

DOCUMENTS

(November-May 2003)

Document No. 1

United Nations S/2002/1198, Provisional
7 November 2002
Security Council
Original: English

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: DRAFT RESOLUTION

[Adopted as Resolution 1441 at Security Council meeting 4644, 8 November 2002]

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, in particular its resolutions 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, 678 (1990) of 29 November 1990, 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991, 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 688 (1991) of 5 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991, 986 (1995) of 14 April 1995, and 1284 (1999) of 17 December 1999, and all the relevant statements of its President,

Recalling also its resolution 1382 (2001) of 29 November 2001 and its intention to implement it fully,

Recognizing the threat Iraq's non-compliance with Council resolutions and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles poses to international peace and security,

Recalling that its resolution 678 (1990) authorized Member States to use all necessary means to uphold and implement its resolution 660 (1990) of 2 August 1990 and all relevant resolutions subsequent to resolution 660 (1990) and to restore international peace and security in the area,

Further recalling that its resolution 687 (1991) imposed obligations on Iraq as a necessary step for achievement of its stated objective of restoring international peace and security in the area,

Deploring the fact that Iraq has not provided an accurate, full, final, and complete disclosure, as required by resolution 687 (1991), of all aspects of its programmes to develop weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range greater than one hundred and fifty kilometres, and of all holdings

of such weapons, their components and production facilities and locations, as well as all other nuclear programmes, including any which it claims are for purposes not related to nuclear-weapons-usable material,

Deploring further that Iraq repeatedly obstructed immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to sites designated by the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), failed to cooperate fully and unconditionally with UNSCOM and IAEA weapons inspectors, as required by resolution 687 (1991), and ultimately ceased all cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA in 1998,

Deploring the absence, since December 1998, in Iraq of international monitoring, inspection, and verification, as required by relevant resolutions, of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, in spite of the Council's repeated demands that Iraq provide immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), established in resolution 1284 (1999) as the successor organization to UNSCOM, and the IAEA, and regretting the consequent prolonging of the crisis in the region and the suffering of the Iraqi people,

Deploring also that the Government of Iraq has failed to comply with its commitments pursuant to resolution 687 (1991) with regard to terrorism, pursuant to resolution 688 (1991) to end repression of its civilian population and to provide access by international humanitarian organizations to all those in need of assistance in Iraq, and pursuant to resolutions 686 (1991), 687 (1991), and 1284 (1999) to return or cooperate in accounting for Kuwaiti and third country nationals wrongfully detained by Iraq, or to return Kuwaiti property wrongfully seized by Iraq,

Recalling that in its resolution 687 (1991) the Council declared that a ceasefire would be based on acceptance by Iraq of the provisions of that resolution, including the obligations on Iraq contained therein,

Determined to ensure full and immediate compliance by Iraq without conditions or restrictions with its obligations under resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions and recalling that the resolutions of the Council constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance,

Recalling that the effective operation of UNMOVIC, as the successor organization to the Special Commission, and the IAEA is essential for the implementation of resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions,

Noting the letter dated 16 September 2002 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General is a necessary first

step toward rectifying Iraq's continued failure to comply with relevant Council resolutions,

Noting further the letter dated 8 October 2002 from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to General Al-Saadi of the Government of Iraq laying out the practical arrangements, as a follow-up to their meeting in Vienna, that are prerequisites for the resumption of inspections in Iraq by UNMOVIC and the IAEA, and expressing the gravest concern at the continued failure by the Government of Iraq to provide confirmation of the arrangements as laid out in that letter,

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, Kuwait, and the neighbouring States,

Commending the Secretary-General and members of the League of Arab States and its Secretary-General for their efforts in this regard,

Determined to secure full compliance with its decisions,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Decides* that Iraq has been and remains in material breach of its obligations under relevant resolutions, including resolution 687 (1991), in particular through Iraq's failure to cooperate with United Nations inspectors and the IAEA, and to complete the actions required under paragraphs 8 to 13 of resolution 687 (1991);
2. *Decides*, while acknowledging paragraph 1 above, to afford Iraq, by this resolution, a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations under relevant resolutions of the Council; and accordingly decides to set up an enhanced inspection regime with the aim of bringing to full and verified completion the disarmament process established by resolution 687 (1991) and subsequent resolutions of the Council;
3. *Decides* that, in order to begin to comply with its disarmament obligations, in addition to submitting the required biannual declarations, the Government of Iraq shall provide to UNMOVIC, the IAEA, and the Council, not later than 30 days from the date of this resolution, a currently accurate, full, and complete declaration of all aspects of its programmes to develop chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and other delivery systems such as unmanned aerial vehicles and dispersal systems designed for use on aircraft, including any holdings and precise locations of such weapons, components, sub-components, stocks of agents, and related material and equipment, the locations and work of its research, development and production facilities, as well as all other chemical, biological, and nuclear

- programmes, including any which it claims are for purposes not related to weapon production or material;
4. *Decides* that false statements or omissions in the declarations submitted by Iraq pursuant to this resolution and failure by Iraq at any time to comply with, and cooperate fully in the implementation of, this resolution shall constitute a further material breach of Iraq's obligations and will be reported to the Council for assessment in accordance with paragraphs 11 and 12 below;
 5. *Decides* that Iraq shall provide UNMOVIC and the IAEA immediate, unimpeded, unconditional, and unrestricted access to any and all, including underground, areas, facilities, buildings, equipment, records, and means of transport which they wish to inspect, as well as immediate, unimpeded, unrestricted, and private access to all officials and other persons whom UNMOVIC or the IAEA wish to interview in the mode or location of UNMOVIC's or the IAEA's choice pursuant to any aspect of their mandates; further decides that UNMOVIC and the IAEA may at their discretion conduct interviews inside or outside of Iraq, may facilitate the travel of those interviewed and family members outside of Iraq, and that, at the sole discretion of UNMOVIC and the IAEA, such interviews may occur without the presence of observers from the Iraqi Government; and instructs UNMOVIC and requests the IAEA to resume inspections no later than 45 days following adoption of this resolution and to update the Council 60 days thereafter;
 6. *Endorses* the 8 October 2002 letter from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to General Al-Saadi of the Government of Iraq, which is annexed hereto, and decides that the contents of the letter shall be binding upon Iraq;
 7. *Decides* further that, in view of the prolonged interruption by Iraq of the presence of UNMOVIC and the IAEA and in order for them to accomplish the tasks set forth in this resolution and all previous relevant resolutions and notwithstanding prior understandings, the Council hereby establishes the following revised or additional authorities, which shall be binding upon Iraq, to facilitate their work in Iraq:
 - UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall determine the composition of their inspection teams and ensure that these teams are composed of the most qualified and experienced experts available;
 - All UNMOVIC and IAEA personnel shall enjoy the privileges and immunities, corresponding to those of experts on mission,

- provided in the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations and the Agreement on the Privileges and Immunities of the IAEA;
- UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have unrestricted rights of entry into and out of Iraq, the right to free, unrestricted, and immediate movement to and from inspection sites, and the right to inspect any sites and buildings, including immediate, unimpeded, unconditional, and unrestricted access to Presidential Sites equal to that at other sites, notwithstanding the provisions of resolution 1154 (1998);
 - UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right to be provided by Iraq the names of all personnel currently and formerly associated with Iraq's chemical, biological, nuclear, and ballistic missile programmes and the associated research, development, and production facilities;
 - Security of UNMOVIC and IAEA facilities shall be ensured by sufficient United Nations security guards;
 - UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right to declare, for the purposes of freezing a site to be inspected, exclusion zones, including surrounding areas and transit corridors, in which Iraq will suspend ground and aerial movement so that nothing is changed in or taken out of a site being inspected;
 - UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the free and unrestricted use and landing of fixed- and rotary-winged aircraft, including manned and unmanned reconnaissance vehicles;
 - UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right at their sole discretion verifiably to remove, destroy, or render harmless all prohibited weapons, subsystems, components, records, materials, and other related items, and the right to impound or close any facilities or equipment for the production thereof; and
 - UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right to free import and use of equipment or materials for inspections and to seize and export any equipment, materials, or documents taken during inspections, without search of UNMOVIC or IAEA personnel or official or personal baggage;
8. *Decides* further that Iraq shall not take or threaten hostile acts directed against any representative or personnel of the United Nations or the IAEA or of any Member State taking action to uphold any Council resolution;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General immediately to notify Iraq of this resolution, which is binding on Iraq; demands that Iraq confirm within seven days of that notification its intention to comply fully with this resolution; and demands further that Iraq cooperate immediately, unconditionally, and actively with UNMOVIC and the IAEA;
10. *Requests* all Member States to give full support to UNMOVIC and the IAEA in the discharge of their mandates, including by providing any information related to prohibited programmes or other aspects of their mandates, including on Iraqi attempts since 1998 to acquire prohibited items, and by recommending sites to be inspected, persons to be interviewed, conditions of such interviews, and data to be collected, the results of which shall be reported to the Council by UNMOVIC and the IAEA;
11. *Directs* the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to report immediately to the Council any interference by Iraq with inspection activities, as well as any failure by Iraq to comply with its disarmament obligations, including its obligations regarding inspections under this resolution;
12. *Decides* to convene immediately upon receipt of a report in accordance with paragraphs 4 or 11 above, in order to consider the situation and the need for full compliance with all of the relevant Council resolutions in order to secure international peace and security;
13. *Recalls*, in that context, that the Council has repeatedly warned Iraq that it will face serious consequences as a result of its continued violations of its obligations;
14. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Annex

