and local government system. We have given freedom of speech and expression. We have opened the media. There are 43 TV channels functioning. This is all revolution. We have to maintain it. We have empowered the people through local government system. We have empowered the women by giving political empowerment. By the grace of God there are problem areas, which are under discussion such as the *Hudood* Ordinance. I hope that the Parliament, National Assembly and the Senate will look at this realistically.

They will look it thoroughly and remove the weaknesses.

We have made our defence strong, *Allham-du-lilba*, we are not dependent on any outside source. We have made Al-Khalid Tank, Agasta90. We are making Frigates and JF17 fighter planes. We have made the Shaheen-II missile. We are making Babar Cruise missile. This is now a strong Pakistan and nobody can cross the Line of Control.

One has to change their mindset about threatening Pakistan. We will not tolerate any such language in the future. We do not threat anyone and we do not accept any threat from anywhere or anybody. Let that be very clear.

This as always, I pray to God that may HE give us the courage and enable us to make Pakistan a strong country. Allama Iqbal's message is self-belief and enlightened mind. And Quaid-i-Azam's message is the tolerance message, tolerance between each other and message of coexistence. May Allah guide us so that we can move this country according to the messages of M. A. Jinnah and Allama Iqbal.

I am thankful to all of you. I am thankful to all of the artists; this is our culture, whether it is a Sufi Kalam or a pop, classical, semi-classical. This music and art is our culture. We must own it. We must encourage it. Let us be proud of this great Nation of ours. This is not mere hollow words that I am talking of, I have a conviction and inner feeling that this nation has been created because God wants this nation to be a proud and important nation of the world. Let us play that role.

Thank you very much. Pakistan *Paindabad*. ■

Islamabad, 14 August 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/818200625854AM14thAugustAddress.p>>

DOCUMENT NO 5**PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE INTERNATIONAL JUDICIAL
CONFERENCE**

Hon' able Chief Justice of Pakistan

Distinguished guests

Ladies and Gentlemen

It is a matter of immense pleasure and privilege to be amongst this August gathering of judiciary and members of the legal profession. I take this opportunity to extend a very warm welcome to our eminent guests from abroad, who have joined us to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of Supreme Court of Pakistan, which coincides with the 59th anniversary of our Independence Day. We are honoured that for the first time, in the history of our country, such a galaxy of judges, jurists and scholars have gathered here in Pakistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

14th of August, the day Pakistan emerged as an independent nation on the world map, has an immense significance in our lives. I wish to avail of this opportunity to extend my sincerest felicitations to all my Pakistani brothers and sisters on this happy occasion. It is a day to pay homage to the father of our nation, Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whose greatness and achievements have been recorded by an eminent historian in these words: "Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with a nation state. Muhammad

Ali Jinnah did all three"

It is also a day of remembrance and nostalgia, a day to pay homage to all those great men and women, who under the able leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, waged a valiant struggle to secure an independent homeland for us. The theme at this Conference, 'Justice for all' is very close to our hearts as the father of our nation himself belonged to the legal fraternity and was a jurist par excellence, who believed in the supremacy of law. He never resorted or encouraged politics of agitation and never violated the law during the entire freedom movement. His struggle was one of principles, sound reasoning and logic. His aim was the creation of an independent sovereign Islamic welfare State (Pakistan), where the Muslims of South Asia could lead their lives free from subjugation and dominance, in harmony with all other communities.

Just as the Quaid wished freedom for the Muslims of South Asia, he also stood for the principles of our great religion Islam. In Islam, human beings regardless of race, colour and creed have the right to justice and all basic human rights. Quaid-i-Azam summed it up perfectly in his address to the legal fraternity on January 25, 1948, and I quote:- "Islam has taught equality, justice, fair play to everybody. Islam has not only set virtues, traditions and spiritual doctrine. Islam is a code. It is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fair play and justice for all. In Islam there is no

difference between men and women qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam."

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, we, the people of Pakistan hold the legal fraternity in the highest of esteem and there is a close linkage between Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and our Independence Day celebrations.

In the history of institutions like the Supreme Court, half a century is not a long time. These institutions have permanence.

The citizens of Pakistan look up to the Supreme Court with eternal hope and expectation as the ultimate protector of fundamental rights and the final forum for dispensation of justice.

Over the years, Pakistan's Judiciary has performed its responsibilities, as one of the three pillars of the State with distinction.

While Pakistan has taken giant strides in the revival of its economy and improving social sectors, we cannot be complacent with our achievements. We need to constantly strive towards the ultimate goal that all benefits reach the poorest in our country. As a nation, we face many challenges today, which include among others:

- Scourge of terrorism and extremism.
- Economic exploitation of our natural wealth i.e. water, coal, minerals, hydrocarbons etc.
- Conservation of our environment, ecosystem and biodiversity.
- Rule of law, good governance, recognition of merit and stamping out corruption.

These challenges are formidable, yet these can be overcome, if all the three pillars of.

State show full determination and act in unison. Our success in effectively meeting these, challenges is crucial to the overall progress of the nation.

Theme of the Conference 'Justice for all' has national as well as international dimensions. Whereas, dispensation of timely justice is a fundamental need of any civil society, similarly, political, economic and social justice as well as the rule of international law is sine qua non for global peace and harmony.

The pangs of deprivation of fundamental rights of freedom and dignity, the frustration of being treated unjustly and the reaction to oppression is manifesting itself in different forms around the globe. Injustice breeds resentment and makes people vulnerable to exploitation by terrorists and obscurantist: forces, which thrive on the margins of any society.

An even-handed approach, in an honest open effort, to solve festering disputes, would advance the cause of peace and justice, making the world a far safer place to live in for us and the future generations.

Ladies & Gentlemen:

Speedy dispensation of justice has been a priority item on our agenda. We know that Governance can only improve, if people have easy access to justice, which is quick and inexpensive.

The Government is committed to providing an enabling environment for dispensation of speedy justice for all. In a fast changing world, the system of administration of justice can only be effective through a process of continuous reform in the administrative, legislative and judicial spheres.

We have undertaken reforms in all these areas. In the judicial sphere an Access to Justice Programme is presently underway to improve the delivery of justice. However, it is now universally recognized that justice is not possible through the formal processes of justice, alone. Arbitration is now regarded as the engine of globalisation, where parties have the option to choose impartial, neutral and international experts to decide their disputes. Today, the corporate sector prefers to seek resolution of disputes through arbitrators. Along with arbitration, Alternate Dispute Resolution (ADR) techniques and Early Dispute Resolution (EDR) techniques are increasingly gaining acceptance. Mediation is one such technique.

The effort launched by the Chief Justice of Pakistan to set up the first mediation centre in the Sindh High Court is laudable. The working of formal justice system along with alternate and early dispute resolution methods will indeed help regulate the, overflow of the courts. The formal justice system is creaking under the burden of arrears. We hope that the courts of formal justice with such alternate resolution fora will speed up the process and reduce the expense of justice. Unless justice is inexpensive and expeditious, it cannot be justice for all.

The Government on its part, has also taken a number of steps to strengthen the institution of judiciary and provide the general public easy and effortless access to justice such as:

- Independent Prosecution Service
- Enactment of Consumer Protection Laws and setting up of Consumer Courts.
- Capacity building of judiciary and lawyers
- Special: incentives to women to join judicial and legal professions.
- Automation plan to overcome communication disconnect.

A comprehensive review of civil and criminal laws has been undertaken, and I am happy to state that the amendments to laws aimed at the emancipation of women and women rights are presently being debated in our Parliament.

At the end, I would like to thank the Chief Justice of Pakistan for affording me of the opportunity to address this: eminent congregation of jurists from within Pakistan and abroad. This Conference is indeed a befitting tribute to the Golden Jubilee of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. I may add that the presence of the Honourable Justices and distinguished Members of the legal fraternity from across the world has enriched the proceedings of this Conference; we are beholden to them for taking out the time to join us on this auspicious occasion.

May *Allah* be our Guide and Protector.

I thank you all. Pakistan *Paindabad* ■

Bhurban, 14 August 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/818200631205AMInternationalJudicialConference.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 6**PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON
GLOBAL TERRORISM**

The members of the Board of Governors of the Institute of Regional Studies Islamabad and its President Major Gen Jamshed Ayaz, Inam ul Haq, Resident Representative of Hanns Siedel Foundation, Excellencies and distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, especially those delegates, who have travelled from abroad, I welcome all of them.

I would like to thank first of all, the Institute of Regional Studies and its President Ayaz for having given me this opportunity to address this gathering and giving me an opportunity to exchange my personal views on this extremely important subject of global terrorism. I would like to compliment the Institute specially, for inviting the foreign guests and I know there are 25 who have come from many countries. I would like to compliment you for joining and I think your joining indicates the firm resolves of all counties of the world in the fight against terrorism. To start with, may I say that terrorism threatens the whole world and every one directly or indirectly is involved or gets affected? Therefore, we owe it to the whole world and more so to our future generations to combat terrorism and to suppress it. We have a collective responsibility to prevent conversion of human beings into human bombs.

To deal with the subject holistically, in all its dimensions, we first of all have to understand the entire complexity of the problem and then only can we come to rational conclusions on how to address it. But I would like to give two words of caution before I deal with the subject itself. Firstly, terrorism must not, repeat must not, be linked with religion. There is nothing like Islamic terrorism, there is no terrorism in Islam. Therefore to label it or to attach it with the region with our religion, with my religion Islam, is absolutely wrong. In fact, I would say that we must foster better inter-faith relationship, interfaith harmony rather than labelling or linking Islam to terrorism. The second point, that I would like to make, is that, I would not like to complicate the issue by going into the definition of word terrorism or getting involved in terrorism versus freedom struggle, or getting involved with individual and group terrorism versus state terrorism. But certainly the element I would like to extract is that no country should be allowed to misuse the label of terrorists to keep the peoples' aspirations suppressed. With this two words of cautions, obviously, in this statement of mine I am referring to Palestine and Kashmir.

Now coming to the subject, I would like to first of all say that generally there is a tendency of linking terrorism and extremism. Using these words in the same breath as if they mean the same thing, as if the actions against them are the same. They are very different and addressing them needs a totally different strategy. Therefore, we must always differentiate and deal with terrorism on one side and extremism on the other side. While terrorism is to be confronted with force, with all the military force at every level, globally, regionally, domestically by all countries involved or concerned, extremism is a state of mind. It has to be handled with care. Its a battle for hearts and minds. It needs a totally different strategy to address and resolve. We cannot impose

sudden changes, when you are talking of dealing with extremism. You will only transform, you need to carry out a transformation in the battle of hearts and minds. So there is nothing like imposition to correct extremism, so there is a major difference between extremism and terrorism.

Certainly, we have to understand that we have to address both. Terrorism, for obvious reasons, we have to confront it with force. But extremism spawns terrorism, Terrorism flows from extremism. Therefore, extremism has to be addressed. Whether we talk of addressing terrorism and extremism, we must get to the causes of both. How is it that a person can take his life to commit a terrorist act. Why is a person driven towards extremism and then gets converted into a terrorist.

These are issues, which we need to address. Quite clearly, in its entire perspective, what are the causes of terrorism and extremism? I feel the number one cause is political deprivation, political alienation, leading to hopelessness, sense of powerlessness, which then leads on to these terrorist acts. Unfortunately, the issue gets further complicated when you see that it is only the Muslim world, which is suffering from such political deprivation. That complicates the issue further because that brings to the surface as if Islam itself is being targeted and also when you look around, historically Palestine continuing since over half a century, Kashmir continuing again since over half a century Then later versions of Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya, now Afghanistan and Iraq. All involve Muslims. And rubbing salt to the wounds, may I say, East Timor, where Christians were involved, got resolved very fast. So these are issues, which strike at the minds and the hearts of the Muslims, which needs to be addressed, and justice done.

So therefore, highlighting again, I feel the number one cause of terrorism is political deprivation and political alienation. Political alienation has given a tinge or colour as this is a religious issue. Basically, at the core of all terrorist activity is political and not religious but it has gone into the religious mode. The other issue, obviously, we do understand all of us, is the lack of education and poverty. These are two elements which pushes an illiterate man, the poor man, who is indoctrinated and given a wrong hope that if he leaves this world, he can be given a key to the doors of heavens and he is illiterate enough to swallow this argument and also poor and miserable enough to leave this world in the hope of a better world. It is poverty, lack of education which also leads people to extremism and then they can be indoctrinated towards terrorist acts. The third area that i would like to also mention is an incomplete and distorted understanding of the religion. And, this in the Muslim world, I would like to say, this is the case. In Pakistan, it is the case, in most Muslim countries, this is the case. Talking more of Pakistan certainly is here, on one extreme are the clerics, the obscurantist I would say, the ritualists, who have limited knowledge of the real values of Islam, or the religion.

On the other side, is the educated class, enlightened people, and very religious also, equally religious. In the centre the vast mass of people, less educated and also poor. They need to understand what real Islam is. But unfortunately the enlightened class abdicated this position and handed over the issue of teaching Islam to the ritualists and to the obscurantists, not bothering at all, to tell the masses what is real Islam. So, therefore today this vast mass in the centre stands confused -what is Islam, where is Islam. Is Islam the terrorist act, the suicide bombing, the car bombs or no, Islam is something greater.

As we all know, Islam is a "deen", it's a way of life. So what is a way of life in Islam. What are the real values? What are the responsibilities of a Muslim toward the society, towards building his own character, and towards his nation? All these have been ignored. These are real values of Islam Ignored. The ritualists have taken over to deal with only controversies which have led to sectarian extremism, sectarian terrorism, on simple matter of small issues of rituals, of praying, or fasting or any other issue which are more trivial, absolutely trivial and not at all, should not be raised as a controversy. Therefore, incomplete and distorted understanding of Islam, which needs to be addressed in an enlightened manner. Then, may I say also here, the London bombings has introduced, I feel, has added a new dimension to this understanding of causes of terrorism. And I would like to dare to give that out, because I was thinking, I thought they are not uneducated, they are not politically deprived, may be they are not poor. So what is it that has led them (bombers) to terrorist acts. And the answer that came to my mind may be socio-economic deprivation. Number one that they are not assimilated to the society and may be getting some unequal treatment. I am not here to advise the British government on the subject but that is, what I thought, is the cause of the extremism and terrorism that they are involved in. I am not getting involved in who is at fault in not getting assimilated. Whether they themselves are at fault for not getting assimilated into the British society or the Britishers are at fault in not taking them, assimilating them into the society. And the second element which may have incited them into terrorism is sympathy at the plight of co-religionists. And that again goes back to political deprivation, and what is happening around the world. So there is sympathy at what is happening to the Muslims. I think these are the two factors. Now, the issue if these are the causes, how do we address them? We must address the issue holistically.

And I keep equating this with a tree. You can kill hundreds of terrorists and we have killed about 700 or 800 -these are leaves of a tree. More will keep growing as long as the tree is there. You remove *al-Qaeda*, finish *al-Qaeda*, that is a major branch of that tree but the tree will still be there. Therefore, I keep insisting, let us address the root of that tree, lets get to that root and uproot that tree altogether. That is the only way of addressing it. Therefore, quite clearly addressing this issue of terrorism and extremism requires an immediate short-term strategy and also a futuristic long-term strategy. A combination of both is what we desire. And also then within this short-term and long-term strategies, we need a three-tiered application -at the global level, because all of us in this globalized world today are concerned, affected directly or indirectly as I said earlier. So there is global responsibility, then I would say, there is a responsibility of the Islamic world because as I said earlier, it is the Islamic world today which is mainly involved in extremism and terrorism for whatever reasons that I have mentioned.

Therefore, there is the responsibility of Islamic world to address the issue; together with the global initiatives and then, the third tier is the domestic tier. Every country, especially of the Islamic world, has its own typical environment, which needs to be addressed strategically, again in a short-term and a long-term strategy.

Pakistan, when we look at various facets of extremism and terrorism, there is a religious terrorism and then there is a religious extremism. I call extremists those, belonging to various organizations I don't want to name them; dozens or more of them which we have banned who are trying to impose their will on others by force. So

there is religious terrorism, religious extremism. And there is sectarian extremism and terrorism. Sectarian extremists are those who are trying to impose their understanding of Islam on others who have different views, not on the main principles and values of Islam, but on the ritualistic issues.

And there are sectarian terrorists. In Pakistan, for the last one year and three months, and I am saying this with full authority, not one terrorist act has occurred. There have been some bomb blasts; they have all been sectarian terrorism. We must understand the difference. They are not targeting any particular foreigner or a US or European. Therefore, when a British cricket team is coming and they don't want to play in Karachi. That is the message that I am conveying it to them that no terrorist act has happened in Karachi -not one in the last one year and three months. And all actions are sectarian and they are targeting each other on a sectarian basis. Coming back, each nation has to understand its own environment and address it through well-conceived plan of action. Now, let's come to real action -what needs to be done? We have, as I think, decided on a short-term and long-term strategy, we have decided on global, Islamic and domestic perspective. Let's take terrorism, first of all. As I have said, we have to confront this with force all over the world wherever it occurs use all force to crush it. As far as Pakistan is concerned, we have done a lot, we will continue doing it till we win the battle against the terrorists here in Pakistan.

And may I say we fought this battle in the cities of Pakistan where about 700 terrorists, *al Qaeda* members, have been caught, eliminated, deported. Wealth of information that we got from them, had been shared with many countries of the world which led to arrests of terrorists, extremists, in those countries. That is Pakistan's contribution to fight against terrorism. That is Pakistan's contribution to helping other countries, specially the Europeans and the United States, to address the issues of extremism and terrorism in their countries. Then we have attacked the terrorists in our mountains that were not an easy job to get into an area where no soldier, not even the British did not go there in the colonial period of over centuries.

They were restricted only to few roads that had been constructed. They were not allowed to leave the road and that too on road-opening days. That was for centuries in the colonial period. We entered this area with the whole army. In all the seven tribal agencies, and we dared to launch operations there. In one of the agencies - South Waziristan agency -we have captured, seized all the valleys in South Waziristan agency where they had established sanctuaries. These sanctuaries were their command bases, logistic bases, their propaganda bases, their communication bases. So we in effect, have broken the back of *al-Qaeda* in Pakistan. I say that with full conviction because, as a military man, I believe when you are opposing a force, if you can break its vertical and horizontal command and communication linkages that force ceases to exist as a homogenous body, capable of executing well-commanded, well-organized operations. Individuals act, group act can be possible, but it cannot be possible that they can execute well-articulated operations, with centralised command.

So Pakistan has broken the vertical and horizontal linkages of *al-Qaeda* and we are continuing and we have to sustain that. We have not won the battle, the battle is not over, but we are winning the battle. Therefore, we have to confront. Every country has to be bold enough to confront terrorists, militarily. The second issue, which will assist in this, is the intelligence cooperation. All countries must cooperate and coordinate intelligence because the underworld is linked. There is a very intricate

linkage of the underworld of terrorists. We have to coordinate and cooperate very fast. And opportunities come they are fleeting opportunities if information is available now, we can act now. If that information is given after three days, we lost the opportunity. Therefore, very intimate intelligence coordination and cooperation of those countries who are fighting terrorism, is required. And thirdly, the most important issue is funds ceasing, freezing controlling and checking funds collection through banks. We must get it to the banks and try to get it to this underworld of fund, money movement.

And also we must check, there are organizations, there are individuals who move around the world, collecting donations in the name of religion. The givers of those donations, I don't want to name countries now, need to be checked and those people who go for donations, from whichever country, they also need to be checked. This is very important, because extremism and terrorism rely on funding. We must seal and freeze funds.

Then, ladies and gentlemen, resolving political disputes is quite clearly the most important element. Failure, I keep saying, is no more an option. Because I think political disputes lie at the core of the core. We cannot fail and I personally feel that Palestine and Kashmir are very ripe for solutions, today, now. And that will pull the carpet from under the feet of extremism and terrorism. I am very glad that there one sees the beginning towards an end on both Palestine and Kashmir. Pakistan is glad at whatever is happening in Gaza and the West Bank. The Israeli initiative of pulling out from Gaza and the determined execution of the plan. Pakistan is certainly supportive of that and we are glad. As far as Kashmir is concerned, Pakistan and India bilaterally are moving ahead. I am optimistic, I only hope that we keep moving ahead and resolve it. Therefore, if today the leadership in this region -in the sub-continent Pakistan and India -and leadership in Israel and the Palestine and all the stakeholders involved in facilitating this resolution of the disputes, one can only pray for success because I think this is the core of the core.

Let me come to extremism. As I said, this is based on each nation's domestic environment and again it needs a short-term and long-term strategy. So let me now address the issue of what I meant of what ought to be done at the three tiers.

First, at the global level, I had proposed a strategy of enlightened moderation. I think it is a win-win for all. It is a two-pronged strategy -one to be delivered by the Muslim world, rejecting terrorism and extremism and going for socio-economic development, because the Muslim world is the most backward. Therefore, we need it for ourselves, for the Muslim world to emancipate ourselves. And the other prong is to be delivered by the West resolve political disputes. I am harping on this tone over and over again but, I think, it needs that kind of emphasis.

Resolve political disputes, otherwise the tree will remain, we will never be able to finish terrorism, we will never be able to finish these bomb blasts, suicide attacks. With conviction, I say that. Therefore, the second prong by the West has to be executed in resolving political disputes. Because we must remember, I noted, military action is never a solution. I am a military man. Military buys time. Military actions against extremism and terrorism buy time for the long-term strategy to be executed. Buys time for other instruments to be used to get to the root. It is not the solution.

So we must know that when we are talking of battles of heart and mind, the military will buy you time for executing the battles for hearts and minds. It will not deliver on hearts and minds. In fact, it is a spoiler on hearts and minds. So, therefore,

when military action is used, we have to go on to the battles of hearts and minds as the ultimate solution. Whatever is happening in Afghanistan or Iraq, military action all around the world, it's only buying time for the execution of the battle for hearts and minds. Let me come one tier down to the Islamic world. As I said, one of the prongs has to be delivered by the Islamic world. The Islamic worlds need to go for emancipation, socio-economic development. It can be done through restructuring the only representative of the Muslims the OIC. This represents the will of all the Muslim world. When we talk of restructuring, there are two elements to be introduced in that restructuring. One is how to help within ourselves for socio-economic development of ourselves. We seek assistance from the west, for socio-economic development because that is also at the root of extremism and terrorism -education, health, poverty alleviation. But first we need to restructure the OIC to address the issue of understanding Islam, projecting Islam within ourselves and to the outside world the real values, the real principles, real teachings of Islam, which have been ignored. They have been ignored within ourselves, we need to address that. And the OIC as the body, if that can as a fountainhead, address it in an intellectual, scholastic manner through enlightened Islamic personalities, who understand religion that must be done.

Islamic world has taken a lot of steps, may I very proudly say that, may be we took them a little slow. OIC restructuring has been initiated. There were ten eminent personalities, persons, from ten countries, Pakistan is one of the countries and we have detailed one person from Pakistan. They have met four times now to restructure the OIC and this restructuring has been given to foreign ministers who will adopt it, finally to be approved through an OIC special summit. I think we have moved quite a bit, hopefully this OIC special summit ought to take place, and that is the initiative from the Muslim world towards, what I have said, in harmonizing, rejecting terrorism, extremism, addressing the core issues of Islam. What is Islam, telling the whole world not to demonise Islam, We want to tell you what Islam really is. Don't be mislead that Islam is what the terrorists are showing you. So this is all that we need to do through the OIC mechanism, if the OIC is to be potent. Let me come to the domestic side. I will only give Pakistani perspective. I am not here to advise Prime Minister Tony Blair on how he ought to be doing in UK. And whatever he is doing, we are supportive, I am supportive. I am extremely glad that he is consulting the Muslim community. I think that is the correct way of doing things, taking them along, cooling them down, assimilating them, and harmonizing within. So my support to Tony Blair. But I will talk of Pakistan. As I said every country has its own environment, which needs to be addressed, analysed and addressed.

I will only talk of Pakistan. I will give the Pakistan experience, because I believe, we have to fight terrorism, we are fighting terrorism, and we will continue to do that. But we have to suppress extremism also through peoples' ownership. You cannot alienate yourself. No leader, in the Muslim world, ought to alienate himself from religion. I don't want to quote examples of some countries where religion was overlooked as if there is no religion existing. People in countries are religious. Pakistan is an Islamic Republic. We are all religious, everyone. But we are not extremists, we are moderates, we believe in moderation, we don't believe in extremism. But we need to take away the extremists and we need to take away people towards the better understanding of Islam, and to curb any extremist tendencies that may be coming up, or curb those organizations, those individuals who are inciting extremism, hate and

militancy in our society. We have adopted a six-tier approach six areas where we are addressing. It is very unfortunate sometimes when one reads and sees in the foreign press, talking against what we are doing. That we are not doing enough as if it is something, which can be done in few months, or six months or one year. It will take years, those who write such things, do not understand the complexities of the issue. They only think that we can probably use military and crush it and in two months its all over -terrorism and extremism. I am sorry they don't understand it. What we are doing to stabilize the country, bring harmony to this country, there are six areas we are addressing because we have identified these six areas.

Number one the banned organizations and these are all extremists' organizations, must not be allowed to re-emerge with different names, must not be allowed to collect money. Like on *Eid*, people collect these skins and sell them and they earned crores of rupees it must not be allowed to these banned organisations. I banned these organizations before 9/11, please understand that. So any aspersions on me that I act because I wanted to show the world that I am doing some kind of footwork, I don't want to punch, like in boxing (is wrong). I did this before 9/11, probably in February 2001 or March. We did not need 9/11 to tell what is required for Pakistan. So first we banned organizations. Yes indeed we were loose in our actions against them in allowing them re-emergence because the law-enforcement machinery was weak.

Therefore, while policy formulation is easy, policy implementation is not that easy. We have tried over these years to streamline the policy implementation part. I am reasonably sure that we will be able to implement it now, and we are doing it, so that is number one. Number two, we have found about 22 magazines, pamphlets, hand bills being distributed of hate, militancy, urging people to go all over the place for fighting the jihad. Jihad in its Islamic context is a struggle, which, any enlightened man knows, is a struggle against every thing -specially against poverty, illiteracy, against darkness. That is not the element of jihad. Jihad is very defensive Jihad is against oppression; it's not offensive in connotation. So we need to ban all these publications, move against printers, the publishers and the distributors and that is what we are doing. Thirdly, some of our mosques are being misused by the clerics, by the ritualists and the obscurantists, to spawn hatred, militancy against every one at large whoever that man, he doesn't like, personally or collectively.

That needs to be curbed. Nobody should be allowed to misuse mosques and its loudspeakers. And we are taking actions and these are in the immediate perspective. Then there are three elements in the long-term perspective. Number one, we must address the issue of our curriculum and syllabus in our educational institutions. When we go through them, we realize that, other than rituals there is not much.

Therefore, we must introduce the real values of Islam into text-books and take away the rituals which are dividing us, which are divisive, which are inciting sectarian hatred. We are addressing that, we are doing that. This is long-term. We will modify our syllabus and we will start teaching that to bring harmony to the minds of our students. The fifth element is the *madrassa*. It has become a malign word all over the world. *Madrassa* has a positive and a negative part. The positive part is that this is an NGO, if we may like to call it, which gives free board and lodge to the poorest of the poor. Roughly one million students there are getting free board and lodge. The government certainly could not look after them. But the negative part of it, is two-

fold, and not in all *Madrassas*. One spawning hatred, militancy, affecting, indoctrinating the minds on the side of militancy. And also some in the tribal areas, harbouring terrorists. Second problem is that they are teaching only religion, nothing else. So we need to address both and we are doing that. For the first part, who is harbouring terrorism, we are acting against them. A number of *madrassas* in the tribal agencies, we got inside and we got hold of people and we are taking action against those *madrassas*. We will do the same in our cities. We will not allow any *madrassa* to harbour a terrorist and get involved in extremist or terrorist activities.

The other issue, we are trying to address, is mainstreaming the students, telling them (*Madrassas*) to teach all subjects and take board examination. The good news is that there are five 'Wafaqs' of these *Madrassas*; Wafaqs are boards, who test them. They act as boards also and they have their own areas of influence. They control about, they say 90 percent while some people say 70 per cent. Whatever the percentage, they are the major dominating force in the *Madrassas*. We are in contact with all the five *Wafaqs* and all of them are on board to teach subjects what we are demanding, to take examinations of all the boards so that the children can be mainstreamed into life and not become only the clerics. They are on board and sending outsiders, they are on board on being tested and examined through another board on the subjects other than religion. So I think we are making progress.

Again, I would say I introduced the strategy two years back, may be, and there was not much headway. Yes indeed, I know that. But the environment has changed. At that time the environment to use coercive strategy was not there. Today the environment is different. So therefore, a different policy. The last element, which may appear not so important but I think is the most important and is the most long-term. This is affecting the hearts and minds. The national discourse today opened within Pakistan and all organizations who carry out this discussion on the real values of Islam. I would not like to be too presumptuous but our aims are very high. We want to carry out a Muslim renaissance and let Pakistan be the source of light. Let Pakistan be the centre from where the real understanding of the real values of Islam (flows) -the Muslim renaissance, showing light within the Muslim world and the world at large. We have taken a lot of measures, we want to bring real international scholars to Pakistan and let them be the driving force. I am involved in this for the last one year. We got about 40 or 50 international scholars from all over the world including India and Bangladesh and all over the Muslim world and some scholars even from the West and the United States.

So the real scholars of the Islamic world, they came here, I addressed them and spoke to them, motivated them. They are prepared to come and be in Pakistan. I think Pakistan is very eminently qualified to start this process of Muslim Renaissance. It may be a tall order. (But) they say for a journey of thousands miles, it is always the first step that has to be taken. We will take the first step. Because I think that is the real long-term objective of projecting the real Islam. Understanding ourselves and projecting to the outside world. These are the six areas that we are addressing. I thought I need to cover these in detail to counter any people who think that we are not doing enough. If Pakistan is not doing enough, the whole world is asleep, because I think we are doing the most, we are doing the maximum.

I challenge any other country, which is doing as much or thinking as much, executing as much as Pakistan. I would like to conclude by saying that this country,

Pakistan, is an Islamic Republic, but it is moderate Islamic Republic of Pakistan. We will take it, will develop it as a progressive, dynamic, moderate, Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Islamabad, 30 August 2005

<[http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Policy/8302005111013PMPresidents%20address\[1\].pdf](http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Policy/8302005111013PMPresidents%20address[1].pdf)>

DOCUMENT NO 7

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE GLOBAL DISCOURSE ON KASHMIR

Bismillah Arahman nir Raheem

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, distinguished participants ladies and gentlemen, it's indeed a pleasure and a unique honour and a privilege to be addressing this gathering on the global discourse on Kashmir. Before I say anything, I would like to say here or admit here that Kashmir runs in the blood of every Pakistani. That is the basic. Therefore its solution is essential. Secondly it's quite an irony that I being a man of war, I am trying to become a man of peace. But may I say that being a man of war and having seen the ravages of war, through being a part of two major wars with India. Being a very active part, and number of scimmages that we have been with them regularly, having lost friends, my best friend over this conflict with India, my son being named after the death of best friend of mine, I think being a man of war, I am the most qualified person to talk of peace, because I understand the ravages of war. I understand them personally.

Therefore ladies and gentlemen, I am going to set out my views. But what the chairman has said are subjects other than Kashmir, I would be too glad to answer any question that may be bothering you, that may be in your mind. Because Pakistan, as I keep saying is today directly or indirectly involved in every-thing that is of concerned to the world, today the world is concerned about terrorism and countering terrorism and extremism. It is concerned about democracy, human rights, narcotics, nuclear proliferation. These are the five major concerns of the world. Pakistan has the distinction or dubious distinction of being directly or indirectly involved in each of them. I am happy to answer any of the questions that you have in relations to these concerns. Let me say with full confidence and conviction that we have a response to all issues concerning the world and our region in direct relation to its impact on Pakistan. We have strategised our position and responses. But first let me confine myself on Kashmir.

It is indeed, ladies and gentlemen, a great pleasure for me to address this very important forum on Kashmir organised with the efforts of the International Human Rights centre of Kashmir and all group parties on Kashmir in European Parliament. This group in the European Parliament holds very special significance, as there is no prestigious forum than the European Parliament to deliberate on issues of freedom and human rights, especially in relation to the millions of suffering Kashmiris. This parliament has enjoyed a greater esteem as the voice of conscience and custodian of

human rights and democracy around the world. The people of Jammu and Kashmir as well as Pakistan and India would be closely watching the deliberations of this conference. The ideas and proposals deliberated upon this meeting can go a long way in resolving the long standing dispute of Jammu and Kashmir, bringing the tragedies of Kashmiris to an end. The Jammu and Kashmir dispute has been at the heart of conflict and tension in South Asia and I have been saying South Asia is one region, which is out of the loop of development in Asia. This century set to be the century of Asia but since South Asia and Central Asia are out of this loop of progress and economic development and this is because of the two elephants of Asia, Pakistan and India are continuously in conflict and war. Therefore, unless we resolve this dispute, we cannot generate the momentum for economic development that other regions of Asia have. It has constricted the progress and development as I have said. Diverting the sources and energies of the two countries away from the tasks that must engage Pakistan and India, to meet the socio economic development of the two countries.

I sincerely believe that today the opportunity exists and it must be seized to resolve the dispute through peaceful dialogue. Improved relation between the two countries and the conducive international environment can help the dialogue to achieve success provided. There are three qualities, which I always keep projecting, that the leaders of the two countries must have. i.e. sincerity, flexibility, courage and boldness. The dialogue must be meaningful. We need to ensure that it does not meet the fate of similar endeavours in the past when little was achieved beyond reaffirmation of good intentions that often redress in polemical exchanges. Every time when two countries fail to resolve the issue, tension rose and the hardship of the people of Kashmir prolonged, unfortunately.

The peace process initiated by Pakistan with India over the last two years, however, has a different back ground. In a transformed regional and international environment, the process has been sustained at different tracks in search of an acceptable settlement. When I say acceptable, it ought to be acceptable first of all to the people of Kashmir and then to Pakistan and India, to make it successful.

The initiation of this process is preceded by an unprecedented confrontation; India has mobilized more than one million troops along our borders in 2002. While we obviously responded in kind. Because we moved our troops forward and confronted them in eyeball to eye ball war like situation. This confrontation between the two nuclear capable neighbours lasted for over one year and called deep concern for the international community. Throughout this period of great grave tension, Pakistan consistently advocated the de-escalation, dialogue and conflict resolution. But, may I add that, it could not be at the cost of honour and dignity of our country. Therefore, while we want peace and stability, it has to be on the basis of sovereign equality and our honour and dignity can never be compromised.

I therefore welcomed the hand of friendship, extended by former Prime Minister of India Mr. Vajpayee that sets the stage for confidence building and efforts to address all issues including Jammu and Kashmir. He invited me to Agra and I went there. During my interaction with Vajpayee for the peace process, I emphasized the progress on Jammu and Kashmir would be crucial and central to the success or failure of the process. Confidence Building Measures initiated by the two countries are certainly important to create a better environment but the peace process has to move

beyond CBMs, which are largely a means towards an end and not an end in themselves. We need to address malaise and not just the symptoms.

The history of "Pakistan India" relations tells us that without removing the main cause of tension and without solving the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir, the confidence building trust and improvement of relations prove to be fragile and even short lived. Accordingly there is no option but to adopt an earnest approach to solve this problem. There should be quality of leadership on both sides to resolve the disputes, the sincerity to resolve the dispute. Also an international environment should be present. Both these are present at the moment. So this fleeting opportunity should be grasped and move forward towards ultimate peace. The Kashmir dispute should also not be brushed aside as some people suggest, placing it at the back burner and going on other tracks. The dispute involves the fundamental rights and sacrosanct principles of freedom and self-determination of the people. Such issues can never be put in the cold storage. The affected people would never allow it to happen. Kashmir address has to be addressed quickly and reach an agreement of early settlement.

Following the resumption of dialogue process, efforts for a solution has three aspects. Firstly Kashmir related Confidence Building Measures which help to alleviate the hardship of the Kashmiri people on both sides of line of control. This is first aspect. Second, greater interaction and involvement of the Kashmiri leaders with the process because the first and foremost issue is their future. Last is the focus discussion on the element of the settlement.

The progress has been uneven. Indeed much requires to be done with regards to the settlement. However, as I have often stated, given sincerity, flexibility and courage on all sides, especially on the part of leadership of both the sides with the objective is within reach. We need to engage in an out of box thinking and this term has been used by the leadership on the other side. I borrowed it from them. An out of box solution is required. We have to allow ourselves a room for manoeuvre, without compromising the basic imperative and respect for the aspirations and rights of the people of Kashmir. There has been good progress in putting in place Kashmir related CBMs. The ceasefire on the line of control was announced on Nov. 2003 by Pakistan, we took the initiative, and responded by India. And we are very happy that India has responded, continues to hold today. For those who don't know what's the line of control and what was happening there, there was shooting, firing and shelling and killing everyday, deaths and killings everyday. This what has stopped now due to this ceasefire.

Thereafter, Pakistan has taken a lot of confidence building measures in consultation with the Kashmiri leadership from Azad Kashmir and also the Indian held Kashmir. I am very glad that the new Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir is sitting here in front of us.