**TEXT OF BLIX/EL-BARADEI LETTER
UNITED NATIONS MONITORING, VERIFICATION AND INSPECTION
COMMISSION**

The Executive Chairman
International Atomic Energy Agency
The Director General

8 October 2002

Dear General Al-Saadi,

During our recent meeting in Vienna, we discussed practical arrangements that are prerequisites for the resumption of inspections in Iraq

by UNMOVIC and the IAEA. As you recall, at the end of our meeting in Vienna we agreed on a statement which listed some of the principal results achieved, particularly Iraq's acceptance of all the rights of inspection provided for in all of the relevant Security Council resolutions. This acceptance was stated to be without any conditions attached.

During our 3 October 2002 briefing to the Security Council, members of the Council suggested that we prepare a written document on all of the conclusions we reached in Vienna. This letter lists those conclusions and seeks your confirmation thereof. We shall report accordingly to the Security Council.

In the statement at the end of the meeting, it was clarified that UNMOVIC and the IAEA will be granted immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to sites, including what was termed "sensitive sites" in the past. As we noted, however, eight presidential sites have been the subject of special procedures under a Memorandum of Understanding of 1998. Should these sites be subject, as all other sites, to immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access, UNMOVIC and the IAEA would conduct inspections there with the same professionalism.

H.E. General Amir H. Al-Saadi
Advisor
Presidential Office
Baghdad
Iraq

We confirm our understanding that UNMOVIC and the IAEA have the right to determine the number of inspectors required for access to any particular site. This determination will be made on the basis of the size and complexity of the site being inspected. We also confirm that Iraq will be informed of the designation of additional sites, i.e. sites not declared by Iraq or previously inspected by either UNSCOM or the IAEA, through a Notification of Inspection (NIS) provided upon arrival of the inspectors at such sites.

Iraq will ensure that no proscribed material, equipment, records or other relevant items will be destroyed except in the presence of UNMOVIC and/or IAEA inspectors, as appropriate, and at their request.

UNMOVIC and the IAEA may conduct interviews with any person in Iraq whom they believe may have information relevant to their mandate. Iraq will facilitate such interviews. It is for UNMOVIC and the IAEA to choose the mode and location for interviews.

The National Monitoring Directorate (NMD) will, as in the past, serve as the Iraqi counterpart for the inspectors. The Baghdad Ongoing Monitoring and Verification Centre (BOMVIC) will be maintained on the same premises and under the same conditions as was the former Baghdad Monitoring and Verification Centre. The NMD will make available services as before, cost free, for the refurbishment of the premises.

The NMD will provide free of cost: (a) escorts to facilitate access to sites to be inspected and communication with personnel to be interviewed; (b) a hotline for BOMVIC which will be staffed by an English speaking person on a 24 hour a day/seven days a week basis; (c) support in terms of personnel and ground transportation within the country, as requested; and (d) assistance in the movement of materials and equipment at inspectors' request (construction, excavation equipment, etc.). NMD will also ensure that escorts are available in the event of inspections outside normal working hours, including at night and on holidays.

Regional UNMOVIC/IAEA offices may be established, for example, in Basra and Mosul, for the use of their inspectors. For this purpose, Iraq will provide, without cost, adequate office buildings, staff accommodation, and appropriate escort personnel.

UNMOVIC and the IAEA may use any type of voice or data transmission, including satellite and/or inland networks, with or without encryption capability. UNMOVIC and the IAEA may also install equipment in the field with the capability for transmission of data directly to the BOMVIC, New York and Vienna (e.g. sensors, surveillance cameras). This will be facilitated by Iraq and there will be no interference by Iraq with UNMOVIC or IAEA communications.

Iraq will provide, without cost, physical protection of all surveillance equipment, and construct antennae for remote transmission of data, at the request of UNMOVIC and the IAEA. Upon request by UNMOVIC through the NMD, Iraq will allocate frequencies for communications equipment.

Iraq will provide security for all UNMOVIC and IAEA personnel. Secure and suitable accommodations will be designated at normal rates by Iraq for these personnel. For their part, UNMOVIC and the IAEA will require that their staff not stay at any accommodation other than those identified in consultation with Iraq.

On the use of fixed-wing aircraft for transport of personnel and equipment and for inspection purposes, it was clarified that aircraft used by UNMOVIC and IAEA staff arriving in Baghdad may land at Saddam International Airport. The points of departure of incoming aircraft will be

decided by UNMOVIC. The Rasheed airbase will continue to be used for UNMOVIC and IAEA helicopter operations. UNMOVIC and Iraq will establish air liaison offices at the airbase. At both Saddam International Airport and Rasheed airbase, Iraq will provide the necessary support premises and facilities. Aircraft fuel will be provided by Iraq, as before, free of charge.

On the wider issue of air operations in Iraq, both fixed-wing and rotary, Iraq will guarantee the safety of air operations in its air space outside the no-fly zones. With regard to air operations in the no-fly zones, Iraq will take all steps within its control to ensure the safety of such operations.

Helicopter flights may be used, as needed, during inspections and for technical activities, such as gamma detection, without limitation in all parts of Iraq and without any area excluded. Helicopters may also be used for medical evacuation.

On the question of aerial imagery, UNMOVIC may wish to resume the use of U-2 or Mirage overflights. The relevant practical arrangements would be similar to those implemented in the past.

As before, visas for all arriving staff will be issued at the point of entry on the basis of the UN Laissez-Passer or UN Certificate; no other entry or exit formalities will be required. The aircraft passenger manifest will be provided one hour in advance of the arrival of the aircraft in Baghdad. There will be no searching of UNMOVIC or IAEA personnel or of official or personal baggage. UNMOVIC and the IAEA will ensure that their personnel respect the laws of Iraq restricting the export of certain items, for example, those related to Iraq's national cultural heritage. UNMOVIC and the IAEA may bring into, and remove from, Iraq all of the items and materials they require, including satellite phones and other equipment. With respect to samples, UNMOVIC and IAEA will, where feasible, split samples so that Iraq may receive a portion while another portion is kept for reference purposes. Where appropriate, the organizations will send the samples to more than one laboratory for analysis.

We would appreciate your confirmation of the above as a correct reflection of our talks in Vienna.

Naturally, we may need other practical arrangements when proceeding with inspections. We would expect in such matters, as with the above, Iraq's co-operation in all respect.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)
Hans **Blix**
Executive Chairman
United Nations Monitoring,
Energy Agency
Verification and Inspection Commission. ■

(Signed)
Mohamed **ElBaradei**
Director General
International Atomic

< <http://www.un.int/usa/sres-iraq.htm> >

Document No. 2

EXCERPTS FROM PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION (20 NOVEMBER 2002)

I would like to present before you my personal conduct and performance of my government during the past three years. The governments are run with the confidence of the people. The people lay their future in the hands of the government. It is incumbent upon the rulers to honour the people's confidence and fulfil their promises.

I want to remind you about the state of affairs as it existed on 12th of October 1999. I do it because we quickly forget the past. I would like to briefly remind you about it. What did we inherit? Pakistan was about to be declared a terrorist country or a failed state. This danger was confronting us. The ship of the country was facing a severe storm and no way out was in sight. The economy was faced with default. Banks and financial institutions had been looted and plundered. High government officials were involved in corruption. All government institutions, namely PIA, Steel Mills, Railways, KESC were about to be declared bankrupt. The method of governance was getting from bad to worse.

Pakistan was constantly under Indian pressure. The overall atmosphere was that of dismay. As for Pakistan's economic conditions, we had foreign exchange reserves of about one billion dollars. But out of this amount, the government's own reserves accounted only for 300 or 400 million dollars. If they are converted into imports, these reserves were barely sufficient for about four weeks of imports. Foreign debts had gone up to 38 billion dollars and were increasing at the rate of one and a half to two billion dollars per annum. As a result 63 percent debts in 1991 stood at 442 billion rupees, which increased to 1642 billion rupees in 1999.

There was recession in the world, second was the continued drought, third the eleventh September incident, which had negative impact on our

exports and investment and the fourth jolt was that of warlike situation imposed on us by India. These were the additional jolts to our economy. By the grace of Allahtala, we faced all these difficulties.

Now I would like to tell you about the performance of my government. What we achieved during these three years could not be achieved by the previous governments during the past eleven or twelve years.

Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves which stood at one billion dollars have crossed eight and half billion dollars mark. Looking at these reserves in terms of imports, these are enough for ten months imports as compared to reserves good only four weeks requirements in the past. Insha Allah these foreign exchange reserves will cross the ten billion dollars mark during the current year.

The foreign debts that stood at 38 billion dollars, have been brought down to 36 billion dollars for the first time in Pakistan's history. That has been reduced by two billion dollars. The debt was increasing as in the past. Our foreign debts would have gone up to 44 to 45 billion dollars. It would not have been reduced to 36 billion dollars. Furthermore we have reduced by four billion dollars the high interest bearing loans which were consuming 63 percent of our budget. Now it stands at 48 percent. This means that now we have more funds left for development projects. The internal debts that were increasing at the rate of sixteen percent annually, have been reduced us for the first time in country's history.

Due to the measures, as compared to about one hundred billion rupees development expenditure during eight to ten years before 1999, this year we are investing 134 billion rupees on development projects.

During the past three years we have brought this figure to 404 billion rupees raising it from 300 billion rupees, that is, we have increased the tax collection by one hundred billion rupees, the tax collection during previous ten years had increased by one hundred billion and had gone up to 200 to 300 billion rupees which by the grace of Allah had crossed 450 billion rupees during the last three years.

Exports in Pakistan's history never increased beyond nine billion dollars. We crossed this figure during last two years by nine billion dollars. This is a record for Pakistan. Insha Allah this year our plan is to increase the exports beyond ten billion dollars. Looking at the figures of the first three months exports could increase by about twelve percent, but actually they have increased by fifteen percent. Insha allah our exports would cross the ten billion dollars mark.

We are spending 130 billion rupees on these development projects. For the progress of agriculture, we are constructing a number of dams, that is water reservoirs, canals and work has begun on the drainage projects. These include Mangla, Merani dam, Gomal Zam dam, Thal Renee Karachi canal. You must have heard that the Chotiari dam project in Sindh has been completed. I shall be inaugurating the project. For improvement of communications system, many mega projects have been started. These include Karachi-Gwadar coastal highway, M-I, Peshawar-Rawalpindi road, M-3, Pindi Bhattian to Faisalabad road.

Northern bypass, which we call m-10, Lyari expressway, Bunder road, ring road and in northern areas, three roads that would attract tourism. You must have heard all about it. Work is going ahead speedily on all these projects. The work on Gwadar port is in progress at a very fast pace. This should have been completed three years back. Now Insha Allah, the way the work is going on, the project shall be completed within 30 months. In Baluchistan, the Saindak copper project, which had been lying abandoned has been revived, producing jobs to many people. We are also laying down double railway track from Karachi to Peshawar.

In the power sector, work on the Thar coal project has started. It was lying abandoned for the last ten years and no one was coming forward to run the project. We have revived the project. This project, Insha Allah Tala will produce gas and electricity. This will not only result in the progress of the region, but will also lead to prosperity of the people in the most backward area.

In the information technology sector, access to internet has been increased from 29 to 850 cities. Bandwidth capacity which was 30 megabyte had been increased to 400 megabyte per second. Bandwidth cost was not such that information technology was not making progress. It has come down from ninety thousand dollars per month to only three hundred thousand and eight hundred dollars per month. It is helping the growth of information technology. Countless software parks, institutes, universities and virtual university have been opened and they are now in operation. Special attention has been given to industrial sector. In textile, one billion dollars investment shall be made for setting up new factories and for the up-gradation of machinery.

We have to improve the quality of life of millions of people. Provision of jobs to a few thousands shall not make any change. Our government has studied the ways and means of removing poverty and carried out an analysis. After that a comprehensive plan has been chalked out, about which I want to

tell you. Please listen to me carefully. Before I come to the details, it is important to know the answers about two things. Firstly, the question is as to where the poverty lies and where the poverty is rampant. Only then a plan can be drawn. Poverty in my view is at three places. Firstly it is in the rural areas because sixty to seventy percent of our population lives in the rural areas.

Gwadar port and coastal highway are the important projects that we are constructing. There is lot of fish in this region and dates are produced in abundant in Turbat and Punjgoor which presently is being used as a fodder for the animals. There are one hundred and thirty varieties of dates in the area, but they are all wasted. Insha Allah with the construction of Gwadar port and coastal highway, this produce will find its way to Karachi and foreign markets. This will increase the income of hundreds of thousands of people in the area. There will be more jobs. About increase in earning through land I have already told you.

ADBP, which used to give loans to the rich people and those who were defaulting. Now directive has been issued not to give loans over and above one million rupees and loans of less than one hundred thousand to get much more importance. This will help people earn their living.

Now take the railways, it was incurring 2.5 billion rupees of loss every year. Now this has become a profitable institution. In the first quarter, it has earned half a billion rupees profit. It has employed new engineers, got new coaches. Neat and clean trains are running. These trains are running on time. I have feed back about it. Everyone is appreciating it. All the railway stations are clean and have become modern. This was about railway. Now take the case of PIA, it was about to go bankrupt. Now Insha Allah this year it will earn a profit of 2.5 billion rupees. And we are purchasing new planes for PIA.

Take the case of steel mill. It was running in loss. It owed a loan of 19 billion rupees and this loan was increasing. In these three years, we repaid five billion rupees worth of loans. Now it is running in profit.

Now about WAPDA. It was a sinking organization. It has been reformed to a great extent. I know people used to criticize its performance and still are saying so. But I want to tell you that they have worked very hard to improve it. Let me throw some light on their performance. First of all about IPPS, that is independent power producers. These are private companies which produce electricity. All disputes with them have been resolved. This has helped save six billion dollars or 360 billion rupees. These 360 billion rupees over the life of projects. Their annual income had been to the tune of 93 billion rupees which went up to 18 billion rupees. If these had not been closed, then these IPPS this year would have been paid 109 billion rupees by

WAPDA. Where from they could find such a huge sum? Let me tell you that last year WAPDA paid 84 billion rupees to the IPPS and next year you must know that WAPDA would have to pay 115 billion rupees to the IPPS whether or not you use the electricity provided by them. By 2004, there will be some decrease in this count.

About the education sector. We have made a complete appraisal about it and have done planning in four areas. This related to literacy campaign, primary and secondary education, higher education and madressa education. At primary education level, we have introduced new syllabus, new curriculum and new books have been published, which are being introduced in the schools. After that in rural areas and the urban areas, there will be similar syllabus. Special attention has been paid to training of teachers. Hundreds of thousands of teachers have completed training.

A new university ordinance has been enforced. I know there have been strikes in many universities against this ordinance. I want to point out that the teachers and the students are brothers. You must know that our universities are in a very bad shape. There is no doubt about it. Do you have any doubt about it? If we want to bring about improvement then new planning is must. If we have to develop the education sector, we will need new planning otherwise we not change and the country will never be able to make progress. I am glad that professor Ata-ur-Rahman has talked to the vice chancellors and the students and they have almost reached a settlement.

In the field of science and technology, we plan to institute linkage between the industry and the university. The universities should impart education in subjects which relate to the industry. There should be increase in exports and import substitution as well. In this field we have greatly increased the budgetary provisions for pioneer education. In 1999, the budget of the ministry of science and technology was only 140 million rupees, that is point two billion rupees. This year we have raised their budget to 6.74 billion rupees.

In law and order, far reaching and revolutionary changes have been brought about. 140 years old obsolete police act has been replaced by police ordinance 2002. Entry into police service has been made through merit and this is the criteria. Posts above ASI are being filled through public service commission and those of constables through a board. The posts are being filled on the pattern of army's ISSB system and far better people are coming forward. Police responsibilities have been re-allocated. That is, their responsibility of prosecution has now been handed over to the provincial prosecution service, which is being introduced.

Three and a half billion rupees have been provided for providing transport and communication facilities and accommodation to the police.

Anti terrorist institutions are being set up at the centre and in the provinces. They have carried out very successful operations and have eliminated most notorious gangs and individuals and arrested a number of them. The most important in the police reforms is that the police is now answerable to the peoples representatives.

As for the accountability, the national accountability bureau has been set up. Its work is satisfactory and I know there is criticism about them. Results are not hundred percent. But whatever work they have done, I want to tell you it has never been done in the history of Pakistan.

Overall, they have regularized an amount of 160 billion rupees. All their actions have been across the board and non discriminatory and it started from the top. They apprehended people nobody could touch in the past. They took action against 532 government servants, 180 politicians, 150 businessmen and 18 military personnel.