Initiation of Muzafarabad-Sri Nagar and Rawalkot- Punch bus service as well as opening of five crossing points were aimed at helping the divided Kashmiri families to be able to visit each other. I am very glad that we have achieved results. This has a deeper human dimension. Because it has been unfortunate that contacts between the Kashmiries on both sides of control have remained severed for over half a century. There is also an agreement to begin a truck service, which could help commerce in local produce. And alleviate economical suffering of the people. The people of Kashmir also suffered a massive earthquake, which hit last October. In this hour of

tragedy, Kashmiri divided families were able to reach out and provide comfort to each other across the line of control. This is another idea we proposed. That not let the line of control to divide at this moment of crisis. The families and people are coming across and helping each other.

On our part we are implementing a massive plan in the effected areas of Kashmir to help the people to rebuild their lives and determined to convert the challenge into an opportunity. So that there is perceptible improvement in the living conditions of those effected. May I say that we very successfully launched and executed the two initial stages of meeting the earthquake.

That was rescue and relief. I am extremely grateful to the European Union and countries of the European Union for the assistance that we got in financial assistance and assistance in kind.

Pakistan also encourages interaction among the Kashmiri leaders. We are happy that many of the leaders of the All Parties Huriyat Conference have been able to visit Pakistan from across the Line of Control. And have held detailed discussions with us to examine ideas for a settlement. They also met the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Manhmohn Singh. Some other personalities from Sri Nagar have also been to Pakistan. Such interaction with the Kashmiri leaders clarifies ideas and would certainly help to build support and consensus for workable options. As I said the solution lies in getting all the leadership of Kashmir on both sides of the divide to come at a common platform and a common cause that will lend strength to their argument for a solution of the Kashmir problem. Therefore interacting with people within themselves, those who were not in contact with each other may be of some reason or the other in the future; we have to change our attitude and may be interact with everyone, so we come to a common scope or a common dimension of a solution of a problem.

I would now like to give some details on our approach and efforts for an acceptable settlement. As early as in 2001, I offered a four point to break the deadlock:

- Acceptance of the disputed character of Kashmir
- Meaningful and sustained dialogue process
- Setting a side options unacceptable to either side
- Examining other possible solutions acceptable to all parties, mainly to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

This is what I have said in 2001. In my judgment this was the way forward to address the final settlement of dispute. In 2004, following the resumption of peace process after over a hiatus of over two years, we focus our approach on a forward-looking approach to address the core issue. I agreed with Manhmohn Singh in 2004 in New York that the two sides should explore options for addressing Jammu and Kashmir. On our part we encourage discussions, which began, with my food for thought ideas. Since that time there has been considerable debate and important ideas have come up for discussions, which have found receptivity, especially with the Kashmiri leadership.

In summing up the ideas, first of all there is a need to identify Kashmir. There are certain areas and distinct regions within Kashmir. How shall we take this reality into an account for a practical and realistic settlement? The second important idea relates to demilitarisation. We can envisage stages of demilitarisation obviously

hundreds of thousands of soldiers cannot be removed instantly. There should be stages of demilitarisation. In early stages this could help to raise the comfort level of Kashmiris and specially reduce violence and improve the human right situation in the Indian held Kashmir. Demilitarisation can also be a part of overall settlement. On our part we are prepared to withdraw our troops from along the line of control as a part of an overall settlement. I even have proposed that three main cities of Indian part of Kashmir, which we called Indian, held Kashmir, Sri Nagar, Kopwara and Baramola. All troops could be moved out of these three cities to the outskirts of the city. Demilitarize the cities and let us use our all energies, resources and our influences to ensure there is no militancy in these cities. This was one of our proposals. However it hasn't been accepted yet.

Thirdly I believe that Kashmiri people are the main stakeholders in the peace process and eventual settlement. They must have the right to decide their own affairs. Self-governance is the central idea aims in empowering the Kashmiri people. This was the third element of it. And lastly the history of Kashmir dispute is inextricably linked to the interests of India and Pakistan. We find it hard to understand the Indian decision put on hold to the composite dialogue. We must not allow the acts of terrorism to affect the peace process in which both Pakistan and India have equal important stakes. Pakistan has offered cooperation to help investigations relating to the Mumbai blasts on the basis of specific information and we promise to pursue the matter at our end in the same manners as we cooperate with other countries in counter terrorism. However finger pointing will help no one.

We need to move forward and in future avoid interruptions in the process that must be sustained with commitment and determination. I would like to add that stopping of dialogue process through such acts of terrorism is exactly playing in the hands of terrorists. Because they exactly want this. They want to distort and disturb the peace process. And if we exactly do that, it is the terrorist who is winning and we want a solution are losing. Finally I would like to emphasis the responsibility and role of the international community in helping both Pakistan and India to make progress and solve this long-standing dispute of Kashmir.

The United Nation Security Council resolutions represented a solemn commitment and promise by the international community to the people of Kashmir. Regrettably over the decade these resolutions have remained unimplemented despite representing an international legality.

Within the United Nations, an important world forum such as the European Parliament, there is a great deal of emphasis on upholding freedom and human rights. The protagonist of these values can not exile from their responsibilities to address the dispute that represents the denial of fundamental rights to a people as promised and sanctified internationally in the shape of United Nations Security Council Resolution. We believe that dispute resolution is the best form of confidence building, the best assurance for peace and thereby an effective catalyst for progress and economic development. In South Asia we need to move from conflict management to conflict resolution. This change will herald a new chapter, where all countries could dedicate their energies and resources to the betterment of their peoples. We have seen this phenomenon in South East Asia, where governments and people are not pre occupied with conflict resolution and instead devote themselves fully in regional trade and economic cooperation. I believe the same environment be achievable for South Asia

by resolving the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan will continue its efforts to achieve this goal through peaceful and political means.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I appreciate the efforts by the European Parliament in the Kashmir dispute. I hope in the upcoming report would pave the way for a constructive and continued engagement of EU with this dispute.

I thank you for your patient hearing.

I thank you all ladies and gentlemen. ■

Brussels, 14 September 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/ForeignVisits/9172006103237PMBru ssels%20speech.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO. 8

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE EUROPEAN UNION'S FOREIGN RELATION COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Altabook, honourable members of the committee, the European Parliament has indeed played an important role in the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These values are universal and people everywhere aspire for them. This committee's role in shaping Europe's foreign and security policy is very vital indeed. We look forward to deepening our dialogue in the coming years.

Since gaining its independence in 1947 Pakistan has sought closer political, social and cultural ties with Europe, we were allies of the free world at the height of cold war. The European Union is a leading trading partner of Pakistan and increasingly a destination of choice for our students. We value the timely assistance that the European Union members provided after the tragic earthquake that struck Pakistan last year.

In the last five years Pakistan and the European Union have forged an even closer relationship, we are again standing together in combating this curse of terrorism. Pakistan is a full partner in this endeavour and may I say a leading partner in this endeavour. Terrorism is a game of our times; it is an agent of chaos and the enemy of progress. It is in our common interest to fight it together with sustain and comprehensive efforts.

Mr Chairman, first of all Pakistan's social environment, let me say to this august gathering that Pakistan can be broadly divided into three groups; one group I call ultra conservative, I call them obscurantist, I call them extremists, they are the fringe they are not the main force, they are fringe but they are aggressive and a militant fringe. On the other side of the spectrum I call them ultra liberals, they are westernised and they are not in sink with our cultural reality they are also are a fringe, but may I very frankly say that when West comes to deal with Pakistanis they generally deal with this fringe's of ultra liberals, who do not represent the main block of Pakistan. The main block of Pakistan is the moderate majority, the vast moderate majority but they are not extremist, they are progressive they want a progressive dynamic Pakistan, they don't believe in extremism, they don't believe in ultra liberalism, that is the vast

majority for peace and this is the vast majority which has hope for the future of Pakistan.

Now, I would like to say this august gathering with full conviction that Pakistan is not an intolerant extremist society as many western perceptions have been created. Whatever extremism or terrorism you see in our region or in Pakistan is a fall-out of the 26 years of war-fare of militancy around us and if I, very briefly to give you the history, takes back to 1979 with Soviet invasion of Afghanistan where the West, the United States and Pakistan waged a war against Soviet occupation. This went on for ten years where we launched a jihad, it was called a jihad, where we brought in about 30,000 *Mujabideen* from all over the Muslim world, when I say we, the United States the west and Pakistan together, we trained *Minjabideen*, armed them and sent them in and again we all did it together, for ten years we carried on doing that. It had its fall-out on our national fabric and then in 1989 everyone left Pakistan high and dry, everyone left for Pakistan to fend with what the 30,000 armed trained *Mujabideen* who were there and the *Taliban* who were there and four million refugees came into Pakistan when war-fare and war lordism broke out in Afghanistan and then the *Taliban* emerged in 1995, and then 9/11 came in and all hell was let loose and then also may I say freedom struggle erupted in Kashmir since 1989. So, for 26 years Pakistan's internal national fabric has been disturbed while before 1979 we were a peaceful moderate progressive country, we became in the eyes of the west an extremist intolerant society. No Sir, we are not intolerant, we are not extremist. The main force of Pakistan is the moderate majority but unfortunately because of the fall-out of the history of Pakistan for 27 years there is extremism, there is terrorism there are militants and we have to face them. So therefore, may I say that terrorism and extremism are not inherent to Pakistan these were imported because of the circumstances.

Now, Mr Chairman, I would also like to highlight the significance of Pakistan, we are a country of hundred and sixty million people with enormous natural and human potential. With the present economic upsurge with all the development activity there is an economic boom going on today in Pakistan there is poverty reduction which has 10 percent reduction in the last five years with growing industrial and technological base added to this fact that we are the second largest moderate powerful Muslim country, I personally think that Pakistan can play a pivotal role in regional peace and stability and act as a bridge between the West and the Muslim world. We have linkages with Central Asia with China; we belong to a region where today there is turmoil and we having linkages with the West. So Pakistan has a bridging role to play in the present geo-strategic and geo-political environments.

We, if you see our location geo strategically, are in the centre of the Gulf of South Asia and India of Central Asia, Afghanistan and all the Central Asian Republics and China to our north-east. All these countries are looking for trade with outside world and between themselves, are looking for energy within themselves and to export to outside world. None of this possible without the indulgence of Pakistan because of its geo-strategic location. Therefore, Pakistan also acts as a trade and energy corridor in this region, within and with the outside world and therefore Pakistan provides the interconnectivity regional interconnectivity, and a linkage to the world for this region.

Now, with background of our geo-strategic and geo political significance let me come to our response against terrorism and extremism and I would like to give you

a very wholesome view of this because I know there is lot of concern on what we are doing and what we have achieved and what we are doing. Ladies and Gentlemen we have to differentiate terrorism and extremism, first of all, terrorism has to be fought militarily and frontally with force, and extremism is a state of mind it cannot be fought militarily, it has to be fought more with brains rather than bran and extremism cannot be controlled or checked through imposition of some laws or rules or force. Extremism is a state of mind, which changed through a process of transformation, which needs to put into a check.

Now, what is the cause of terrorism and extremism, in the Muslim world and in Pakistan I personally think, first of all political deprivation, a feeling of hopelessness, powerlessness, dejection and anger, societal alienation, poverty and illiteracy these are elements which spawn terrorism and extremism. The greatest challenge that the world and Pakistan faces today is indeed to addressing the challenge of extremism and terrorism. Pakistan is being perceived as spawning terrorism but as I said this is not a creation of Pakistan. *Al Qaeda* or *Taliban* are not the creation of Pakistan, they have emerged because of circumstances. *Al Qaeda* came into being because of 30,000 *Mujahideen* that we brought from all over the world and were left there when the world left us. They quell and convert it into the *Al Qaeda*, with a focus elsewhere while they were fighting with the Soviet Union in the past their focus changed to political issues with-in their own countries, that led to the creation of *Al Qaeda* and *Taliban* emerged because of the circumstances with-in Afghanistan, so therefore, they are not the creation of Pakistan. Nobody should therefore, doubt that first of all *Talibanisation*, or *Taliban* go against the Pakistan's national ethos and we are not for *Talibanisation* we don't want *Talibanisation* in Pakistan, we reject that, but nobody should at the same time blame us or doubt our intentions for not doing enough or saying that casting aspersions that may be the government or our intelligence organizations are abetting in such activities. If employing of 80,000 troops and suffering 400 deads and Pakistan is not doing enough than I would like to ask which country of the world is doing enough? And may I also add that our vision is to integrate Central Asian Republics with South Asia and allow them exit and connectivity with the whole world through our ports and communication infrastructure. If that is our vision encouraging *Taliban* and *Talbanisation* go against the basis of that vision. So therefore please understand, Ladies and Gentlemen one can doubt one can challenge our capabilities but one should never challenge or doubt or intention. Now Pakistan is confronting terrorism, and I would like to explain how, we fought the *Al Qaeda*; we eliminated them from our cities, we got 600 or 700 of them all the leading ones from our cities and we don't have anymore *Al Qaeda* in our cities.

However Ladies and Gentlemen, we must understand now what I say is very important. The centre of gravity of terrorism has shifted from *Al Qaeda* to *Taliban*, this is a new element which has emerged, more dangerous element because it has roots in the people, *Al Qaeda* did not have roots in the people so *Taliban* are more organized, they have roots in the people and *Talibanisation* may I say is a separate thing altogether. It's a social concept an obscurantist's social concept where they reject music or against television watching and all that stuff. So we have to counter both of these.

Now the question is whose commanding the *Taliban*, not Osama bin Laden or Zawahiri. *Taliban* are being commanded certainly by Mullah Omer and where Mullah Omer is, is the question. Lot of people keep doubting all of them are in

Pakistan, Mullah has never visited Pakistan since 1995 when he came into strength why would he been in Pakistan. He certainly in Southern Afghanistan and the people of Afghanistan know that so therefore we need to be very clear that we have to fight *Taliban* with force, we have to check *Talibanization* that obscurantist concept from spreading this a battle. And the battle if it is to be one has to address centre of gravity of the force and centre of gravity lies in the Mullah Omer which happens to be in Southern Afghanistan. Why I elaborated this, I do not at all mean that one should give up pursuing Osama or Zawahiri but one should remember that the real danger lies in the strength emerging and further strengthening of *Taliban* because they have the seeds of converting and taking of more of the population rowing the population to them and then converting this into a national war by the Pakhtoons against may be all foreign forces, we must stop this projection of the *Taliban* in time through a strategy.

Now I would like to talk about the strategy that we were opted because unless you understand the environments we will not get to the strategy. The environment in the frontier, tribal agencies very briefly is that there were militant *Taliban* who support *Taliban* across the border in Afghanistan then there is a vast majority of Pakhtoons that is the ethnic group and *Talibans* are also Pakhtoons but they are moderate they are religious but they are not *Taliban* and then there is another category that is emerged who are those who are pretending to be *Taliban* they are drug peddlers and miscreants, so we are dealing with this environment at frontier we have the institution of levies , constabularies and then the Frontier corps and the fortier's of Army of course. Reinforce the levies and constabulary which is actually the force of political agent the civil administrator, so we must alleviate them and bring them up develop linkages between the two the tribals the Pakhtoons non-*Taliban* Pakhtoons and elders of course. The civil administration carried out simultaneous massive reconstruction efforts now we are doing all that we have reinvigorated the civil administration. We have developed a FATA Secretariat a potent Secretariat and we have created FATA Development Authority to look after the reconstruction and now we went for the grand tribal Jirga, it is a meeting of tribal elders, we got all the elders and we reached an agreement, a peace agreement and what is the bottom line of this peace agreement, this is worth noting Ladies and Gentlemen, the bottom line is:-

No *Al Qaeda* activity in our area or going across into Afghanistan and they agreed to this.

No *Taliban* activity, no militant activity, no training in our area or going across the border.

No *Talibanisation*, this obscurantist culture be going spread forcibly imposing on others and they agree.

Now I ask you ladies and Gentlemen, I think this is a great historic achievement. According to tribal culture, if anyone violates these bottom lines, it is they who will oppose them, and therefore what we achieved is that-we reached an agreement with the moderate majority, non-*Taliban* Pakhtoons and we put them in a lead role to confront the *Taliban* back them with strong civil administration and military force and we hope that these people will be able to rein away the younger population from going towards the *Taliban* they will draw them towards themselves and if we have massive reconstruction activity the social sector , health , education and job creation poverty alleviation which we are trying to do with United States in the form of financial assistance and reconstruction opportunity zones where industries

coming up in that area where the whole mountains are marble and granite we could export them duty free to United States. So we are trying to generate economic activity there. So therefore, ladies and gentlemen this is a strategy and I personally think that, if we succeed this has seeds of success for the future.

And may I be audacious enough to suggest that this need to be implemented in other tribal agencies and also across the border may be in Afghanistan; this is the strategy for political involvement and reining away the population from terrorism towards a political resolution. After all we all must know ladies and gentlemen and I am a military man that military only buys time and provide an environment for a political resolution. Military will never give the ultimate solution we have to create an environment we have time we have to go on a political path and an intelligently thought-out path and that is what we are trying to do, so I personally think that this a time for brains more than bran may I say.

I would now like to say a few words on Afghanistan. We believe in the integrity, stability and economic development of Afghanistan totally. We support the Bonn process to the hilt. We ourselves are carrying out a number of development projects. We have built the road from our border to Jalalabad. We would encourage a faster reconstruction activity in Afghanistan. My visit to Afghanistan has cleared a lot of misunderstandings and misperceptions, which they were suffering. And basically these doubting our intentions. We must not doubt our intentions. We could doubt capabilities. And I am very highly glad to say that to a large extent have cleared the misgivings. I would like to say a few words again on India Pakistan.

This is here we are going on two tracks. We are going on CBMs, confidence building measures and conflict resolutions. CBMs are going pretty well. I think our relations with India have never been this good. But conflict resolutions, I am afraid is stalled at the moment. And we are trying are best to move the conflict resolution forward and in this the Kashmir resolution the key to the whole problem. My meeting with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, just about two days later, I hope will substantive and move this process forward. I feel the time is ripe and the opportunity for the solution is great. These are fleeting opportunities, which do not come again and again. And the demand on leadership is to grasp the fleeting opportunities and not let them go. Because if they allowed to go we will repent later. We would request the European Union to facilitate, to encourage the bilateral process that we have initiated towards a conclusion of moving the conflict resolution forward. I have a trust in Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. I think he is a sincere man. And I think he is flexible enough to reach out and think out of solution. We have now to show boldness. That we go for the solution. In spite of any terrorist activity, in spite of any obstacle that anybody wants to create.

Mr. Chairman, our efforts for regional and international peace are strongly under pinned by reaching a far reaching economic, social and political reform process at home. We have done a lot and I don't want to go into the details. Backwardness, obscuridism and *Talibinisation* have no place in a vision for progressive future of Pakistan. Over the past four years, our economy has performed robustly with an average growth rate of 7 percent. Our GDP has doubled. Our per capita income has doubled.

From a low-income category country, we are now in the middle-income category country. Our revenues have grown by about 150 percent in last five years.

Our export has grown about 120 percent in the last five years. This is the kind of growth and also there is more revenue available for our development. Therefore massive development activity is going on in Pakistan in all fields of activities. I don't want to elaborate on all that.

In the social sector, we are focused on empowerment of traditionally under privileged section of our society. And these are the minorities and the women. The minorities have been empowered by giving them a joint electorate system and reserved seats at various levels. Therefore, they have been mainstreamed. As far as women are concerned, we have empowered them politically and now we trying to empower them economically. Political empowerment, we have done by giving them 33 percent seats at the local level, 17 percent seats in the National Assembly are women and they can also contest against men. There are today 72 women in a house of 342. Therefore 22 percent of the member of National Assembly is women today. This is how we empowered them politically. We are empowering them economically through many ways. There is a women's bank. There is a micro credit bank, Khshali Bank. Which is focussing more on women. We have also decided to mainstream the women. There are three women pilots in the Pakistan air force. We are inducting 40 women into our Army, which never been done before. We have given them 10 percent quota in our civil services other than those who come through competition. So we are mainstreaming the women. And we are economically empowering them by many other means. We have just initiated a scheme in which we are calling a *Rozgar* scheme, where we are generating the jobs for the women. So we are mainstreaming the women and the minorities.

In the political arena, good governance and sustainable democracy remains our priorities. We have introduced a three-tier system, the local government system; we have empowered the people at the grass root. This system is now in its second term. We had elections to the local government system. They had completed their tenure and had another election. And half of the senate had completed their tenure and have another election. We are going to have National Elections next year in 2007 after the assemblies complete their tenures of 5 years. This had happened for the first time in the history of Pakistan. Never has completed their tenure in the past. This is the sustainable democracy that we have introduced. We have liberated the media. While there was one TV channel in the past, today there are 43 channels in Pakistan. There is complete freedom of speech and expression. If you watch TV in Pakistan, many are talking against me; I don't mind that, because I don't have skeletons in the cupboard. And I have any of the answers that I have done or not done.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is very important to recognize and understand that Pakistan is transforming. The outside world also needs to note this transformation and extend all out help and understanding which is required at this moment in the history of the nations. The world needs to consistently review and change its perceptions accordingly. We still have challenges to contend with. We still need to extend the fruits of the recent economic growth to the common man. Fully empower the under privilege and decisively win the battle against the battle of terrorism and extremism. But that trends lines all in these areas are encouraging. We therefore, expect the international community to see the progress and change in Pakistan. Pakistan is an ally and should be treated as such. Nothing should be done to undermine the mutual trust and confidence.

Mr. Chairman, the international community can also help to strengthen this process of transformation. There are many ways in which the European Union can work with Pakistan. We need market access. Industry to come up in Pakistan to expand. That means the job creation and that means the poverty alleviation. That means to address the root cause of terrorism and extremism. So I urge you to invest and trade with Pakistan and enhance our trade. I am not looking for aid I believe in trade not aid. So if you need my help I request you for help in investment and enhancing trade with Pakistan. We could deepen Pakistan EU dialogue. And I propose that at an appropriate time, Pakistan EU summit should be instituted. This would help our strengthen and expand our bilateral cooperation across the broad range of areas including trade and education.

Lastly we could work together to promote greater interfaith harmony. Please, know Pakistan is a strong Muslim country; please know that we are a strong moderate Muslim country. Please use us to bridge the inter faith divide, to bring the harmony to the world. And bring peace to the world. Contribute our bit.

Mr. Chairman, Pakistan is making a significant contribution to international peace and security. We are a sincere and serious partner. You as the member of the strong institution have a vital role to play in further strengthening Pakistan EU partnership. We look forward to working closely with you. We look forward to working with you with all sincerity but with total understanding with us. Understanding of our problems and we seek your assistance for us to meet the challenges that I have and our country has to face.

Thank you very much ladies and gentlemen.■

Brussels, 15 September 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/ForeignVisits/9182006110454PMEU%20Foreign%20Relation%20Committee%20Speech.pdf>>

DOCUMENT No 9

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE NAM SUMMIT

President Fidel Castro, Your Majesties and Royal Highnesses, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Our warmest greetings to President Castro for assuming the Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement thank you, Mr. President, for the warm hospitality and the excellent arrangements for this 14th NAM Summit-the second in Havana. The first Havana Summit was a landmark for Pakistan. It was here in 1979 that Pakistan became a full member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Mr. President, we hold you in high esteem for your longstanding contribution to promote the principles and objectives of our Movement. We are confident that under your dynamic leadership the NAM shall actively promote its ideals and advance the interests of its Member States.

On behalf of the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, I extend to you and the people of Cuba our deep gratitude for your prompt and generous assistance in responding to the tragic earthquake in Pakistan last year. We can never forget the care

and relief provided to hundreds of thousands of earthquake victims by Cuban doctors and paramedics working in inhospitable terrain and under extreme weather conditions.

I also take this opportunity to pay our tributes to Malaysia's leadership of NAM in the last three years.

The world has transformed dramatically since the First Havana Summit, Yet, the relevance and importance of the NAM and its principles for peace, cooperation and progress remain unchanged, NAM must continue to play a powerful role for equality and justice in international relations.

A major challenge facing the international community is to build international peace and security on the basis of equity and principles rather than use of force and intervention.

The recent aggression against Lebanon is illustrative of the recourse to the logic of force rather than a resort to international norms and principles of the UN Charter. The Security Council's belated action has stopped the outrage that inflicted massive loss of life and destruction. It is important now that the ceasefire holds and Israel vacates Lebanese territory. The international community must also focus on reconstruction in Lebanon and solving the root cause of all tension - the Palestinian dispute.

The tragedy of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East. Until Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory is ended and a viable Palestinian State established, there can be no durable peace in the Middle East, Israel should engage with the Palestinian leadership to revive the peace process for a two-state solution.

Iraq is another festering sore in the Middle East. The Iraqi people should be assisted by the international community and by its neighbours to restore peace and security, overcome the pervasive violence, rebuild its institutions and economy, ensure its unity and territorial integrity and thus facilitate the early withdrawal of foreign forces from that country.

A stable and peaceful Afghanistan is vital for the peace and progress of the region. The Bonn process has brought about positive change in the country. Nevertheless, Afghanistan still confronts complex challenge in ensuring security and building its institutions and economy. The international community must remain engaged in Afghanistan to fulfil its commitments for reconstruction and rehabilitation.

The growing confrontation over Iran's nuclear programme threatens further instability in our region. Pakistan believes that a diplomatic resolution of this crisis is possible and must be pursued with a determination ensuring respect for legitimate rights and international obligations.

Pakistan is making sincere efforts to promote peace and cooperation in South Asia. Three years old, the peace process with India have led to confidence-building and improved environment. We are determined to pursue the process for resolving all outstanding issues with India including the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. A historic opportunity exists that must be seized by the leadership of the two countries to bring to a close the chapter of tension and conflict in our region. It is of paramount importance that we devote all our energies to address the major challenges of our region by ensuring poverty alleviation, universal education, better health and higher standard of living for our people.

Mr. Chairman, In its pursuit for global peace, the NAM should focus on promoting just and equitable solutions to the major international conflicts and

disputes. The establishment of a mechanism for conflict resolution, specially among NAM member is now more essential than ever before. Our internal discord continues to debilitate NAM's ability to play an effective role on the international stage.

Nam's contribution is also essential in building a new international consensus on disarmament and non- proliferation. The NAM must reject discrimination and double standards. The NAM must uphold the principle of equal security for all state. We must renew efforts to promote universal nuclear disarmament under verified international control. In this context, we believe that an international conference be convened to evolve a new international consensus for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

The NAM should also promote a comprehensive strategy to combat and eliminate terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. This requires a two-pronged approach; first, obtaining terrorists frontally, including through active international cooperation, and second, addressing and resolving the underlying causes of terrorism and extremism which include: political disputes and conflicts: economic and social injustices: and poverty, hunger and despair in large parts of the world. Our strategy must clearly oppose the sinister tendencies to associate terrorism with Islam and discrimination against Muslims, which are giving rise to an ominous alienation between the West and the world of Islam.

The NAM must cohesively defend the principles of state sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of states. Democracy and human rights should be promoted by each country in accordance with this own political and cultural values and historical context. These cannot be imposed externally through pressure or coercion, much less military intervention Mr. Chairman,

The challenge of development countries to be formidable for all developing and NAM countries. Efforts have so far failed to make even modest progress towards introducing equity in international trade through the Doha Round. The NAM must press for enlargement and implementation of the trade and development agenda. The NAM countries could also help each other directly, through regional economic integration and specific schemes for South-South Cooperation. A robust South cooperation is possible as many NAM members have achieved significant economic growth and play an increasingly influential role in international relations.

A concerted endeavour is also required to introduce equity in the international financial system. Today, global liquidity continues to be highly unevenly distributed- with over 80% available to industrialized countries. Global investment is concentrated mostly in the developed world and handful of emerging markets. Debt continues to drain resources from the poorest countries especially in Africa. The NAM should call for a negotiating "Round" to address these problems of the global financial and monetary system.

There are series of other global issues, which require a unified effort by the NAM: -generation of employment for a growing population; - the problem of migration, including the freer flow of labour from the developing to the developed countries; - restraints on the flow of technology, especially advanced technology, to developing countries; -the growing shortage of water; -the rising costs and possible scarcity of energy; -access to nuclear power generation under IAEA safeguards; - the continued external exploitation of natural resources, especially in Africa; and - environmental degradation.

The solution to these challenges can only be achieved through cooperative multilateralism and concrete actions.

The UN is the apex organization for cooperative multilateralism. It should be strengthened and revitalized to serve its central role. For this objective, the reform process must enjoy the support and consensus of the UN membership, including Security Council. NAM must maintain its unity and pro-active role in the reform process and resist any endeavours that run counter to the very ethos of NAM.

I am confident that this Summit will address all these priority issues and will be an important landmark in the history of the Movement. I thank you. ■

Havana, 16 September 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/ForeignVisits/9172006110352PMTExt%20of%20President%20Speech%20at%20NAM.pdf>>

DOCUMENT 10

INDIA-PAKISTAN JOINT STATEMENT, HAVANA

President General Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had a cordial, frank and detailed exchange of views on all aspects of India-Pakistan relations. Desirous of carrying forward the dialogue process, the leaders reiterated their commitments and determination to implement the Joint Statements of January 6, 2004, September 24, 2004, April 18, 2005 and September 14, 2005.

2. The leaders agreed that the peace process must be maintained and its success was important for both countries and the future of the entire region. In this context, they directed their Foreign Secretaries to resume the composite dialogue at the earliest possible.

3. The two leaders met in the aftermath of the Mumbai blasts. They strongly condemned all acts of terrorism and agreed that terrorism is a scourge that needs to be effectively dealt with. They decided to put in place an India-Pakistan anti-terrorism institutional mechanism to identify and implement counter-terrorism initiatives and investigations.

4. The leaders decided to continue the joint search for mutually acceptable options for a peaceful negotiated settlement of all issues between India and Pakistan, including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, in a sincere and purposeful manner. On the Jammu and Kashmir issue, there have been useful discussions. There is a need to build on convergences and narrow down divergences.

5. The two leaders also directed the Foreign Secretaries on the following:

- The Foreign Secretaries should meet shortly in New Delhi to continue the composite dialogue
- To arrange consultations for early solution of the Siachen issue,
- Experts should meet immediately to agree on coordinates for joint survey of Sir Creek and adjoining area, without prejudice to each other's position on the issue. The Survey should commence in November 2006. The experts should start discussions on the maritime boundary.
- The two sides will facilitate implementation of agreements and

understandings already reached on LOC-related CBMs, including bus services, crossing points and truck service.

6. The President of Pakistan renewed his invitation to the Prime Minister of India to visit Pakistan. Thanking the President, the Prime Minister indicated that he looked forward to a purposeful visit at a time to be determined through diplomatic channels. ■

Havana, Cuba, September 16, 2006
<<http://meaindia.nic.in/>>

DOCUMENT NO 11

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO UNITED NATION GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S 61ST SESSION

Madam President, Respected General Secretary and Distinguished Delegates. I am indeed very happy to see a sister from fraternal Bahrain presiding over this important session of the General Assembly. Your election symbolizes the increasingly significant role women are playing in the Muslim world. Madam President, you will have Pakistan's full support in fulfilling your challenging responsibilities.

Since the devastating earthquake in the northern regions of Pakistan last October, this is the first occasion that I am addressing this very august body. I, therefore, take this opportunity to express our deepest gratitude for the relief and financial assistance we received from around the world. We were deeply moved by the global solidarity displayed in the hour of our distress and need.

Madam President, multilateral cooperation is the key to addressing the existing and emerging challenges of the 21st century - political disputes, terrorism, proliferation, poverty, hunger, disease, economic disparities, migration, unemployment, environmental degradation and natural disasters. We appreciate the Secretary General's initiatives to equip the United Nations to respond to these challenges. But we are yet a distance from the vision endorsed at the 2005 UN Summit.

Madam President, over the past six-years, despite daunting external and internal challenges, Pakistan has been transformed into a dynamic nation, moving rapidly towards the vision of our Founder - a modern, progressive, Islamic and democratic republic.

We have reformed our institutions of governance and our economy. Democratic governance has been introduced at the grass root level. We are focusing on the uplift of the under privileged sections of our society - the poor, the women and the minorities. Women are being politically and economically empowered and protected against discrimination. Minorities have been politically mainstreamed. We also have unshackled the media. Having successfully put our economy on an upsurge; we are now embarked on second generation reforms to spread the benefits of growth to all our people.

One of our strategic aims is to utilize Pakistan's unique geo-strategic position to build trade, energy and communication corridors linking South Asia, West Asia, Central Asia and China. Regional integration will accelerate economic growth and

prosperity in our part of Asia, and even going beyond. Of course, Pakistan still faces daunting challenges, within and without. We are facing them boldly to build an environment of peace and stability in our region.

Madam President, Pakistan desires a peaceful environment in the region. We are being engaged in a peace process with India, aimed at confidence building and resolving issues, including the Jammu and Kashmir dispute that have been the source of tension and conflict between the two countries in the past. Improved relations, and the conducive international environment, have brought an acceptable solution of this longstanding dispute within reach. I am confident that my positive meeting with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Havana will help to carry forward the peace process, which is vital for the future of both countries and for peace in South Asia and beyond.

A stable security environment is also important for peace in our region. Pakistan has proposed the creation of a Strategic Restraint Regime in South Asia, encompassing minimum nuclear deterrence and a balance of conventional forces. We do not want to enter into an arms race. But we will do whatever is necessary to preserve the credibility of our minimum defensive deterrence level.

Pakistan has a legitimate requirement for nuclear power generation to meet the energy needs of our expanding economy and our expanding industry. As a responsible nuclear State, we will continue to seek nuclear technology for power generation under strict IAEA safeguards. We cannot accept discrimination in the nuclear field.

Madam President, Peace and stability in Afghanistan is in Pakistan's vital interest. It will assure tranquility on our Western frontiers. It will also enable Pakistan to realize its ambition of linking Central Asia and South Asia through Afghanistan and Pakistan. Afghanistan confronts complex security, political and economic challenges including a resurgent *Taliban* who also threaten Pakistan's efforts against extremism and terrorism. The common challenge imposes a joint responsibility on Pakistan, Afghanistan and the coalition forces.

Problems along the bordering regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan are compounded by the continuing presence in Pakistan of over three million Afghan refugees, some of them sympathetic to the *Taliban*. The incentives offered to the refugees for their voluntary return by the international community are minimal. A serious international commitment is required to facilitate their repatriation back to their country.

Madam President, The unfortunate history of our region has placed Pakistan in the frontline of the global campaign against terrorism. We cooperate daily with many countries including the United States and the United Kingdom. Our cooperation has pre-empted several terrorist plots, such as the one uncovered recently to blow up airliners flying from London. Over the past five years, *Al-Qaeda* has been significantly degraded as an organization in our region.

While we confront terrorism, our strategy must seek to eliminate this phenomenon comprehensively. We cannot do so unless we understand and address the root causes of terrorism today. How are terrorists able to find willing recruits even among educated youth in advanced and democratic societies? The reasons are very clear.

Across the Muslim world, old conflicts and new campaigns of military intervention have spawned a deep sense of desperation and injustice. Each new

battleground involving an Islamic state has served as a new breeding ground for extremists and terrorists. Indiscriminate bombings, civilian casualties, torture, human rights abuses, racial slurs and discrimination only add to the challenge of defeating terrorism.

In my view a two-pronged strategy, which I call "Enlightened Moderation", is required to address the situation. This strategy envisages that, apart from combating terrorism frontally, the international community must undertake resolute efforts to resolve the conflicts afflicting the Islamic world. Unless we end foreign occupation and suppression of Muslim peoples, terrorism and extremism will continue to find recruits among alienated Muslims in various parts of the world.

We also need to bridge, through dialogue and understanding, the growing divide between the Islamic and Western world. In particular, it is imperative to end racial and religious discrimination against Muslims and to prohibit the defamation of Islam. It is most disappointing to see personalities of high standing oblivious of Muslim sensitivities at these very critical moments.

Madam President, the greatest challenge to global security; to the campaign against terrorism; to the promotion of harmony among civilization; to the very credibility of the United Nations, is the cauldron of conflict that is the Middle East exemplified by the latest Israeli aggression against Lebanon. We hope that the resolution painstakingly brokered in the Security Council will lead to rapid and complete Israeli withdrawal and restoration of Lebanon's sovereignty over its entire territory.

The attack on Lebanon has far reaching implications for the Middle East. The ability and relevance of the moderate forces to bring about a just peace in the region has been put to a very severe test. The world must, however, still support them to address the festering problems of the region, comprehensively and fairly. It is time to end Israel's conflicts with all its neighbours. It is time, first and foremost, to end the tragedy of Palestine. There should be no doubt in anybody's mind that this is the core of the challenge, not only to tackle the Iraq and Afghanistan problems, but also to deal with the menace of terrorism and extremism at the root.

The confrontation over Iran's nuclear programme threatens further instability in this already inflamed region. We are encouraged by the Iran and 5+1 negotiations and believe that this issue can be resolved peacefully in a manner that accommodates the legitimate rights and interests of all the parties involved. Resort to coercion and, worse, the use of force, could lead to grave consequences in region and globally.

Madam President, The dynamic economic performance of several developing countries, especially in Asia, has transformed the world's geo-economic map. Yet, most developing countries find that international trade and financial structures are weighted against them. With the Doha Round in the doldrums; new modalities must be found to utilize the full potential of trade and development. Similarly, the international financial system should ensure a more equitable share of international liquidity and investment for the developing countries.