Our government followed a successful foreign policy during the most critical juncture. Alhamdo lillah Pakistan's prestige has increased. We have good relations with all the countries. These include china, gulf countries, turkey, SAARC member states, the us, European union countries, Japan, south east Asia, central Asian republics, Islamic countries. With all of these countries our relations are good.

As for relations with India, we always kept aloft Pakistan's sovereignty and honour. We did not accept any pressure. We promoted the Kashmir cause I the world. I personally raised voice for the supremacy of Islam in all the international for a.

Besides this, the government allowed freedom to the media. There is no precedence that media ever enjoyed such freedom in Pakistan's history.

Now in conclusion, let me mention the political reforms. There was never true democracy in Pakistan and political governments never came to the expectations of the people. To say that they were not allowed time is totally wrong. As I said earlier over the past twelve years before 1999, every government had about two and a half to three years time. This is the time span that our government got. For this there was a dire need for political reforms. The first question arises as to why democracy failed in Pakistan. In my view there are two reasons.

There was no effective institution to check and oversee government's corruption and incompetence. Secondly, no power was given to the people at the lower level to resolve their problems. People were never given any power.

We started the political reforms from the local level. Local governments came into being as a result of silent revolution in August 2001. The people have been empowered in financial and administrative matters. Government officials have been placed under the peoples representatives. So much so the police too will be answerable to the peoples representatives. Women, minorities, labourers, farmers have been given special representation. It is the duty of all of us to ensure the working of the local governments so that the peoples problems are solved at the local level.

In the end, I fulfilled my commitment by holding the elections in October in accordance with the verdict of the supreme court. These elections were totally impartial and transparent. There were some allegations but I consider them baseless.

I have placed before you honestly the performance of my government. As I have stated I also am issuing a white paper about it. I assure you that whatever I have done, it was for the betterment of Pakistan and its people. Every step that I took was guided by the spirit of honesty, sincerity and patriotism. There can be mistakes. But the intention has always been good. The country is still faced with countless problems. Most of them are self created. Their solution may be difficult, but not impossible. Pakistan has the resources and the people have the potential. Pakistan first, should be our spirit and our motto. Our government has shown the right path and corrected the direction of the country. The ship of the nation has been steered clear out of the stormy seas and is well set on its destination. Now it is the duty of the elected government to get the country its due place. ■

http://www.infopak.gov.pk/President_Addresses/President_Address_20Nov.htm

Document No. 3

DELHI DECLARATION ON FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

During the three-day official visit to India of Russian President Vladimir Putin, he and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee signed the Delhi Declaration, in New Delhi, on December 4, 2002. Presented below is full text of the Declaration

New Delhi-December 04, 2002

The Republic of India and the Russian Federation,

- relying on long-standing traditions of friendship and good-neighbourliness;
- recalling the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation of 28 January 1993 and the Declaration on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation of 5 October 2000;
- proceeding from the fact that the strategic partnership between India and Russia is founded on the complementarity of national interests and geopolitical priorities of the two countries;
- determined to elevate their strategic partnership to an even higher and qualitatively new level in both bilateral and international arenas;
- recognizing respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity, plurality, diversity and tolerance as the cornerstone of a stable and enduring multi-polar world; - recognizing also their unique role and responsibility as multi-ethnic and pluralistic States in contributing to a stable world order, as envisaged in the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000 and the Moscow Declaration by the Republic of India and the Russian Federation of 30 June 1994 on the Protection of Interests of Pluralistic States, and in contributing to peace, stability and prosperity in Asia and all over the world; - determined to counter new challenges and threats to security - primarily international terrorism - through mechanisms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation; hereby declare:

Our strategic partnership provides a solid framework for long-term and all-round development of relations. Mutual security, development and prosperity of our peoples are core objectives of this partnership. It also contributes to countering global challenges and threats and promoting strategic stability at the international level.

The established practice of holding annual meetings at summit level as well as at Ministerial and working levels, and exchanges between Parliamentary, judicial and other constitutional bodies would be further intensified. There would be particular emphasis on deepening the economic content of bilateral relations. People to people contacts would be strengthened through an expanding network of ties between the two societies. Internationally accepted standards of democracy and the rule of law, as enshrined in our respective Constitutions, are basic components of our political systems. They are reliable guarantees for a pluralistic political, social and economic framework and for the promotion and protection of the aspirations of our peoples for human rights, life with dignity, and freedom

from want and fear. These are standards which shall also guide our relations with other countries. As large multiethnic and pluralistic states, we are convinced of our special responsibility to combat and bring to an end challenges posed to our unique attributes, including our territorial integrity, by forces of terrorism, extremism and separatism. We reiterate our support for each other's territorial integrity and respect for each other's sovereignty, enshrined in our respective Constitutions. Neither side shall take any actions which might threaten or impair the security of the other. Both sides shall be guided by this principle in determining their security and defence policies as well as in military technical cooperation with third countries.

Bilateral cooperation as well as cooperation with other countries would be further enhanced to meet the various challenges of globalization, in particular the mitigation of its negative manifestations. Globalization and national identity represent complementary components of world order. Recognition of and respect for diversity is a necessary precondition for human progress, and an essential component of the Dialogue between Civilizations. Enduring ties of friendship, trust and confidence and commonality of interests confer on India and Russia a unique capability to contribute to the evolution of a new world order, which would be stable, secure, equitable and sustainable and will be based on the respect for the principles of the UN Charter and international law. To fulfill this vision, both sides would endeavour to strengthen relevant international institutions and mechanisms. Both countries reaffirm that now more than ever before there is a need for the international community to commit itself to the UN and multilateralism. Both countries favour strengthening of UN's central role in promoting international security in a multi-polar world. They stand for enhancing the efficiency of the UN and its Security Council and making them more reflective of the contemporary geo-political and economic realities and rendering them more representative of the interests of the vast majority of the UN members by completing the process of rationally reforming the Organisation based on the broadest consensus of its member-states. In this context, Russia reaffirms its support to India as a strong and appropriate candidate for permanent membership in an expanded United Nations Security Council. We take note of the outcome of the World Summit on Sustainable Development at Johannesburg and in this context, welcome the reaffirmation of the Rio principles. Taking note of the importance attached to the issue of climate change by both the countries, we welcome the results of the Eighth Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change hosted by India in October-November 2002

and the initiative of the President of the Russian Federation to convene in Moscow in Autumn 2003 the World Conference on Climate Change.

Both the countries reiterate their commitment to work towards a new cooperative security order that recognizes the legitimate security interests of all countries and promotes global peace and stability at lower levels of armaments, and strengthens non-proliferation and disarmament goals. India and Russia are convinced that the promotion of the disarmament process, including reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons, is one of the most important components of security both in Asia and in the world at large. We call for early start of multilateral talks aimed at preparing a comprehensive arrangement on non-deployment of weapons in outer space, non-use or threat of use of force in respect of space based objects and preserving the use of space for full range of cooperative, peaceful and developmental activities.

Situation in our common neighborhood - Afghanistan and Central Asia – is of vital security interest to both the countries. We feel that there is a need to continuously assess the evolving Afghan situation and intend to continue and expand the close cooperation on Afghanistan.

We welcome the successful implementation of the Bonn Agreement and extend full support to the Transitional Administration, aimed at promoting national reconciliation, reconstruction of Afghan economy and rebuilding the Afghan institutions, including indigenous security structures, which are important for countering and defeating internal and external threats to Afghanistan's security. India and Russia agree to cooperate closely in the reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and agreed that these should be driven by Afghan priorities. We underline the need for the United Nations and the international community to remain engaged for ensuring the revival of Afghanistan as a sovereign and independent state, free from terrorism, drugs and external interference. Both sides have a vital interest in maintaining security, stability and a secular order in the Central Asian region.

We call for containment of the spiral of violence in the Middle East and resumption, in good faith, of the negotiations towards establishment of a just and durable peace on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 1397(2002).

Both the countries support the continuation of political and diplomatic efforts to fully implement all the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Iraq.

India and Russia have been victims of terrorism and, as democratic and open societies, have been vulnerable to the threats posed by globalization

of terror, including new manifestations of linkage between terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Terrorism constitutes a gross violation of human rights, particularly the most fundamental right- the right to life – and is a crime against humanity. India and Russia firmly condemn all acts of terrorism wherever they may occur and whatever may be their motivation. Terrorism cannot be justified on any grounds and must be condemned unambiguously wherever it exists. Both the countries strongly condemn those who support terrorism or finance, train, harbour or support terrorists. States that aid abet or shelter terrorists are as guilty of the acts of terrorism as their perpetrators.