Madam President, unless the activities of the United Nations accommodate the concerns and priorities of its general membership, this Organization risks losing its global moral authority. The General Assembly should reassert its Charter responsibilities, while the Security Council should be reformed to make the activities of the Council more democratic, transparent, inclusive and accountable to the general

membership. The reform of the Security Council is of vital interest to every Member State and must therefore be adopted by consensus or the widest possible agreement.

This important session of the Assembly will elect the next Secretary General of the United Nations. Pakistan hopes that consensus will soon develop in the Security Council and this Assembly on a qualified candidate from Asia. Pakistan will extend its full support to the new Secretary-General, as we have to done to Mr. Kofi Annan, to build a United Nations that can advance the world decisively towards the noble vision of preventing the scourge of war and promoting better standards of life for all peoples of world in freedom.

I thank you, Madam President. ■

New York, 19 September 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/ForeignVisits/921200633055AMUNGA%20Speech.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 12

PRESIDENT'S INTERVIEW WITH CBS 60 MINUTES

Pakistan with its nuclear weapons and Islamic militancy is been called the most dangerous country in the world. So, after 9/11 how did Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage get President of Pakistan to cooperate with the war on terror?

President: He said be prepared to be bombed. Be prepared to go back to the Stone Age.

Steve: Richard Armitage said that you should be prepared to be bombed back into the Stone Age?

President: Yes

Steve: Were you insulted?

President: Yes, I thought it was a very rude remark. Most heads of State wait comfortably until they are at the age of retirement for sitting down and writing their memoir. But in the case of Pakistan

President Pervez Musharraf there are no guarantees to live long enough to have one. The book is appropriately called, "In the Line of Fire." It presented us the opportunity to sit down with Musharraf in Islamabad and to talk about things that he has never or rarely spoken about, including threats made by the US after 9/11 to enlist its support against *alQaeda* and the *Taliban* and Dr. A. Q. Khan; Pakistani hero who sold Pakistan's most sensitive nuclear secrets to Iran, Libya and North Korea.

Pakistan with its nuclear weapons and Islamic militancy is been called the most dangerous country in the world and one of the most dangerous places/ person in it is riding in the motorcade Pervez Musharraf. Twice suicide bombers have tried to blow it up, killing 14 people in the process. Both times, Musharraf barely escaped.

Steve: A half a dozen plots against your life?

President: Yes

Steve: Why is it that so many people are trying to kill you?

President: These people are extremists, terrorist, they believe in forcing their views on others. So, I am standing in their way frankly.

Steve: The suicide attack, I mean, you discovered that most of the plotters were from the Pakistani Air Force?

President: Yes

Steve: Did that disturb you?

President: It did. It's all the lower rank. They are susceptible to such extremist, terrorist tendencies and to be indoctrinated to do these things.

An alliance that was forged on Sept 11, 2001. At the time Pakistan was one of the few countries supporting the *Taliban* government in Afghanistan which harboured Osama-bin-Laden. US made it clear that the relationship would have to end and Musharraf says that the message was delivered by Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage in the most undiplomatically terms.

Steve: Richard Armitage said to your Director of Intelligence, right after September 11?

President: The Director of Intelligence told me that he said be prepared to be bombed, be prepared to go back to the stone age.

Steve: Richard Armitage said you should be prepared to be bombed back to Stone Age?

President: Yes

Steve: What was your reaction?

President: One has to react, one has to think and take action in the interest of the Nation and that's what I did.

Steve: Were you insulted?

President: Yeah, I thought this was a very rude remark. Armitage disputes the exact language. It does deny and that the message was so strong. Musharraf says he believes in the Director of Intelligence and says that he took it as a threat.

President: It was a threat certainly and I took it that US after having whatever happened to the World Trade Centre would be wound his country, would be wound the sole super power. And there would do anything to counter and to punish the perpetrator. Now if we stand in the way of that, we are going to suffer.

Musharraf would seize power in a military who barely two years earlier decided that Pakistan could not survive the US as an adversary and offered its cooperation. But another crisis was already brewing. There was intelligence report that highly sophisticated nuclear technology including centrifuge designs for enriching uranium is a critical step in producing the atomic bomb, were finding their way to the North Korea.

Steve: In April 2000, the senior officials confirm that the Clinton administration complain to you about transfer of technology and material to North Korea, do you

remember that?

President: I don't remember the days exactly, but yes these complains were coming and my reply used to be, "give me evidence, give me proof?" That proof would be presented without 2-3 years later and what Musharraf calls one of the most embarrassing moments in his career. During trip to the US it was asked by President Bush to meet with CIA Director Geroge Tennes on a very importance matter, where he was confronted with sensitive document that proved someone in Pakistan was selling nuclear secrets.

President: Yes it is. Passed me the papers, told me to have a look. And I saw that, it was centrifuges design with all its numbers and signatures of Pakistan. It was a most embarrassing moment.

Steve: What was it about the blue print that was so incriminating?

President: It's our centrifuges design. It's not supposed to be with CIA. That was a top secret.

Steve: And where did the CIA get it from?

President: I didn't ask him. Frankly.

Musharraf said that he took the documents and begin his own investigation, discovering that a highly sophisticated nuclear technology was not only cantered in North Korea but also to Iran.

The culprit was Dr. A. Q. Khan, the country's most famous scientist. For years Khan controls some of Pakistan's sensitive nuclear facility. And claim its credit as, "The Father of Atomic Bomb."

Steve: So, you found out that Dr. Khan had given technology, design, material to both North Korea and to Iran?

President: Yes

Steve: What exactly did he give them?

President: He gave them centrifuge designs, he gave them centrifuge parts and he gave them centrifuges.

To make matters worse the British and US intercepted shipment of nuclear supplies that Libya purchased from Pakistan in 2003. The world was demanding harsh punishment for A.Q. Khan. But Musharraf said that he believed the Pakistani people would not tolerate a long trial in the prison.

President: Today he is a hero of Pakistan because he has given us the Atom Bomb.

Steve: You arrested him?

President: Yes

Steve: On what charges?

President: He conveyed national secrets. I don't really remember the charge as such.

Steve: And then you pardoned him?

President: Yes, but kept him under house arrest.

Steve: House arrest?

Living a life in spender – correct?

President: He was comfortable, all right but now he doesn't even when speaking on telephone.

Steve: Why did he do it, do you think?

President: Ego, satisfaction and money. Musharraf describes Khan as a self-promoter, obsessed with fame and power alone who would observe personal control over key aspects of Pakistan's nuclear operations and was able to transfer top secret technology with no official help.

Steve: By your own account A. K. Khan shipped 2 dozens centrifuge to North Korea and 18 tons of material of centrifuges to Libya and Iran. How was all of this material moved without the government or the army finding it out?

President: First of all being the centrifuge or their parts, these are not huge elements. They can be put into your car and moved.

Steve: You think he moved 18 tons worth of material and in his car?

President: No, it was not done in once and 18 tons I don't know where was this one for Libya I think. Is that correct?

Steve: For Libya and Iran.

President: Yes, they must have been transported many times.

Steve: We've been though your nuclear facilities and not to know that they have been very heavily guarded and the military is all around them.

President: Yes, the military is.

Steve: It's a national security installation, how was all of this stuff gotten out, and sent to Iran and Libya?

President: Ok, what is the military meant for? That is to safeguard from the outside attack.

Steve: So, obviously your internal controls were a little weak?

President: No, they were not weak, they were very strong.

Steve: Except for the man who was running the operation?

President: He tells his security man that this vehicle has to move to the airport. Put it on C130 and send it?

Steve: I think because no one from the outside has talked to him or been allowed to talk to him, there are suspicions that perhaps that because the reason Dr. Khan, might say something about army participation in the sale of nuclear technology?

President: And that is absolutely not the case. The President or Mr George Tenet, I don't think, they are very satisfied and they have quite comfortable with whatever we want Pervez Musharraf has been praised by both the US and Britain for rounding up more than 600 *al-Qaeda* members, including some of its top leaders. But there is also frustration and disappointment.

Some of the suicide bombers who blew up the London subway a year ago in July had connections to the Pakistan and travelled there shortly before the attacks. So did some of those accused had been planning to blow 10th commercial airliners this summer.

Steve: Seven of the accused people involved in that plot are Pakistani. Does that bother or surprise you?

President: It disappoints me, yes. But at the same time, you can deny that also. They are not Pakistanis. They are born and bred in Britain and they are British.

Steve: Seven of them had endorsed for the citizenship?

President: Yes, that is what really disappoints me. As I said, I do get disappointed. They have linkages with Pakistan and also some of them may have travelled here. Yes, that is disappointing.

Steve: I mean the British terrorists, seem to feel it necessary to have come to Pakistan and talk to somebody to get their blessing?

President: This is because of what has happened for twenty-six years. So, this place becomes a boiling pot.

He is talking about the *Mujahideen*. The Islamic warriors that Pakistan, the US and Saudi Arabia recruited, armed and sent of to Afghanistan in 1979 to drive out the Russian infidels. Musharraf says that they and their children are still in the cities like Peshawar and in the no-men's land along the Afghanistan's border.

A Frankenstein Monster that now goes by the name of *al-Qaeda* and the *Taliban* These recruiting tapes, which show young man being trained to make IEDs are being edited and sold in Pakistan. This man is believed to have passed on explosive training to some of the London Subway bombers.

The skills and tactics once used against the Soviets are now being employed in Afghanistan against American and NATO convoys.

Steve: Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai believes Musharraf is complicit. President Karzai has complained for long time that the *Taliban* have been getting help from inside Pakistan. Does that point end?

President: Yes indeed, people could be coming here. People could be training and going back; on their own and we will act against them and we are trying to do our best. After years of Pakistan's support for the *Taliban* open and covert, Musharraf now says in its radical brand of Islamic fundamentalism represent a greater threat than a weaker *al-Qaeda*

President: It's a totally shifter environment.

Steve: We believe that the *Taliban* must be defeated?

President: Absolutely, 100% It's not a popular notion with most Pakistanis. But then Musharraf knows that his future is not likely to be decided by popular opinion. He carries a gun or makes sure there is always one nearby. His immediate predecessors have been exiled in prison or died under mysterious circumstances, which a very strong motivation to survive. ■

USA, 23 September 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesPressRoom/Interviews/1017200652100AMCBS60minutes.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 13

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE PAKISTANI COMMUNITY IN USA

The Ambassador and my dear country-men, it is indeed an extreme privilege for me to be here with you sharing this occasion and able to talk to you.

I am talking to the people who are all doing well and I wish you success and happiness and more success in this country you live in.

First of all, it is heartening that even if we come overseas, we are politically divided. It is very painful. Because there is not many countries which are divided on political basis. Secondly, saying not well for the country. I don't know whether other countries do that or not. But we should not do this. We should not have political division. Second advice of mine is that we should think of our country. We must project our good and counter the bad against Pakistan. Also I want to say that we should cover the bad, if some-thing right is happening and wrong things were said. The true patriotism is that when we went overseas then we should cover Pakistan fully, whereas in our own country you can criticize. You should say good things about Pakistan. And counter those elements who are saying bad things against Pakistan. In particular, the Pakistanis who are not saying well for Pakistan. We should be proud of our country. There should be positive and think good for the country, feeling good about the country.

By the grace of God, Pakistan is doing well and Pakistan is progressing, Pakistan has the status. World knows what are the powers of Pakistan. I know there were some weaknesses within the country because if some country has the internal weakness then its projection becomes hard. Internally we are not weak now. So we should be proud of the country and should project our country.

We should be a peaceful citizen. Let us absorb ourselves part of the community which we have adapted. That doesn't mean that we leave our culture and traditions. We should meet with the local people and should not think by meeting those people, we will become weak and our culture will finish, this is sign of weakness. That we don't have faith in ourselves. If we have faith let convert others to our thinking. We should not have any confusion in that. We should assimilate and this is your adapted country and you should be peaceful citizen of the country and there should be no room for extremism.

Now I will tell you about Pakistan, which you might want to listen. First of all I will tell you about the economy. Without money, no education, no health, no development is possible. Therefore the basis of the country is the economy. I will not

go into the details but I want to tell that all macro-economic indicators of Pakistan are positive.

Our GDP has become doubled with the grace of God. It was 62 billion US dollars in the past now its 135 billion dollars. This is very big thing. Second important thing is that our per capita income has become doubled. World recognizes that our country have moved from low income category to middle income category countries. This is very good. Our exports have been increase by 125%. Remittances have been increased from one billion to 4.6 billion US dollars. It has increased four times. The tax revenue has increased 150 % over the five years from about Rs. 300 billion to Rs. 710 billion. And we have not increased the taxes but we have increased the collection base and resultantly the PSDP which have been less than Rs. 100 billion is now Rs.415 billion. It has increased 4 ½ times and now we have enough funds to invest in any field. These are the basic economic factors due to which now we have much more to spend for maneuver and now we want to do whether it is a development project or social sector. What-ever it is we have lot of money for it. And *Inshallah* we will now carry on development of Pakistan.

Now my concern for stabilizing the economy for the future is in three major areas. To reduce poverty and unemployment. It is a good thing to listen that poverty has already reduced from 34% to 24.3%. It was not an easy task to reduce it by 10%. I want to transmit the economic gains to the people, firstly poverty alleviation, unemployment control and inflation control. Secondly the quality of life is to improve i-e quality of life through electricity, gas and safe drinking water to the people by December 2007. We will try to provide electricity to every village even down to ten houses by Dec 2007. In the past ten years from 88-99 only 1100-1200 villages were being electrified but now in the last year 13000 villages were electrified and we will electrify all villages. And besides we are making arrangements for gas and safe drinking water. We are installing filtration plants. The plan is to put 28000 filtration plants down to every village having 100 houses so that safe drinking water is provided and water related diseases could be ended. This is the other quality of life improvement. And this project is also on and I monitor it. And by December 2007 we want to reach minimum, at least till union council and 6500 filtration plants will be installed and there are 28000 villages, which we have to reach out. We are also involving private sector and if not by Dec 2007 then by Dec 2008 we will reach out to these villages with safe drinking water.

Last is quality of Human Resource, we are keenly observing our education and health. We want to improve that because this is in very bad shape. In the past 10 years one trillion rupees have been spent on development and except M2 motorway nobody can name any big project. That was the condition, and now what we are doing- Gawadar port in Rs.25 billion, Coastal Highway has also completed in Rs.15 billion, and I still have to inaugurate Meerani Dam, Subukzai Dam in Balochistan. Both the dams are ready and I just have to inaugurate them and we are increasing the capacity of Mangla Dam due to it could store 30 million acres more water. There are many more projects like this, which include road projects, canal projects, Thal Canal, Kachi Canal, a water project for Karachi so we are moving forward. I can name 20 major or mega projects which are on line and nearing completion. So this will bring real revolutionary change in development. Railway is dualising the track from Karachi to Peshawar. They are modernizing the existing track so that speedy trains can move

on it at 140 km/hr. We are doing every-thing to facilitate and improve the nation, to develop it. The obstacle, which we must remember is extremism and terrorism, unfortunately this is the obstacle in the way. Our national fabric has been destroyed in last 27 years. Unfortunately the extremists who are militants have come forward who are destroying, whatever we want to do i.e. a tolerant, dynamic and progressive society but these extremists are creating hindrances in it. So all moderates have to rise and recounted and counter this tendency of extremism and terrorism from within our society. I also wanted to brief you about Balochistan incident. Every-body is saying its own. I just want to say that this is not the issue of Balochistan, it's neither a Baloch issue nor my personal issue, and it is Pakistan's issue. Has Pakistan to be a banana republic or a strong unified republic whose Government should have writ. This is our choice. Now here is the situation, that person was the cruelest dictator to his own people and he had been challenging Government's writ for the last 30 years. How do you deal with such a man? He had displaced Kalpers and Masooris which are the sub-tribe of Bugties them selves. They are residing in Sindh and Punjab for the last 10 years. He had personal jails and blackmailed Government. He attacked Sui plant, railway tracks, gas pipe lines, power stations , killed Chinese, they threatened to not let pass the gas pipeline from Iran , not allowing the oil & gas exploration, what do you do in this situation. I could have leave the situation as it is but this is not the question. The question is our Pakistan. And the people who say that there is lack of facilities for Balochistan but today the budget for development of Balochistan is far bigger than even Punjab. Rs.135 billion are being spent on it. All mega development projects are being constructed in Balochistan, Coastal highway, Gawadar Port, Meerani Dam, Subukzai Dam, and a road from Gawadar to Rato Dero linking it with Indus Highway, Quetta's water scheme, a railway line from Gawadar to Kandahar. We have all development projects in Baluchistan. We have given Rs.10 Crore to each district of Balochistan. Rs.1.5 billion to Kohlo, special development fund to Dera Bugti. Because I feel that they were suffering so there is no reason to say that there is sense of deprivation in Balochistan. It existed in past. That is all that I have to say. Let me assure you that Pakistan is on the rise, if we sustained the economy, which we will, we will keep rising and developing. We have to control extremism and terrorism. We have to remove all these bad activities, irritants or obstacles in the way of development. We must do that and we will do that very boldly and courageously. We need your support. I need your support and we will keep moving forward. I would end by asking you to feel proud of your nation, feel happy that your nation is doing well. Always remember your roots, remember that where you came from.

Thank you

Pakistan *Zindaabad*■

Washington, 24 September 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/ForeignVisits/9282006125929AMPakistaniCommunity.pdf>>

DOCUMENT No 14**PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
(BOOK LAUNCHING)**

Mr. Robert Rubin, Mr. Richard Haass, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, this is indeed my pleasure and an honour to have been given this opportunity to address all of you about my book and launch my book here. I would like to express my gratitude to the Council on Foreign Relations for making this possible.

I have been on the job of writing this book over the last over two years. Initially I thought this to be a colossal task. I really wondered whether I would ever be able to complete it. And also because this task was rendered extremely difficult, I was not at all maintaining any daily journal or record of what I was doing. And every-day there were events. Every-day there was a busy day. And, as they say, there was never a dull moment in my life, especially beyond '99.

But I was also, other than not maintaining any diary, personal diary, I had official obligations; and, therefore, I didn't have much time to devote to writing this book. So, therefore, I really wondered how I would be able to undertake this task, which many people were advising me and most of the people, in fact, were against my writing this book at this moment. But, like a good military leader, I took the decision against major part of their advice, maximum advice, and I went in favour of writing at this moment. And I'll tell you why.

I started writing—they say a journey of a thousand miles always start with the first step. And then one has to persevere I took that first step, and I'm very proud of the fact that I have come to the end of the road. I am proud of the fact that today is the launching ceremony of this book, which I started so many years back. I had to persevere, and I did. And therefore I am now here standing in front of you to introduce my book to you.

I would now like to give you a glimpse of what this book is all about. Ladies and gentlemen, my autobiography is a window into contemporary Pakistan and my personal role in shaping it. I have lived a passionate life, perhaps impetuously in my early years, but always focused on self-improvement and the betterment of my country.

I have been chastised by associates for being forthright and overly candid, and this is reflected, I think, even in my writing style. I have not shied away from treating sensitive issues—in some cases extremely sensitive issues—circumscribed only by the interests of national and international security. But I kept that I think to a minimum.

I decided to write my autobiography after my place on the world stage I thought evoked a curiosity about me and the country I lead, Pakistan. I want to tell my story and that of one of the world's most important Muslim states. It is a nation of many parts: rural and urban, rich and poor, highly educated and illiterate. It is a nation of 160 million people with several different languages, where moderation collides with fanatical extremism and where demilitarising squares off against the conservative traditional culture.

Governing Pakistan was labelled by some as one of the most difficult jobs in the world. September 11, 2001, multiplied these trials many times over, amplifying domestic issues and reshaping our international relations at a time when Pakistan was at the centre of a global storm. I want the world to know the truth.

My life and my career had prepared me well for the challenges that lay ahead. But I knew little about governing a state or running an economy. I focused on sketching a national reform agenda and gathered a credible group of professionals to guide me towards an economic turnaround, first of all. Through a process of brutally and very honestly confronting reality and facts on ground, we were able to come up with very home-grown solutions to address the malaise that the economy of Pakistan faced.

Having put the economy on an upsurge now, my undivided attention is focused on transferring the macroeconomic gains to the people of Pakistan. This involves poverty alleviation, job creation, improving the quality of life of ordinary people, the provision of basic utilities such as safe drinking water, electricity and gas, and uplifting the quality of our human resource through health and education.

I am a strong believer in the essence of democracy in the form of freedom of thought, information and action, and not just the facade of democracy through elections. For too long our so-called democratic governments have been rife with corruption and have been trampling on civil liberties. It may be ironic that I am being a soldier and a man in uniform am saying all this, but these are what I believe to be facts—were the facts in Pakistan which needed to be corrected.

My endeavour is to put democracy on a sustainable path relevant to Pakistan's environment and the ethos of the people of Pakistan. Elections were held on time in accordance with the Supreme Court's verdict, and power to govern handed over to a civilian elected government. We laid the seeds of grassroots democracy through devolution of power, through local government, empowering local mayors to focus on citizens' needs, empowering the marginalized segments of society—that is, the poor, the women, and the minorities—has been my single-minded focus. The poor for the first time have been empowered through political representation at the local government level. Women in particular had been hugely empowered through induction at every pillar of government. Women are also being economically strengthened through equally opportunity and being provided space in society through mainstreaming them into the national fabric. I find strength in this direction, in the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah's vision.

On 11 August 1947, the founder of Pakistan clearly enunciated, and I quote, "You are free. You are free to go to your temples. You are free to go to your mosques, or to 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."

Regarding women's emancipation, the founder of Pakistan had categorically said, and I quote again: "Tell your girls I'm a progressive Muslim leader. I therefore take my sister along with me to backward areas like Balochistan and North-West Frontier Province. And she also attends the sessions of All India Muslim League and other public meetings. Pakistan will be a progressive country in the building of which women will be seen working shoulder to shoulder with men in every department of life," unquote.

Ladies and gentlemen, I've done something quite unprecedented in the history of Pakistan. I have treaded on a path, which no leader had previously dared to go. I have actually liberated the media. From one state owned and operated TV channel in 1999, today there are 43 privately owned and independently operated TV channels, and there are more in the pipeline. Multiple radio stations have also emerged. Civil discourse has taken a quantum leap through open discussion on the airwaves on issues related to state and society. This evolutionary process was certainly not easy—all that I've said—the going was extremely difficult. But I remained steadfast in my resolve throughout what were very troubling times for our country and the region at large. 9/11 changed the world, and in particular cast its shadow on

Pakistan. From being the front-line state in the war against communism 20 years ago, we were once again a front-line state—this time in the war against terrorism.

Al Qaeda shifted base from Afghanistan to Pakistan, and we had to fight them not only in our cities but also in the mountains of our tribal agencies. We broke the *Al Qaeda* network's back in Pakistan, and they now remain only a small disparate group operating in our tribal agencies—in a few of our tribal agencies. The cities have been cleared, but the fight still continues in the mountains. We have identified the problem of terrorism and extremism in all its dimensions, and are combating it through a comprehensive all-encompassing strategy. As if all this was not enough, I was hit with a nuclear proliferation scandal of epic proportion. The misdeeds of an individual created an enormous distraction and threatened to undo what I was trying to achieve in our rural areas.

I walked a very tight rope in balancing domestic perceptions and satisfying international concerns. There is much work that remains to be done, and consolidating our progressive reform efforts will be work enough for any government. But we are faced with several international crises as well.

Our nation plays a key role in the evolving story of the 21st century. What happens in Pakistan—socially, politically and economically - in the coming years will not only help decide the outcome of the global war on terror, but will also shape what the future will look like for both Islam and the West. It is a future I am determined to see peaceful and prosperous—not just for Pakistan, but for the entire international community. That vision is only possible if the Muslim world and the West, led by the United States, strive together towards resolving issues that confront us today.

In my five years at the helm of Pakistan, I have met all the world's important leaders. These encounters have refined my sense of the world's geo-strategic reality and crystallized my views and understandings of key international issues.

One practical result of these meeting is what I call a strategy of enlightened moderation, which I hope will help usher a new age of world harmony. It is a two-pronged plan. In the first part, the Muslim world must reject extremism and work towards social and economic reform. The second part requires that the West and the United States in particular, resolve political disputes in the Muslim world justly. The path of enlightened moderation was unanimously endorsed by the Organization of Islamic Conference and captured the rest of the world's imagination. With it I successfully managed to put Pakistan on the world stage with an image befitting its true nature as I see it. I have a vision for my country. This vision has all the human resources and the potential to become formed into a progressive moderate, prosperous Islamic state and thrive.

Pakistan, with its close relations with the entire spectrum of the Muslim nations, and its historical cordial relations with the West, is an ideal bridge to bring harmony within the Muslim world and between the West and the Muslim world.

The geo-strategic location of Pakistan at the centre of the Middle East, Central Asia, western China and South Asia makes the country an ideal hub for facilitating—create energy corridor between these regions.

I strongly believe Pakistan can serve as a model for demilitarising emancipation of the Muslim world, and also in making the world at large a better and safer place to live in for our future generations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in completing this book, the feedback—the feedback from my wife Sehba, my son Bilal, my relatives Huma and Hidayat Chishti, Aftab and Shabnum Siddique were most helpful in the articulation of my thoughts. My personal thanks are also due to Humayon Ghauhar and Bruce Nichols for their editing contributions, and also to Chris Calhoun, my agent who guided me and advised me all through very effectively.

Most of all, I would be remiss if I did not express my very special gratitude to my aide, Brigadier Asim Bajwa for his painstaking and laborious efforts of both recording my thoughts and then transcribing them. Without his efficiency and devotion to me, the arduous task of completing the book would have been difficult to achieve.

My autobiography is my contribution to the story of our era. It is also of course my own story, a life where I look back and see the contours of an eventful, turbulent past with both luck and destiny playing very leading roles.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, by launching my book I dedicate this book to the people of Pakistan, those who toil, sacrifice and pray for their country and wait patiently for a better future. They deserve a commitment, selfless leadership which can help them realize their very boundless potentials.

And also to my mother, whose unwavering faith in me has been the driving force in my life. Her unconditional love and prayers remain my unlimited source of strength. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

I'm open to any questions.

Q: In your book you, if I understood it correctly, say that in the long run the answer to terrorism is to win the minds and hearts of the Muslim world, especially the poor in the Muslim world. So my question is how you feel the situation stands in that respect as compared to, say, five years ago, and what you think it's likely to be like five years from now?

President: I think the situation is getting more complicated, because of more fronts being open and because I feel we are only using the instrument of the military to combat terrorism, while terrorism in its entire complexity means terrorism and extremism. Extremism is the force which spawns terrorism. That needs a different strategy and a different understanding.

And when you talk of terrorism you are dealing with *Al Qaeda*. But now *Taliban* is another element, which has sprung up. And when we are talking about *Taliban*, there is another element called *Talibanisation*, which is a very obscurantist thought in which they want to impose on a progressive society. So we need to in its entire complexity understand the entire complexity of terrorism—extremism, *Al Qaeda*, *Taliban*, *Talibanisation* and then we need to work out, see the environment in the

world, in the region, in the respective countries, and address the core issues through a strategy, through a well thought out strategy, and then go in for the implementation of that strategy.

And within that, may I also say that when we talk of military, military will achieve only two things. One is buy time and the other is to create an environment. That is military's job. Military does not give you the ultimate solution. So why I said that it has complicated more: because other than use of military, till now, we haven't really pictured out the entire strategy, getting to the root of what are the issues, why is there terrorism, why the extremism is, and how to combat it in a strategic short- term and long-term perspective. And while we open fronts like Iraq and now Lebanon we complicate the issue more.

Q: Could I ask you a related question, Mr. President?

President: Yes, please.

Q: In your book you say, "I never favoured the invasion of Iraq, because I feared it would exacerbate extremism. The world is not a safer place because of the war in Iraq; the world has become far more dangerous." Without regard to the merits of having gone in, or whatever has happened since then, we are where we are right now. What do you think should be done going forward with respect to Iraq?

President: I think, Iraq, the root of all of them—whether Iraq or Afghanistan or Lebanon lies in Palestine. I think we should strike at solving Palestine first. That will create effect everywhere else, including on the whole of terrorism and extremism. It will create effect. And then we come on to other countries.

Now, if you're especially talking of Iraq, I would say if you are dealing with Iraq or Lebanon, we are putting the cart before the horse. Things will keep happening until we solve the original case of Palestine, which happens to be the core which is driving people to extremism and terrorism, which are driving people to these suicide bombs, which is even driving people to these subway bombings in London—or anywhere in the world. We need to get to the core, and that is Palestine.

In Iraq, obviously, it's quite clear it's more—the issue is difficult because of the division, polarization of three segments of the society; that is, the Shi'a, the Sunnis and the Kurds. Now, either Iraq can be held together through an autocratic system, or we need to have a proper democratic system, which is equally represented. In this case I would say we need to—we are going on the right path, but we need to hand over the security duties more and more to the Iraqi forces, reducing the visibility of foreign forces gradually in exchange for putting the Iraqi forces up; and also go on the political path, whatever we are doing. This is the best that one can do at the moment.

Q: It seems to me that I completely agree with you that there's a lot that needs to be done by other countries in order to help you do, Mr. President, what you're doing. Specifically what can the current American government and President Bush and his administration do differently? And what is it that they're currently doing that is not helpful to your cause?

President: As far as we are concerned, on a bilateral basis all that we are doing is going very well. We have excellent relations at the government level. However, I would say at the people level there is a problem. The perception of people of Pakistan, the man

in the street, has been affected adversely because of happening between 1989 and 9/11—for 12 years. While we were strategic partners for 42 years, from '47 to '89; and we were the ones who were in the lead role to defeat communism, to end the Cold War, in the reunification of Germany. It was our victory in Afghanistan which was spearheaded by Pakistan which led to all that.

But then, between '89 and 2001, from the most allied ally of the United States we became the most sanctioned ally of the United States for 12 years. And that is what changed the perception of the people—the man in the street—of Pakistan. We need to recover that. We need to bring the perception of the people of Pakistan for the United States at the same pre-'89 level. Now, that means effort, and that—first of all, efforts again at solving disputes. My belief is that it is these disputes, the political disputes around the world, especially Palestine, or in our case even Kashmir, and in Afghanistan, and in Iraq, and in Lebanon, which will create its impact on the man on the street. And also with bilateral issues being solved, like the F-16 issue, for example, which was in the minds of every man in the street that we were wronged—we were terribly wronged—where we had paid for the F-16 and our money was stopped and the aircraft were not delivered, et cetera. These are in the minds of the people. These will change gradually. It will take time.

But events like Lebanon, which are taking place now, further takes back the process of recovery of the thought process in the common man. So I think whatever we are doing, we are building long-term broad-based relationships, and this will ultimately lead to gradual improvement at the people's level also.

Q: If you could solve the Palestine problem—and how you solve that might be interesting to have you comment on—though you do address it here to some extent—would you not still have conflict between Sunnis and Shi'ites?

President: Sunnis and Shi'as? Yes, there has been conflict. But that has not really been so disturbing. If you see the period before 1979, there was not much of a problem at all even between Sunnis and Shi'as. These things got raised after I would say even the Iranian revolution played a part in making these differences a little bit more coming up to the front. But I think these are areas, which can be tackled. They are not such issues, which cannot be tackled.

On the issue of Muslims, the depravation or sense of alienation of Muslims, the Shi'as, the Sunnis, they're all together on that. They have common views. So I think the core issue is these political disputes and the sense of alienation and the sense of anger that the Muslim world is suffering, irrespective of Shi'a or Sunni. The Shi'a-Sunni conflict can be managed. It will improve with more education, with time.

Q: Mr. President, if you deal with the tribes with Waziristan doesn't work, and the *Taliban* continues to be resurgent there, would you send troops back to that area? And, if you wouldn't, would you be surprised if the U.S. did?

And, secondly, President Karzai has complained that he gave your government phone numbers and GPS positioning of *Taliban* leaders in Pakistan and you didn't act. Can you tell us what happened there and why there was no action?

President: These are interesting misperceptions. First of all, ma'am, who has told you that the soldiers—not one soldier has been moved out. So what do you mean by bringing them back? They are already there.

There is no change in the ground military situation—not one soldier has moved out. We are in position. We have reached an agreement through a grand jirga, which means an assembly of elders, assembly of tribal elders. We have reached an agreement with them. And this agreement basically is to counter the *Taliban*—exactly to counter *Taliban* and *Talibanisation*.

Al Qaeda is dangerous to the world, because they could carry out terror activities elsewhere. But from Afghanistan and Pakistan's point of view, it is the *Taliban* who are more dangerous, because *Taliban* are from the people. They are the same people who were in *Taliban* who raised in 1995—they came into permanence. And they took over 90 percent of Afghanistan in one or one and a half years. And then they ruled Afghanistan, 90 percent of Afghanistan, for six years till 9/11. These are the same people. They are not recognizable. Only the locals can recognize them. So we have reached an agreement, which I think is very practical which has seeds of success, because we will use the people to identify the *Taliban*.

Now, the important thing today—the most dangerous thing today that we—maybe I'm digressing a little from the question, but I thought this was a very important question for people to understand—the most dangerous thing that is happening in that region today, and it would be disastrous if the local ethnic majority—that is, the Pashtun—were to join the *Taliban* and convert these *Taliban* actions into a people's movement against foreign occupations, like whatever happened against the Soviets.

So, therefore, at this moment it is very important to differentiate between Pashtun and the *Taliban*. All Pashtun certainly are not *Taliban*, but our folly is if we start treating them as if they are all *Taliban*. That will push everyone into *Taliban's* lap. So, therefore, the idea of this whole treaty is get the people away from the *Taliban* and let them lead on to conquer the *Taliban* with all the force of the *Taliban*, the Frontier Corps, the constabulary, the levies all behind them. That was the idea.

Now, it has seeds of success, and it has—because if we succeed, I would say it should even be copied as maybe even across the border in Afghanistan. This is the only way forward. Otherwise, if we carry on just using the military and not political and administrative and reconstruction action, we may fail there.

Now, if we fail—your question was if we fail will we bring the military back. The military is already there, so there is no change at all. We will start the same things that we were doing all along. So there is no stepping back. We have not gone back at all.

And then you ask the second part of your question about President Karzai, about giving the numbers. Intelligence, to be effective, should be immediate. Nobody—no target sits there waiting for your three months, "Come and catch me." If you give telephone numbers, which are three to six months old, this becomes ridiculous. And this is exactly what happened. He gave these numbers to me when he came with his intelligence boss also sitting on a presidential visit. And he handed over this to me. Right in front of him I actually was extremely rude to his intelligence boss. I said, "Is this your sense of intelligence that you were waiting for a presidential visit to hand over this file of numbers to me?" "That you couldn't pick up the telephone and

tell me there is this man on this number, and we get word of it?" Like what happened in London or what happened just now when they've seen some people and they got some telephone numbers which had links in Pakistan and a name—they immediately told our intelligence and we captured the man in four days. Now, if you give numbers do you know that on those numbers and those addresses we took the—(inaudible)—for your information, because I knew it was going to be all-wrong. And most of them were absolutely nonsense. There was nobody there or there were peaceful people there. And we knew it because it made quite a joke of whatever those files was—there were houses which we had already raided and they were locked and sealed. It was unfortunate that there is this kind of bad mouthing that goes on against Pakistan.

The reality of the issue is we must understand at the moment the danger that we face from *Taliban*. It is unfortunate that President Karzai thinks that all this is happening from Pakistan. If we carry on being wrong in our assessments of the situation, our actions will fail. *Taliban* were an entity of Afghanistan in 1995. When they took over 90 percent of Afghanistan, they were not people from Pakistan. It is the same *Taliban*—no difference—Mullah Omar and his command echelon. Mullah Omar has never come to Pakistan in his life after '95. He was supposed to have come here on some matters when he was a young boy. Why would he be in Pakistan, his entire command echelon of *Taliban*, as they were in '95 onwards for six, seven, eight years? They fought everyone, fought you, and fought the United States. They are the same people in the southern region in Kandahar. There is support from our side and therefore we need to counter the *Taliban* from our side who go to support them. But everything is lying on our side go wrong and we will end up with the whole people—the Pashtun as a group rising.

May I also, now that he has said this, so let me also open out a little and give facts. Pashtun are the—50 to 60 percent of Afghanistan is Pashtun. In the history of Afghanistan, Pashtun have always ruled Afghanistan. Today, what is the situation? Since 9/11, for five years now, there is military action continuing for six years now. All development has taken place in the northern areas and the western areas that should be done. But here there is only military action and bombing. All *Taliban*, everyone being treated equally, and this is being done everywhere.

Now, if you land in Kabul, you see a life-size portrait of Ahmad Shah Massoud. Ahmad Shah Massoud is a Panjsheri. He's a Tajik—total percentage of Tajiks is 5 percent—Panjsheris may be 2 percent—I don't even know that.

President: But Panjsheris—Tajiks are also in Iraq. So, okay, this will be about 7 or 8 percent, 9 percent. Okay. Now, this—if you go to the roundabouts, again Ahmad Shah Massoud, you go to the offices, again Ahmad Shah Massoud. Now, how do the—and Ahmad Shah Massoud has been a—(inaudible)—Pashtun. So what is happening now, ground reality? How do the Pashtuns, the 50, 60 percent of the people and in the Ministry of Defense, in their foreign office—sorry, in the Ministry of Interior and Intelligence—if 50 percent people are Panjsheri, now let's see what is happening. Now let us see the *Taliban* emerging and who will support that? How will the Pashtun, the 50 percent population of Afghanistan, feeling about it?