We are fully determined to strengthen our cooperation in the fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism, and the support these phenomena receive from organized crime and illicit arms and drugs trafficking. Both the countries regard these as global threats, which can be effectively countered only through collective, comprehensive, determined and sustained efforts of the international community. The fight against terrorism must not admit of any double standards and should also target the financial and other sources of support to terrorism. Both the countries reaffirm the relevance of the Moscow Declaration by the Republic of India and the Russian Federation on International Terrorism of 6 November 2001. In this regard, they also stress the paramount importance of strict implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions on the fight against terrorism, in particular Resolution 1373, and universal antiterrorist conventions which create the basic framework for national, regional and international obligations and cooperation of the international community in combating terrorism, in accordance with the UN Charter. India and Russia remain fully committed to implement this Resolution and call for an early agreement on, and entry into force of, the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism and the Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism.

As victims of terrorism having its roots in our common neighborhood, we have a particular interest in putting an end to this common threat through preventive and deterrent measures nationally and bilaterally. The two countries agree to enhance bilateral cooperation in order to combat terrorism, including in the context of the cooperation under the aegis of the Joint Working Group on Afghanistan and the Group on terrorism set up by the National Security Council of India and the Security Council of the Russian Federation. The agreement to set up an India-Russian Joint Working Group on Counter-terrorism will further strengthen our cooperation in this sphere. Both sides recognize that factors influencing global energy production and

supplies constituted an element of vital national interest and would be the subject of regular bilateral discussions through relevant mechanisms. India and Russia would strengthen cooperation in all areas of the energy sector taking into account the needs of sustainable development and environmental protection.

The Republic of India and the Russian Federation are convinced that this Declaration will widen and strengthen the framework of the existing cooperation in different areas and will contribute to consolidation of our strategic partnership.

Prime Minister of the Republic of India

President of the Russian Federation

December 04, 2002

Source: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, December 4, 2002. ■

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/document/papers/indo-Russia/Delhi_Declaration.htm>

Document No. 4

THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN "THE NEW DELHI DECLARATION"

During the four-day official state visit of Iranian President Seyed Mohammad Khatami, he and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee signed the Delhi Declaration, in New Delhi, on January 25, 2003. The Declaration proposed a strategic partnership between India and Iran for a more stable, secure and prosperous region and for enhanced regional and global cooperation. India and Iran agreed that there was no room for double standards in the combat against international terrorism. They reiterated the resolve to work for an early finalization of a Comprehensive Convention against International Terrorism.

Presented below is full text of the Declaration

25 January, 2003

Vision of a strategic Partnership for a more stable, secure and prosperous region and for enhanced regional and global cooperation
The Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Iran:

Conscious of the vast potential in the political, economic, transit, transport, energy, industries, science and technology and agricultural fields and of the benefits of cooperative endeavour,

Determined to build a strong, modern, contemporary and cooperative relationship that draws upon their historical and age-old cultural ties, the advantage of geographical proximity, and that responds to the needs of an inter-dependent world of the 21st Century,

Aware that their strengthened bilateral relations also contribute to regional cooperation, peace, prosperity and stability,

Recalling and reaffirming the Tehran Declaration issued on April 10, 2001 jointly by H.E. Shri A.B. Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India and H.E.Hojjatoleslam Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which resulted in further strengthening of dialogue aimed at strategic cooperation.

Declare as follows:

1. International developments since the adoption of the Tehran Declaration have reinforced their faith in and reconfirmed the values of pluralism, diversity and tolerance within and between societies.
2. International peace and stability, harmony between different religions, ethnic and linguistic groups, cultures and social systems can best be promoted through dialogue and acceptance of the right to ones' own beliefs and values expressed and exercised without injury or slight to those of others and without a desire to impose them on others. In this context, they positively assessed the contribution made by the concept of Dialogue Among Civilizations to address discord and differences in international relations.
3. They evaluate positively the consolidation of Indo-Iranian bilateral relations since the Tehran Declaration. Meetings of the Joint Commission, the Strategic Dialogue, interaction between the Security Councils of the two countries, discussions on energy and security, and cooperation based on existing complementarities and diverse possibilities, including supplies, exploration, investment, exchange of technical expertise, and other interaction at government and private sector levels have all contributed to deepening of mutual understanding and confidence, which has provided, in turn, the basis for further consolidation.
4. The two sides welcome the fresh impetus given to Science and Technology cooperation as also to cooperation in education and training since last year. They also note the potential of technologies, such as IT, to improve the lives of people in developing societies and agree to promote cooperation efforts to exploit this potential. They

agree to promote fuller utilization of available capabilities for human resource development.

5. The two sides affirm that their growing strategic convergence needs to be underpinned with a strong economic relationship, including greater trade and investment flows. The Ministerial-level Joint Commission, the Joint Business Council and economic and commercial agreements signed recently in this regard will play a critical role in this regard. They exhort the entrepreneurs in both countries to harness each other's strengths for mutual benefit and promote the process of economic rapprochement actively, including through expert studies on trade and investment facilitation, holding of exhibitions and seminars, promotion of business travel, and joint ventures.
6. They note that the enabling legislations to promote vigorous trade and economic exchanges are primary requirements to promote business confidence between the entrepreneurs of the two countries. Many arrangements have already been concluded in this field. To consolidate the bilateral business environment further, they agree on the need to undertake expeditious negotiations, inter alia, for the conclusion of the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement, Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement and MoU on Energy Cooperation.
7. India and Iran have a complementarity of interests in the energy sector which should develop as a strategic area of their future relationship. Iran with its abundant energy resources and India with its growing energy needs as a rapidly developing economy are natural partners. The areas of cooperation in this sector include investment in upstream and downstream activities in the oil sector, LNG/natural gas tie-ups and secure modes of transport.
8. They also decided to explore opportunities for cooperation in defence in agreed areas, including training and exchange of visits.
9. They agreed to explore mechanisms to preserve and maintain the common cultural heritage, rooted in history, of the two countries. As part of efforts dedicated to preservation of this heritage, they agreed to release a commemorative postage stamp.
10. Terrorism continues to pose serious a threat to nation States and international peace and security and should be eradicated. States that aid, abet and directly support international terrorism should be condemned. The international community should intensify its efforts to combat the menace of terrorism. They reiterate their resolve to

strengthen the international consensus and legal regimes against terrorism, including early finalization of a Comprehensive Convention against International Terrorism. They agree that the combat against international terrorism should not be selective or based on double standards. Iran and India agree to continue joint cooperation to address the issues of international terrorism and trafficking in narcotic and psychotropic substances.

11. Both sides stressed that the interests of peace and stability in the region are best served by a strong, united, prosperous and independent Afghanistan. They assess highly the past and continuing cooperation between India and Iran in support of a united, sovereign and independent Afghanistan. They urge the international community to remain committed on long-term basis to the reconstruction and development of Afghanistan, to controlling re-emergence of terrorist forces, and spread of narcotics from Afghanistan. They agree that stability of Afghanistan is vital for the stability of the region. The recent trilateral agreement between the Governments of India, Iran and Afghanistan to develop the Chahbahar route through Melak, Zaranj and Delaram would facilitate regional trade and transit, including to Afghanistan and Central Asia, contributing thus to enhanced regional economic prosperity.
12. The two sides note with satisfaction the operationalisation of the North South transit arrangement and the growing interest among other States in the region to participate in it. They reaffirm their commitment to develop the full potential of the North South arrangement, its infrastructure, desired certification and customs harmonization, expert studies and regular evaluation to aid its growth.
13. India and Iran support efforts to resolve the situation relating to Iraq peacefully through political and diplomatic means under the auspices of the United Nations.
14. The two sides reiterated their commitment to commence multi-lateral negotiations for nuclear disarmament under effective international control. They expressed their concern about restrictions imposed on the export of materials, technology and equipment to developing countries and acknowledged the right of these countries to research, production and use of technology, material and equipment for peaceful purposes.
15. The two countries are resolved to exploit the full potential of the bilateral relationship in the interest of the people of the two countries

and of regional peace and stability, and recognizing that the 21st Century holds unbound promises of welfare and progress through peaceful application of science and technology, promoting knowledge based societies, and tackling fundamental problems such as disease, hunger and environmental degradation.

16. They directed that a time bound framework be worked out in agreed areas of cooperation, through the existing mechanisms of Joint Commission and Joint Working Groups, so that a firm and substantial economic and political underpinning would be provided for a strategic and long-term orientation to the bilateral relationship.

Signed on the 25th Day of January 2003 at New Delhi in two originals, each in Hindi, Persian and English languages. ■

Prime Minister
President Islamic Republic of Iran.
Republic of India

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/document/papers/iran_delhidecl.htm>

Document No. 5

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN ON THE IRAQI SITUATION

It is with a heavy heart that the Government and the people of Pakistan are watching events unfolding at a very fast pace in the continuing crisis over Iraq. Our priorities in the Security Council and in all other international, regional and bilateral negotiations and discussions, have been, and continue to be, to call for a peaceful solution within the framework of the United Nations and based on our deep concern that the Iraqi people should not unnecessarily bear the burden of additional suffering.

The UNMOVIC and IAEA inspectors are carrying out useful work to confirm and to ensure Iraq's mandated disarmament under the UN Security Council Resolutions. They must be given adequate time to look into and to verify or otherwise, allegations and their supporting evidence. Iraq which has pledged full cooperation must implement its commitment without any reservation. Such reservations would compromise its commitment on the substance and process of this vital and decisive issue. It is with deep regret that we have seen that the momentum of events seems to be inexorably moving

from peace to war, despite the sincere efforts of the international community, and the hopes and aspirations of the world public.

The situation is fraught with grave consequences for the international system as a whole, for the United Nations, and the role of the Security Council which has the recognized primary responsibility for safeguarding and maintaining international peace and security. The very unity and credibility of the Security Council is at stake.

The Muslim Ummah, from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific, is deeply worried that war may break out, and its implications not only for the people of Iraq, but for the future stability and polity of the Islamic countries. At this time the need for inter-civilizational harmony has never been greater.

Therefore, a heavy burden has been placed on the international community, particularly on Security Council members and on Iraq to take timely, effective and adequate steps to surmount this challenge to peace and stability.

In this situation which calls for understanding and statesmanship by all concerned, it is also vitally important that the Iraqi leadership takes the steps which are in the interests of the Iraqi people and to ensure that Iraq fully cooperates and extends all mandated and required assistance to the UNMOVIC and IAEA inspection processes, to adequately answer the unresolved questions, doubts and apprehensions voiced by the inspectors, and by certain members of the international community.

To avert a disaster and tragedy for the Iraqi people, Pakistan calls upon President Saddam Hussain to do his utmost, and to put the Iraqi people first. It is imperative that the President weigh all options, to save the people of Iraq from death and destruction on an unprecedented scale.

A heavy responsibility now falls on those who wish to avert war and bloodshed, including on the Iraqi leadership. This is the sincere feeling and advice of Pakistan which has always stood shoulder to shoulder with the Muslim Ummah at all times. We pray to Allah Almighty that all decision makers in the international community and in Iraq will take heed of Pakistan's call.

Islamabad, 05 February 2003. ■

< <http://www.forisb.org/PR03-041.htm> >

Document No. 6

TEXT OF PAK-RUSSIA JOINT STATEMENT

MOSCOW: Following is the text of joint statement issued at the conclusion of President Pervez Musharraf visit to the Russian Federation on Thursday.

Joint Statement: The President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, visited the Russian Federation from 4-6 February 2003 on the invitation of Mr. Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation.

The President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was accompanied by a high-level delegation, which included the Minister of Commerce, Industries and Production and the Advisor on Finance as well as senior officials.

Substantive negotiations between Mr. V.V. Putin and General Pervez Musharraf took place. The President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan also met Mr. G.N. Seleznirov, Chairman of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, and Mr. I .S. Ivanov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

The President of two countries in a cordial atmosphere exchanged their views on a range of important bilateral, regional, and international issues.

They reaffirmed their commitment to promote bilateral cooperation as well as regional and global peace and stability. It was decided that the two countries would consult closely with each other both bilaterally as well as at international forums on all key issues.

Pakistan and Russia stressed the importance of further intensifying mutually beneficial cooperation especially through close economic interaction and augmentation of their bilateral trade. Cooperation in such sectors as energy, metallurgy, telecommunications and several infrastructure development projects were identified as promising areas of cooperation.

To remove the existing impediments of the developments of cooperation between Pakistani and Russian organizations it was agreed to work towards the prompt settlement of the issues of Pakistani debt restructuring, settlement of financial obligations, promotion of inter-bank relations, establishment of most-favoured-nation status in trade investments.

It was also decided that the Pakistan-Russia Intergovernmental Commission on Trade, Economic and Scientific and Technological

Cooperation would start its activities with the expected expansion of trade and economic interaction between the two countries.

The successful launch of the “Badr-2” satellite of Pakistan with the use of a Russian launch vehicle was cited as an example of fruitful cooperation between Pakistan and Russia in using space technologies for peaceful purposes.

The two sides reaffirmed their desire to further develop cooperation in this sphere.

The two sides expressed satisfaction on the signing in November 2002 of the Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and “Gazprom”.

Russia and Pakistan recognized the importance of developing contacts in the field of culture, science, and education. A relevant Programme for 2003-2006 was signed.

The two sides stressed the need to move towards a just and equitable global political and economic order based on the sovereign equality of all states, democratic values, supremacy of the UN Charter and international law.

The two sides underlined the importance of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in promoting global growth and prosperity, and in deepening and broadening world trade. They agreed that, in the context of Russia’s integration into the world economic and trade systems as an equal member, Russia’s joining the WTO at the earliest was of particular importance.

Pakistan expressed its readiness to support the Russian Federation in the process. The two sides agreed to initiate regular bilateral consultations in this context.

Pakistan and Russia reaffirm their intention to cooperate at bilateral and international forums on strategic stability. The inaugural meeting of the Pakistan-Russia Consultative Group on Strategic Stability in Moscow in January 2003 was, therefore, of particular significance.

Pakistan welcomed the signing by Russia and the USA of the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Weapons Reductions. The two sides confirmed their commitment to promoting disarmament and non-proliferation and the further strengthening of national export control systems.

The two sides agreed that keeping space free from weapons and prevention of arms race in space was essential for strengthening strategic stability.

Pakistan and Russia condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. They agree that a comprehensive approach was needed to

combat terrorism and this should include firm measures against manifestations of ethnic and religious extremism, trafficking of illicit nuclear materials and drugs as well as trans-national organized crime. Such measures should also be directed against those states, organizations and individuals who indulge in terrorism or support, finance and encourage terrorists or offer them shelter or refuge.

The two sides emphasized the importance of consistent implementation of the counter-terrorism decisions of the UN Security Council, in particular, resolution 1373. They also favoured a harmonization and adoption by the United Nations of the draft international Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and the draft Comprehensive Convention against International Terrorism and, in this regard, both sides stressed the importance of an agreed definition of terrorism.

Pakistan and Russia declared their interest in establishing constructive interaction in fighting international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. The establishment of a Pakistan-Russia Joint Working Group on Counter terrorism and Other New Challenges to International Security whose first meeting was held in Moscow in December 2002 was noted with satisfaction

The Memoranda of Understanding between the Ministry of interior of Pakistan and the Ministry of Interior of Russia and the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan were signed to strengthen the legal framework for interagency cooperation.

The two sides also agreed on the need to sign, at the earliest, a Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters and a Treaty on Mutual Assistance and Legal Relations in Civil and Trade Matters.

During comprehensive discussions on Afghanistan, Pakistan and Russia expressed the hope that the Transitional Administration of Afghanistan would succeed in restoring peace, reviving the economic and social infrastructure in order to promote growth and prosperity. They stressed their common interest in the reintegration of Afghanistan into the international community as a sovereign stable, predictable and peaceful state, living in harmony with its neighbours. The central coordinating role of the United Nations and its Security Council in this process was emphasized. Russia strongly supported the adoption in Kabul on 22 December 2002 of the Declaration on Good-Neighbourly Relations by representatives of the states adjacent to Afghanistan, including Pakistan.

Pakistan and Russia expressed particular concern on the increased production of drugs in Afghanistan and their illegal traffic to the adjacent

countries and other regions. In this connection, they underlined the need for the formulation and implementation of preventive measures as well as the provision of funds for crop substitution under the auspices of the United Nations and its specialized agencies especially the United Nation Drug Control Programme (UNDCP). Pakistan welcomed Russia's voluntary contribution of 0.5 million US dollars to the UNDCP and expressed its readiness to expand bilateral, multilateral interaction in this area.

The two sides reaffirmed that security and stability in Central Asia was vital for both Pakistan and Russia. They supported the efforts of the Central Asian states to further strengthen their democratic foundations.

Detailed discussions were held on the situation in South Asia. Both sides stressed the need for continuous sincere efforts by the concerned parties to create conditions for resuming the dialogue between Pakistan and India in order to resolve all outstanding issues between them on the basis of equity and justice.

Russia appreciated the withdrawal of Pakistani and Indian troops from the border to peace-time locations as well as the fulfillment by Pakistan and India of their obligations to exchange the lists of nuclear facilities within the framework of the 1988 bilateral agreement on the Prohibition of Attack Against Nuclear Installations and Facilities of each other.

The two sides resolutely opposed unilateral use or threat of use of force in violation of the UN Charter and interference in the internal affairs of other states. It was stressed that a comprehensive settlement of the situation around Iraq should be achieved through political and diplomatic efforts, in strict compliance with the recognized norms of international law and under the auspices of the UN. The need for further intensive consultations with the Iraqi leadership in order to encourage its cooperation with the United Nations was emphasized.