So we must take stock of the situation. We must take immediate action to the people, the Pashtuns, non-*Taliban* Pashtuns who are there who may be in majority—certainly in Afghanistan they are certainly a very big majority. Don't let them join the *Taliban* and fight a people's war against you. This must be understood, and as soon as

President Karzai understands his own country's environment the easier it will be for him. We don't have a problem.

Q: My question, sir, has to do with Kashmir, which you refer to in passing. You indicated a preference for negotiated settlement with India. Where do you see that settlement coming? Do you see Kashmir as an independent state, part of which we are controlling, part of which India is controlling, part of which China is controlling? What do you see that future to be, especially because there is a worry in this country about a possible nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan over Kashmir? Thank you.

President: I think let's not complicate an already complicated situation, part of which China is also holding. I think we will lend ourselves up into a non-negotiable and non-soluble problem. I think it's between India and Pakistan.

Now, here I feel—I have given many ideas, and I personally think that we need to talk of demilitarising. We need to talk of giving self-governance to the people of Kashmir. And then we need to have an overall joint management body overseeing both sides of the line of control. We need to—this I feel the solution I've been giving is heretofore two elements which either side feel to be non-negotiable—like India thinks there can be no redrawing of boundaries. Pakistan feels there can be no solution based on the present line of control. We will not accept the present line of control as permanent. Therefore the solution lies, we thought, in making the line of control irrelevant. If we could have a mechanism which makes the line of control irrelevant, gives governance to the people, reduce or move out the military or garrison them at least in a place—that is the ultimate solution. And I think, having said that, one is open to any kind of idea. This is not a final idea. We have had—I have had a very good discussion with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. The joint statement that we have issued is very positive. It is a way forward. We have discussed Kashmir, and we have laid down in that joint statement that we need to reduce the divergences and reinforce the convergences and move forward on Kashmir, and also solve Siachen and Sir Creek. So I think with a positive attitude that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has certainly, and I believe he's a sincere person. I have faith and trust him. We should be able to move forward.

Q: Mr. President, the big challenge that's facing Muslim and Arab countries is job creation. In Pakistan, what are you doing about economic reform and what steps are being taken to create jobs? Because you have a young population and they need to have a higher standard of living?

President: Yes, indeed. I think that has been my focus for six, seven years now. We, first of all—we got onto the whole problem, having been almost declared a failed state and a defaulted state, we had to set the economy right, and we have set the economy right. Today our GDP growth over the last four years is 7 percent. Our GDP has doubled. Our per capita income has more than doubled. Today we are no more in the low-income category countries; we are in the middle-income category countries. And therefore -and this has - other than this, our industry, our exports have risen by 135 percent over the last four or five years. Our industry has been performing in double figures throughout this period, as a result of which today our industry - all our industries are running at 100 percent capacity. New industries are coming up.

We look at poverty and unemployment in three areas. We have an agrarian society, and we looked at agriculture, and we went for water projects, for huge intensification and area intensification, bringing more area under irrigation. And all our water projects are oriented towards that. We are trying to bring about a white revolution in Pakistan, because Pakistan is the fifth largest milk producer in the world. That is going on now. And, Nestle, by the way, is playing a leading role. We are also going for food and food processing. This will create jobs and increase the earnings in the rural areas.

In urban areas we went for educated unemployed, and we thought telecommunications and information technology is the source of getting them jobs fast. And we went strongly to promote these. Today I am very proud to say our success is a phenomenon. In the telecommunications sector, our teledensity was 2.9 percent. Today it is nearing 20 percent. The mobile telephones in Pakistan three years back was 600,000 only. With our giving two licenses to Telenor and Warid today sir our mobile telephones from 600,000 to 40 million mobile telephones in Pakistan. Nokia thinks that we will be the second largest Nokia market in the world.

In information technology we thought we should train manpower and create an IT environment. We see India doing very well—a multi billion dollar industry—and we are nowhere. We saw the malaise and we addressed it. We developed Internet connectivity, which was only 40 cities of Pakistan; today 2,000 towns of Pakistan are connected by Internet. We gave fiber optics connectivity. Only 50 cities were connected. Today over 1,000 cities are connected by fiber optics. We reduced the bandwidth costs. It was \$86,000 for two megabytes. Today it is only \$1,400. This turned the situation and our IT business is doing tremendously well. This is for the educated unemployed.

For the uneducated unemployed we went for industry, for labour, and building and construction. Today there is a building and construction boom in Pakistan because of the facilitation that the government did. So we have created a tremendous amount of jobs. Poverty has reduced from 34 percent today to 24.3 percent. We are now, with the economic gains, our priorities are basically what I am concentrating on, and I am supporting the government and backing the government up. Number one, poverty alleviation and unemployment control; number two, improve the quality of life of people by giving gas, electricity and safe drinking water; and, number three, improve human resource quality through health and education. So we are going in a big way towards human resource development, job creation and poverty reduction.

Thank you,
Thank You Mr. President ■

Washington, 25 September 2006

<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/ForeignVisits/10162006115043PMfr_council_addr.pdf>

DOCUMENT NO 15**PRESIDENT'S INTERVIEW TO CNN'S THE SITUATION ROOM**

Thank you Mr President for coming in.

Q: President Bush said we will take strong action against Osama-Bin-Laden. A very blunt comment irrespective of your sobriety, what are your comments, "Is Osama in Pakistan?"

A: Well, I have been giving my comments that this is sensitive area and our decision is that we operate on our side of the area and border and US forces will operate on the other side. Now having said that we are hunting Osama and Zawahiri together, we are on the hunt. We are looking for them. When we locate them, we have to take effective action to do away with them.

Q: What would be wrong if America trying to capture or kill Osama Bin Laden and Aimen Al Zawahiri the *Al Qaeda's* number two in Pakistan?

A: It is a very sensitive issue. We should not be discussing how and who is to deliver the blow. But whenever we locate, him we have to deal with him. And lets not getting into sensitivities and who and how it will be done.

Q: But you discussed so many sensitive issues in your book, I am trying to understand if United States use certain tactical means, military means, special operation forces to get the job done. So, why not US do that?

A: I can assure you that all the weapons that you are talking of are available and we use them and we use them effectively whenever we locate *Al Qaeda* on our side of border and let it remain at that we will use anything that will be required to deal with the situation.

Q: Even there is some threat against you within your own military and intelligence; you have been arrested. So, presumably there is threat for you?

A: No, that happened so many years back. That happened at the very low level and in a force that is about 600,000 if you confine Army, Navy, Air Force. If there are five or six individuals who have done that then, it's not such an alarming issue and that too at the lower rank. No officer was involved. The armed forces of Pakistan are commanded by officers. Actions are taken by officers. So, these were some people who got affected by whatever was happening around and these were individual act of terrorism.

Q: "The key to resurgent *Taliban* can be summarized in one word: Pakistan. The Pakistani government has proved unwilling or incapable (or both) of calming down on the religious militia, even though the headquarters of the *Taliban* and its key allies are in Pakistan." By Peter Berger September 10 Washington Post.

A: Now this shows absolutely ignorance of reality on ground, this is not the reality. *Taliban* were created in 1995 in Afghanistan. They took over the whole of Afghanistan

about 90%. Who were they? Were they from Pakistan? It is the same Mullah Omar, same Kotri, same people who are doing this.

Q: Your people were suggesting, Mr. President, that Mullah Muhammad Omar, the leader of the *Taliban* is actually in Quetta, in Pakistan?

A: This is ridiculous. Quetta is the provincial headquarter, there is corps headquarter – two divisions. There are provincial government functioning and there is Intelligence set up of CIA and ISI. I must say, that both of them are inefficient, if they do not know that Mullah Omar is there.

Q: So, you are saying that CIA and ISI both Pakistani Intelligence agencies are working together in Quetta right now?

A: Yes

Q: You say the functioning of CIA credible?

A: Everywhere we track down the terrorist. Wherever they are, we get technical support from your people. But I would like to show a report of UN briefly 24 Sep, day before yesterday. The report is on the general situation in Afghanistan. I just want to read out few lines. “Insurgency is being conducted mostly by Afghan operating in Afghanistan borders; leadership seems to rely on the support and sanctuary from outside the country.” Now, this is where Pakistan gets involved. But the more than that let me just say the report identify the five district leadership centres of the insurgency appear to act in loose coordination. We reach each other and are benefiting from financial and operational links with the drug trafficking networks.

Q: Are you talking about what has been happening in Afghanistan? You know President Karzai has been complaining what is happening in your country?

A: just one second, this is what is happening in their country “Hizb-e-Islami” party of Gul Badeen Hikmat Yar is in Kunhar and *Taliban* northern command in Nunghar – networks led by Jalaluddin is in Khost and Pukhtia, WANA *Shura* for Pukhtika, *Taliban* Southern command in Zabul. The foot soldiers of insurgency are Afghans, recruited in Afghanistan. That is what I wanted to read now. I have been crying with force for whole world, the *Taliban* movement, let us not convert into a people’s movement and this is what is happening in Afghanistan. If we keep going wrong and thinking that is happening in Pakistan, this is what will happen. Now if everything in Afghanistan I must say Mullah Omar is damn crazy to be sitting in Quetta when his people, his army who are fighting are sitting in Afghanistan.

Q: You said when we spoke last time in March that President Karzai is oblivious, what is happening in his own country and you just referred to that is happening in Afghanistan. Is he still oblivious of what is happening in his own country?

A: He is not oblivious. He knows everything but he is purposely denying or turning a blind eye like an ostrich. He does not want to tell the world all the facts for his own personal reasons, that is what I think.

Q: What would be his personal reasons? Why he has not been that much blunt as you are?

A: In governance, in Afghanistan there is a community, which is treating, alienated and this community has 50%-60% representation in Afghanistan. This is the problem. He has to balance out and he has not been able to do that. Therefore, he is trying to hide that everything is happening from Pakistan. If he keep going wrong, I have been telling the world since three months, we are delaying, we are getting late, all this what I have read is happening in Afghanistan in all the provinces. This is the movement going on. This is the Pukhtoos uprising by the people going on. If he does not understand this, he will keep going wrong and we will loose in Afghanistan.

Q: Mr. President, this deal which you worked out with *Taliban* leaders along the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan some describe it affectively amnesty for *Al-Qaeda* and *Taliban*. You reject that, you say that this is the part of war against the *Taliban* and *Al-Qaeda*. The London daily Telegraph has said this Sunday “The fugitive *Taliban* Commander, Mullah Omar, has emerged as the key player behind the movement’s controversial peace deal with Pakistan. The *Taliban*’s one eyed spiritual leader, who has \$10 million price on his head for refusing to hand over Osama bin Laden after the September 11 attacks, signed a letter explicitly endorsing the truce announced this month. Your reaction?

A: No, I do not really know about anything what they are saying, I do not know whether they have proof of this, I would like to have the proof of this, of Mullah Omar having supported the process but how ever I am mentioning the fact, they approached the governor them selves to reach the peace deal and the peace deal is between as you said is with the tribal elders and the basic strategy which we must understand when I am saying that we must avoid this it is a danger, the disastrous danger of this being converted the *Taliban* movement in to getting converted into people’s movement we can only do that if we understand that all Pukhtoos are not *Taliban*. We need to take away the Pukhtoos majority it is in majority from the *Taliban* and this deal is intended to take the majority away from the Pukhtoos lean them away and then utilise them with the force back up to counter the *Taliban*. This is the political strategy which lead us in a right direction may be it should replicated across the border if it succeed.

Q: You written in a book “In the Line of Fire” a memoir in which you make many explosive charges in this book one of which is suggest perhaps Pakistan is the reluctant ally of United Sates immediate aftermath of 9/11 the warning you supposedly got by Richard Armitage that US will bomb you back to the stone age if you didn’t cooperate. You know the denial of Richard Armitage or your intelligence director or anything like that?

A: No, I written whatever I heard and my Intelligence Director did say that now I would leave it at that he didn’t contact me.

Q: That is why you cooperated with US because of the threat because you also talked about war games that you were engaged in your military at least you and US engage in military conflict against each other?

A: No, this is not the case. The first thing came into my mind was Pakistan, Pakistan's national interests, Pakistan's security so as far as Pakistan is concerned we are still against terrorism and we are against *Al-Qaeda* and we are against any type of terrorism acts and we are against *Al-Qaeda* and we are against any type of terrorism acts. We were against *Talibanisation* of Pakistan so basically it is in the national interest that I took the decision however we took into accounts certainly that we are a nuclear state destabilising the nuclear state would certainly cause a lot of upheaval in the world and therefore the decision which was base in realities ground realities.

Q: War in Iraq and its effect on global world do you agree with your statement in the book or you want to revise it?

A: No, I stand by it, absolutely.

Q: So you disagree with the President of United States?

A: Well, I stated whatever I had to that it has made the world more dangerous place to live.

Q: Pakistan is the first Muslim country developed a nuclear bomb from your perspective is it ok that Iran follows your line?

A: We developed it because of our security perspectives because of our threat perceptions we don't believe that there would be any nuclear proliferation and we don't think that Iran has suffered any sort of threat perception that we were suffered.

Q: So you opposed Iran going forward?

A: We are against it.

Q: How far alone are they because you know AQ khan your scientist did provide them with certain sophisticated technologies?

A: Well, I can't say at all anything but I believe that just providing drawings of few centrifuges doesn't mean anything because you need thousands of centrifuges to enable the enrichment of uranium to that level and it takes a span of time. I don't know whether they have thousands of gas kits and if they have them they have got them from the West because these all are available in your United States; the metal energy is only available in United States.

Q: We asked CIA how much price money you paid to government of Pakistan they have no comments we asked former Intelligence officials they said no such money paid to the government of Pakistan. Your comments?

A: I don't think I wrote government of Pakistan if it is government of Pakistan yes so many people with head money they has to be given to whom it is given and how it is given I don't know even the details but however there is not only on person is involved in these operations there is a whole organization and whole operation that goes on of intelligence and law enforcement agency, so how the money distributed, it is distributed to people certainly so I am very cleared that this money get distributed I am not even involved in who distributed that money and who exactly get. No if I wrote government of Pakistan no not government of Pakistan.

Q: You have a fascinating dinner with President Bush and President Hamid Karzai we like to invite you and President Hamid Karzai to come to Situation Room and jointly discuss the issues we can make certain arrangements?

A: We need to have a proper atmosphere and proper attitude then only sit together on table and showing the what has happening I think this is a situation where we need to coordinate the effort we need to be harmonize between Afghanistan Pakistan allied forces especially United States and if there is disharmony and if there is disagreement even in an environment it is the most terrible thing and I think at the moment there is total misunderstanding of the environment by Afghanistan and President Karzai and I know Karzai knows the environment but he is denying the realities and putting all more convenient for him is to throw the blame on Pakistan that Mullah Omer is there headquarter of *Taliban* is there I read out the UN report I have been saying exactly three month before everyone said Pakistan is supporting their financially if Pakistan is supporting then I am supporting because we are controlling financing the Prime Minister who was my finance minister controlling the finances and there is no one philanthropist in Pakistan who is doing all this, the money is from drugs and this is very clear.

Thank you Mr President. ■

USA, 25 September 2006

<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesPressRoom/Interviews/1017200653034AMThe_Situation_Room.pdf>

DOCUMENT No 16

PRESIDENT IN CHARLIE ROSE SHOW

Q: *In the Line of Fire*, which is your memoir, published today – ‘*In the Line of Fire*’ seems inappropriate title for your memoirs, Does it not?

President: I think so that is why I selected it.

Q: There seems to be a dispute between you and President Karzai even though you met Karzai in Afghanistan, as to whether *Taliban* leaders are finding a heaven in Pakistan and financed by Pakistan and receiving intelligence from Pakistan?

President: Now this is exactly what we need to understand, that we need to have the clear idea of the reality on town otherwise our strategy will be wrong and we will loose battle. *Taliban* emerged in 1995 in Afghanistan under Mullah Omar, Mullah Omar has never been to Pakistan once since then, why would he be there and *Taliban* who emerged in Afghanistan in Qandhar and southern provinces swept the whole of Afghanistan in one and half years, they controlled it till 9/11 for six years who were they ? Were they from Pakistan? Why would these form Pakistan? These are the same, same people, same Mullah Omar and his commander. They is support from across the border, from our side, we need to tackle that , we need to separate any support going on from our side, as far as financial support is concerned , where are they getting the money from? Pakistan is certainly doesn’t have, or that much rich to finance any thing like this, it is through poppy growth and there is tremendous amount of poppy

growth, it is through that narcotics trade, drug trade that they get money , that their soldiers are paid. We know it. Anyone who does not realize it is going wrong because his basic perception of the reality on ground is wrong. His strategy will be wrong.

Q: Let's take a look at the issue by points. First Mullah Omar has never been to Pakistan?

President: Yes he has never.

Q: You categorically said that he is not in Pakistan?

President: I am almost dead sure that he is not there.

Q: The other point President Karzai says that other people including NATO, a NATO General a Lane institute professor also contradict with you people that in fact there is a safe heaven; You simply say that they are wrong?

President: No no let me put it, I never said that there is no safe heaven, there are people who are supporting , there are *Taliban* on our side who are supporting the *Taliban* across the border , I said that they are the same ethnic stock they are *Taliban*, in Pakistan the Pukhtoos are divided into *Taliban* Pukhtoos and in non-*Taliban* Pukhtoos.

Q: My question is that the people who not just support the *Taliban* but *Taliban* themselves secretly seek safe heaven?

President: Yes they do come across, they have support on our side of the border but the main core of *Taliban*, Mullah Omar and the commander, the main core are in Afghanistan , is in Qandhar and southern region because they are the one who ruled Afghanistan for six years, they are the same people living from 1995-2001 . It was not from Pakistan side that they did that, to where have they gone, even they same *Taliban*, it is very easy to understand, it does not need any imagination to understand, it's the same *Taliban*.

Q: Do you believe there is an insurgency?

President: Yes they are.

Q: How much a threat they are today to destabilizing Afghanistan?

President: Well the danger is in the ethnic *Talibans*, as a people as a ethnic group joining the *Taliban* and starting the people's war against Foreign countries that is the disastrous danger existing therefore I say that we need to understand the environments, we need to separate the Pukhtoos from *Taliban* and not treat all Pukhtoos as *Talibans* That is where we go wrong.

Q: Then how you do that?

President: We have done it on our side. For exactly we have done in Waziristan Agency, that is one of the tribal agency, we have reached an accord, a peace treaty with through a grand Jirga , we put three bottom lines which is the assembly of elders These are the tribal elders and these tribal elders were the people who actually had influence over the entire tribe before the *Taliban* emerged, After *Taliban* emerge, their writ, the writ of the tribal elders got gradually eroded and shifted to the *Taliban* . We

need to get back. Now when we have reached an accord with them, we have put three bottom lines, *no Al-Qaeda* activity, *no Taliban* activity and *no Talibanisation* on our side or across the border and they signed this accord, the tribal elders and it is now depend on them, and they have certain code of conduct and code of honour that they will be in lead role against any one who opposes this deal and that they have accepted.

Q: Some have interpreted that the deal which you have made is to say to them we cannot leave you alone that the nature of the even as concerned to OBL, by the way do you believe that he is still alive?

President: Yes I think so. Absolutely.

Q: And is he mobile. Is he able to move around?

President: I presume so. I would not be very sure but I presume so.

Q: Why it has taken so long because it is the part of the same issue we are talking about who controls that area which side of the border is to get the OBL?

President: May I answer the first part that you said that there is deal with those people. Which people? Leave them alone. These are the misperceptions, which are being created. Some time by President Karzai himself, now we must understand that we have deal the with Puktoon tribal elders, they are not *Taliban* now anyone who does this mistake of treating them, of treating all the Puktoons as *Talibans* is committing a disastrous blunder. The people all the pukhtoon will rise as a people as they rose against the Soviets, never do this, this is what I am continuously saying, that every one seems to asking me you struck a deal with pro-*Taliban* or *Taliban*. Now this is the problem we have struck a deal with tribal elders who is saying that they are *Taliban*.

Q: Now let me say that President of Pakistan, the military in Pakistan, the ISI in Pakistan all three are committed to defeat the *Taliban*?

President: Yes 500% for the reason which we must understand, let me assure you sir I am not doing any one's affairs, I am doing Pakistan's affairs and we believe, Pakistan army believes that we need to protect Pakistan from the effects of terrorism and extremism and *Taliban* and *Talibanisation* by fighting *Al Qaeda* and *Taliban* so let this be clear because people should ask if we were doing it for some one else. Let me assure that I and Pakistan army is doing it for ourselves and secondly for anyone else in the world.

Q: The questions about India trying to establish some consulates on Afghan side of the border?

President: Yes

Q: And this is a problem to you?

President: Yes that is correct they have consulates in Qandhar, they have consulates in Jalalabad and these are next to our border and I do not find any reason that why they should be there what so ever.

Q: So one more point of conflict with India?

President: Well this is a point of difference, which I have pointed out everywhere.

Q: Regarding OBL so many things to be touch on Do you believe, president Karzai said that he is not in Afghanistan, now who will tell that he is in Pakistan how you are sure that he is not in Pakistan?

I have never said that, I have always said that he is probably he is some where on the border, probably, I can not even be sure where but I have said seeing the pictures that I saw on television that they themselves released, the mountains, the trees I know these areas may be, may be the Bajor Agency and Kunar province where Americans are operating now. This is the area where he may be, we also know that we have seen the sign of *Al-Qaeda* on our side of border, may be he is switching on the border area of both sides, in Kunnar province there were no operations going on, that was wide so I would like to ask any one, I would like to as President Karazai that if there is wild some where , where would I hide, I would say, I have been trained as a commando, I have been trained for guerrilla war I would go in the mountains in the wide why would I be some where in the people and where there are some elements where there are intelligence elements are there, it's the common sense but if somebody is ask to substantiate then no I can not, I do not know about it.

Q: And you do not have enough control over the border because you said you can't send your Army across the border?

President: No if anyone knows this border, there are seven tribal agencies extending from the north which almost touches China and goes down all along the Afghanistan to our Balochistan, this is I think 400 miles if you know the height of mountains these are somewhere between 10000 to 18000 feet , there are no roads, even the British never entered in these areas , British had one single road in each tribal agency , in those seven agencies and they were only allowed to go on those roads for 200 years , this is the country where literacy level is under 10% , now these are fiercely independent people, every man carries a weapon, now we have inducted 80,000 troops in North Waziristan and South Waziristan and we captured five of their sanctuaries, valleys where they were in hundreds and then in North Waziristan where they are in small pockets , we have captured and eliminated them from their logistics, from their command base, from their propaganda bases , now we are there, now 80,000 troops are even short , if I may tell you that in Kashmir Indians have 700,000 troops and still they say that line of control is creating infiltration and secondly who has given all this responsibility to Pakistan for mining the border and ensuring nobody passes the border what is the responsibility of Afghan themselves, why do not they take care of their border themselves.

Q: But you do not want United States troops in Pakistan looking for OBL?

President: No that's the sensitivity, this is a very serious issue not only sovereignty of Pakistan but the tribals here as I said are Pukhtoons even the Britishers never entered it is for the first time in history for over a century after 9/11 that Pakistan army entered there and start construction there, now they will fiercely guard their independence, they don't even want the army there, but we went in to reconstruct and dealt with tribal elders. Now if the foreigners come here, certainly it's a very very big sensitivity.

Q: 9/11 is a change for you, for Pakistan, for United States, for Afghanistan for the world what was your concern when you first heard about it

President: Well I concerned immediately about Pakistan and the protection of Pakistan and security of Pakistan.

Q: That Pakistan might come under attack also?

President: No the Pakistan was in the line initially when United States started firing the missile against the *Talibans*, a number of bombs landed in Pakistan by the way also so obviously Afghanistan is a land lock country, if action has to be taken there obviously Pakistan has to involved when we fought against the Soviets for ten years Pakistan had to lead the force every thing was happening to Pakistan so we obviously would have been struggling.

Q: Then comes the question of Richard Armitage, former Deputy Secretary, what happened, you could not tell the people because this book has not been published in past week now the book is published. What was that?

President: Yes firstly let me clarify both of them, Collin Powel and Richard Armitage are good friends of mine and where ever I written about them I praised them because I feel him very straight, very good man and very blunt as far as Secretary Colin Powell yes I spoke to him, he rang me and we had a short talk may be for about five minutes, he said that on terrorism we have to fight on terrorism and he was annoyed on what had happened obviously every one was then he said that on terrorism that are you with us? Or you are against us.

Now I did not take much time I said as far as terrorism is concerned we are victims of terrorism, we will fight, and we are with you. So that was all. Now as far as the Richard Armitage I didn't talk to him I got the message from my DG ISI that he had a meeting with Armitage and he was very rough and these are the words he used with him.

Q: We bomb you back to the Stone Age?

President: Yes these are the facts that I know whether Richard Armitage said this or not I don't know.

Q: You said your intelligence chief said to you? Whether you called your intelligence chief that Richard Armitage said this or not?

President: No I did not do this, I did not wanted to make it an issue. Why should we make an issue?

Q: One thing you told to 60 minutes about Richard Armitage that these words were rude and you did not please you?

President: Yes my whole mental make up is to confront I have been trained to confront, so my reaction to this offensive statement was counter-offensive.

Q: What did you?

President: I did not remember exactly, that would have been some thing rude too but that did not mean that go and tell him this thing. I think when states are involved,

when regional, national or international situations come up, personal egos are to be put aside.

Q: You like Armitage; you said him a smart, clear-headed and have a wide understanding of international issues. Did you spoken to him in this tour?

President: Yes he called on yesterday and he tried to explain the position and cleared that he did no said any thing like that. He said that I was very rough but I did not used.

Q: You met with the Secretary of State. Did you suggested him that you would be in better place if you would have to stay in Afghanistan and control *Al-Qaeda* instead of having war in Iraq?

President: No I did not discussed with him, I did not discussed the necessities of war or requirement of war but I have been saying it openly that it has led to increase in tension as a result of Lebanon war problem has increased further and worst till the room for the manoeuvre of moderate, I include myself in it yes reduce before you loose substance.

Q: Your room to manoeuvre is compounded by the response to Iraq first?

President: For 42 years we were the most allied ally of United States and when we were fighting the lead role against Soviets, everything happens to Pakistan, Pakistan was very comfortable there was no problem, and we were your ally. Then from 89 to 2001, twelve years we became the most sanctioned ally and United States developed strategic relations with India, look at the impact on the people of Pakistan, four million refugees coming to Pakistan and everyone has gone and left us high and dry after 89. Four million refugees fighting and *Taliban* emerged and everyone criticizing us why we are taking side of *Taliban*, You left us all alone, we have to look at our interest all alone, with four million Afghan inside Pakistan and 95% of them are Pukhtoons, now this is the situation for twelve years.

And F-16s had a great impact, you know F-16s are not given and we had paid the money six hundred million dollars we were charged we were asked for money for parking of these F-16s, finally we were told that we were give you wheat and Soya bean and we got wheat and Soya bean for those in exchange of F-16s in 2000, we asked them that ok we collect wheat and Soya bean on our own ships but they said no we send our ships and the rent of those ships are double from ours. All this is known by the people of Pakistan, that when we were needed for 42 years we were used and then we were ditched. Now this we are trying to cover after 9/11, at the government level the relationships are very good I would say and people also understand what I am doing, I am very confident that they understand the way forward our developing relations with United States s advantageous to us economically and from all points of view, but the man in the street will take time to get back to the attitude of year 89 frankly, and especially when Lebanon happened and Iraq happened it again exuberate the attitude because they see United States to be an anti-Muslim.

Q: You think Israel is the difficulty for Pakistanis more than war in Iraq? America has a trouble with the men in the street because of the strong support of Israel more than the fact that America is in Iraq?

President: No. No. I don't think so that Saddam is favourite in Pakistan. Basically the root to everything is Palestine and Israel and people seeing America take side of Israel.

Q: A Q Khan, United States has a reason to be anger when a national hero in Pakistan created a nuclear weapon selling it to America's enemy, to Iran to North Korea as well? You don't know anything about it/

President: Yes, unfortunately no I don't know anything but there is a reason, the nuclear programme of Pakistan started in 1976 in a response to Indian nuclear tests in 1974 and was to be kept it top secret otherwise it we would not be allowed and it was essential that we do it because of the balance of powers between India and Pakistan which we always maintained is our strategy of military strategy the strategy of defensive deterrence quantified into forces previously it was conventional and when they went unconventional we got disturb and our strategy became untenable we had to get nuclear and therefore in 1976 top top secret programme started it was Prime Minister of Pakistan Z A Bhutto at that time and the scientist AQ Khan they went later on when President Zia and scientist nobody was involved finances were made available, no audit carried out, security was there own nobody interfering nobody knows what was going on it was continued like that to keep it top secret, later on when General Zia died and an civilian President came in an Army Chief inducted as a go between the scientist and the President, again in 1993 I was personally appointed as the Director General Military Operation this is the key appointment which I got which was supposed analyse and deal with anything the Chief orders anything for Pakistan it is this directorate the Director General who involves in anything. I was never in loop in a nuclear programme. It was directly between the Chief, scientist and the President to keep it secret to keep it top secret, and it was remained top secret till 1999.

Q: You were the top military official you ought to know!

President: No, no Army was not involving only Army Chief supposed to deal the matters, it was between scientist, and President no Army was not involved at all.

Q: You don't discover this that President Bush and George Tenet came to you and said here are the facts?

President: No there is a correction I suspended the ban much before I was told this happened in the beginning of 2001 I removed him from his post that I did because I suspected now how and why I suspected. In 1999 when I came into a position of Army Chief in 1998 the first thing I went and told Prime Minister that we need to establish the custodial control and I made an organization a structure to do that but the Prime Minister some how didn't approved it. When I took over in 1999 the first thing I do in march 2000 I immediately put those orders in place which meant what

Q: If we found someone selling national secrets I believe he would be prosecuted that was exactly happened to that scientist he was executed in this country if he passes secrets to Russian? President Bush and senior officials encouraged you time after time because there was a significant capture of *Al Qaeda* captures of *Al Qaeda* in the country which is the second largest Muslim country in the world, they seem to worry about you a lot they don't insist on democracy a lot. But you are not in favour of democracy; in 2004 you promised the people of Pakistan that you would leave your uniform?

President: Yes it was indeed a promise through the word of mouth but through democratic process and through the constitution I have been allowed to be in uniform till 2007, December 2007, through the two third majority in the National Assembly, parliament of Pakistan a bill was passed allowing me to be in uniform as President till December 2007 and this is in accordance with the constitution of Pakistan. Now I did promise in 2004 that by December I remove the uniform but then things were so volatile in our region and when I saw things happening whatever was happening domestically, regionally, internationally I thought there is need of unity of command in that region and I exercise the unity of Command.

Q: So do you think that President Bush pushing you to accelerate democracy in Pakistan?

President: No one is pushing me, unfortunately the media lapse otherwise I assure you that President Bush or anyone else in the west does say that we are in favour of democracy they are not pushing me to do anything everyone should understand what is democracy and what I have done what are the issue, put the uniform element of mine aside please, lets see the democracy empowerment of people this is a real democracy there was no local government system in Pakistan I have introduced that in 2000 and we had the first election, real empowerment of people financially administratively and politically functions very well four years and other elections in 2005 fresh new representatives in local government, empowerment of women today 33,000 roughly in political authority 33 percent reserved seats in a local government, in a National Assembly 17 percent seats are reserved but they can fight openly also, today 22 percent in our National assembly are women, we empowered them politically and then also empowered the minorities and then we liberated the media we had only on television channel, today sir there are 43 television channel I see to of them here in United States, I have done that totally liberate the media they even talking against me, so totally liberated media, people empowered freedom of expression all Assemblies and Senate ,Provincial National Assembly all functioning what democracy you are talking about.

Again the feeling of deprivation in their own society I personally believe that yes indeed Muslims do have this thing the fault may be lying on both sides they may be assimilated in the society or may be they are alienated from jobs or from livelihoods they are not may be treated equally so therefore we need to see what other then the political anger around the world, what else is leading them towards these extreme acts within they have born and bred in United Kingdom unfortunately again Pakistan and I take very strong exceptions when everyone again start saying that they are Pakistani origin, in United States there are African origin European origin you don't say that isn't it till when they are going to take this Pakistan origin and interestingly when they is a boxer who is a silver medalist of Pakistan he is a British Boxer and when a cricket Captain the Pakistani origin Nasir Hussain he is a British Captain, only terrorist are Pakistani origin he born there educated there so he is a British this is unfortunate that he may have come to Pakistan, if he comes to Pakistan for month or two months all he learned with in those two months, not in 25 years of his life that he spend in certain environments. Let us please understand the environment, we must take stock of the environments then strategize after a clear understanding of the environment make a strategy and then get into the tactics of execution. We are into a strategy of execution

without an overall strategy with a weak understanding of the environment and we land in failure.

Mr. President thank you for joining us!■

USA, 25 September 2006

<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesPressRoom/Interviews/1017200652257AMCharlie_Rose_Show.pdf>

DOCUMENT NO 17

PRESIDENT'S INTERVIEW AT NBC TODAY SHOW

Matt: The Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf is here in our Studios for a live interview this morning. This is a man who survived several assassinations attempts and security here has never been tighter. In a moment we're going to talk to him about the hunt for Osama-bin-Laden, his delicate relationship between Pakistan and the US and the stunning claim in his new book that a high ranking US official threatened to bomb Pakistan into the Stone Age if it didn't cooperate in the war on terror.

Meredith: Ever since 9/11 Pakistan has been curtail American ally in the war on terror and the hunt for Osama-bin-Laden. We will talk to the Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf, in a moment but first NBC's Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent, Andrea Mitchell, has more on the delicate relations between Pakistan and the US. Andrea Mitchell, Good morning to you.

Andrea: Good morning to you Meredith. Saudi officials and most US experts discount/ spread rumours over the weekend that Osama-bin-laden is dead. So, is Pakistan doing everything it can to find him? As recent events proof, once again, the US relationship with Pakistan is very complicated.

The latest clear up, the claim by Pakistan Pervez Musharraf said that a top US diplomat threatened to bomb Pakistan back to the Stone Age if he didn't help the US find the *Taliban* and *Al-Qaeda* after 9/11.

President Bush: I guess I was taken back by the harshness of the words. The alleged threat after two days after 9/11 supposedly came in the meeting between Pakistani official and then Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage. Armitage can be blunt. He flatly denied making the threat.

Richard: I had never issued a threat that I could deliver on it. There is no was that I could do it. I am absolutely confident, I never uttered it and others who were in the room with me, they say the same thing.

But what's going on here, experts say it's all about Pakistani politics which in that country means about to survival. Musharraf who has escaped repeatedly assassination attempt needs to blame the US.

Daniel Benjamin (Centre for Strategic & Int. Studies): This is something that Pakistanis are trying to find useful, the home audience making it clear to the US that they are aggressive in pushing them around. I think the situation is much more about Pakistani domestic politics than anything else.

Pervez Musharraf has doing enough to go after Osama-bin-Laden. While he was in a meeting with George Bush last week, demonstrators against his government

were protesting back home. Under pressure Musharraf recently finds signs treaty with tribals who are electing the *Talibans* and Osama-bin-Laden.

Rogger Cressey (NBC News Terrorism Analyst): Musharraf is stuck between the rock and a hard place. He needs to help US in dealing with *Al-Qaeda*, get the same time he has restricted from doing more on the border to deal with the *Al-Qaeda* presence inside Pakistan.

Infact Musharraf and his neighbour Afghan President Hamid Karzai have been sparring over whether Osama-bin-Laden is on the Afghan side of the border or as the US intelligence believe in the Tribal areas of Pakistan, areas that Musharraf's government has now given up on searching. Matt

Matt: Andrea, thank you very much. In Washington this morning, Pervez Musharraf's autobiography, "In the Line of Fire" is out today. President Musharraf good to have you here on today.

President: Thank you.

Matt: Let's talk right into this inflammatory passage of your book that claims two days after 9/11 Richard Armitage, then the Deputy Secretary of State, threatened your country and said, " We would bomb your country back into the stone age, if Pakistan didn't cooperate in this brand new war on terror against the *Taliban* and *al-Qaeda*." Richard Armitage as you just said flatly denies it. Is it true?

President: Well, Richard Armitage is a good friend of mine. But whatever happened that day was told to me by my Director General ISI, my intelligence boss who was there. I didn't have a contact with Mr. Armitage. This was only a statement given to me by the DG-ISI that I clarified this in the book.

Matt: Obviously, it's generating a lot of tension for the book? But in Andrea Mitchell's speech, she said this is more about what is happening in Pakistan than what happened in that meeting after 9/11. She said that it's your way; or some people say, is saving your skin back home. You need to be able to say that the groups in your country, and by the way you're writing in you book that the majority of people in Pakistan disagree with your cooperation with the US in this war on terror. This is your way of saying I'm cooperating with the US but only because they pointed a gun at my head.

President: No, not at all. That's not the case. They very clearly explained in the book, that we did whatever we did in the interest of Pakistan. I'm not doing anything specifically for the interest of others. Basically it is in Pakistan's interest that I took the decision and it's not the case that somebody is pointing a gun on my head or anything.