The two sides expressed concern on the developments in the Middle East. They strongly condemned all acts of violence in the region and supported the early resumption of a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue, as there was no alternative to a peace process. Both sides confirmed the inviolability of the international political and legal instruments for a peaceful settlement namely, UN Security Council resolutions 242, 338 and 1397, the Madrid Principles; Land for Peace" formula, existing agreements and arrangements as well as the Arab peace initiative adopted at the Beirut Summit of the Arab League in March 2002.

The two sides expressed the view that the visit of the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the Russian Federation was a major step in

promoting bilateral cooperation in diverse spheres. Increased cooperation between the two countries would also contribute towards regional and global peace and security and the establishment of just, democratic and equitable world order.

The President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan thanked President Putin for the warm hospitality and extended a cordial invitation to the President of the Russian Federation and his spouse to visit Pakistan where they would be warmly welcomed. This was accepted with gratitude. The date for the visit will be finalized through diplomatic channels. ■

App, The News, 7 February 2003.

Document No. 7

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN, GENERAL PERVEZ MUSHARRAF, AT THE INAUGURAL SESSION OF THE 13TH SUMMIT OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM-XIII) IN KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA ON 24 FEBRUARY 2003.

Dear Brother Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad,
Your Majesties and Royal Highnesses,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to extend my sincere felicitations to you, Mr. Prime Minister, on your assumption of NAM's Chair. We have no doubt that your dynamic and visionary leadership will help transform this Movement in consonance with demands of the changed international environment. I also wish to thank South Africa, especially Presidents Mandela and Mbeki whose inspiring moral leadership galvanized NAM's work and gave it a new spirit.

Mr. Chairman,

From Bandung in 1955 to Kuala Lumpur in 2003, our Movement has traveled a long distance. At the high noon of superpower rivalry, our Movement emerged to offer an independent middle path to the developing world. The next phase in our Movement's evolution commenced in the post cold war period. We began a transition dictated by the new global realities and started paying increasing attention to economic issues.

We are now in the third phase of our journey, as we hold this first NAM Summit of the 21st century. This must become the phase of our complete transformation. It is truly befitting that "revitalization" is the theme of this

Summit. The challenge before us, is to identify our common objectives and purposes, and evolve appropriate ways and means as well as processes and mechanisms to promote these objectives.

Mr. Chairman,

First and foremost, NAM must be the voice of principle – not the voice of power. Asymmetry of power takes different forms, from unmatched military strength to unequal distribution of economic resources to permanent membership of the Council. Such asymmetry undermines collective good.

NAM must counter-balance the asymmetry of power by emphasizing principles. This approach should be anchored on the primacy of the UN Charter and the five principles of peaceful coexistence as well as the central role of the United Nations and other multilateral organizations in international relations. Above all, NAM should begin to play a pivotal role in conflict resolution. Chapter VI Of the UN Charter provides the best framework for the pacific settlement of disputes. Pakistan supports the establishment of a Panel of Eminent Persons (the “three wise men”) to more fully define and promote these objectives and processes. Pakistan would be happy to host the NAM mechanism for conflict resolution.

Secondly, NAM must be the strongest proponent of equal security of states. Asymmetry of power cannot be a stable and durable basis for the post-cold war architecture of international peace and security.

NAM must strive for equitable global disarmament – achieved through negotiated agreements rather than forcible actions. The linkage between disarmament and security must be strengthened. The balancing of power and security would provide us the political space for promoting multilateral solutions, to emerging threats to international peace and security.

Thirdly, NAM must be the voice of the people. We must give full life and meaning to the opening words of the UN Charter: “We, the people”. NAM would remain relevant as long as it continues to speak for the weak and oppressed. We must not shy away from the principle of self-determination for peoples fighting foreign occupation or suppression by force. Many of the nations assembled here today owe their very creation this noble principle.

NAM must remain a symbol of hope for the peoples, who even today’s struggle to realize their inalienable right to self-determination. Two supreme cases stand out – those of the oppressed people of Kashmir and Palestine. The legitimacy of their cause is recognized by the United Nations. The Non-Aligned Movement must press for the realization of these just causes, and shun a selective approach to UN Resolutions. Fourthly, NAM must be a strong, principled voice against terrorism, whether by individuals,

groups or states. Our Movement must work to promote a universally accepted definition of terrorism – base on recognition of the fundamental fact that no cause justifies acts of violence against innocent civilians. At the same time, we must not allow anyone to manipulate the fight against terrorism to de-legitimize just struggles of peoples against illegal occupation. This travesty must be rejected with the contempt that it deserves. The fight against terrorism should not divide, but only seek to unit nations in this common cause. NAM must also underscore the imperative to address the “root causes”. Resolution of long standing disputes as also efforts to address injustice, the sense of frustration and powerlessness and objective realities like poverty, illiteracy and economic deprivation, would certainly help this cause.

M. Chairman,

The economic agenda that our Movement must pursue in the 21st century is no less important. It is vital to the well-being and future prosperity of the billions that live in the NAM world.

NAM must support equitable growth and development. Paradoxically, while globalization has increased global prosperity, it has also deepened the levels of poverty and inequality. About 20% people in the North control 80% of the world resources. The world’s richest 1% receive as much income as the poorest 57%. Not unsurprisingly, therefore, in the South more than 1.2 billion people still live on less than one dollar a day, some 800 million lack basic amenities, 850 million are illiterate, and nearly 113 million children are out of school.

To address this, NAM should press for a new agenda for development. Development means enabling people to escape the vicious circle of poverty, hunger and disease. This would require a new “development consensus” centered on people, which should replace the present “Washington Consensus” built largely around the idea of liberalization of economies.

The new development paradigm should help realize the right to development, a fair trade regime, equitable distribution of international liquidity and debt reduction.

Mr. Chairman,

Respect for international law should be the cornerstone of NAM’s approach to the international humanitarian order. Past decades have seen flagrant violations of international humanitarian law - in Rwanda, Kashmir and Palestine. This must be brought to an end now. We must raise our voice collectively against genocide and support the international criminal justice

system. Oppression and unjust wars – waged for territory or resources – are incompatible with NAM's ideals. These should be condemned.

Mr. Chairman,

Allow me to conclude by reiterating that this is both a moment of challenge and opportunity for NAM. The vision we develop here today would be critical to our ability to realize the Movement's full potential in the 21st Century.

With you guiding our Movement in this defining moment, Mr. Chairman, we have no doubt that this ship will cruise to its coveted destination.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman ■

<<http://www.un.int/pakistan/00home0014-2003>>

Document No. 8

STATEMENT BY INDIAN PRIME MINISTER ATAL BEHARI VAJPAYEE AT THE 13TH NAM SUMMIT, KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA, FEBRUARY 24, 2003

Speaking at the 13th NAM Summit, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee asked member countries to take a "clear and unequivocal stand" on terrorism. He emphasised that "there can be "no double standards", on terrorism. He said that terrorism could not be termed as freedom struggle. He said it is wrong condone terrorism by making references to its 'root causes' He suggested that NAM should develop an agenda on democracy, human rights and multi-culturism and noted preserving and consolidating democracy in NAM member countries is a major challenge that they are faced with.

Presented below is the full text of Vajpayee's address at the Summit.

Mr. Chairman,

Your Majesties,

Your Royal Highnesses,

Excellencies, Heads of State and Government,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As a number of distinguished colleagues before me have already done, I congratulate Malaysia on its assumption of the Chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement [NAM]. We are at a critical point in international relations. Perhaps we are also at a defining moment in the life of this Movement itself.

We are seeking to revitalize its agenda in a global environment profoundly different from that in which it was created.

Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad has presided over the destinies of Malaysia, as it transformed itself from underdevelopment into an economic powerhouse of South East Asia. We hope he will bring the same sure hand and deft touch to the transformation of NAM.

I would also like to warmly compliment South Africa for chairing the Movement with such distinction during a period of flux in international relations. President Mbeki has invested considerable energy in guiding the Movement towards a new equilibrium between the interests of developed and developing countries.

Mr. Chairman,

The tectonic shifts in international relations over the last decade have challenged NAM to adapt itself to effectively tackle the new contemporary challenges. Even while preserving independence of judgement and autonomy of action – which are its defining characteristics – NAM should take a close, hard look at the realities of today.

India has participated in the various deliberations within our Movement on the theme of its revitalisation. We believe that certain principles are fundamental to this process:

One, NAM should have a clear consensus on key issues of common concern to all of us. Multilateralism, combating global terrorism and reform of the UN system would be the political elements of this agenda. Developmental issues, democratisation of international financial institutions, constructive North-South engagement and South-South cooperation would be its main economic planks.