Matt: You write in your book that in your mind there is a kind of war game. What would it be like? For example if you didn't go with the US, what would it be like to be in a war against the US? And yet you made the decision to cooperate with the US. And some people say that, wait a second, if he wasn't sure, if he had to stop and think about it, then what kind of an alley is Pervez Musharraf today? It's heart really in this world against terrorist. Is your heart in it?

President: Because it's in Pakistan's interest. Obviously it is heart in it; the whole nation's heart is in it. The issue is not that. Obviously I took a deliberate decision, I thought about it. It was a very serious decision that had to be taken and the main issue that came into my mind was destabilizing a nuclear state and causing such destabilisation in the global war / to the global environment.

Matt: So in your heart, you think it is essential to dismantle, to destroy the *Taliban* and *al-Qaeda*?

President: Yes indeed. And again I may repeat, we must understand Pakistan's interest says that. And therefore, we will carry on doing it. If only people have doubts, as if I'm doing something basically for others, that's not the case. It is for Pakistan Primarily that I'm doing primarily and then for others.

Matt: Why do you think that some of your critics, President Musharraf, say that Pakistan they consider to be a hot bag of terrorist activity right now? And they say that you seem to be walking on both sides of the line that you are cooperating with the US and you're trying not to alienate these many groups of your country. And as a result of that you're not helping but hurdling the war on terror. How do you answer that question?

President: These are allegations by people who don't understand the environment. As I said again, we are totally on board and I'm sure that President Bush understands that we are on board or to fight terrorism and extremism. We are the only country, which understands what is terrorism in its entire complexity. There is terrorism, there is extremism. There is *al-Qaeda* terrorism and now *Taliban* and *Talibanization*. So we have to understand the entire complexity of this game and we are taking action in accordance with the understanding of the environment. We have strategised and then we are implementing the strategy, putting a tactical part into the operation.

Matt: Let me ask you a question about Osama bin Laden. Ok, first of all there were reports over the weekend that he died a month ago in Pakistan or typo. Do you have any intelligence that would verify that? No, what so ever. So, today how much of a priority is it for you is of capturing or killing Osama-bin-Laden?

President: It's high priority. We are fighting terrorism, we are fighting *al-Qaeda*, we are fighting *Taliban*. Now if you think that we are doing nothing other than only perusing Osama then that's not the case. We are fighting *Taliban* and *al-Qaeda* in the mountains of North Waziristan, South Waziristan and there is a third agency Bajaur Agency, which we think, he is around there. So, it's a whole complex operation going on.

Matt: President Bush and as you know the US intelligence feels that he is somewhere along the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan. And US feel that he is on your side of the border. President Bush said recently that he has specific information, specific intelligence as to know the whereabouts of Osama-bin-Laden and if that intelligence says that he was in Pakistan he would send US troops to get him and you said, "No"

that this would be done by Pakistani forces. Why not accept the US help to find Osama-bin-Laden?

President: We are out there hunting Osama or Zawahiri together. Now why are you interested in how this needs to be done? We will hunt him down as the situation arises. Now we will decide how to do that when the situation arises. Now why get in the sensitive areas before the target is known where target is.

Matt: I think some people would want to give it to sensitive areas, because they are not sure of your forces operating in that region. You just signed a treaty of peace with pro *Taliban* in some parts of your country and a lot of people worry that will your forces go and get to job done, if they are asked to job done?

President: This statement is by a person who doesn't know the environment. What did we really mean by pro-*Taliban*? You can read the signed agreement with pro-*Taliban* forces. We have signed an agreement, through a grand *Jirga* (which means an assembly of elder). Now every Pakhtoon is not a *Taliban* and the blunder starts exactly like this that we presume that every Pakhtoon to be a *Taliban*. Now if you do that, you're going to have a people's war. And the people join the *Taliban* and that will be a disaster. So let us not treat everybody there to be a *Taliban*. We have signed an agreement with Tribal elders and we have the people from the *Taliban*. This is better way of fighting the *Taliban* and not reaching an agreement with the *Taliban*.

Matt: In your book you wrote, "I never favoured the invasion in Iraq because I fear to have put exactly the exhaustive to extremism as it most certainly has. The world is not a safer place because of the war on terror. The worlds have become far more dangerous." A recent classified National Intelligence, in this country, draws exactly the same conclusion. So, let me ask you do you and President Bush should be blamed for making the world a less safe place?

President: No, I would not like to comment. These are, I believe in Terrorism and I believe in finding ways of improving the situation in the future. So let's live in the present and the future, and not discuss what decisions that were taken in the past.

Matt: President Pervez Musharraf's book is called, "In the Line of Fire" memoir. It's good to have you this morning. Thank you very much.

Thank you so much. ■

USA, 25 September 2006

<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesPressRoom/Interviews/1017200652657AMNBC_Interview.pdf>

DOCUMENT NO 18**PRESIDENT WITH HANNITY COLMES (H&C) EXCLUSIVE**

Q: Is Pakistan a real ally in war on terror? We put that question directly to the President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf in an interview. That's all going to come straight ahead and much more.

Now, earlier today Allen and I spoke with the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf who's also the author of a brand new book, just out today, "In the Line of Fire".

Mr. President, welcome, thank you so much. And thank you for releasing your book. In the book of what you say the threaten of United States

Richard Armitage saying be prepared to be bombed, be prepared to go back to the stone age. Could you tell us about that conversation?

President: Yes indeed I will, but first of all let me say that Mr. Armitage is a great friend of mine and I have clarified his position in the book that subsequently he became great friend of mine and I really respect him. I cherish my friendship with him. However, I didn't contact him or he didn't contact me directly. This was said to the DG ISI or the head of intelligence of Pakistan who then conveyed this to me on telephone. So it's a direct contact but this is what I was told by the DG ISI.

Q: Prior to that you've been told by Colin Powel you saying in the book, you're with us. This was continuation of that conversation?

President: Colin Powel rang me up. He was the first person to contact me and he said on terrorism and I didn't hesitate to say that we are with you on the issue of terrorism. There is no doubt in my mind particularly our interest and we would be the victim of terrorism.

Q: The US denies that the language was that harsh. But you are saying that this is exactly how it was said?

President: Of course, he didn't speak directly to me. This is what the DG ISI told me. That's the reality, whatever I've mentioned is the fact.

Q: President Welcome. Thank you for being with us. I will come to the more compelling and scary part of your book. You discussed multiple assassination attempts on your life. Tell us the story?

President: Yes, there was an opening and there was an island in between the dividers of the road. Where a person could take a U-turn and there was a petrol pump on the right. And when my car exactly came to that point of that opening, there was one vehicle coming from the opposite direction trying to get into our lane. Right at that moment there was an explosion. A Big explosion and everything came on the car and there was all and darkness and flying objects and the driver put his foot on the brake, reflexibly and then I told him to move ahead. I took test to myself. Because I knew something is happening. When I told him to press on, press on, and in another second we reached a hundred yard, hundred meters away actually. Next petrol pump on the right, there was a vehicle and it exploded and everything came directly on the car and

that was the time when really the tires went off and we went on the rims and reached home.

Q: Why do you think there are these multiple episodes of assassination for you and what would Pakistan be like if you were out of the picture?

President: Why did with me. Obviously I'm standing in their way and I'm standing in their way for Pakistan basically and for the region and for the world because I think that we are very very clear that that is not the way like Pakistan would progress and move forward.

Q: Is that part of your life facing because of your alliance with the US and what if some of the other ramifications of your alliance with our country?

President: The problem is that at the government level we are doing very well. But the people certainly it will take time to normalize in the minds of the people the same feeling for US. The people of Pakistan are certainly for fighting terrorism. But they somehow are not in favour or they are not happy shall I say with the relationship with US. But I think gradually they understand that it is necessary and it is in the benefit of both. There is no doubt in my mind and they understand that now, although the people may not be liking the US that much.

Q: You recently said it's been reported to me that the tribal leaders in the border areas to help get rid of the area from *Al-Qaeda* and *Taliban*. My question how this could happen and how some of those tribal leaders kind of divide that part of Pakistan that you don't control?

President: These tribal elders have all the influence on the people. They were leaders of the people, before these *Talibans* emerged. Now what we are going is through these tribal elders we are totally trying to take the people with our side. When there is an agreement that we have signed that is very significant. The bottom line that we placed: No *Al-Qaeda* activity on our side or across the border.

We must understand that what these tribes are, they have their honour code, they have their when they say something they believe in upholding that and fighting any one and opposing any one who opposing it this is their honour so lets take them on board and as it is that who is going to recognize *Taliban* from the non *Taliban* pukhtoon, they are the same people. Can the army do this, army won't even know even it has failed, the worst scenario. So we are back to the same position as we were.

Q: So lot of news about Osama bin Laden, one news reports that he is dead, second is about controversy on the remarks of top Army spokesman that you said that he would remain free in Pakistan as long as he remains a peaceful citizen then the controversy on the remarks of President that if in fact President Bush knew that he is in Pakistan, he would go in Pakistan and catch him?

President: Firstly whether he is dead, no comments on it, I do not know about it and I checked up with my people that whoever has said this I do not substantiate with it, second that has been misquoted, I know who has been misquoted and here was an apology on this that this was a total misquote, he never said anything like that. The third element we are hunting OBL and Zawahri together with United States and Pakistan forces now when we get him all I have say we have to get him.

Q: President Bush said that he would take action inside Pakistan appear on television showing OBL is in country would you prevent United States from doing such an thing. Would you not want the US to take action inside your country?

President: We have decided that we Pakistan forces will operate on our side of border and US and allied forces on Afghan side of the border that is the agreement and as I said when Osama's information come up we will see how to deal with it.

Q: A big thing in your book the issue of nuclear proliferation and some nuclear secrets that were given to North Korea, Iran & Libya by A Q Khan you ended up with pardoning him why would you consider pardoning in gravity of situation where important information like that there are lot of other things would pass on to the people who are hostile?

President: Unfortunately one should look at what it would have meant domestically on many things the international pull is in one direction and the domestic pull is exactly in opposite direction. So my job in the past has been going somewhere in the centre tight rope crossing and I am an expert in that, this man is the hero to the man in the street, he knows that he is a hero, even now he is a hero, he provided the nuclear weapon and ensured the security against the threat that we have, threat to our existence so he is known as the father of atom bomb of Pakistan so to the man in the street he is still a hero, how can you do to such a man without creating problems for Pakistan, for stability , for ourselves , for government , therefore we have to take away a very balanced action while we removed him from the place even before this was revealed to me and I removed him from the job I had removed him about eight months before I was told because I suspected something happening and therefore I removed him and he was under house arrest.

Q: You have on growing vocal anti American an sentiment that is there? How you explain our audience two things explain the announcing act for you treading the needle four years ago and the President use the term Islamic fascist is that the accurate term that we are using for the enemy we are facing?

President: No there is no doubt that the people of Pakistan are very disturbed over whatever is happening in the Islamic world and when we open fronts like Lebanon it further exaggerate the situation and weakens all the moderates in the Muslim world that includes in this kind of thing. Because Muslims are already feel alienated they already feeling that they are under attack and then when we or I should say that when we use the word Islamic with whatever happening Islamic terrorism. Now Islam doesn't believe in terrorism, it hurts peoples sentiments you can call terrorism has no religion, there are terrorist in Sri Lanka we calling them Tamil terrorist are we calling them Hindu terrorist they are Hindu. Lets not attach religion to it lets call them terrorist and whenever we attach religion to it people would not accept these, like if we take Pakistani bomb it will take Islamic bomb, people don't like it, I mean why is not India's bomb Hindu bomb, why is not Israeli bomb as Jews bomb, why is that only Pakistan's bomb is Islamic bomb? So these are thing, which people don't like.

Q: Would you advice President Bush not to use this term?

President: Well he is a friend of mine I am sure he understands these sensitivities.

USA, 25 September 2006
<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesPressRoom/Interviews/1017200652536AMHannity_Colmes_Show.pdf>

DOCUMENT NO 19

PRESIDENT IN THE DAILY SHOW WITH JOHN STEWART

John: Please welcome Mr. Pervez Musharraf

President: Thank you.

John: I know it's customary in Pakistan to offer tea to a guest for hospitality. So I brought it for you. This is Jasmine green tea.

President: Thank you

John: May I pour?

President: Yes please indeed.

John: Thank you Mr. President is this tea recognizable to you?

President: Yes, that is in Urdu.

John: Is it a bargain tea? Have I insulted you?

President: No, but it's a good tea.

John: I also brought an American product, it is called a Twinkie. It is made up of a collection of things that are not edible but when put all together becomes edible. We don't know how they prepared. Thank you very much for joining us. We appreciate.

President: Thank you very much.

John: Where is Osama Bin Laden?

President: I don't know. Do you know where he is? You lead us we will follow you.

John: Thank you very much sir.

John: I have to say this, pointing to the book "In the Line of Fire"; I confess that I don't know much of a history of Pakistan. But this is a remarkable tale, told in very plain English about a very difficult vulnerable situation that you confront in Pakistan. Holding together, people that are moderate, people that are more extreme, people that are tribal, and try to connect all? How has this been to hold back together?

President: Difficult job indeed. Specially been made more difficult because international perceptions were pulling in one direction and domestic perceptions were sometime pulling in different direction. So I had to learn the art of tyo forking many times and I think I have become quite an expert on that.

John: Diplomatic aspect of peering to President: Yes.

John: It is very interesting to me to reach your thought process after 9/11. You received a phone call from Collin Powel the next day saying that get on board or get off board.

President: You are with us or against us.

John: Two days later, Richard Armitage, the under Secretary Collin said oh. By the way if you don't there could be some bomber buskers with Pakistan's name on it. But your thought process was very logical. What do you think?

President: Our thought process was basically in the interest of my own country. The international interest of Pakistan and the security of Pakistan and in that one did of course take into consideration that we are a nuclear state and destabilisation of a nuclear state would cause disturbance to the whole world obviously and one has to take very deliberate decisions. That you do not cause such an upheaval. But basically may I say, all said and done, primarily it was our, Pakistan's National interest, which I based the decision. It happened to be in the interest of the world also. And therefore we are pursuing it with all the vigour.

John: It is interesting to me that one of your first thought was, can we take these guys? In terms of America, when they said that, you know I wasn't expecting that, I wasn't expecting that one of your first thought to be ok lets see lets do work with America, you drew on the board and you thought yeah.

President: Let me admit that yes, we did take into consideration every thing. Should we adopt a confrontationist approach? Should we cooperate at all? If we did not cooperate then obviously somebody else cooperate. We knew that US is going to reach out to whoever did this terrible terrorist act of 9/11 and they happened to be in Afghanistan. There is no way of reaching Afghanistan except through Pakistan. So therefore whether we are on board or not, they would be threading through Pakistan. Whether through it air space, through its land, therefore this had to be taken into consideration, certainly.

John: Why is that the North and Western provinces, the Waziristan, that is so difficult to gain control of, you actually recently made some truce with some tribal leaders in this area. I was thinking of an idea of America, you know the making the truce with Florida, because we wouldn't, they don't deserve it. But here you are the leader of the state and you are going to them. What is required in a truce be easier as it is saying well as long as you been as you don't put the national interest?

President: First of all we have to understand with whom we are reaching the truce, we need to understand then what is the greatest danger that is confronting us there, today the focus has been shifted from *Al-Qaeda* to *Taliban* in that area.

Now what is the greatest danger? *Taliban* are the people, they are the local, and they are the Pakhtoon ethnic groups. Where as the *Al-Qaeda* was not the locals they were outsiders and they were easily recognizable. These people are from the people. And now the greatest danger is that this *Taliban* movement gets converted into a Pakhtoon's people movement. So therefore the important thing at this moment as I see, the strategy is, reign the people away from *Taliban*. Rein the non *Taliban* Pakhtoon, away from the *Taliban* Pakhtoon. That is the basis of whatever we are doing.

John: No longer than give hospitality to the Al-Qaeda's that are living there, the bad *Taliban's* so to speak?

President: Yes, indeed. This is an agreement not to support the *Taliban* but to fight the *Taliban*, to confront the *Taliban*.

John: That is interesting in the book. You are one of the primary targets of *Al-Qaeda*, you described, two assassination attempts. Both on the same bridge by the way, you know again not a leader of the country. I come up with a new way to go to work (funny way) but the same bridge, this is *Al-Qaeda* trying to say, its feeling that you have been a successful in combating them and terrorist?

President: Yes, indeed we have been successful. Because we have eliminated them from our cities. We have eliminated about 680 of them from our cities. They are no more in our cities. Therefore I keep travelling through the same bridge every time.

John: Are the extremist in Pakistan, are noisy minority. You seem to be at the forefront of the threats; you seem much common about than we are?

President: Yes, I am. ■

USA, 26 September 2006

<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesPressRoom/Interviews/1017200652416AMDaily_Show_John_Stewart.pdf>

DOCUMENT NO 20

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Mr. Scott Son, President Cornell University, faculty members, students, distinguished guests and ladies and gentlemen, it is an honour and privilege to have been afforded of this opportunity of talking to this gathering on my book but more than that on Pakistan-US relations. This University has its own prestige and it is well known around the world. It is well known in Pakistan and I know that lot of students have studied here and now studied in Cornell, so therefore I said it is an honour specially.

I try to restrict myself on book for a short while and I want to talk about Pakistan United States relations.

Ladies and Gentlemen today free world's major concerns are five; counter terrorism, democracy, nuclear proliferation, human rights and narcotics. Pakistan happens to be directly or indirectly involved in each one of them and we happen to be in a centre stage on each one of these, therefore the significance of Pakistan and may I say my autobiography that is 'In the Line of Fire', deals with exactly these very subjects. That is I feel the significance of the book and the significance of through the book conveys you what Pakistan stands for, it obviously deals with my life right from beginning to end, which may I say when I look back it has been an exciting life, it has been thrilling and it has been dangerous and there has never been a dull moment. Right from the time when we migrated from India to Pakistan, when I was very small but I remember the killings, the deaths all around as we travelled from Delhi to Karachi and we went through Punjab where maximum killings were taking place. From that time on I have seen very turbulent life at various stages having joined the

Army my career, my rise in the Army, where to give you a glimpse in 1990 I was Brigadier General doing course at the Royal College of Defence Studies but in 2000 I was the President of Pakistan. So in ten years my life has seen happenings takes place, which was beyond even my imagination and my thoughts so I trace in this book the earlier part of my life and how I passed it. I never took life as a matter of life and death. I live life but then when I saw myself being propelled into important areas my seriousness, my gradual shift in attitudes did take place and since then I have been in the army and finally at the central stage. The book covers that entire professional carrier and then on matter of helm of affairs in Pakistan.

Whatever my achievements and whatever the slippages are over there. As frank and detail in passion as I could make it. Many have been asking me, why I did write it now while I am in the office. Lot of people debating that it is not normal. Its quite unprecedented that the person in office has written his biography. But I don't think that it is unprecedented at all. There are world leaders, who have written, actually I know, Nelson Mandela wrote his book when he was a President. I know many other Presidents who have. But in any case, one doesn't need to copy anyone. I don't believe in copying anyone. I have my own style and my own way of doing things. I don't copy anyone. And I thought there are no restrictions, laid down anywhere that a President should not write a book. So what is a problem in writing a book? There are no restriction and I think I should have to write a book for several reasons.

First of all fortunately or luckily, as luck and destiny has played and important part in my life. I am in centre stage. I am looked at as some type of an enigma. What I am doing? Whether I bluffing the world? Am I cooperating and speaking the truth? Am I dragging my feet? All this has put me into centre stage, where people are listening to me and looking at me.

Secondly, there are misperceptions of the country. The country Pakistan is also at centre stage and every-body is looking at Pakistan. There are misperceptions and distortions of the highest magnitude against Pakistan. I say that Pakistan might have perhaps one of most misperceived country in the world. That is I thought why I need to address situations through world interest in me, I thought I could project the right, project Pakistan. I could clear misperceptions; I could tell the world what Pakistan stands for. Therefore, I decided to write. While many said, I should not write. But I thought that I need to write it now and convey to the world who I am and also what Pakistan is.

I would be remissive if I did not forward my acknowledgements and gratitude to certain people who helped me in this book. First of all my own relatives. My wife, other is my brother in law and sister in law. They were helpful to me certainly in proof reading and making it recollect that I have missed out. Because I didn't maintain a diary, unfortunately I wasn't that hard-working, I didn't maintain any diary. So one have to remind whatever I am missing. So they help me to do that. The other acknowledgement which I would like to give is to other people, the editors. Bruce Nickels, Humayan from Simon and Chester (USA) and Humayan Gohar of Pakistan. I must thank them for their editing job. Humayan Gohar the editor in Pakistan is a personal friend. I must express gratitude for his burning, much midnight oil to help in reading through checking the scripts. Then there is Chris Kalthone, who was my agent right in the beginning. And he who is the one who have to select publishers. I express my gratitude to him. And Brigadier Asim Bajwa, he is the one who was recording

whatever I used to think and say and transcribing all the details and making my job of writing much easier. Initially when I started the job, I thought it would be colossal task, how I am going to complete this. I don't have the time to write. And also I don't have any diary that I maintain. No record. But there is Chinese saying that journey of distance of 30 thousand miles starts with a first step. A person who could not take that first step is a loser. I am not a loser. So I took the first step. I am now proud of the fact that I have come to the end of the journey, I have travel the thousand miles and I have completed the book.

I would now get back to Pakistan US relations. Our relationship has seen a lot of ups and downs. They were ups right from independence 1947 to 1989. Those 42 years we were the most elite allied of the US. We were the strategic partners of US in the cold war period. We were the bulwark against Soviets expansion in their desire to reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. Pakistan was the bukward. Then when soviets invaded Afghanistan. Pakistan got in the lead role to fight the soviets in Afghanistan. We were together in the collation for ten years. We fought the Soviets in Afghanistan. And we defeated them. It would be an exaggeration if I said that the end of the cold war, the victory in the cold war, the break-up of the Soviet Union, The reunification of Germany, all these owe a lot to Pakistan because of our lead role in Afghanistan. All this followed because of Soviet defeat in Afghanistan. And that was Pakistan, Pakistan's intelligence set up, Pakistan's military and Pakistan's forces, Pakistan's Government, which was in lead role for ten years assisted US and the collation to fight the Soviets. And I if I was to give you an example of one appliqué of Berlin wall, presented to the Chief of Intelligence of Pakistan by the Chief of Intelligence of Germany. It retreats to the one to strike the first blow that was the significance of defeating the Soviets in Afghanistan.

Then come 1989, everyone leaves us high and dry. This is 12 years. Why we were left high and dry with 20 to 30 thousand *Mujahideen*, who were brought all over the Muslim world hold up in Afghanistan. In 1995, *Taliban* re-emerged, we were alone. Four million refugees came into Pakistan. We were alone. *Mujahideen* joined *Al-Qaeda*. The same *Mujahideen*, who were brought up there. And we were alone. We had a strategic relationship, India were on the Soviet camp, on the Eastern side. And US, starts developing strategic relationship, with the side, which were in the opposite camp. Why I am saying that it had its affects on the people, the man in the street. We are quite all right; these are bilateral issues, India and US relations. And I don't believe that Pakistan should be indo centric. We have our own importance, we need to develop relationships with US and India has its own importance.

But what I am trying to say is that there was a down from 1989 to 2001 in relations between Pakistan and US. Then 2001, and 9/11 comes, and we see Pakistan's importance again. No body could deal with the *Al-Qaeda* and *Taliban* without Pakistan's assistance. And Pakistan itself being a victim of terrorism, desired to fight terrorism. Therefore, we are together. And again this time, we are in the lead role to fight terrorism. We were in the lead role to fight the Soviets and now again we are now in the lead role, whether it is *Al-Qaeda* or *Taliban*. We happened to be in the lead role.

But during these 12 years, there has been a fall-out on our internal conditions on our society. The society transformed our national fabric, was torn during this period. That is the national fabric, while we are fighting terrorism and extremism, which we are trying to repair now. We seek understanding from the West and from

the free world. Instead of accusing us, for not doing enough, I don't know who is doing more than us when we have inducted 80 thousand troops and suffer five hundred casualties. We are in a stage where we are repairing our relations. At the Government level, I am very glad to say that Pakistan-US relations are good. And they are becoming very good. It's a long-term relationship. It's a broad based relationship we are developing. It's a strategic relationship we are developing. Irrespective of relationship of US with any other country, we are conscious of our own relation. We are conscious of US Pakistan's interest in each other. Therefore we are developing this relationship now. But unfortunately I would be remissive if I did not say that at the peoples level, the feelings in the minds and hearts of the man in the street will change gradually. Because there is degree of lack of trust, the trust that broke will take time to repair.

But we should take action to repair this and take it back it to pre 1989 situation. But everything that happens in the Muslim world, like the new crisis of Lebanon, I think make the repair work more difficult. If you are going to close down the fronts and resolve Palestinian dispute, go on to resolve other disputes. Bringing justice and giving justice to the Muslim world, which is feeling alienated, I think the repair work will continue.

Now in this broad based strategic relationship, ladies and gentlemen, one has to be conscious that in today's world the relationship develop on mutual interest. Every nation has its own interests. And these are those interests, which one promotes and which one guards.

Pakistan has its own significance; I would like to convey to you what is our significance. Number one, as I said we are playing a lead role in fighting terrorism. But may I be the audacious enough that may be we are the only country in the world, which understands terrorism in its entire complexity. Now what is complexity, initially there was terrorism but then the base of terrorism is extremism. It is the extremist who become terrorist. And extremism is a state of mind. And extremist is not a terrorist. He can become a terrorist. So we need to address the extremism and correct extremism. We need a different strategy. And we are implementing the strategy in Pakistan.

Then as time passes, Al-Qaeda focus shift to *Taliban*. We need to understand the *Taliban* issue. While we defeated the Al-Qaeda in the streets and mountains of Afghanistan, the battle continues, but they are in small numbers in isolated penny packets in the mountains. I confidently say that it is Pakistan Army, Pakistan Intelligence and law enforcement agencies, which have broken the back of Al Qaeda in Pakistan. That is with confidence and conviction I am saying.

But then the *Talibans* have remerged now. So we need to understand who is *Taliban*, what is *Taliban*. With *Taliban*, there is another issue, *Talibanization*. *Talibanization* is a very backward culture. Where they don't want anyone to watch television, they are against music; they expect people to grow beards. This kind of obscurantist views which these *Taliban* are trying to spread. We need to stop that. And they are militant. They are aggressive. So we need to fight *Taliban* and *Talibanization*. So this is the entire complexity of the whole situation. We need to understand, where are the *Talibans*, I will just tell you the latest on that, I just read the latest on US report to the Secretary General on the situation of Afghanistan on 24 September 2006. I am now quoting from there:

“Insurgencies being conducted mostly Afghans operating within Afghanistan borders. Highly distinct leadership centres of insurgents appearing to act in a loose coordination with each other and benefiting from financial and operational links with drug trafficking network. That is the source of their of finances i.e. the drug mafia. They include the wing of Hisba Islami Party, lead by Gulbadin Hakmatyar. They are in the Kunar Province of Afghanistan. There is another *Taliban* Northern Command, in the Nanghar and Langhar province of Afghanistan. There is another network by Jilal-ud-din-Haqani. A former *Taliban* regime minister, in Khost and Paktia provinces. There is Wana *Shura* and Pakita, there is a *Taliban* southern command in Zildan, Kandhar and Khorajan Provinces. The foot soldiers of the insurgents are Afghans recruited within Afghanistan.”

This is what the United Nations says. This is what I was trying for the past three months. That the most dangerous thing that can happen in Afghanistan that if the *Talibans* get converted into the peoples offences, by the Pakhtoos of the region. So therefore the necessity is to rein the non-*Taliban* Pakhtoon away from the *Talibans*. Then confront the *Taliban's* militarily. That is the strategy I am saying and that is the strategy we are following. So the aspersions that not doing enough is not only disappointing because if we are not doing it enough who else is doing enough.

This is a time for strategy and time for thinking. There is a time for brain more than brawn. The military is capable of doing two things. It can-not deliver peace. It can buy you time. It can create an environment. But military is not an ultimate solution for problem. Ultimate solution has to come through other means, especially political mean. And I feel that Pakistan Army has created the environment. The tribal of the main agency of Waziristan themselves approach the Governor that we want a peace treaty. And we are prepared to do the bottom line we gave them. No *Al Qaeda* activity on our side or the other side of the border, no *Taliban* activity on our side and across the border. No *Talibanisation* and they sign it. So this is the way forward. And I think that it has seeds of success. And if succeeds we need to copy it on the other side of the border in Afghanistan. This is the way forward.

There is no time to loose. The misperceptions that have been created that everything is in Pakistan. All the *Taliban* are in Pakistan. Mulla Omer is living in Quetta. There is a *Taliban* headquarter in Quetta. This is most ridiculous. If the whole force in United Nations, that I have read, is in Afghanistan, I think any commander of that force, and this Mullah Omer is the commander, must be utterly silly to be in Quetta when his force is there in Afghanistan. This is baseless and sooner we understand the reality and start reining the population to our side earlier, because we are loosing time. This Pakhtoon population of Afghanistan, because of *Talibanisation* and also suffering due to alleviation, they will keep joining the other side. Then we have an uprising in hand. We must prevent that.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Pakistan is a modern society, not an extremist and intolerant society. And I have told you, see Pakistan in 1979, before 1979 and after 1979, as I have told you, 27 years are national fabric has been destroyed. Therefore you see that extremist actions. But they are the fringe; they are not in the majority. I have two ladies in my delegation and they have fought the elections and won the elections by defeating the men. In our National assembly, 72 out of 242 are women. They are 22 percent. They are politically empowered. This lady sitting on the left, belongs to Balochistan. The most remote province of Pakistan. She came from the

remotest part of the remote province. I went to her village when I took over; I promised her that I am going to come over to your village, the first time I leave Islamabad. And I travelled to her village. In that distant village, she is running a school. In that village, there are about 800 girls. So this is moderate society. And there is Mr. Bandara, who is from minority; I specially brought him, because we have empowered them. We have given them a joint electorate. They had a separate electorate, where the Muslims could not go for them, because they voted only for minorities.

I gave them a double advantage, a joint electorate and fixed seats. So every Muslim has to go to them and ask them for their votes. Therefore they are in the main stream.

So ladies and gentlemen, Pakistan is progressive society. There is a fringe extremist who are more visible because of there militancy, unfortunately. Pakistan is the most democratic country in the Muslim world. We have empowered the people of Pakistan. We have given them the local Government system to the grass root level which the World Bank saying the silent system of Pakistan. Then we have empowered the women, the minorities of Pakistan. We have liberated the media. When there was only one TV channel, there are 42 channels now. So they are openly saying in favour or against the Government or criticising me, but since I have no skeletons in the cupboard, let them criticising. Then we had elections, we had local and Senate elections. We are going to have National assembly elections. We will have National and provincial elections in 2007 next year. The first time in the history of Pakistan that all the Assemblies are completed their tenure. Never in the history that has happened. That was the democracy that was running in Pakistan. So therefore may I tell you with full confidence who supports democracy.

Lastly I would like to talk about the Pak-US relation. I said they are broad based. We are fighting terrorism together. We are developing and economic relationship. And in economic relationship as far Pakistan is concerned, we are trying to develop trade relations, enhance our market access. And also joint investment in Pakistan. This investment will create jobs, expand our industry, will counter unemployment and poverty. Therefore that is at the root of extremism. If we go to the root of extremism, we will go the poverty alleviation through job creation, through trade and investment. Therefore I keep telling everyone, trade not aid. We are in favour of trade, much more than aid. I think our economy is in very strong footings now. Therefore, we don't need aid. We have already signed a trade and investment trade work agreement. We are in to the bilateral investment treaty. We are looking at the Free Trade Agreement.

In the social sector, we are getting assistance in the health and education sector. Also in the science and technology sector. And we are building defence relationships also with the resolution of F-16's dispute relationship which are affecting the mind of man in the street. Because we were wronged in 1990's. This will go a long way to in giving some comforts to the man in street of Pakistan to have a seriousness of broad based relations of US with us. Our expectation with US is playing a role towards indo Pak reproach mark, resolution of the Kashmir dispute in the back ground. Because we are going on a bilateral track to resolve our disputes. And we deserve equal treatment of peaceful use of Nuclear energy. In any case, I tell my US colleagues that we have a 300 MW plant. We are putting up another one. We will go

ahead putting up more. This will be in line of complete IAEA safeguards. We are prepared to give any type of safe guard. As we are already a nuclear state and already have every thing.

Internationally we must solve the Palestinian dispute. And I am very proud and glad to say that President Bush is very conscious of it. And he is endeavouring his most to resolve the Palestinian dispute. It's a difficult dispute. But I think the moderates of the Muslim world, the moderates in the Palestine who want peace could play a role in assisting towards reaching a solution which accepts the reality of Israel but it must go for a Palestinian state and creation of a Palestinian state there. These are our expectations. This is all I have to say ladies and gentlemen. I am thankful to your patient hearing, I am open to any question.

Q: As you know there are concerns about the last elections held in Pakistan, its nature of it. I was wondering, when the next elections, what would you personally say that the elections will be held truly free?

President: Thank you. I don't know what you saw in the last elections, which elections you are talking about 2002? I don't really know who has given you the impression and where did you get this idea that there was a problem in 2002. That there was such a strong opposition that they don't allow the house to move forward, If there is any kind of manipulation or wrong doing. The elections were totally fair and impartial.

And in 2007, let me assure you the elections would be fair and transparent. And we will accept any amount of observers from anywhere. If Cornell University wants to send anybody, you should come there.

Q: You made the statement "Muhabat Zindabad" in Havana. And every-time you made a slogan like this millions of Muslim from India and Pakistan has allied and they have see that may be one day, families from India and Pakistan can see each other and can see eventually their grand Parents. What is your take on InshAllah in your lifetime and in our life time if that is possible?

President: I was born in Indian part and obviously the difference between your parents and mine is that they opt to select to remain in India and mine opted to come to Pakistan. Certainly I totally I agree with you, I think we have been fighting enough. We have been confronting enough. We fought three wars and I have been a part of two of them. I am now going for peace. People keep casting percussions that I am a man of war, how I am talking of peace? But I always tell them is that a man of war is more qualified to talk of peace because I have seen death, I have seen lot of pain, I have seen my friends, my son name is the name of one of my friend was killed in war of 1971. So I understand the pains of wars more than one maybe that hasn't seen the battlefield. So therefore I am more eminently qualified to speak on peace. I am very sincere on peace. But I have been saying that unless we address the core issue we cannot achieve permanent peace. And the core issue happens to be Kashmir on which we have fought all the wars. All the wars are because of Kashmir.

In Kashmir, we have been killing each other across the line of control every day. Siachen is also a part of Kashmir. Where we use to fight kill each other at height of 20,000 feet. And we are still there - an eyeball to eyeball. We need to resolve these disputes. And I am very glad to say that my last meeting with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and lot has been happening during this period. I had gone to Agra. I

had gone to Delhi. Your Prime Minister has come to Pakistan. We have covered substantial ground on this issue on confidence building measures. We have opened two routes in Kashmir. We are looking at truck service. We opened six points on joint interaction during the earthquake for giving comfort to the people across the borders. We have increased the people to people contact manifold. Our media people going across and Indian people coming on our side. There are people coming across the cultural side. There are tourist and religious people coming to their shrines in Pakistan. All this is happening. We have even enhanced the trade between India and Pakistan. But I would say we can-not go whole hog till we resolve the disputes. There where I have seen a light now with our joint statement in Havana. Where we have shown resolve, that we will address the core issues. We have been discussing Kashmir and we are going to narrow down our divergences and reinforce our convergences.

Q: I wanted to know if you can address the audience and talk about your vision for Pakistan's future in Science and Technology within the educational context. Undoubtedly there is lot of talent within the US with the Pakistani origin. How do you see and bridge this gap between the talent here in US and some-how exported back to Pakistan and have them to aid them to develop Pakistan in Science and Technology. Provide a fertile ground to happen?

President: Yes exactly it is very close to my heart what you have said. As I believe that the ultimate progress and prosperity of Pakistan is in human resource capital. We have to go for HR development. Because this is knowledge driven world today and that is the important what you have asked. Now as far as jobs and reverse brain drain you are talking about, it has a direct relationship with job opportunities in Pakistan. And job opportunities have a direct relationship with economic prosperity, the economic performance of Pakistan. When the economy performs, Alhamdulillah today for the last four years our GDP growth is 7% average. Our GDP has doubled. Our per capita income has doubled. We are in the middle income category country. Therefore there is boom in the industry; we are growing in double figures. Building and construction industry is booming, telecommunication and IT is booming. In the telecommunication industry, three years back Pakistan has 600,000 mobile telephones. Today ladies and gentlemen, we are touching 40 million in three years and so also in the IT field, I don't want to go into the details. Now what we are doing? What is our vision? We are following a vision, first of all, allocation of funds to higher education. It was just a half a billion rupees, five years back, today you know an eminent scientist Dr. Professor Atta ur Rehman, an eminent scholar, excellent scientist and an administrator, his budget is now 22 billion. So this is the increase in the budget reallocation. It is 4,400 % increase. We have started a PhD programme. In the past, we used to have only two dozens maximum scientist and engineering and science and technology PhD's. Today there are 900, doing PhD's in Pakistan and abroad. We are now targeting 1500, every year and by year 2010 and then.

Then we are opening 9 universities of Engineering and Science and Technology in various cities of Pakistan. Two will come up in 2007. And 7 of them in 2008. These 9 universities are coming up with the help of countries like France, Germany, Sweden, Netherlands, Austria, South Korea and Japan. These are the universities which are meant to create talent in Engineering and Science and Technology. We have created a National Vocational and Educational Commission for

technical education. Which are opening technical schools in Pakistan and link to our industry. So in short, we are bring the synchronization between our industry and the engineers which we want to produce through these universities and the technicians we want to produce through the technical institutions. This is the broad vision and already there is a reverse brain drain because of the opportunities available in Pakistan.

Over 250 PhD's from US and Europe have returned and teaching in the universities in Pakistan to enhance the level of education in our Universities. We are going to follow this path. And I am sure the higher education will keep rising. And there would be more opportunities, people like you to return to Pakistan when you get your degree.

Thank you very much.■

New York, 26 September 2006

<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/ForeignVisits/103200611158AM_Carnell.pdf>

DOCUMENT NO 21

PRESIDENT IN NIGHT LINE AT ABC NEWS

Q: As we sit here talking, President Karzai of Afghanistan is meeting with President Bush, he has been really publicly very critical of you and Pakistan for failing. He says suspiciously go out for *Taliban* in your country?

President: I get woke up to these remarks. It is very unfortunate that he has not seen the reality. And President Karzai is openly overlooking this reality and he has ended us in trouble, and the whole world in trouble. What President Karzai is very cleverly hiding is the fact that all this is happening in Afghanistan in the Southern provinces of Afghanistan. He better set his house in order before casting aspersions on Pakistan.

Q: President Karzai maintains that in night line that he had given you specific actionable intelligence of the location of various *Taliban* leaders. And that you refused or unable or unwilling to take action to take action?

President: I would say that about 80% information was non substantial. Because it was too old. When he came to visit Pakistan, he came with his intelligence chief who gave me this file. And I was terribly annoyed because all this information was three to six months old. I said if this is your sense of intelligence that you are waiting for a presidential visit to hand over the file to us. Intelligence means immediate action, pick up the telephone, and immediately send information.

Q: President Karzai certain left the impression with US public that he gave you good intelligence and you refused to act.

President: He is confined to Kabul and that too in his palace. He needs to know what is happening in Afghanistan. He needs to have total grasp over whatever is happening in his country, which he does not have and then start blaming Pakistan. All the drugs and narcotics are in Afghanistan. And that is the money, which is used for all this. If President Karzai thinks that way he will keep living in a fool's paradise and he will bring dictator to the whole area and to his country.

Q: You have said previously that President Karzai was the right person to lead Afghanistan. Are you starting to wonder about that? President: Well I will start wondering about that if he doesn't see the realities and finds it more convenient to side steps the realities and throws the blame on Pakistan.

Q: You have said in the past the Mr. President that finding Osama Bin Laden, capturing him and finding him and turning him over to America is very high priority. When was the last time Pakistani Intelligence had good information in your opinion about his whereabouts of him in Pakistan?

President: I think it was very good some years back. Our conformation was 2003, is that sounds fair enough, yes I think yes.

Q: Is that fair that trail has gone cold on Osama Bin Laden.

President: Well it has not gone cold. I would say that even now it is generally thought that he is in the standing border on the Konar and Bajor, between Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is that area roughly. Yes, I have been all around and I am saying lets mine the border and let fencing the border. This is a serious proposal. This is very serious proposal because that will nail this issue of whether these people are coming from Pakistan. So nail these people like President Karzai who thinks that he is coming from Pakistan. And I am suggesting, we will mine the border. Let anyone who is going from here get into the mines. We will fence the border and that don't cost much also.

Q: So why not do it?

President: We should do it.

Q: Are we hearing it as a new policy announcement?

President: If everyone has to agree to get the finances we will do it.

Q: If US give you the money to put the mines?

President: yes indeed. This is doable. It is not undoable. It is very much doable.

Q: Your schedule of dinner with President Bush, President Karzai tomorrow night. It's going to be same dinner.

President: Yes it is going to be same dinner I know. I am wondering how its going to be. ■

USA, 27 September 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesPressRoom/Interviews/1017200652856AMNig ht%20Line%20-%20Cynthia%20McFadden.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 22

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY LONDON

President of the Oxford Union James Wise, distinguish guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to have been given an opportunity to address such a lively gathering. I know that this Oxford is the home to may be the oldest university in the English

speaking world and also it enjoys the influence and the global reputation therefore it is my privilege to talking to all of you. I am grateful to Oxford Union for this invitation to speak at this forum and I am told that perhaps it is the world's most prestigious debating society in the words of your own leader of the opposition Mr David Camellon whom I met just now before I was coming here, he said Oxford Union is much more lively than House of Commons.

The subject on which I am going to speak to you is Pakistan's challenges, responses and opportunities. This is very close to my heart; I think we need to put in perspective what I inherited when I came on the scene in 1999 so that we understand what challenges I faced and then I will briefly give you a run through of what we did to remedy all the distortions and challenges we had.

What we inherited, ladies and gentlemen, was a technically defaulted economy; we were almost declared a "failed state". Just to give you a rough idea our Foreign Exchange reserves stood roughly at too weak equivalent to imports our exports were very stagnant, revenue collection was extremely low, there was a spiralling debt to the extent that our debt to GDP ratio which is the gauge of economy's performance stood at 101 percent which was most unhealthy and there was barely any foreign investment coming into Pakistan. As a result of all this our credit rating internationally on the standard of poor was at the rock bottom that was the performance of our economy. Our fiscal deficit was over 8 percent that means it even touch the double figures it means that we were spending much more of what we are earning, our external current account or balance of payment stood at the deficit of about 4 to 5 billion dollars annually again which means in foreign currency we were earning far less than we were spending. Our education institutions were in a state of decay because there was no funding of these institutions because of the failure of the economy. Healthcare, again the focus was more on treasury healthcare whereas the population living in the villages and rural areas 70% of the population dependent upon primary and secondary healthcare were denied facilities and there was no development activity going on in Pakistan because again the lack of finances. Democracy you sound it odd that man in uniform talking about democracy. There was no freedom of expression in that we had no open media; we had only one TV channel the Pakistan Television where I would say the news was all controlled so therefore media was siphoned and because of all this we had a very poor international standing, our reputation internationally was very low, now in short what I will said on all this is that in Pakistan was direction less ship, moving in the whims of the leaders without any strategy or direction set for it. Now how I give direction to the ship, how did I provide ruder to this ship is the story which I would now tell you very very briefly.

First of all we set out to set the economy right, because I feel any nation if at all achieve anything in any whether it is a social sector or development or poverty alleviation or employment generation it is the economy which forms the basis of anything. Therefore I started looking at what really a malaise confronting the Pakistan's economy. Basically in a layman language as I am not an economist and I never studied the economics so whatever I know is through on job training. I saw that there were two problems, the problem of fiscal deficit and the problem of balance of payment deficit in other words whatever I said earnings far lesser than expenditure. We had to control both. Therefore, basically we adopted a strategy first of all an overall strategy of deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation. This we form as a basis

how we need to go forward to revive our economy, then we geared out into issue of fiscal deficit, why is the spending is more than the earning? Where is the spending and we seen that spending is in running the Government the Establishment cost in haemorrhaging all the Government corporations. Government should not be doing the business but we were doing business there were dozens if not hundreds corporations being run by Government and each of them was default in loss, therefore they were being subsidise by the Government, so this was the second malaise and third one of course was the defence expenditure and defence expenditure was essential and is essential still because of our security needs but however this was we need the three major chunks of expenditure. We can controlled all of them by checking reducing establishment cost, freezing the defence expenditure and controlling haemorrhaging through restructuring these corporations putting act at their head quality people of substance and they manage to turn these corporations around almost all of them, so this was the reduction in the expenditure, the earnings would come mainly through revenue generation, taxes we didn't want to put more taxes on the people, we saw that people were not paying taxes actually there was a narrow base, so therefore we went for broadening the base of taxes revenue collection and we started documenting the economy, we did that through not only involving the people of revenue but we even involve the Army in documenting the economy, through this documentation we broadened the base for those who were to pay taxes, so this is how we control the fiscal deficit converted the over 8 percent of the deficit to 3% we reduced it to 3.6 percent. When we looked at the balance of payment deficit and we saw that the expenditure here are on imports and debt service liability, the spiralling debts that we had, we couldn't reduce the imports because imports have to do with your industry, but we attacked the debt service liabilities, we went around the world and may I say the world assisted us in that we got our debts to the Paris Club, the bilateral debts of about ten and a half billion dollar were rescheduled through debt right offs debt rescheduling. And we reduced the debt service liabilities from about 5 hundred billion dollars to 2 hundred billion dollars and we saw the earnings, earnings came from our exports which were stagnant we concentrated on our exports we focused on new markets we diversified our products and therefore we raised the exports over the last five years by about 135 percent roughly.

Then we saw another source of income which was Foreign Direct Investment, which was stagnant, nobody invested in Pakistan we approached I went around the world we created an investor friendly environment and FDI over these five years has risen about 1200 percent 12 times although the base was low I am still not satisfied and we need to increase further, last area where we needed further to concentrate to earn more are from our remittances from Pakistanis, overseas Pakistanis they were not remitting their money through the normal banking channels or they were remitting less, we are concentrating on that improve our banking channels to give better services motivated the Pakistanis and the remittances have now risen by 450 percent they have increased by four and a half times. So therefore we managed to convert the balance of payment deficit into a surplus of 2 billion dollars. This was the story of how we managed to turned the economy around and the result of this turnaround is today all macro economic indicators are positive in that our Foreign Exchange Reserves is equivalent to about seven to eight months of imports may say any Foreign Exchange Reserve equivalent to over six months of imports is a

healthy situation, so we are in a healthy situation, our GDP growth over the last few years is more than seven percent, our GDP has doubled over the last five years, our per capita income has been more than doubled over the last five years and now we are no more in a low income category countries we are in a middle income category countries. Our revenues have risen by 200 percent over the last five years because of the documenting of that economy, because of which the allocation for development projects which is the main expenditure of any government whatever it wants to do in a country have risen by 450 percent, that is the kind of money we have in our hand to spend towards whether it is infrastructure development project, poverty alleviation or in a social sector health or education, we have 450 percent more money available to us now.

The Karachi Stock Exchange Index which is the barometer of the economic activity of the country has risen while previously 1999 the index to debt was about thousand we touched 12 thousand and now it is around 10 thousand, so this is the barometer of the economic activity of the Pakistan. Our credit rating from rock bottom has risen substantially in both in Moody and Standard & Poor's, we launched mega development projects, we concentrated in communication infrastructure in which we developed the new port altogether we built a new port at a new place and that place is coming up as a new town altogether a new city and it attract lot of tourist also because it has a beautiful site. We are improving our railway system and the road communication infrastructure from south to north, this is a communication infrastructure we are putting on ground and we are concentrating on water projects, dams and canals to take water because we are agrarian society and 70 percent of Pakistan lives in a rural areas and dependent on agriculture. Having revived the economy ladies and gentlemen, I think we need to concentrate on poverty alleviation and employment generation, unemployment control. We needed to first of all see where poverty is and we saw poverty obviously lies in the villages of Pakistan, therefore we need to focus as I said on agriculture yield intensification and area intensification bringing more area under irrigation, through dams and canals that is exactly what we are doing and then we needed to see how we generate more employment in the rural areas and generate the economy in the rural areas. We are concentrating on two areas i.e. dairy and fruit and fruit processing, we are the fifth larger milk producer in the world by the way and nobody knows about it, so we have strategise that and big organizations like Nestle is in Pakistan and helping us in dairy and they are putting their probably biggest plant in a town of Punjab in a town in Pakistan. So this we have initiated and as I called a white revolution in Pakistan, we have the best fruit and vegetables but we don't value add in it in the fruit and fruit processing, that what we are going to do. So that will hit the poverty in the rural areas, which affect 70 percent of our population. The other sector is the poverty and unemployment in the urban areas and I put them in two categories, the educated unemployed and the uneducated unemployed. For the educated unemployed, we went for two sectors. That is IT and Telecommunication. This generates the fastest employment. And requires the least training. Therefore we opened universities and institutes for training people and we improve the telecommunication and IT infrastructure. I want to give you a feel of which I did. On the telecommunication side, we opened out; we gave mobile phone licenses to mobile telephone companies.

And we have initiated the WLL (wireless local loop system) system and also going forward on the fixed line system.

As a result of which the Telephone density, which stood about 2.9 % in 1999 is today touching about 20%. And If I was to tell you the staggering figure of increase of mobile telephones. About three years back, we had only 600,000 mobile telephones in Pakistan, today we are touching 40 million. I will leave this mathematics with you how you convert this into percentages. And the mobile phone company Nokia is predicting that Pakistan would be the second biggest Nokia market of the world. This is the telecommunication revolution. In IT we looked at the problem and we remedied the problem. The problem was that there was no internet connectivity in Pakistan. Only 40 cities of Pakistan had interconnectivity. We increased that. Today 2000 towns of Pakistan are connected through internet. Then we saw that the fibre optic connectivity was only with 50 cities of Pakistan. Now today over 1000 cities and towns of Pakistan are connected through internet. We even reduced the bandwidth cost of 2 mega bites, from 86 thousand dollars where it stood; today it stands only at 1400 dollars. Therefore lot of IT business is coming into Pakistan. There is lot of boom and there is lot of jobs that have been created in these two sectors. Then of course we have to concentrate on urban uneducated, unemployed. We say that it is the industry, investment and industry, which will create the jobs for the labour. We did that. And today our industry is growing in double figures. Every year, to give you a feel of boom in the industrial sector, automobiles, production have increased by over 600 %. Motorcycle production has increased about 800 %. And all these gadgets of televisions, refrigerators and air conditioners, each of them have increased by about 500 to 1000 %. This is the kind of activity going on in the industrial sector. Therefore the jobs are created.

The other sector we concentrated on building and construction because this is another labour intensive and there is tremendous amount of job creation to the extent we don't find any skilled labour in Pakistan today. Therefore we are going for technical education to produce more skill generation in the people of Pakistan. If they have skills, the jobs are available. This is how we tackled the issue of poverty and controlled the unemployment. And the result was obvious with the poverty figure reducing from 34% to 24.3% in Pakistan. This is the success of the strategy that I have spoken of and I am very sure that we will keep reducing poverty and we certainly meet the millennium goal target of the United Nations and bring it down to 15 % before the target set by the United Nations.

I would like to talk very briefly on the social sector. We realized that ultimately the progress of any society, the realize progress and sustenance of the economy of any country, growth of the economy will be through human resource development. That is quite clear; it ought to be clear in everyone's mind. Therefore we concentrated on education and health. In the education sector, we concentrated; we have taken the broad spectrum of education. We going for literacy, adult literacy and universalising education. Because our literacy level is pathetic. We have launched a special programme on that we have a special commission the National Commission on Human Development, Mr Naseem Ashraf and he joined me from US and is a doctor from USA. He suggested that he can open a commission. Look at education and health and capacity building at the grass root level. And we encouraged that and today his organisation is spread to all the districts of Pakistan at the grass root level. And

what he is doing is opening feeders' school at the primary level and going for adult literacy centres, which he has opened by thousands. So we are going very well in improving the literacy level. Then we looked at the primary and secondary level of education. We went for improving the curriculum. Improving the examination system, and also improving the training of teachers. Then we went for higher education. We created a higher education commission in Pakistan, and the allocation to this Higher Education Commission was increased by 4400 %. These figures are quite mind-boggling. But we have done that because the economy did well and because we have more as I said 450% more finances available for development.

As a result of which today, 9 engineering and science and technology universities are being opened in Pakistan. Two of them will start next year and seven in 2008 with the assistance of countries like France, Germany, Netherlands, Austria, Sweden, South Korea, Japan. These are the countries, which are assisting us in opening up of these universities. We have also launched a PhD program. We used to produce only two dozens PhD's per annum in Engineering and Science and Technology. We are targeting 1500 PhD's getting abroad and in Pakistan by 2010. Today there are 900 students doing PhD's abroad and in Pakistan.

This will form a core of improving our universities and form a core of research and development that we all need in Pakistan. In the health sector, we are looking at the primary and secondary level of health. And again on this side this commission of National Commission of Human Development is assisting us in trying to reduce child mortality and maternal mortality. Which is very high in Pakistan and developing countries. We are looking at that. Our focus is primary and secondary health care where the people live 70% of our population.

I am a strong believer in democracy. But democracy never functions in Pakistan. And what I would like to say is I analyse why its not function. It did not function because it was not tailored into the environment of Pakistan. Democracy has no standard format. Ought not to be a standard format. It has to be tailored to the requirements of the people, to ethos of the people of any country. So we tailored it accordingly. And what we have done is nobody else did in Pakistan. We have introduced a local government system, which never existed. That is the third tier of the government at the local level. Where the people today elect their own representatives and mayors from the grass root level and they have full financial, administrative and political authority in their areas. World Bank says this as a silent revolution in Pakistan. Then we empowered the disadvantage and underprivileged, two categories, the women and minorities. One of the women sitting here has contested against the men. And we have given them reserved seats also. They have been given 33% seats at the local level. They have been given 17% seats at the National assembly. Today 72 out of 242 National assembly members are women. This means 22%. These ladies are the members of the National Assembly of Pakistan. We also empowered the minorities. They had a separate electorate system, which means Muslims would not go there to ask for their votes. Therefore they have their own interest in bringing them up. We have given them a double advantage. We have given them a joint electorate and given them reserved seats at every tier of the government.

Therefore Muslim candidate has to go to the minority to ask for his vote. Therefore he better do something for them to get their vote. We mainstream the minorities. We have liberated the media totally.

While there was one television, now today there are 43 channels operating in Pakistan and they are totally independent. We introduce check and balances, which will ensure that there will be no military take-over and Martial laws in future. And I mean every word of it what I am saying. This is the sustainable democracy; unfortunately the man in the uniform has introduced. But in many countries of the world, men in uniform did that.

I will touch on terrorism also, but I won't go in the details. Terrorism is a scourged in the world. But let me assure you that Pakistan may be the only country in the world, which is addressing terrorism in all its perspective. And when I say all, I mean terrorism and extremism. Extremism sponsors terrorism. So unless you address the core, extremism, why there is extremism? And you remove causes of extremism; you will never succeed in countering terrorism. So we know we have differentiated and extremism and strategies the both. When you talk of terrorism, we saw *Al-Qaeda* and we fought *Al-Qaeda* very successfully in our cities and mountains and we are still continue doing that. The emergence of *Taliban*, this needs a different strategy altogether. *Al-Qaeda* were foreigners, identifiable, *Taliban* are from the people, not identifiable. So we strategized how to meet the challenge of *Taliban*? And also another factor of *Talibanisation*, which is really an obscurantist thinking. No television, no music, we have to counter all that. This is what we have strategised and we are implementing that strategy because there are so much of misperceptions of Pakistan. I just want to say few words on that.

Pakistan is a misperceived society and its an intolerant society. Nothing could farther from the truth. If you see our history till 1979, we were perfect and proceeding very peacefully towards our line with development. But came 1979, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the free world launched a war against them. This war was called a Jihad against them, we launched a Jihad, when I say we, means US and the West. And Pakistan was in the lead role. Our intelligence organisation played the key role in it. And not only that, how did we launch, who fought this Jihad? The people of Afghanistan but 20 to 30 thousand *Mujahideen* brought from all over the world. *Mujahideen* who were our heroes for 10 years, not only that let me alarm you more, *Taliban* from our *Madrassas* armed and sent into fight the Soviets. This happened for 10 years, ladies and gentlemen. Then in 1989, when we won the cold war, and I say we won it for you. We won it for the west. Pakistan and Pakistan intelligence won it for the West because we defeated the Soviet Union. We won the cold war and we were responsible for defeat and dismantling of Soviet Union, and dismantling of the Soviet empire. We were responsible for unifying Germany. Breaking down of the Berlin Wall. This will come to you as a surprise, but let me tell you a piece of the Berlin wall presented by the chief of German Intelligence to the chief our intelligence, which I have seen. And the plate under it reads "To the one who struck the first blow". That was the first blow struck in the Afghanistan. The victory in Afghanistan led to the unification of Germany. Now why I am saying all this, after 1989 what happens? Everyone goes and Pakistan is left alone. To be fend for what? 20 thousand *Mujahideen* hold up there. Every war-lord fighting each other and rebating the country, those *Mujahideen* are those who coalexed *Al-Qaeda*. And change their focus from the Soviets to their own political agendas against anyone in the world. And we get 4 million refugees into Pakistan.

Nobody was there to help us. And the *Taliban*, re-emerged in 1995. Nobody there to help us, except that they are cribbing themselves that we are pro *Taliban*, we are doing this we are doing that. When we are doing something, which we thought that is in our geo political of geo strategic interest. There was no body to assist us. Therefore we did whatever.

When comes 9/11, all this which was created over 26 years, there was vacuum in this area. In the mountains, wide west countries, anybody who wants on job training, fighting and militancy, please come there and get your training. This is the environment we suffered. Its fall-out, destroyed Pakistan's national fabric. This is what happens to Pakistan. Whatever militancy, whatever you see people, who may have gone there to some *Madrassas* for, something or the other, have got some training there. And we blamed Pakistan; yes indeed they may have gone there. But it is the whole world to blame. Who created this, it was in input. Which we have to rectify now. But why it fell all this, we need to understand. And west and anyone who criticizes us, need to understands that we need assistance and understanding. Anything which I want to lay down, because its my vision for the future.

In brief, there are three areas we are concentrating on. No.1 with all the economic gain and which all I have said. We have to peruse strongly the root of employment generation and poverty alleviation. No. 2, we have to improve the quality of the life of the people through provision of electricity, gas and safe drinking water. 60 percent of diseases in Pakistan are water born diseases. Therefore provision of safe drinking water. We have strategised all this. We are doing it. No.3 we have to improve the quality of human resource. That will come through quality of health and education. And we have strategised that also. This is the future line we have taken. And lastly we have to draw maximum investment into Pakistan. This we are doing as I said we have created an investment friendly environment. And then I am trying to sell Pakistan's strategic location. This is very important for anyone to understand. Pakistan is located at the centre of Gulf in the west, Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan; all land lock looking for access to the world for imports and exports. And the western region of China, which get its imports from the Gulf going across south though India and then through Malaka Strait to their host. Pakistan provides the easiest and shortest route. Then South Asia and India. Anyone in these three regions who wants to trade with each other or wants energy, gas and oil has to go through Pakistan. Therefore, I keep saying that Pakistan provides the connectivity to this entire region. Interaction between them is not possible without Pakistan. Pakistan is to be treated as a hub not a stand-alone country. And we are succeeding in that. Therefore investment is coming into Pakistan. I would like to conclude by saying that all I did was to understand the environment of Pakistan. And that is anyone if I was to leave an advice to the students here that if you want to tackle anything, no 1 is to understand the environments, first of all, understand the environment and don't go wrong on that. And then strategies, make a strategy, how do you tackle that problem. What are the problems and how do you tackle the problems. And then get into the implementation tactics. This is the three steps, which we did that, and we continue to do that. We are implanting all these strategize and programmes, the success varies. Remember that also. Another piece of advice is that in any developing country and even any developed country, you will never achieve 100% success in whatever you do. The success will vary. And you should never be disheartened.

I keep quoting, the glass being half full and half empty. Those who are pessimist and cynics, and they will never move forward, are those who see the half empty part of the glass and keep thinking that we are failing. Those who are optimists and they want to keep moving forward, sees half full of the glass. This is what we have achieved. May not be 100%. We need to fill the glass more.

Pakistan has filled more than half of the glass. We have a lot to do. There is no doubt. But we know what to do. And our direction is set. Our strategy is clear. We will keep moving in that direction. And Pakistan will keep rising as a progressive dynamic Islamic society.

Thank you very much. ■

London, 30 September 2006-12-11

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/ForeignVisits/105200654126AMOXford%20Address.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 23

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE 8 OCTOBER 2005 EARTHQUAKE

Chairman ERRA Altaf Saleem Sahib, Federal Ministers, CM of NWFP, Chairman Joint Chief of Staff, Excellencies, General Officers and Ladies and Gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure and a special privilege to me to be speaking on this occasion of first anniversary of this terrible earth-quake that struck Pakistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen, last year on the 5th of October, exactly one year back, one could never imagine that three days later, Pakistan in general and Azad Kashmir and NWFP in particular will be hit by a disaster of apocalyptic proportions. Where 73 thousand people would die, more than 70 thousand people would injure and entire generation of children would be lost. That 400,000 houses would be destroyed and now we believe the number is about 600,000, where 3.5 million people will be homeless, where 9 districts of these two areas, covering about 30,000 sq. kilometres would be affected.

Nature made history in terms of saga of destruction. But the world also saw, the people of Pakistan made history, in writing an epic of human courage, resilience, compassion and sacrifice. We also witnessed acts of compassion and altruism by the global community, by the United Nations, any numerable NGO's from all over the world, who came and helped us at this hour of need and may I say without their assistance, it would have been impossible for Pakistan to meet the challenge that it confronted. The people of Pakistan and the International community joined hands to give everything they could to those who lost every thing they had. To sacrifice their comforts, to provide comforts to those who in utter distress, to bear hardships, to mitigate the hardships of their fellow human beings. And to provide solace to those upon whom an unprecedented tragedy had been fallen.

Ladies and Gentlemen, when this tragedy struck, the Pakistani Government moved fast to meet this challenge. We immediately launched the President's Reconstruction Initiative. And established a Federal Relief Commissioner and

Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority. We were determined to show and resolve to convert this challenge into an opportunity. We immediately faced, three major almost insurmountable challenges. And I called them the three gluts. We immediately faced a telecommunication glut, where thousands where if not hundred of thousands of people were ringing up, trying to establish contact with their loved ones al over this 30,000 Sq.km's of area. They wanted information, they wanted to contribute and ask how they could contribute. So we have to meet this hundred of thousands of calls coming in. Then there was a transportation glut or a traffic glut. Where thousands not again if not hundred of thousands of trucks and vehicles loaded with relief goods by volunteers, organisations and individuals, on their own headed for the earth quake zone. Not knowing where they are going, no direction, no guidance, they had to be directed and guided in all over the places, inaccessible places, directed in a balanced manner, so that whatever they were trying to do, reached out to the people in all nook and corner of the affected area. Then there was an aircraft glut. Where the international community sent goods in aircraft loads, these aircraft loads came to the single airport, the Islamabad airport, where the aircraft landed on ground more space for them for additional ones and many were flying in the air. The aircrafts had to be unloaded. I think we managed this amicably, effectively and efficiently in the shortest possible time. I must give credit to the Armed Forces of Pakistan. Who established immediately about 80 nodes all over the affected area, with three Division Headquarters and under them each of them about 3 to 4 brigade headquarters, which means 12 brigade headquarters, each of them about 3 to 4 battalion headquarters and each of battalion headquarter having 4 company headquarters. Therefore we established about 80 nodes all over the area, on every artery, on every branch, on every road leading inside.

And each one of these nodes had a telephone no and a person in charge. This was publicized in the TV and the print media. Then I commend the efforts of the volunteers who sat in this Federal Relief Commissioners Office and manning the telephones round the clock for 24 hours. To answer those who were ringing up.

And also since we established the communication network in these 80 nodes, people could directly access to them. This was the massive transition form that challenge through resolving the issue and meeting this challenge in an effective manner. These nodes directed the traffic, directed anyone who came for the assistance to the right places. Then the aircraft glut was managed. Again the

Armed Forces of Pakistan helped out. The armed forces managing the traffic, the Army unloading and sorting out the medicines, tent-age, water and food, which were in packed conditions, no one knew what they contain. All this massive management of millions of tons of goods to be unloaded and transported forward to the people who were affected. To be unloaded, sorted out and transported forward. We therefore, ladies and gentlemen, the rescue and relief operation, most effectively and efficiently. I would like to express our, the nations gratitude to the international community who helped us in the rescue operation. Because we did not have the tactical know how. Again I would like to express my gratitude to an International community, who came forward with all the relief goods, without which we could not have managed.

The effectiveness or the efficiency of this success, the manifestation of all this is visible in the effects that we ultimately produced. The results that we achieved. And I would like to say this specially to those, the dooms day predictors, many of them who are appearing in the media casting all kind of aspersions of ineffectiveness, inefficiencies, slow movement, lethargy, but the end product and end result speak for itself. I remember people saying that, people are dying because there is no medical attention. Nobody died because of lack of medical attention. Again thanks to volunteer doctors, international health agencies, and again the Armed Forces of Pakistan, who reached out, and provide medical assistance. Then there was prediction of famine coming out. That the people will die because there is no food and water. No body died of food, no body died of hunger, and again I would like to commend the efforts of the International community who provided us everything. And of all too all those who transported all that was available. From the bases here and all over Pakistan, to reach out the mountain of the remotest places. There was no famine. Then the same dooms day predictors and important personalities, who said that there will be an epidemic of proportions, because medical facilities were not reaching out, health facilities are inadequate. There was no epidemic, ladies and gentlemen, and again we thank the International community, the volunteer doctors, agencies who came and ensured due attention. Then again when we succeeded in this, these dooms day predictors came again and say that winter is setting up and people are going to freeze to death in the snow. There was no freezing to death. Because we provided one million tents. And one million tents reached out to the people of Pakistan. The people affected by the earthquake. I would like to again express our gratitude, immense gratitude, to the whole world, because Pakistan did not have the capacity to produce one million tents. We may be about 200 or 250 thousand. We got all this support from the International community. Which flew in the tents but then it was the management on ground to transport all that forward to the people. It was a chain of harmonious action, internationally and domestically and down to the grass root level.

I would like to say is again a message to the same dooms day predictors to see things in the correct light, to see things practically, to understands realities, there is no doubt that the task is immense, the magnitude of the effort is unimaginable and you heard part of that. But it saddens one when all the efforts that one puts in, there are again negative aspersions, like even today in the press, I know the negative aspersions. Some are saying that 18 lac people will be in tents. It means the half of the original will be in tents. It is just unfortunate how anyone can say these things. Whereas I know there are only 30 to 35 thousand people will be in tents. And 5 percent as they have said. We challenge anybody to go and see themselves. But it is disappointing to give these figures in the media.

Then this talk of corruption at some levels, ladies and gentlemen, we must understands that when 60 billion rupees have been distributed, and let me give credit to all those, the organisation which has been formed to distribute those money, that I have never once heard any negative aspersions. I am very sure that at some level, some exploiters must be doing something wrong, but if anyone tries to convert this exception into a rule, that because a few people may be involved in corruption. If they come out and say that the there is corruption all over, it saddens us. Because I don't think that there is any corruption. We should ignore any few immoral characters who managed to do some corruption may be possible. There may be some. But on the

whole I give credit entirely to the system that put in place. I know the system that was put in place. This ensures transparency, which ensures that money goes and relief goes to those who are affected. I have personally checked at many places, even a place Karachi I saw a worker, and he said that he is from Azad Kashmir and I said did you effected and he said yes. I asked have got money he said yes I got the money. I have at least 10 people myself, in various places of the country. And every answer was to my extreme satisfaction that all have been paid the money.

So we must understand the realities that things are going so well. And also I read a report that this whole activity is going to get completed in 5 years. Yes indeed in 5 years, but I know 80 % of this activity will take only 3 years. By 2009, 80 % of the reconstruction effort will be over. But if you are talking of a university to be made of 50 million dollars, yes indeed it will take more time. So therefore if one is to put it negatively that all this is so slow that it will take 5 years is portraying negativism much more than the positive outcomes of this ERRA is so wonderfully achieving and doing.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I must commend ERRA for the exceptionally wonderful work that they are doing. Which has been shown now. Obviously we saw how all this effort came about, how we supported that much massive relief operations from the base in Islamabad to the people forward. I can never forget. We worked firstly with the helicopters, the Army Aviation, the air force and the navy, all the helicopters been used. All the facilities those were available for Pakistan. And the Chinooks we got, especially from US, which move in the days when there was road communication was broken down. Moving all the goods forward to the people. And then I would like to commend the work for Army Engineers who opened up the roads in the shortest possible time in two to three days. And then onwards from the main base here to the forward bases, it was the road transport. trucks, which are being used to move the goods forward and helicopters helping them moving them forward bases to the people. So this whole effort was very synchronized and extremely well done. I would like to boast at this moment, it gives me pride to boast indeed that our exemplary handling of the aftermath of the disaster has been termed as a textbook case. I have met Secretary General Kofi Anan, and his representatives, who have said that this handling of this earthquake of massive proportions has been an exemplary. It is an example for the whole world. And we are proud of it. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, Pakistan nation owes the special gratitude to the entire world. All nations of the world, the UN, the innumerable NGO's for assisting us. And I also salute the entire nation, the people of Pakistan, the Armed Forces of Pakistan, the local NGO's, who helped contribute to this success. We assess the entire damage and the whole damage came to, an assessment of 5.2 billion dollars. May I say this assessment was the joint assessment, by the World Bank, by the ADB, by our own organisations.

It was assessed that 1.6 billion dollars is for relief and 3.5 billion dollars for reconstruction and 100 million dollars for rehabilitation. We called a Donors Conference because we don't have this kind of money. Again, we extremely thankful to the whole world, because in this hall, there were representatives from more than 80 countries and they pledged over 6.5 billion dollars. Pakistan remains grateful to all these donors. We opened a President's Earth Quake Relief Fund. And over 12 billion rupees have been contributed by everyone. Especially Pakistanis here in Pakistan and overseas Pakistanis. Our gratitude to everyone who contributed. But the task is not yet over, ladies and gentlemen.

The relief effort is over. The Federal Relief Commission is being merged into ERRA. We have now entered the reconstruction and rehabilitation phase. One year has passed and therefore we thought that this conference may be held to convey to those who assisted us, in financially or in kind. We thought we owe it to them. To show we have used whatever they gave us in the best possible manner. To show them on ground, what we have achieved. My assurance to all those who have assisted us. That your assistance has not gone in waste and will not go waste. It will be utilized for the people, genuinely affected by the earthquake. A lot has been achieved already and it has been given out. Only 5 % will be in tents. 95% will be in some kind of shelter and houses. All the schools and health units are functioning in temporary accommodations. But may I say the temporary accommodation that I see and know have visited some are better than the old permanent accommodation. We are again grateful to the all world community, local NGO's, international NGO who helped us. The offices are functioning, departments are running, the streets and bazaars are bustling with activity. That is the success again of the ERRA.

Seismic studies have been carried out. Balakot, the main effected town is going to be shifted to Bakrial, which is about 20 km's away. A new town a better town in a seismic free zone will be built. Muzaffarabad, Rawalkot, Bagh are being developed with expert advice, with proper town planning. And since the government offices are being shifted out, therefore more space created.

Therefore we better town planning, I think these places will become better towns, attracting more tourists and giving better facilities to the people. The strategy that we are following are on the houses and owner driven strategy where money is being paid to the people. They have been given designs to make their houses earthquake proof. And the last transcend of the money to be given to them will be paid only when they have followed the earth proof design that we have giving them.

I think this is going very successfully. I keep monitoring all this. But I know instead of 400,000 houses its 600,000 houses now. Therefore more expenditure is required. On health and education side we are basing it on need based strategy. We will construct whatever is required to be done. Needs of the people and in a better manner.

Therefore as you have seen the run over cost have come from, instead of 3.6 billion dollars, which was initially worked out, comes to something like 4.4 billion dollars. Which mean there is a short supply of 800 million dollars. At this occasion though this address to donate more for the President's Relief Fund or the International Community to help us more. Because only then we meet the challenge of access of houses to be constructed and health and education facilities to be constructed.

Our pledge is, as I said, that we will utilize of donations most judiciously and we will complete 80 % of the work by 2009. That is the target I have set for ERRA leaving a side the big projects, everything must be completed by 2009. All housing especially ought to be completed by 2008. That is the division of effort that I would like to put in place. The housing which is the main issue of sustenance of the people will be completed *Inshallah* by Dec 2008.

At the national level, we have to raise and equip rescue teams to meet such disasters in future and we know that we lack this facility in the past. We need to create

a National Disaster Management Authority. We need to create National Disaster Management Plan and that is what we are doing.

I would like to end, ladies and gentlemen, by giving a promise to this nation that we convert this challenge into an opportunity. *Inshallah*, we will not fail as nation.

We will not fail the people who have been affected. We cannot bring the 73,000 people who have died and lost their lives. We can not bring them back but what I assure those who survived, we will give them a better life, give them better living standards, give them better facilities. That is the promise that I make to this nation and the people who have got affected.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. ■

Islamabad, 5 October 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/1082006115355PMERRA.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 24

DECLARATION OF THE 2ND WORLD ISLAMIC ECONOMIC FORUM

WHEREAS, the Inaugural World Islamic Economic Forum was held in Kuala Lumpur in October 2005, the 2ndForum was convened in Islamabad, The Islamic Republic of Pakistan from 5th to 7th November 2006.

RECOGNIZING that pragmatic and action-oriented programmes with effective implementation mechanisms within a well-planned time-frame will open new horizons for the Muslim Ummah:

- that sustainable economic cooperation and strong business partnerships enhance mutual respect and international understanding,
- that economic development, sustainable growth and wealth creation promote prosperity, social justice and peace,
- that the private sector is the primary engine of growth,
- that the World Islamic Economic Forum (WIEF) can contribute to the dialogue for the Muslim economic renaissance and efforts should be directed towards this mission.

WE, THE PARTICIPANTS:

- (i) Reaffirm our support for the World Islamic Economic Forum (WIEF),
- (ii) Reaffirm our support for the World Islamic Businesswomen Network (WIBN), its programs, achievements and specifically its plan to establish a Training Centre for Women Entrepreneurs which will equip them with relevant business competencies and skills,
- (iii) Reaffirm our support for the WIEF Islamic Education Task Force and acknowledge its programs,
- (iv) Acknowledge the signing of the following two MoUs:

- the provision of nursing and health sciences education initiated by the World Islamic Businesswomen Network (WIBN) task force and
- the enhancement of capacity building through international collaboration on research on vocational and technical training programmes initiated by the World Islamic Education Task Force (WIET)
- (v) Support the development of a WIEF Young Muslim Leaders Forum and its proposed initiatives and recommend that it collaborates with other similar existing bodies,
- (vi) Continue to facilitate networking and strategic alliances with non-Muslim businessmen to forge viable business partnerships thereby helping to contribute to international understanding, dialogue and peace,
- (vii) Recommend close collaboration and coordination with the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry and other similar organisations to ensure complementarity and non-duplication of efforts and activities,
- (viii) Support the call of the OIC Secretary General to the business community to engage in the implementation of the OIC Ten-Year Plan.

We appreciate the importance of close co-operation with Governments in innovative Public-Private Partnerships, and support the statements made by H.E. President Pervez Musharaff, H.E. Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and H.E. Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, in particular for successful Muslim companies to invest more in the OIC countries and for OIC countries to allocate 0.01% of their GDP to establish centres of excellence and Human Resource Fund.

We call upon the Governments of OIC countries to:

- (i) Provide fullest support to the World Islamic Economic Forum (WIEF) and its activities and programmes,
- (ii) Continue to create a conducive environment for business, investments and economic growth through regular dialogues, consultations and smart partnerships with the private sector,
- (iii) Provide an efficient framework to facilitate the movement of entrepreneurs, capital and trade flows within and between OIC countries,
- (iv) Promote and intensify Islamic Banking, Finance and Insurance,
- (v) Accelerate regional and sub-regional cooperation leading to the establishment of an Islamic Free Trade Area (IFTA).

We gratefully acknowledge the gracious hospitality of the Government of Pakistan in hosting the 2nd World Islamic Economic Forum (WIEF), thank H.E. President Pervez Musharaff for his fullest support and commend H.E. Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz for his personal initiatives in ensuring its successful outcome.

We also record our appreciation to the Prime Minister of Malaysia Dato' Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi for his continued support of the Forum as Patron of the WIEF Foundation and current Chairman of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference.

It is hereby also agreed that the 3rd Forum will be held in Kuala Lumpur from 7th to 9th of May 2007.

Finally, we call upon the Chairman of the Forum to submit this declaration to the OIC Secretary General.

Adopted on the 7th day of November 2006 in Islamabad, The Islamic Republic of Pakistan. ■

Islamabad, 7 November 2006

<<http://www.wief.org.my/event4.cfm>>

DOCUMENT NO 25

TEXT OF JOINT PRESS STATEMENT OF FOREIGN SECRETARY- LEVEL TALKS HELD BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA

Shri Shivshankar Menon, Foreign Secretary of India, led the Indian delegation while the Pakistan delegation was led by Foreign Secretary, Riaz Mohammad Khan.

They reviewed the progress in the third round of the Composite Dialogue encompassing talks on Peace and Security including CBMs; Jammu and Kashmir; Siachen; Wullar Barrage/Tulbal Navigation Project; Sir Creek; Terrorism and Drug Trafficking; Economic and Commercial Cooperation and Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields.

The talks were held in a friendly and positive atmosphere.

2. They exchanged views on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir in the spirit of Havana Joint Press Statement to hold purposeful discussions and to build on convergence and narrow down divergences.

They agreed to fully implement measures to enhance interaction and cooperation across the LoC including the early operationalisation of truck service for trade on agreed items.

3. In pursuance of the Havana Joint Press Statement, they discussed terrorism and the need to effectively deal with it.

They agreed to set up a 3-member anti-terror mechanism to be headed by Additional Secretary (International Organizations) from the Ministry of External Affairs of India and the Additional Secretary (UN & EC) from Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Its mandate would be to consider counter terrorism measures, including through the regular and timely sharing of information.

4. The two Foreign Secretaries exchanged views on Siachen.

5. Both sides also agreed to hold a meeting of experts on 22-23 December 2006 to decide on the coordinates for joint survey of Sir Creek and adjoining areas, without prejudice to each other's position, as well as to simultaneously conduct discussions on the Maritime Boundary.

The joint survey shall be completed by February 2007.

6. The agreement on reducing the Risk from Accidents relating to Nuclear Weapons was initiated by the two sides. They agreed on its early signing. They expressed satisfaction over the implementation of the Agreement on Pre-Notification of the Flight Testing of Ballistic Missiles.

7. They welcomed the inauguration on November 14 of the hotline between the Pakistan Maritime Agency and the Indian Coast Guard.

8. On humanitarian grounds, all fishermen and prisoners of the other country, whose national status stands confirmed and who have completed their sentences, would be released by 25th December 2006.

9. They reviewed the progress made towards the revision of the 1982 Protocol on Consular Access and expressed the hope that the Protocol will result in expeditious disposal of consular issues related to prisoners and fisherman of both sides. They also agreed to examine the release of prisoners of the other country who are detained on minor charges.

10. They also agreed to promote friendly exchanges between the two countries. They agreed on the need for an early finalization of an updated visa agreement between the two countries.

In addition, it was agreed to expand the list of shrines under the 1974 Bilateral Protocol on Visits to Religious Shrines.

11. The Foreign Secretaries reiterated the importance of enhancing mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

12. Both sides reiterated their keenness to see their respective Consulates General in Mumbai and Karachi reopened quickly.

13. Both sides agreed on the early signing of the revised Protocol on Shipping Services.

14. The Foreign Secretaries agreed to meet in February 2007 in Islamabad to launch the next round of the Composite Dialogue.

15. The Foreign Secretary of Pakistan called on the External Affairs Minister, Shri Pranab Mukherjee during the course of his visit. ■

New Delhi, 15 November 2006

<<http://www.irna.ir/en/news/view/menu-234/0611154138233556.htm>>

DOCUMENT NO 26

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION

Dear brothers and sisters;

Today is the historic day. Today the National Assembly has not only completed four years but it has also passed a historic Women Protection Bill. This is a movement that began in the year 2000.

The bill forms part of the measures taken to ensure empowerment of women, their protection and welfare and these measures will continue. In this regard a large number of people deserve to be congratulated. I first greet the entire Pakistani nation on the passage of the historical bill. We should be proud of it. I want to

congratulate all the women of Pakistan, our mothers and daughters, for whose protection, this bill has been passed.

Thirdly I wish to congratulate the National Assembly, fourthly the Pakistan Muslim League, including the Prime Minister, Ch. Shujaat Hussain and all ministers and MNAs of PML who played a key role in its passage. I also congratulate the coalition partners including MQM, Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan Peoples Party Sherpao group, Pakistan Muslim League Functional for supporting the bill. I will also congratulate Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians and PKMAP for their support.

I laud the media who presented several programmes to create awareness among the masses about the *Hudood* Ordinance. Now I wish to explain the Hudood Ordinance and the Women Protection Bill, as certain elements like MMA are trying to create an impression that the government, God forbid, that the bill is against the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah*.

All these allegations are baseless and misperceptions. I assure the entire nation that no Pakistani can ever think of enacting a law that is in violation of the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah*.

This law is fully in conformity with the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah* and there is no violation of Holy Quran and Sunnah. Now I wish to explain the *Hudood* Ordinance as many people are talking about it and even on talk shows, but they do not have any knowledge about it.

The Hudood Ordinance has five laws including adultery and rape, second about false allegations, third was prohibition against alcohol, fourth was property related against theft and fifth dealt with whipping. Now I would like to inform you my dear brother and sisters that we have not touched four of these as there was no problem with these and they are part of the *Hudood* Ordinance.

Only the first part dealing with adultery and rape has been amended keeping in view the principles of justice to protect the women, and I would like to explain it. When I studied and analysed it for the first time I felt shame and sorrow about the injustice we have meted against our mothers, sisters and daughters. How much injustice was done by the society? At that time I decided that there should be a change, as it was our obligation and the right of the women that they should be protected.

It was sheer oppression against them and it was our duty to help them. Only the law dealing with adultery and rape were death with, without touching the other four. About rape gravest injustice was that a woman was raped and she tried to seek justice from the police, without having the four required witnesses, she was arrested on charge of having committed adultery on the charge of rape and was sent behind bars. It was double injustice. One for having been raped and second for being jailed for adultery. It is a matter of shame or not? that is what we were doing with our mothers and daughters. This had to be rectified. Now rape clause has been placed under the PPC. Any woman who has been raped and even if there is no witness or even with one witness, the perpetrator will have to face justice and there will be no more such injustices.

Inshallah the rapist will face justice and there will be no more requirement of presenting four witnesses. Who can have objection to it? Whether is from MMA or any other party? No human, or man who can object to it that we have committed some wrong. About adultery if a man accuses a woman of having committed adultery and he does not have four witnesses, he has an escape route given under the law and automatically can get ten years imprisonment under *Tazir*. If the raped woman does not bring four witnesses, she has to undergo punishment. However when a man brings a case of adultery against a woman, he does not have to bring in four witnesses. This is again injustice to the women.

Now this has to be rectified or not? He said this was oppression against the women. Under Section 10 of *Tazir* now the requirement to bring in four witness has now been withdrawn, under which he was given 25 years punishment. Now after abolishing this clause there was a problem and was claimed by certain sections that it could lead to lewdness in the society. Therefore all the legal experts and workers of the Pakistan Muslim League, our assembly members thought there should be a law in the PPC to deal with lewdness in the society. We introduced 496-B in the PPC, under which the perpetrators can face five-year imprisonment for levelling charge of adultery.

Some experts said under the 496-B, there could again be injustice with the women and if there are no four witnesses, she can again get five years imprisonment. Now this had to be tackled and we went for a four-tiered fire walling under which, now the offence has been made non-cognisable and the person cannot be arrested only by registering a FIR, the women will not be arrested, rather the case will be referred to a court and it will decide whether to proceed against the women or not.

Moreover two witnesses will need to be produced to register the case. In case of false accusation the accused or the witnesses will have to face five-year imprisonment and the matter will be non-transferable. We have made it water-tight that there is no injustice to the women and I have come to know that thousands of women were behind bars, because of the old *Hudood* laws. They are there because of petty disputes of property and marriages without parental consent and have been accused by their fathers and brothers.

Such injustices will not be committed in future, under the new laws. Some elements are creating misperceptions, distortions about the Women Protection Bill and the government has not caved in to any pressure of any section. MMA has not dictated us to include the fornication bill in the PPC. The bill was made after understanding the realities by the PML and legal advisers from Senate and the National Assembly that a new article 496-B of fornication should be included in the PPC. This was not under any pressure, but there was a complete rationale and the article covers it.

Dear brothers and sisters the Parliamentary Select Committee was constituted that worked very hard with dedication and honesty to prepare this bill and did a good job. There was also a lot of behind-the-scene activity to make the bill acceptable to all. On the one side a group wanted the government not to touch it threatening to come on roads, while the other liberal extremists wanted to have it repealed fully, they will come on roads. This will mean that we have to legalize alcohol if the bill is repealed.

Therefore we did not touch the four laws, which were not related to adultery and rape and had nothing to do with injustices with the women. We developed consensus and discussed it with all, both the liberals and the *Ulema* and took them on board to reach a decision. I also like to appreciate the role of Council of Islamic Ideology; our real educated *Ulema* who are its members who played an important role gave us best advice about Islamic and un-Islamic issues to make it according to Islamic injunctions. The government was sincere in bringing about the changes, to ensure justice, and to fully support those on the right and was not afraid of anyone, but was only trying to develop consensus on the issue in the best interest of the nation.

The government maintained supremacy of justice and truth and this is the way forward. I hope that the Senate will also approve this bill with majority within next few days. We will continue our struggle to achieve this objective to fight against injustices of all sorts for our weaker sections of the society.

May Allah Almighty help us in fighting injustices against the weak and this is the demand of Islam.

There should not be any oppression or injustice against anyone. Even for the non-Muslims.

The government would continue to work for the protection of women against social customs such as marrying woman with the Holy Quran, *Wani*, *Wata-Sata* or exchange marriages, and the issue of three-*Talaq* and the inheritance issue. A bill against honour killing has already been passed.

All these issues need to be legislated and the bill will soon be introduced by the PML government and passed with majority so that the injustice against women ends and they are empowered and I will fully support this.

In the end I would like to say my brothers and sisters that time has come that moderate and progressive forces, who were in majority and wished to take Pakistan forward, should rise and display their strength to the extremists, to tell them they will have no say and voice of moderates would prevail. The National Assembly has completed four years and now is in fifth year and the election will be held in 2007 and I hope that my Pakistani brothers and sisters need to listen carefully that we are passing through a sensitive period and therefore I appeal to the nation to support the progressive forces in the next election while rejecting the extremist and fundamentalists forces as Pakistan's defence, solidarity and future depended on it.

I hope you will vote for the progressive who wish to bring justice and moderation to the society and who will not allow injustice in the society. *Inshallah* the moderates will succeed in future.

I am very grateful to you.

May Allah Almighty bless us and Pakistan.

Pakistan *Paindabad* ■

Islamabad, 15 November 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/1115200682647PMpresident%20speech%20at%20WPB.pdf>>

DOCUMENT No 27

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE INAUGURATION CEREMONY OF MIRANI DAM

Governor Balochistan Mr. Awais Ghani, Chief Minister Balochistan Mr. Jam Yousaf, Minister of Water and Power Mr. Jatoi, Chairman WAPDA Mr. Hameed, Nazim Kitch Mr. Mir. Abdul Rind, all Ministers, dear friends, brothers and sisters:

I am glad to be here for the inaugural ceremony of Mirani Dam and to address to you all. I am thankful to all for coming here from far-flung areas to listen to me. First of all, I want say that yesterday was a historic day because Bill was passed for the protection of women of this Country. It is a historic day. All of you and especially ladies here should consider it a very significant and historic day. In this ordinance/ law, there were some Islamic weaknesses. People think that the amended Bill is against the Islamic law, whereas they do not understand the Bill and its effectiveness. Now the weaknesses have been removed and we have corrected it exactly according to Quran and *Sunnah*.

Before the amended Bill, women were subjected to injustice and cruelty in this Country. Justice is the most important and clear element of Islam. There is no cruelty against anyone in Islam. The injustice and cruelty, which was happening with the women of Pakistan, will not happen anymore and it was against the teachings of Islam. Therefore, yesterday was a historic day because we amended Hudood Ordinance according to Islam, Quran and *Sunnah*. I feel proud and congratulate you all and the women of this Country.

In 2001, we initiated a plan called Vision 2025, in which we considered water related issues for the next 25 years because water is essential for life and for agriculture. We earn money from water and Pakistani Economy runs from this water. Mirani Dam is one project of Vision 2025 Plan. Today, I feel proud and happy to see water in this Dam. It is indeed a good sign for this area that development will occur soon. There are few demands put up by Nazim and they are right demands. Government should fulfill the demands of the people.

People should have good intentions and strong belief to work. But not just this, one must have resources and money to achieve their goals. Rs. 6 billion have been invested in this Dam. It's useless to promise without having money. But *Alhamdulillah*, our intentions are strong and our economy is doing well. We have money to spend on such type of projects. So, *Inshallah* we will do everything which you people want us to do.

First of all, people of this area demanded a University, as they have to go to Quetta for getting higher education. I realize your problem and I am glad to announce that we will open branches of Balochistan University in Turbat and Gwadar, *Inshallah*.

Secondly, you demanded bulldozers. I am again glad to announce that Japan has donated bulldozers to us and you people will get those on priority basis.

Thirdly, your demand was to write-off agriculture loan. We are looking into this and loan will be written-off soon.

Fourthly, there was talk of date factory and its storage. This is indeed a genuine demand. Now, there is water because of dam. The ground will be levelled with bulldozers. So, we are planning what we can cultivate date. There are more than 100 varieties of date. Private sector should come forward and set up factories here. I am also looking for the possibilities of cold storage.

There are suggestions for growing cotton in this area. Cotton was grown here before, so experts are here for its feasibility. Cotton is gold for you people. If it's cultivated here, you will earn money and in the longer run a textile mill could be set up.

Then there was demand for electricity. Thirty villages have been provided with electricity and more would be in the near future. I will tell you what we are doing in this regard. Rs. 10 million has been granted to every Nazim so that they spend the money on the development of their area and secondly government is giving Rs. 2.5 billion to MNA's and MPA's. There is no shortage of money. These MPA's and MNA's should spend money on the development of their area. If they demand more money, they will be granted next year.

Your demand of Fiber Optic would also be looked into and as the Fiber Optic cable has already been laid up to Gwadar, this will be extended to Turbat in near future. I am also glad to announce that WAPDA workers will get bonus equal to their one-month's salary for their achievements and work for Mirani Dam. Also DESCOM will be giving one-month bonus salary their employees. We are raising Mangla Dam to 30 feet and there would be additional capacity of 3 million acre feet water storage, which is 8-10 times more than Mirani Dam. It will be completed next year. These are all developmental projects for the Country. I am proud of the workers and engineers of WAPDA and DASCON for their work for development of the Country. In March, Subakzai Dam will be inaugurated.

Now, what will be the benefit of Mirani Dam? As you have seen that water is now there in the Dam, there was no drinking water before. People can now do fishing and earn Rs. 10 million annually. It will have a storage capacity of over 300,000 million acre feet of water that could be used for drinking purpose and irrigation of vast barren lands. This Dam will continue to provide resources to improve living standards of the people here and will bring prosperity. Out of this, Rs. 6 billion is the cost of the Dam. Rs. 1.5 billion is for compensation to the affected people.

My sisters and brothers, water is extremely necessary for the people. God has provided our Country will lots of water. A number of rivers are flowing. But it is our bad luck that due to lack of proper water storage, the rain water goes into the sea and lots of water goes wasted. Allah has blessed us with immense water resources but unfortunately no dam could be built in the last 30 years.

Pakistan is already facing a shortfall of 9 million-acre feet of water that will swell to 30 million acre feet, if no dam is built in the coming years by 2025. We have to plan today, to meet the future requirements. It is our bad luck that 35 million acre feet of water go wasted yearly as there was no capacity for its storage.

Therefore, prosperity and happiness can only come through water with which the barren land can be irrigated and quality crops can be grown. Government will build many more dams, including Kalabagh by 2016. These also include Bhasha Dam, Munda Dam, Kurrum Tangi and several water reservoirs. So we have to think in future and we will construct all these dams to fulfill Country's water requirement.

Today, Balochistan is also not getting its due share because of absence of canals to channel water into the Province. In this context, the government is constructing Rs. 40 billion Katchi Canal and Punjab had been gracious to provide land for its 350 km stretch that will pass through the province.

This is all for your benefit and prosperity of your area. Balochistan is an important Province of Pakistan. Leaders in the past made hollow promises to people but could not deliver, as they neither had the intentions to resolve nor resources to spend on their welfare. I am now doing developmental work for this province for the last 6 years. Therefore, I want to give you the summary of it.

First of all Mega projects: Gwadar Dam, Coastal Highway, and Gwadar Port. A highway starting from Gwadar would go to Rato Dera. This is 950 km road. Traffic would flow from here and go to Central Asian Republics, Iran and China. To undertake other several small projects, the Federal Government has given Rs. 100 million to each District Nazim in Balochistan and Rs. 2.5 billion to MNAs and MPAs to undertake development projects in the Province. A package would be announced for Balochistan including special quota in good colleges and universities for students from Balochistan. Their boarding would be free besides facilitating children's admission in technical institutions. 20 children from Balochistan have been accommodated in a first Technical School recently opened by Lahore Corps. Jobs would also be provided to them to accommodate them there. The organizations like Pakistan Ordnance Factory (POF) and PAC Kamra have been asked to enrol people from Balochistan train them and create job opportunities for them.

However, there are some elements in this Society who do not want to see this progress and development. They try to challenge the Government. Pakistan is a one Country and the people of this Country are united. Government would never allow anyone to challenge writ of the law. Pakistan comes first; we are because of Pakistan. We have to work together for the progress and prosperity of the people and bring development and prosperity to Balochistan. We would have to reject such elements which do not want development and create hurdles. We have to fight against them so that you can live in happiness.

I urged you to vote for moderate and progressive people in the next General Elections, who want to take Pakistan forward as a developed Country. The Election 2007 is very important and future of Pakistan depends on it. We have to vote for the moderates and reject elements supporting extremism and terrorism. There is no place for extremism and terrorism in Pakistan. I request you to vote those who are my supporters and reject elements who are not moderates.

Thank you very much for coming here and listening to me, especially those sisters who came from far flung areas.

Pakistan *Paindabad!*■

Turbat, Mekran Division, 16 November 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/1117200672954PMArressMiraniDam16Nov.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 28**PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE INTERNATIONAL DEFENCE
EXHIBITION AND SEMINAR 2006**

The Federal Minister for Defence, Minister for Defence Production, Senate Chairman, Governor Sindh, CM Sindh, all the Service Chiefs, Chairman of Joint Staff Committee, General Officers, ladies and gentlemen, specially to delegates from abroad coming from so many countries to grace this occasion. I welcome specially, all our friends the delegates, who have come from abroad, I hope you have a comfortable stay in Pakistan. I hope you would take back very profound memories of your stay in Pakistan. And I also hope at the same time that you have a commercially beneficial visit to Pakistan and participation in IDEAS 2006. I would like to commend the efforts of EPO and its Chairman for organizing this exhibition. I would be remiss if did not also commend the Chairman of PEGASUS for organizing this event. Since the year 2000, this is the fourth exhibition he is organizing. I would like to specially commend Chairman PEGASUS efforts and effort of his organization for doing such an excellent job over so many years. I would also like to take the opportunity to express gratitude to the Defence Production Division and its Ministry the Ministry of Defence and the Minister of Defence, Ministry of Commerce and also the Government of Sindh for encouraging and facilitating such an event of this scale.

Ladies and gentlemen, the idea of IDEAS 2006 Exhibition came to us back in 2000. I thought we need to project our defence industry to the world, because I thought it was a well kept secret, no-body knows that we have progressed reasonably well in defence production and thus we started this and since then I would like to say that we have come a very long way. We have travelled a long distance. I remember when in the year 2000, we thought of this venue; I remembered the air conditioners here were not working at that time. The lifts were not working, non functional. There was total encroachment in the land here. It was the Army which put it in order and that is how we started journey in year 2000 of these IDEAS exhibition. But since then I am very proud and I am very happy to see that it has expanded so much that so many delegates, foreigners and participants are coming. Such an expansion in the infrastructure of this EXPO centre, it is indeed a heart warming to see all that. That speaks volume of effort that all these organisations have together made but I must say that there was no exhibition in 2000 were used to be take place here. Today we are proud of the fact that there are dozens of exhibition, which go on, every year here. In fact this centre is so busy that it doesn't have breathing space within. This is the success of our exhibition, not only organizing these exhibitions but in contributing to the commercial activity of Pakistan, within Pakistan of show casing our products and also giving an opportunity to show case international projects here for the purpose of imports or exports from Pakistan or to Pakistan. And for this again I think Asim Sadiqee needs all the encouragement.

Let me say ladies and gentlemen, talking of defence, Pakistan follows a strategy of defensive deterrence. Which implies there by that we have quantified our requirements, our weaponry for our Army, Navy and Air force to deter any aggression. This was in a conventional mode but when the threat grew unconventional, we had to rectify the imbalance and therefore we also went unconventional. So therefore today our strategy of defensive deterrence in the conventional field and the unconventional field is both in place in strength and is growing from strength to strength every year. This idea of “Arms for Peace” therefore is very valid we want to use our arms for peace. Because it is for defensive deterrence, but I want to clarify here we believe in peace through strength not peace through weakness, so that is the peace we want and that is the peace we follow and therefore our strategy of defensive deterrence ensuring peace through strength.

Our past experiences ladies and gentlemen, showed that we have to indigenise our defensive products and also diversify our market for purchases. In the beginning we had excellent collaboration with Afro Asian countries but that was mainly in the training field, exchange of training visits, exchange of training students, in our centres of military training. For those centres, Pakistan is proud to have a vast operational experience and therefore our military training centres are well organised, are extremely practical and I think they are a source of excellent training not only to officers of all ranks of Pakistan forces but also impart training to overseas officers and NCOs. Now we want to go a step further and this is our desire since 2000, we want collaboration in defence production through joint ventures and we also off course sell our products and buy products internationally. And that is the utility of that exhibition where international players can show case their products, at the same time they can see our products.

Pakistan is extremely proud of its association in defence production with China, with France, with Ukraine; this includes joint ventures and collaboration in defence production. This collaboration has resulted in major successes, If I was to enumerate just few of them, I think the first success came in the production of our battle tank Al Khalid MBT-2000. This tank, we are very proud of and this tank was produced under 10 years. Which is some type of a record in producing a new tank, generally takes much longer. And I am very proud to say this is one of the best tanks of the world. I have been seeing its demonstration and when it was under trial, this tank in its all field trials has been achieving in all its accuracy in fire not only static but moving target and moving tank of over 70 percent. It has all the latest technology of any tank on this tank. I am very glad that I was just talking to Commanders 5-Corps who has just attended the field exercises of one of his divisions and one of the units which is equipped with this tank and he told me that they have achieved accuracy results over 80 percent and this is no mean achievement for a unit which is recently been given this tank. So this has been a great success story of ours and may I say when seen from the point of view of its cost effectiveness when you compare other tanks of the world of this class, the price of this tank is certainly cost effectiveness.

The other success is the Zarar Tank, the up gradation of the older T-Series tanks and now it is a modern tank that we have made, then in the air-force the K-8 jet trainer is our success story, the Augusta B-19 submarine which we co produce here now with France is our success story. And if we look at the future, the JF-17 fighter aircraft, high technology, *Inshallah* will be flown on the 23 March next time in the skies

of Pakistan. This is our success story. *Inshallah* we will be producing F-22 P frigates for the Navy in Pakistan. This is our success story. And we are also into the UAV projects, this is just to say of few of the major successes of joint ventures and collaboration with other countries and we are very proud of this and that is why I say the defensive deterrence strategy of Pakistan Armed Forces is in place and will carry on growing on from strength to strength.

May I also add to this International audience that Pakistan Armed Forces greatest strength is in the fact that we are familiar with all types of equipment of the world, whether it is Western, we are familiar with US equipment, British equipment, French equipment and many other countries equipment or if it is Eastern equipment we are experts, also, Chinese, Russian or Korean equipment and now we have added the Ukrainian into the field also, the T80UD tanks which we have from Ukraine, the Ukrainian delegation is here, may I say we are extremely grateful and we cherish the association with Ukraine in this tank project. This is our strength. And we desire to expand our collaboration and build on this strength that the Pakistan have of varied equipment and mastering the expertise in this varied equipment.

I would, ladies and gentlemen be remiss if I say the greatest enemy in the way of defence of any commercial or economic activity or progress, is extremism and terrorism. This is a curse for the whole World and especially so for the Muslim world and therefore I always talk about it. I always say that the way forward is enlightened moderation where we have to reject extremism and terrorism. We have to go on the path of socio economic development for our own sack for the sack of this country, which we love so much, and for the sack of the Muslim world which is so dear to us being an important part of it and also for the sack of humanity. We have to reject extremism and terrorism. We have to fight it and Pakistan is fighting in the forefront.

Pakistan is the key player in fighting terrorism and extremism and we are fighting it militarily, we are fighting it politically, we are fighting it administratively and also we are also fighting it in the form of development activity so we have a multi phases approach towards fighting terrorism and extremism. We have to fight it and we have to win and *Inshallah* with determination Pakistan will win against extremism and terrorism because the way forward for Pakistan is moderation, socio-economic development and sustaining the economic up serge that we already have here today in Pakistan.

In conclusion I would again like to wish well for all the foreign delegates who are here and as I said I wish you success in your commercial desires I wish you a happy and successful stay in Pakistan. I felicitate all those who made this event so successful. On my own behalf the only thing I can say is that I always enjoy visiting IDEAS, this exhibition. Always enjoy interacting with the foreign delegations who are here personally and I will always continue to support and back this exhibition in the future also, I thank you all ladies and gentlemen.

Pakistan *Paindabad!* ■

Karachi, 21 November 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/1123200615141AMEXpo2006.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 29

PRESIDENT'S INTERVIEW TO ND-TV

Q: It's after 5 years since Agra; the people of India get fascinated with you. Many like you and many are not sure about you. Some even don't like you. Whatever this is they can't ignore that. I think I wanted to know more about General Pervez Musharraf as a person. E.g. you talk about enlightened moderation. What exactly do you mean by that?

President: Enlightened moderation is a concept as a strategic connotation. Some times people degraded to a tactical or a minor tactical level I would say. It has a strategic concept. I thought of it, when I analysed when happened in Pakistan and what in our region and the world at large infect. Where the Muslims are really at the receiving end of that is every thing that is happening. Political deprivation, Militancy, bombings, killings of Muslims and the perpetrators as well as the sufferers of Muslims, so the strategy I thought was how can we improve the world, how can we do something for the Muslim world. We are being a part of course. And at the same time do something for Pakistan. That is where I thought the terrorism, extremism and the militancy is not the future.

Q: Are you a moderate Muslim?

President: Yes I think so.

Q: Do you encourage the Enlightened Moderation across the Muslim world. ?

President: yes indeed I do. But the world has to understand that the other part that they have to deliver. Resolution of political disputes, now if the world thinks that we got all these militancy and we will come towards peace and socio economic development, no site is doable until you resolve political disputes. That happens to be the core of every thing. So therefore world has to play its role in the enlightened moderation part and then of course it has its tactical connotation as you have said, an enlightened society, so I would like to create an enlightened society within Pakistan.

Q: Does this make you many enemies?

President: yes it does and the enemies are those who I called obscurantist. Don't understand Islam actually. They are the ones who bring the bad name to Islam. Islam is a great religion but unfortunately the world sees Islam to be a religion may be of, the general perception, the religion that encourages militancy, encourages extremism, where it supposed to be a tolerant, it suppose to be tolerant to all religion. So these people who are obscurantist who are against me and who even think that I am some kind of a non believer which is anything but a truth.

In Islam there is *Haqooq-Ullab* and *Haqooq-Ulibad*. *Haqooq-Ullab* is the God's rights on you and *Haqooq-Ullah* is the peoples rights on you. God right is fine, every one should do that and one should pray and do every thing but what about the right of the people that is where you have to sacrifice. And that is where these obscurantists don't talk of. Because they need to sacrifice so the bigger issue which contributes to the society to the nation may be to the family which is *Haqooq-Ul Ibad*, they are

ignoring that and look at them unfortunately what they are talking of women protection bill I mean these are the issues of their obscurantism.

Q: Yes, Actually we do want to come on that. In the last five years the Indians believe that the sincerity and the believe that when you are talking but on the other hand people say you are always are sincere and depending upon the audience say that India is the biggest enemy, you always said that India is a friend in that moment you believing both and to the *Jibadees* you say that I am a bigger *Jibadi* than you and to the moderate you do so. So at that moment you are sincere but what is the real General Musharraf?

President: I am disagreeing with you. I am totally disagreeing with you. I don't play to the gallery at all, I speak the truth and the whole truth and never do I lie. Now this perception is absolutely baseless that I am playing to the gallery. When I speak to the military yes indeed I will say that there is a threat to us. And we have to be prepared for any threat, external and internal. But I will never say what I am denying to say anything to Indian public. Not at all if you are going for peace I do tell them that we have to go for peace. We have to reject extremism and terrorism. We have to resolve our disputes. There is no duplicity at all what so ever. If you would give me an example I would like to comment.

Q: Yes I am giving you the example. There is a great admiration for the women's protection bill what you are doing that and taking on, I mean the very tough or militant side of I would say the extremist political side of Pakistan and its people. So you are compassionate on that side. But on the other side of General Musharraf is what you did to Bugti. There is a feeling that how could you do that to Bugti. How the same man can be compassionate on the other side?

President: No, I mean the compassionate for women. How can you compare women with Bugti? No, I am a soldier over and above I am from the Special Services Group. I have been trained as a fighter so compassion for women is different for Bugti which is different what he was doing something against the Nation. I love the nation than anyone else. I love Pakistan much more than anything else. We are in the way of anybody who is trying to harm Pakistan. Irrespective of who ever, if the women harming Pakistan I would and indeed I am on this issue of this Mukhtara Mai, who I supported and I still support and I am with her to whatever wrong was done to her, right from the day one I was the first person who moved in her favour. But then there were some vested interest, Pakistanis playing this up and bringing a bad name on this issue of rape of women, violence against women in New York. I went against them.

Q: But did you regret that having made that statement?

President: Which statement.

Q: That she was just rapped to get a visa?

President: No. no I didn't say that. This is total misperceptions. I never say that. It would be very silly of me to say that.

Q: Because sir you were quoted in the media having said that?

President: No that is not the issue so I was against the women at that time there, because I thought they are bringing a bad name to their own country abroad. You can talk of violence against women in Pakistan. You can talk of violence against women anywhere in the world. I know India, where I read India Today on the main page where the women do not trust the judges and law enforcement agencies, where twelve examples inside of women having been rapped and all that in a worse manner than a Mukhtaran Mai case. I remember that. So this is a universal issue that it is I am lying to India it happens here. We need to address this issue in its complexity the whole.

Q: That's the true General Musharraf, standing up against all odds then here is the President: No it was not done politically. What's the way in handing politically when there is man of maintaining an Army of 6000 people with latest weapons and challenging the writ of the government, attacking the civilian installations. What political understanding is there. Firstly there is no political understanding with a man who has an army, we will crush him, and there is no doubt as you are doing in India. So why anyone is challenging, secondly that I killed him. What do mean by I killed him? He was operating against the Army, he went into the mountains, and it was actually the frontier core not the Army which is our second line force. It was the Frontier Core which was the one which surrounded them and some support from the Army, from the commandoes and we surrounded him and then an incidence took place, actually how there are five officers killed inside? That was obvious that were not to attack him, they wanted him to surrender and suddenly explosions took place and whole cave collapsed. This is how but I would I like to say that anyone who maintains a military and tries to challenge Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan and the Military of Pakistan, there is not doubt in my mind, there is not duplicity in my mind about this. We will crush him. We always said that and we will not allow that.

Q: Other side of General Musharraf you went to visited temple. What was the signal behind that?

President: This is unfortunate. I am a man who acts on impulses and acts on exactly what is happening around. I am very natural I do not put any act. I am not putting on act because I am going to temple to convey something to India and all that. These are all people who read between lines. What had happened? Let me tell you. I went to see the progress on Bagh Ibn Qasim, which is the Qutari parade in Clifton area, beautiful park which we are making. There was a function there so I could go there and see that. I walked and spend about 2 hours, when I was coming out. At the entrance of the park there is a temple and the stairs go down and there were about twenty who were there. I presumed that they were Hindus. I don't know that there is a temple there, which goes downstairs there were 20 people I presumed they were Hindus I just walked up to them. I shook hand with all of them. I said what are you doing and who you etc. are and they were Hindus. And they said that this is our temple. I said ok. I said to them can I visit your temple. They said that yes we will be very honoured and I walked in. I went inside and I stood with them and there were many others. I stood with them about half an hour. I saw everything and I said do you want assistance. I said that do you want this temple to be done up. What do you want me to do. Can I do something for you? I don't mind at all. Any Hindus are free here, we Hindus in our assemblies.

Q: Is it your way that you are bringing Jinnah's vision in Pakistan. Which lost its way as you write in your book?

President: yes indeed. There is no doubt in my mind that this is an Islamic republic of Pakistan. But in accordance with Quaid-I-Azam vision, the minorities have equal rights here. They are Pakistanis as Muslims. Therefore I have done alot for the minorities. I have given them joint electorate, giving them fixed representation. Double advantage we have given them politically and I have no problem in interacting with Christians, Hindus. There are six in the military academy. So we have no problem. I have no problem what so ever.

Q: I heard you said some time that you have been sent here to do a job by Allah?

President: Never said that. This is again misquoting. I have just been quoting in my book what has happened to me. And which is the reality. I have never said, I am a humble man. I am not that arrogant that God has sent me to the earth to deliver or some other. No at all. I am very humble down to earth man. I am a practical person and I have never said that kind of a thing. There are aspersions which are cast. I just speak the truth. Yes when I speak to an audience here to a common man that I have said because they are listening, and I told them that I am that much religious if not stronger in religion than those who are challenging my religious credentials. That is where I tell them that in the house of God Kahan-e-Kabah or in Madina, because saying that it is God who wills anyone who goes there and visit inside. So I have been saying that I visited there seven times and I have gone to Madina and doors are open for me, locks are open and I go inside to pray seven time I have gone inside. So I God wills that so therefore what is the issue, I am a greater Muslim than anyone of you. Taking this to be that God has sent me no sir I have never said that and I have no such illusions.

Q: Good things about this interview that absolutely frank and clarify everything. But you also tend to hint that because there have been so many assassination attempts. So many times you could have died if you have been appointed with the plan with Zia or all kind of instances in life, which could have been terrible but there they didn't happen. Does this mean that you are all a superstitious person?

President: I am not at all a superstitious. I have never looked back to my life at all. But now I started writing this book then I started thinking what has happened, that is where I have started believing in some type of a destiny. I don't know what this has happened but not at all I have ever said or even now I am not superstitious and not at all superstitious.

Q: As you have said that you have been visited seven times in the house of God and also the attempts on your life has been made seven times as well through some destiny?

President: I have escaped there is no denying that, these are a fact that is the fact of life. This has happened to me and now I don't know how you would call it. Whatever you want to call it, I called it a destiny that I escaped. I don't know how else I call it.

Q: Moving on to your relationship which PM Manmohan Singh. Would you like him to come to Pakistan in 2007?

President: Yes indeed, I would like him to come tomorrow. What is the use of visit if its not substantive. There are issues involved. Let's make an important visit.

Q: Would you like him to come with big break through?

President: Yes with some breakthrough if not big breakthrough.

Q: If he comes here. What is your plan? Would you take him to his home town Peshawar?

President: I will take him wherever he wants to go. Its open he is the guest. I am his host. I would like to go any where he wants to go.

Q: Would you like him to take to his own village?

President: I would love to take him there. The place is near Chakwal not in NWFP.

Q: One thing that slightly rankles in your book, you have got on so well with Dr. Manmohan Singh to said very nice thing about him than that the initial sign of sincerity and flexibility in Manmohan Singh's seems to be vigering away. I think the Indian establishment diplomats, intelligence agencies perhaps even the military have got better of him. I feel that if a leader is get away from hackening ideas and frozen positions, we have to be bold and the time of negotiations is that not a sort of thing to say about any leader?

President: Anyone can say anything about anything. These are my feeling and let my book as truthful and I must express my feelings. When I say about intelligence, when I say about foreign office, establishment, it is equally applicable. Even somewhere I have written about Pakistan. There is a drag about establishment, our intelligence, throughout for 50 years Sir has done nothing than harming each other.

We must know that and it is a fact. No body says this but I said. Both side, this is the reality. And also foreign office for 50 years have been following a certain line against India and so you have been following against Pakistan. You will come with new idea they will shoot it down straight. They suffered it due to inertia. And you have to break that inertia and you have to break that inertia and move it forward.

And that you can do only when you impose a will on them When we are talking of Siachen, I don't know whether you are going to ask or not. It is so simple that it can be done tomorrow, I think so. Even on this Sir creek, it is simple. We are on Siachen; we have to work out a zone of disengagement that is all. Therefore it involves moving the troops and placing them somewhere. And that zone is reasonably clear. On the other side Sir Creek, you say that the border is on the Western side and we say that is on Eastern side. This Sir Creek has changed the whole course, however we are maintaining. Ok fine, as of today you say Western I say Eastern. Let's take the mediumistic course. You're western and extended to the sea. And we are Eastern and goes into the sea. That is in the sea goes in a funnel shape. With the world's entire oil, gas and natural resources are right inside there. If they are there, let it be the zone of disengagement, if there is exploration it will be jointly done or we say that no body will enter this zone. If we are that intolerant to each other. Otherwise use it for common purposes. Why can not this are to be done. It can be done tomorrow. Now if you go into the details

Q: After Agra you are little more bold and confident and you are surrounded by same establishment that you have today?

President: No I am the same. May be I have matured in my view. May be because the world has become more complicated since then we must understand the region and the world, things to be taken and seen in their whole perspective. Most or many of the things you have to see the worlds; perspective, then you come into the regional perspective then as far as I am concerned; I have to see the Islamic perspective and then domestic. So this is a complicated world but on these issues of India Pakistan, let me assure you that the establishment, the foreign office, the intelligence is totally and completely with me on whatever ideas I gave, there is no opposition to that.

Q: The first thing that convinces a leader is that the things are complex?

President: Yes,

Q: Five years ago you didn't think that the things were so complex?

President: No I have realized that the things are complex myself, and they also obviously, you think you thought of it. Whoever thought of it is not the issue. I understand it actually ok I will give them the credit. Anyone can take the credit. But as long as I know that they are complex.

Q: General Musharraf 2001 was not in complex world, and in 2006 General Musharraf is in a complex world?

President: You are talking of the world. You were not talking about of India and Pakistan. Let me assure you that on India and Pakistan, whether it is Kashmir, Siachen or Sir Creek the establishment here is totally on board for a solution and we know what the solution is. We are open.

Q: So, finally on this particular issue on Dr. Manmohan Singh, how would you rate him?

President: Again so you want me to repeat what I said in the book No I leave it to you now. Whether you want to change your mind or you want to say anything else

President: I rate him high. I respect him. He is a good man, he is a sincere man, he wants peace so I rate him high

Q: And Sonia Gandhi?

President: Frankly, I don't know her much. So as far as I think she is a nice person and I think whatever information I have she is again a person for peace, she is for peace so I admire her and I respect her.

Q: If she was sitting just opposite to you just now, what would have you said?

President: I would say that she should put her weight behind resolution of the disputes. Because if she puts her weight behind and PM Manmohan Singh obviously gets strengthened, I think we can resolve disputes and bring permanent peace and it has so much advantage. We have analysed, look at the advantages, we have been talking of tourism, giving a boost to tourism, I think there will be million tourisms from Pakistan going there and million from your side coming here and look at the trade and economic activity.

Q: I want to come on to your solution of Kashmir, which as many people are saying is brilliant but they want more details. Before that I wanted to spend a little five minutes on the Election 2007 in Pakistan. Now its your duty to tell the Country that there is going to be such and such time not suddenly. So, when do you think it will be in 2007? The first half or second half of 2007?

President: Again suddenly, I don't know who is talking of suddenly. Its very clear, why should anyone even be doubting when it will be? They complete their 5-year tenure in November. And the Constitution of Pakistan is very clear. After completion of this tenure within two or three months election has to be held. Now, this is the constitution of Pakistan. So, who the hell is doubting? Now unfortunately, it is the people who all themselves are democratic. They are trying to impose dissolution of these assemblies by me and they call themselves democratic. I am on the contrary saying that these assemblies must complete its tenure for the first time in the history of Pakistan. Who is more democratic? I do not know. I am a dictator, I am asking them to let the assemblies' complete tenure and they are forcing me by all means trying to, no body forces me, they are trying to.

Q: So, you are saying that after November before January 2008?

President: Yes sure, it has to be.

Q: And who will win?

President: I have desire, I have a hope and I think that it should happen, I hope that moderate forces must win, I fretted calling it the mother of all elections, a term from Saddam Hussain i-e mother of all battles so this is the mother of all elections.

Q: he called it that because he lost that battle?

President: No not that way. We should win here its great issue because of the complexities of the region and Pakistan. Moderate forces, enlightened forces must win against these religious elements, I call them, they must go down to the level where they were before, and they were never of more than 3%-4% or 17-18% of all assemblies. They must be defeated.

Q: You will find these elections hit on extremists

President: unfortunately there is a little bit problem here, I am not fighting these elections, I am not being elected in these elections so it's the political parties and its the moderate political parties who must win against them.

Q: Not in the sense that you would be fighting as a head of the political parties – to win the election by yourself.

President: no I will win the election only if the people who support me will win the elections which are the parties, political Parties now what did caught me here is that I have a certain popularity in masses but I am not asking them for a vote so what happens. Therefore my attempt is that I tell the people you vote for those, if you want me, you vote for those who are for me.

Q: Will you be standing from any constituency?

President: No, not at all. These are the people who do not understand realities we will have to first amend the constitution with 2/3 majority then only can be there a Presidential system and secondly people say things without analysis, now they keep talking that there should be a Presidential system, probably those some or my well wisher should say that, any how my well wishers would say that but they are just seeing me, I would like to see Pakistan as a country futuristically, when you introduce a system, its not for me, not for 15 years or 10 years. Any form of government, any system, and Democratic system is functional if the check and balances are there other wise any system can be fail. Now in a Presidential system, my view, in the Parliamentary system that we are running the President has the authority to dismiss the assemblies under article 58-2b. In a presidential system there is no check on the President. He can only be impeached. And that is a very very cumbersome and big issue. Here we have seen that Pakistan has failed because those running the government has failed, the PMs have been failing here, the nation had gone down from 1988 to 1999 as a failed state and default state because it were the PMs who were not delivering, now if this Presidential form was there who would have been the President, the same person, the same prime minister who has failed and there is no check on that. and five years merry hell he can play with the country so therefore sir whether it is a Presidential system or a parliamentary system the important thing is check, check and balance on every one, on every individual there should be a check so therefore you can have any system introduce check and balance and I think I have introduced check and balances in the system, therefore the system should be functioning.

Q: In these elections will Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif will stand?

President: No

Q: why?

President: Firstly one of them is convicted, the other also is convicted, both are convicted, one of them has gone out for ten years under an agreement by himself, and other is out since

Q: What it is that they

President: no I'll never do that. Because the plane was going to crash in 7 minutes, it had fuel of seven minutes, and pilot told me that if there will be a jerk it'll crash. But here well, if he comes, he will be sent back to Saudi Arabia, he has ten years agreement, he will straight go back like his brother cam and went back there, so he will be sent back to Saudi Arabia and if she comes trials are there.

Q: so you are not scared of them?

President: I am not scared of any body.

Q: at election times will you hold your seat?

President: well the constitution allows me to hold it till 2007, so I will hold it, till November or December, there is argument on that, some says it November, some says no its up to December, I do not know the legalities, now that is the constitutional

position, if the elections are in November, I'll be in uniform and that decision I have taken, take the uniform off before that but I have to decide this.

Q: you may not be with out uniform, you have to take decision?

President: yes I have to take that decision because it's a key decision.

Q: Why it is?

President: Well it's not easy because there are some perceptions. First of all we have to - what Pakistan is facing , needs unity, unity of command and authority over important organs of state that include the military the political and the bureaucracy unity of command over them, unity of authority over them and I give that unity through maintaining the uniform , that is why.

President: well constitution does not allow me after 2007, so let's see.

Q: there is a general concept that there are many heroes in India and there are not many heroes in Pakistan?

President: I wish you had come to the Presidency , the Presidents of Pakistan from Quaid-e-Azam to date are there before you enter the main hall, yes they are there whether we elect them or not

Q: yes that's the key, whether you like them or not?

President: No no who told you this, please go and visit the museum, heritage museum in Islamabad which we have a world class museum, you must visit that and everyone is there, it carries every one, there is no such thing as knocking down the past.

Q: how would you rate all the leaders in Pakistan? After Jinnah who would you rate who was the best, who was the worst?

President: of course the Quaid-e-Azam was the best.

Q: No one after that?

President: I do not like to comment on that was the worst?

Q: who was the best after Quaid-e-Azam?

President Ayub Khan. He is because I have seen him from the point of view of delivery to the nation, I think it was during his time that this nation was brought in the green revolution of agriculture, there was industrial revolution there was massive development in Pakistan, all the dams were built in his time

Q: you do not say who is the worst?

President: no I would not like to

Q: how would you rate the Indian prime minister over the time?

President: I would like to say that when you say that there is bankruptcy in leadership here, to extend it to your side also, I mean if –

Q: Who would you say the best pm?

President: Nehru, Of course, I was trying to compare three generation, Nehru, Indra Gandhi, and Rajeev Gandhi. Because you also have the same family going on, if you remove them from series who else. Obviously a leader has to do some thing for his nation so whether I like him or not for India yes Jawaharlal Nehru was the best

Q: One last thing on this issue. Are you ever worried what will happen to me after this part of power, it has to come in everybody's life, because generally in Pakistan society of the following leaders is very tough then the previous leaders are you worried about that?

President: No I am not, what is the worse that can happen to me? I always believe in analysing the worst and can I face it? Yes, I can face it.

Q: What is the worse?

President: Why talk of the worst but I can face everything. I never think of it, sometime I do but not at all the way you are thinking that I am worried when I put my head on pillow I off I sleep, a very comfortable sleeper. Since I know that people like me, people are with me what can happen to me, I can face anything. Last Section on Kashmir & Solution

Q: Many have described it as brilliant that needs to be flashed out but I think if you just briefly tell the viewers what exactly is your four-point plan on solving the Kashmir problem?

President: Very briefly. Number one identify Kashmir geographically, because there are lot of its and bits in that, because on our side there are two regions and on your side there are three regions, so first identify what is Kashmir. Identify the area to which the solution will apply. Second, demilitarise; this is very very important. Now can we at the same time do understand that practicality has to be seen at, move all forces and take them somewhere else, but it can be done in phases and we could garrison the troops into the three locations. Garrison them in two or three places. Major garrison.

Q: I just want to clarify your solution comes in the face of two big constraints. One is India says "boundaries cannot be changed" and number two Pakistan says "LoC can never be the border" so your solution had to take both these factors into account.

President: Yes, I am glad you put me right. I said this before that we have to cater for two absolute views of the two sides, and you said that boundaries cannot be redrawn by India and LoC cannot be accepted as permanent by Pakistan. Therefore the solution lies in making the LoC irrelevant and this is a term I'm borrowing from your leadership, this is the word they used and I keep saying it now.

Q: So you want them to say that this is their solution. Apart from first two solutions, third is the free movement of people from both sides?

President: No, this is not my third solution. Of course is there but this is not my point, those I think are tactical issues, there should be free movement, there should be trade and all that, these are tactical issues but solution; identify Kashmir, demilitarise, third give them self governance, now again it clashes with maximum autonomy self governance these are terms I keep on saying that please lets get out of semantics. Ok I

ask you what do you mean by maximum autonomy and you ask me what you mean by self-governance. Lets put that leave the words aside and come to an agreement and call them by any name as far I am but ingredients have to be there and one of the ingredient which I want to highlight is the internal security, internal security must be of those constituents, right and not of those military of India and Pakistan because that is an issue. Now the fourth element which is the most important and critical element, on top an organisation which I'm calling joint management and again may I say this term is known to everyone, joint management on top, where there are representatives from both sides and people of Kashmir and this has access to both sides.

Q: Now the viewers know what your solution is but there is one worry, and lot of commentators in Pakistan came across to us said that this is not your solution this is just your internal position and then from there final solution will come. I want to hear from you that is this is the final solution? Or it is a negotiating position?

President: My view is that, this could be lefty for trails lets say for five years, ten years fifteen years and then when we get together again seems its efficacy see if it is functional, well, if it requires some modifications again.

Q: But it will not consider, as a negotiating step is this is your genuine solution, solution, which is required?

President: I will say that this is an idea of a solution, I'm open to any discussion, and I'm open to any idea coming from anyone.

Q: This is a new General Musharraf? Flexible and listening to the rest of the world.

President: Well I have been always flexible, you misjudging me and by nature I am flexible and I keep telling everyone that I am a military man and even in corp commanders conferences, which is the highest forum I believe in democracy in their because every issue and threat there with them but there is one difference that when we discuss everyone expresses his view and we reach a conclusion and finally give my verdict.

Q: There is a buzz around that there has been a lot of progress on Kashmir from the back channels. Has there has been a progress on Kashmir?

President: We are talking but these are sensitive issues, I would not like to comment on it, because there are extremists, there are people who have there own vested interest, its agendas political agendas on both sides so lets keep it as it is.

Q: They said talks going on and we think that there is progress going on but we can't make it public.

President: Yes, I wouldn't like to talk on that.

Q: One thing in your solution, I just want to be very clear so that people of India know this clearly, you are being in a way extremely bold because it means that you are giving up plebiscite and you are giving up UN Resolution is that number one?

President: Now again there is little bit of a one is giving up clearly and I say yes I'm giving up. There is a provision in that I'm not giving up at all but one is prepared to give up in case India leaves its stated position also.

Q: Right, if this formula agreed to you then you will give that up because India is also.

President: Both sides listen, I believe when you are negotiating when you go for peace it means what it means compromise, otherwise you can't go for solution of the problem and what do you mean by compromise? Compromise can never take place if you don't step back; compromise inherently means stepping back by both sides. So inherently both sides have to give up there positions and step back and if one of us not prepared to step back we will not reach a solution.

Q: If India does accept this so you will step back and give up those demands?

President: Yes, we will have to.

Q: Second point sir you talked about self-governance, are you then giving up said that no independence for Kashmir?

President: Yes I am against independence absolutely so as India.

Q: Yeah I tend to got this too.

Q: Finally in this solution Pakistan is giving up its claim to Kashmir, you are letting up the self governance and you have no claim on Kashmir in this picture?

President: I have said that at the moment both India and Pakistan, we are on the same position as we were since 1948 but I am saying we both ought to be prepared to give up all that we have been saying and this includes all this if we reach the agreement where we are giving self governance yes indeed we will, that is it.

Q: So you are prepared to give up the claim to Kashmir?

President: Yes we will have to if this solution comes up.

Q: Sir I am getting signals that I have taking too much time of yours but you are been as usual to the point and accepted any question without hesitation. Thank you very much sir.

President: Thank you! ■

Islamabad, 5 December 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/126200690813PMNDTV%20interview.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 30

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE WOMEN CONVENTION 2006

Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, Federal Minister for Women Development, Mrs. Sumaira Malik, all the Ministers, Parliamentarians, ladies and gentlemen:

I am proud on this historic day that I have been invited to this wonderful gathering; this gathering has been organized on the passing of Women Protection Bill.

I am proud to speak to you in such a gathering. First of all I am thankful to all of the ladies who are sitting here because today is your day. This is the day of celebration for you all. I am thankful to you all that you came and have participated in this gathering. I am thankful to the Women Ministry and to the Minister that they have organized the function. And I have been given the opportunity to address the large gathering of women. So that I can convey my feelings about the Bill to you. First of all on this occasion I want to congratulate the nation on passing the aggressively progressive bill. I want to congratulate the whole nation and particularly congratulate to mothers, sisters, daughters and girls of this nation. Because this is the day of their victory, it is their victory and the nation's victory. So, I want to give the congratulations to women and the whole nation.

I want to congratulate the Parliamentarians who have passed the Bill, and those Parliamentarians who have supported the Bill in the Parliament including the women who have contributed in passing out this Bill, also to the moderate political parties who have contributed to this Bill and give vote in favour of right of the women and favoured the Bill so I want to congratulate to all of them as well.

This is the Bill which has been passed without any opposition, nobody has opposed it. There were either those who were opposing it for the sake of opposing it, and those who were doing it sincerely. I would categorize the first as "hypocrites" and the others were sincere and have a right to express their point of view. This Bill has the support of the 50 percent population of Pakistan. So I think this is the biggest victory that the Parliamentarians have passed the Bill without any opposition. No body has the courage to come to the Parliament and vote against it. In my point of view, in order to pass the Bill one has to have courage as well as the faith. And should have clear intentions, I always says this that Allah always help those who have clear intentions. Don't be afraid and Allah will always help those people who have the right faith and intention and to those who believe on fairness. So this is the victory for all the forces of moderation. This equal treatment of men and women is the ongoing process, and if you support that then we will move forward and this will make Pakistan a moderate, dynamic, progressive society will be established here, *Inshallah*. World will see it as an example. We will *Inshallah* make Pakistan as a progressive Islamic state. This is a milestone i.e. the passage of Women Protection Bill. I want to assure the Nation that in Pakistan no bill or law can be passed which is against Islam and *Sunnah*. This is an Islamic Republic of Pakistan and this cannot be happen here. First we have to differential between *Hudood* and *Hudood* Ordinance. *Hudood* is a divine limit. There is a limit from God to which nobody can change. But this *Hudood* Ordinance is man made. This has been made in 1979. The *Hudood* Ordinance is a man-made bill, enacted in 1979 and can be changed if its clauses deny justice or there is any mistake. This is not *Hudood* so we have to understand this difference. So how can we decide that the Bill is Islamic or Un-Islamic? First we have to realize that we are all Muslims and this is an Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and we are all are emotional Muslims. Those who are opposing and those are who are in favour of the bill are all Muslims, and I am not against those who are opposing it but those people if with good intentions are giving their opinion. But if they are giving opinion so that they are opposing me than they are hypocrites, but those who are sincere have the right to express their point of view.

The Council of Islamic Ideology is an authentic institution, they consider it [WPB] according to Islam and the nation must believe in it. So the Council can discuss, think and give their point of view. Then the Council can decide whether it is Islamic or Un-Islamic. Then the Nation should agree on this decision once been made by the Council. Otherwise we could not reach to the conclusion on any issue. So this is a very authentic Council and they have considered this bill according to Islam so all the people of this nation should accept this decision and believe on it. So I praise the efforts and useful suggestions the Council has given to various forums, on TV, I am thankful to them. If there is any un-justice or insincerity in the society, then it is again an un-Islamic way. So I want to tell that neither we are insincere and nor we are afraid of anyone and lastly we are all very strong Muslims. So that is why I am very proud that we have passed this bill and has been passed by moderate forces and it is exactly according to the teachings of Islam. We should do practice the teachings of Islam. Muslim women have participated during the "*ghazwas*" [battles]. They were the back up support. Hazrat Khadija (RA) who was a successful businesswoman and so how can anyone speak against the working women today.

This is your day and women of this country were deprived of their rights in the past and this bill has provided justice to the women. The women of this country are not weak because they constitute half of the population of Pakistan. So they are 80 million and they are strong and so use this strongness by getting your right, and use this against those sections of the society who want to deprive you from the main stream. Reject those forces who do not want your progress. Reject those who deny your rights and to vote for moderate forces in the election. So I request you all to mobilize yourself and vote in favour of the moderate forces and reject those forces who don't want the progress of Pakistan.

Government and myself are all in favour of under privilege classes. I consider the following are under privileged classes. Number one is the poor people of Pakistan. In the past we haven't given them their rights. Second under-privileged class is women. We have to give you your rights and bring them equal to men.

For this capacity building is very important. So one should have the capability if one wants the right. So I request you all to bring yourself up and enhance your capacity. I also acknowledge the fact that the girls are doing well in colleges and universities as compare to boys. So this process itself is going forward. So this itself has to go forward and increase in capacity building is required. Other segment is the minorities. Minorities are as equal patriotic Pakistanis as any other Muslim Pakistani. So it is our duty to give them their rights as well.

So we have introduced the Local Government System for the under privilege poor people. So through Union, Tehsil and District Governments, the people are elected from grass root level. This is a political process. We have given the seats to the minorities through Joint Electorate System and reserved seats. So therefore we have also mainstream and man powered them. This act is also been for under privileged class.

Our Constitution accords equal rights, irrespective of caste, creed or gender, and we are here to put this in practice. How can we emancipate this? There are several facts involved in it. Number one is empowerment of women. I think there are two empowerments i.e. the political empowerment and the economical empowerment. So if you are not economically empowered, you will always remain submissive to men.

Therefore your economic empowerment is very necessary. We have done the political empowerment for you. There were now 22 per cent women in the National, Provincial Assemblies and 33 per cent at the Local Government level, the job quota in civil services has increased to 10 per cent, they were working in the Pakistan Air Force, Pakistan Military Academy, PIA, as teachers and other nation building institutions. Now you have to economically empowered yourself by educating yourself and get the earnings through job and do not dependent on anyone. There are 31 girls recruited in Army and they are in Pakistan Military Academy. *Insha Allah* I will go on their passing out parade. Seven are the women ministers. So we are going very well in giving economical and political empowerment.

The other thing we are doing is that bring justice through laws. For this we have introducing the bill of banning honour killing, And the Presidential Ordinance on Women Prisoners that secured release of over 1300 prisoners, and the other is this women protection bill. And the other is the unjust social practices. We have to remove these social evils, which are against the women. So we are in the process of building a bill and it has certain elements. One of the elements is the [*Warasa*] i.e. the inheritance law, so that the women would get their share in [*Warasa*]. Other elements included are divorce, barter marriages, forced marriage, marriage with Quran and *Wani* - marriage to resolve disputes. So I am happy that this government is doing all these and I am also backing these laws so that women get their right.

The other thing is the gender mainstreaming, which mean the equal opportunities and bring women in the main stream equal to men for which capacity building and economic empowerment is necessary. The last thing is the violence against women. I know this is a universal phenomenon. But in Pakistan we should have to bring awareness among the society to stop such acts. In this regard I urged the media to play its role by creating more awareness about the rights of the women, their place in society and the dignity accorded to them in Islam. Also the role of the Non-Governmental Organizations in highlighting the problems of women, however they should refrain from taking up such issues at international forum as it brings a bad name to the Country. I also announce Rs. 2000 monthly stipend for the women councillors and the amount may increase in future, with better economic conditions of the Country.

Thank You

Pakistan *Paindabad* ■.

Islamabad, 6 December 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/127200615802AMWomen%20convention.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 31

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO PUBLIC GATHERING IN QUETTA

Governor Balochistan, Chief Minister Balochistan, District Nazim, Federal Ministers, Provincial Ministers, Parliamentarians, all people and specially the my sisters who come from far flung areas, *Aslamu Aliakum*:

I am very happy and I am feeling proud that you people have invited me and given me respect. This large gathering is a proof that the people of Balochistan are with us and with the policies of the Government. You people are my strong supporters as is evident from this large gathering. There is no other '*lashkar*', but only one and that is Pakistan Army, to defend the motherland. So people shouldn't talk about any other '*lashkar*' and Pakistan Army is there to defend the motherland. I am thankful to Governor, Chief Minister, Nazim, and the people of Balochistan who come here and also all the PML supporters who come here to make this gathering successful.

Today, I have made inauguration of the 'Kidney Centre', which is one of the best kidney centres. So this centre will provide you the facility at your doorsteps so that you people don't need to go to other big cities of Pakistan. Secondly, I have inaugurated the OPF Girls College. I am very proud that both these are big projects. Ministry of Labour has developed this Kidney Centre. I am thankful to the Ministry that they have given such a big project to the people of Balochistan.

Before this they have already developed the Labour Colony for the Baloch people. Rs. 40 million was spent on this Kidney Centre project. This they have given to the Balochistan. I am thankful to the Governor and Chief Minister for their efforts in making this project successful. Particularly to Chief Minister for giving 7.5 Acre land to the Labour Ministry. And I was happy to see that two of the patients came from far-flung areas and have been treated there free of cost.

The OPF College is established on 2.5-acre land, which was also given by Chief Minister Balochistan and I am thankful to him. So I am happy that this college would be used for you and your daughters. Also, I announce it here that the Labour Ministry would also build the girls hostel in OPF College as well. Also the Balochistan University would have the girl's hostel and the same would be completed by Labour Ministry. No country can make progress without the contribution of women. So we want to make the standard of women high and bring in line with the teachings of Islam. So we have to bring improvement in the life of women. I am proud that the Women Protection Bill, for the protection of women, has been passed. This Bill will provide the full protection and justice to women. There is negative propaganda going on that this Bill is not according to Islam. But I can assure you that no law can be implemented here which is not according to Islam, we are all Muslims and we cannot implement any law, which is not Islamic. Those who are against the Bill are hypocrites and they do not think such people are spreading misperceptions and doing wrong criticism. I want to assure you that this Bill is yours Bill this is the Bill of our mothers, sisters and daughters. This Bill is exactly according to Islam, according to Quran and *Sunnah*, and no body should have any doubt on it. Pakistan is because of Balochistan and the development here is the progress of the entire country. I remember that in 1970-75, it was a civil war in Balochistan and people were worried about this condition. People were facing all types of trouble and we were fighting with each other. We were divided at that time. When I came in 1999 I saw the same backwardness and the people of Balochistan were lagging behind in all fields. There was no development in 50 years. I really felt sorrow on such conditions and then I promised to work for you people as my heart beats with Baloch people. I will do everything for Balochistan. Now we have to forget the sufferings of 1970-75 and have to move forward. So we have to bring this Province at the same level as all the provinces of Pakistan are at the moment. I promise to you all that I will *Inshallah* take

this Province at that level. It is unfortunate that the areas that are a source of natural gas remained bereft in the past. Do not blame me for the past neglects; I am here to provide you all facilities.

I announce one billion rupees for development of Quetta, Rs 100 million each for the 28 districts besides 2.5 billion rupees to the Parliamentarians for development schemes in their respective constituencies. I am committed to the development of Balochistan and my intentions are clear and we have all the resources to do this. So we will do all types of development in the province.

First the communication network should be build, which is the first important step for the development of any region. For this we thought about the Gwadar Port. Gwadar Port, will not only serve Pakistan, but also the Middle East, Central Asian States and China. Which means it is important for the whole world. Also I want to tell you that the latest airport will also be started in Gwadar. We will also build railway station so that it links with the main railway line and goes Dal-Badndin. The study is going for such projects so that we can connect Balochistan and with Pakistan. So that in future, that railway line goes to Afghanistan, Iran, China and Central Asian Republics. We have linked the Gwadar to the Coastal Highway. I feel happy that when fisher men tell me that we are now earning more due to this Coastal Highway. Also the dates are now transported from Balochistan to the rest of the Pakistan. Roads linking Loralai with D.G.Khan and Zhob with D.I.Khan were being built, besides progress on the RCD Highway, Indus Highway and Motorway to improve trade links with Iran, Afghanistan and China. These highways will improve your business and will have easy access to the markets of other provinces. We will link the route from Sibi to Kolu. This route hasn't been development since 1975 but I promise you that we will develop that route and will open it for you. Subakzai dam will be complete in three months time and I will I *Inshallah* go there and will inaugurate it myself, whereas I had already inaugurated the Mirani Dam that can meet irrigation needs for 33,000 acres. I have been told that the recent rainfall has filled the Mirani Dam to its maximum capacity. The 40 billion rupees Kachi Canal bringing water from Punjab to Balochistan and said work has started on both the ends to be completed in 2008. Then the cotton will be harvest, here and the people will earn more money out of that.

Seven billion rupees have been allocated for safe drinking water; about Rs two billion will be provided to Balochistan. The rich can always afford bottled water, but I am working to provide clean water for the poor, who cannot afford costly water. Also electricity is an important factor for the development of the province and we cannot make progress if we ignore that factor. This year 1400 villages will be electrified and *Inshallah* next year 1500 villages will be electrified and this process will continue. And also by 2009, far-flung areas will also have electricity.

We have bought the electricity from Iran. Electricity from Iran was being supplied to Panjgur, Pasni, Turbat and Gwadar, while the natural gas supply will also be extended to other areas. I announce gas supply of gas for Urak and Hanna in Quetta and Zhob.

There are many copper and gold mines and one of them is in Rokidak. I will tell you that 25% of that exploration and extraction of gold or copper will be of Balochistan. There are many other big projects without which Balochistan can never progress. But I know that there would be small projects as well as every district has the

capacity to initiate small projects. Also there are separate 1.5 billion rupees for Kohlu and Dera Bugti development.

I want to improve the standard of students of Balochistan. I announce seven new Cadet Colleges for Balochistan, two more campuses for Balochistan University at Gwadar and Turbat, 1000 scholarships for Baloch students enabling them to study in the best schools and professional colleges of the Country, with free boarding and lodging. However I will urge my young students from Balochistan to focus on their studies seek higher education and work for their country and the betterment of their families. I also announce six new buses for Balochistan

University and that all those students who had completed 16 years of education will get a stipend of Rs 10,000 for a year at a government job. I also announced quota for students in the Vocational Training Institutions besides special training courses for the Baloch youth at Pakistan Ordnance Factories, Aeronautical Complex Kamra, SUPARCO, Heavy Industries Taxila, which will later absorb them on regular positions. I want to see you as an educated society and provide all the facilities not only in Balochistan, but all over Pakistan. So that you will get job and your education will also improve. In Pakistan Army, there are more than 1500 people from Balochistan. Balochistan constabulary, Police, Frontier Corps Balochistan have 28000 people from Balochistan.

Also I greet Balochistan for the re-opening of the Chamalang mines, closed 30 years back after a dispute over ownership between the Luni and the Murri tribes. These 60-kilometre-long coal-mines in Chamalang are considered the world's largest, which produces Rs 300 billion coal. This is all your earnings, and of the local people. So I tell you that this is your time to come forward and come along with me to make this province and Pakistan prosperous.

So I leave on you to decide whether you want to come along with me or want to remain in backwardness. I promise you that I am with you and I will lead you where your generation should have been. So you should think about you and about your generations and your children. I want to take you out of the way which are 50 years old and want to take you out of that backwardness.

At the end I want to say that in 2007 the elections are coming, these are very important elections. So if you all think that all what I have said is true and with sincerity and doing all in your favour then vote those people who will vote me. That mean those people are with me and with my policies and those people should come in our Parliaments.

In the end I am thankful to you all and God bless you all.

Pakistan *Paindabad!* ■

Quetta, 7 December 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/129200650528AMAdrsgatheringQuetta.pdf>>

DOCUMENT NO 32

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT WOMEN CONVENTION, QUETTA

Governor Balochistan, Chief Minister Balochistan, Federal Minister for Women, Federal Minister for Special Education, Provincial Minister for Women, Principal for Population Welfare, all Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen, *Assalam-o-Alaikum*.

On this great occasion I announce 100 million rupees welfare package for the women of Balochistan. Now the women of this country are getting progressive, today by seeing a large gathering of women from Balochistan, I am extremely impressed by seeing such a large gathering. I have no doubt that the future of Balochistan women is very secure. But we need to go to the rural areas and motivate them to come forward and also build their capacity because they are still backward and lagging behind as compare to the other literate women of the society. So we have to build the capacity among them – capacity to take over charge as good as men. I am very happy with the progress that we are taking women in the Army, Air Force and in every profession; also currently the girls are performing better than boys in education. And also I have seen in different convocations the majority of prize-winners; medal winner and position holders are girls. Therefore I congratulate you all that there has been realization in women towards their responsibilities and coming up to the level of men. Then we have to maintain it.

So the opportunities should be created at the lower level for the girls in the field of education so the emphasis should be on the girl's education, because you are the ones who educate the children. Unfortunately, some youth in Balochistan have deviated, that is also because of the sense of deprivation and alienation. But it was due to mistakes of leaderships in the past, who did not give them (the people of Balochistan) their due rights. So the women can play an important role by giving them the lesson of national character and patriotism. Now as the Government is going it every effort to bring Balochistan to the same level as the other provinces of Pakistan, the youth and women of this province can play an important role. The Government is doing its best to provide jobs and scholarships to the youth of Balochistan. We want to secure their future. So I request you all that teach your children the lesson of patriotism.

The momentum that has been created due to the passage of Women Protection Bill act, this has to be continued so that we keep this momentum for the rights of women. Therefore I congratulate the assemblies, Minister for Women, and all the women of the country on passing this Women Protection Bill through which the women of this country has got the status. I want to congratulate to all the moderate forces that are in favour that Bill and they have supported the Bill. This is the victory for the moderate forces, and this is the defeat of the obscurantist.

Unfortunately those people are using this to gain the political mileage. They are hypocrites and playing a political game to get fame from it. This Bill gives justice to the women. And in Islam, justice and compassion is the basic ingredient. So I want to tell them that please stop using Islam for their political gain. This country has been made for Muslims and has been created on the name of Islam. The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam had clearly stated that men, women and the minorities will

get equal rights in Pakistan, which is an Islamic Republic. We will take Pakistan towards the true ideals of Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal. Those who are opposing the Women Protection Act are the elements that also opposed printing of Holy Quran three centuries back and were critical of the moderate and progressive thinking of Quaid-e-Azam and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Such elements think that Islam is their property and others do not have the knowledge of Islam.

This Women Protection Act is fully according to Islam. There are two extreme views in it. I always said that there is liberal extreme and the other is the religious extreme views. The liberal views are those that are fully repeal views. In my point of view this Women Protection Bill is a great achievement. We have to empower the women. So that the destiny would be in your hand and demand your rights in an institutional way and that is the Parliament and assemblies. We have to empower the women and we have given the political empowerment that is the representation at the National, Senate and District assemblies, which has been done now. It should be up to 50%, but let us go step-by-step and leap-by-leap.

The second area of focus was the economic empowerment of women so that the women become self-dependent and relieved from dependence on men. The other area is to amendment in laws, which are not giving justice to the women, which we have done it through this Bill. There are other social injustices and the elimination of social injustices like marriage with Quran; inheritance issues, *Wani*, *Vatta-Satta* and others through legislation was also part of the strategy for women emancipation. The Government will introduce a bill in the Parliament to do necessary legislation on these issues. The Government was also focusing on the mainstreaming of women with equal job opportunities through capacity building.

The elimination of violence against women is another area of Government's focus. This is an internal problem and it should be addressed.

Lastly I would like to talk about the Elections 2007. I urge you to reject extremist and obscurantist elements in the 2007 General Election and vote for the moderate forces to ensure the continuity of the policies of development and progress across the Country including Balochistan. So to ensure the continuity of policies, vote for the people in next election, who support me, vote in favour of those who are in favour of present Government policies.

So mobilise other women and ask them to vote for the moderate people and those who support the policies of present Government. In this way this Province will progress and I will always remain in favour of Balochistan and I will assure you that you will get more than your present allocation of development funds, and

I am in favour this more development funds.

Balochistan *Zindabad*, Pakistan *Paindabad* ■.

Quetta, 8 December 2006

<<http://www.presidentofpakistan.gov.pk/FilesSpeeches/Addresses/129200650833AMAdrswomenConvention.pdf>>