Two, NAM should concentrate on issues that unite, rather than divide us. In a Movement of one hundred and sixteen members, it is inevitable that there are some differences or even disputes among us. We would be losing time, energy and focus if we involved ourselves in these issues. This principle is accepted in the Charters and practice of successful organizations like the OIC and ASEAN. NAM's outlook and its agenda have to be global.

Three, in projecting our view on global issues, our tone has to be objective and pragmatic. We should position NAM as a major pole in a multi-polar configuration.

Four, we should use cooperation between ourselves as an effective tool to promote our national development. South-South cooperation has to move from the political lectern to the economic marketplace.

Five, NAM should develop a progressive agenda on the fundamental values of democracy, human rights and multiculturalism. The preservation and consolidation of democracy throughout our membership is a major challenge.

Mr. Chairman,

The threat of global terrorism presents our Movement with an immediate test of its commitment to its core principles. It is imperative that we take a clear and unequivocal stand on this scourge. There can be no double standards, no confusion between terrorism and freedom struggles, and no implicit condoning of terrorism through an investigation of its 'root causes'. There can be no justification for terrorism. No political, ideological, religious or ethnic grounds can justify the shedding of the blood of innocent people.

We should finally conclude the negotiations at the UN on the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism. It is a matter of the greatest shame to all of us that while terrorism continues to claim its victims with one brutal act after another, we cannot conclude an international agreement because we cannot find a universally acceptable definition of terrorism!

Mr. Chairman,

The world's attention - like that of this Summit - is riveted on Iraq. Like every other non-aligned country, India fervently wishes for a peaceful resolution. We also support the multilateral route of the United Nations to address this issue.

But objectivity – and not rhetoric – should govern our actions. Weapons of mass destruction do need to be eliminated. It is essential that Iraq complies fully with the obligations it has accepted, including disarmament, and that it cooperates fully in implementing Security Council Resolution 1441. As a fellow member of NAM, this is our sincere advice to Iraq. We also expect that if Iraq fully complies, the sanctions against that country should be lifted.

We should also not lose sight of the humanitarian dimension of the suffering of the Iraqi people. Apart from the immediate consequences of military action, there are long-term implications for stability and security in an already volatile region.

Mr. Chairman,

NAM is at a historic moment in a new century. We need to introspect, take stock of our achievements as well as our failures and take concrete steps to revitalise our Movement. India is ready to play its part in this effort.

Mr. Chairman,

I had never intended to mention such matters at this forum, but I am constrained to respond to some allegations against India.

President Musharraf has referred to my country a little while ago. His strange logic masks Pakistan's territorial designs on an integral part of India. He justifies terrorism against India by talking of root causes.

Does he go into the root causes of sectarian terrorism in his country? Or does he take stern action against the perpetrators of that terrorism? He talks of the "oppressed people of Kashmir". These same people very recently cast their ballots in an election universally recognized as free and fair. They defied the bullets of the terrorists, aided and abetted by Pakistan.

Those very terrorists assassinated candidates and political activists in the elections and killed women and children because they refused to provide them food and shelter. These terrorists continue to perpetrate violence against innocent civilians every day. Yet General Musharraf talks of an international humanitarian order!

Thank you. ■

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/document/papers/NAM_pm.htm>

Document No. 9

SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTER THE HONORABLE DATO SERI DR. MAHATHIR MOHAMAD AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE XIII SUMMIT MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AT PUTRA WORLD TRADE CENTRE, KUALA LUMPUR ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24 2003

Date: 24 February 2003

1. On behalf of the Government and People of Malaysia, may I extend a very warm welcome to all of you to Kuala Lumpur to this XIII Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement.
2. It is indeed a great honour for Malaysia to host this Summit Meeting and to assume the chairmanship of the Movement.
3. As the host, Malaysia is gratified at the high level of participation in spite of the uncertainties of the international situation today. This clearly demonstrates our continued and abiding faith in, and commitment to our Movement and our collective wish and determination to strengthen our unity and cohesion.
4. I take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Republic of South Africa, in particular His Excellency President Thabo M'beki, for his and his country's outstanding stewardship of our Movement for the past four years a little longer than they had bargained for when they assumed the

Chairmanship at our Summit Meeting in Durban. We congratulate them for the admirable way the Republic of South Africa has held high the banner of NAM despite cynicism about its relevance.

5. We are also gratified that under South Africa's leadership our Movement has intensified the serious and critical examination of our organisation and has initiated some important steps towards its revitalisation a process which Malaysia will pursue with the help and cooperation of the members of NAM.

6. This Summit Meeting in Kuala Lumpur, the first to be held in the new century, indeed the new millennium, is taking place at a most crucial time. The world now lives in fear. We are afraid of everything. We are afraid of flying, afraid of certain countries; afraid of bearded Asian men, afraid of the shoes airline passengers wear; of letters and parcels, of white powder. The countries allegedly harbouring terrorists, their people, innocent or otherwise are afraid too. They are afraid of war, of being killed and maimed by bombs being dropped on them, by missiles fired from hundreds of miles away by unseen forces. They are afraid because they would become the collaterals to be killed because they get in the way of the destruction of their countries.

7. The preparations and the measures taken to ensure security go on frantically. Trillions of dollars are spent by the world for new weapons, new technology, new strategy; the deployment of forces and inspectors worldwide. Those who cannot afford these security measures must simply await their fate and trust in God. Yet despite all these, terrorist attacks have taken place where they are least expected, killing the collaterals again. There is still no guarantee that the well dressed, clean shaven family man next door might not become another hijacker, crashing his aircraft into buildings and killing collaterals.

8. In the meantime the economy of the world has slowed down and in some instances has been reversed, with huge deficits burdening countries. Jobs are lost and poverty is increasing even in the rich countries. No new investments in foreign countries or at home. With the threat of war oil prices have shot up, increasing further the economic and social burdens of the poor countries.

9. Aid for the poor has practically stopped and loans are not available as the poor countries defaulted and defaulted again.

10. Truly the world is in a terrible mess, a state that is worse than during the East West confrontation, the Cold War. All the great hopes following the end of the Cold War have vanished. And with the terrorists and the anti terrorists fumbling blindly in their fight against each other, normalcy will not return for quite a long while.

11. Surely at some stage we must ask ourselves why this is happening to the world. Why is there terrorism? Is it true that the Muslims are born terrorists because of the teachings of a prophet who was a terrorist? How do we explain the pogroms, the inquisitions and the holocaust which characterised Christian Europe for almost 2000 years? Why did the Jews choose to seek haven in Muslim countries whenever Christian Europeans persecute them? Do people seek safety in the land of terrorists? Does not sound very likely.

12. The Christians too were terrorised, not by Muslims but by fellow Christians who condemned them as heretics. They were persecuted, tortured, burnt at the stakes for their beliefs and forced to migrate. Seems that, the Muslims did not have a monopoly of terrorism, certainly not on the scale of the holocaust, the pogroms and the inquisition.

13. So it cannot be that Muslims are the sole cause of all these problems. If they are not then is it a clash of civilisation, a clash of the Muslim civilisation against the Judea Christian civilisation, that is responsible.

14. Frankly I do not think so. Frankly I think it is because of a revival of the old European trait of wanting to dominate the world. And the expression of this trait invariably involves injustice and oppression of people of other ethnic origins and colours.

15. If we care to think back, there was no systematic campaign of terror outside Europe until the Europeans and the Jews created a Jewish state out of Palestinian land. Incidentally terrorism was first used by the Haganah and the Irgun Zvai Leumi to persuade the British to set up Israel. The Palestinians were actually ejected from their homes and their country and forced to live in miserable refugee camps for more than 50 years now.

16. It is the struggle of the Palestinians to regain their land that has precipitated, first conventional wars, then civil protest and eventually violent demonstrations. The Israelis demanded European support to atone for European crimes against them in the past. In desperation the Palestinians finally resorted to what is described as acts of terror. Rightly, this is condemned by the world. But the world does not condemn as acts of terror the more terrifying acts of the Israelis; the massacres in Sabra and Shatila, the shooting and killing of children, the use of depleted uranium coated bullets, the bulldozing of Palestinian homes while the occupants are still in them, the helicopter gunships etc. And Israel is now threatening to use nuclear weapons.

17. This blatant double standards is what infuriates Muslims, infuriates them to the extent of launching their own terror attacks. If Iraq is linked to the

Al Qaeda, is it not more logical to link the expropriation of Palestinian land and the persecution and oppression of the Palestinians with September 11? It is not religious differences which angered the attackers of the World Trade Centre. It is simply sympathy and anger over the expropriation of Palestinian land, over the injustice and the oppression of the Palestinians, and Muslims everywhere. If the innocent people who died in the attack on Afghanistan, and those who have been dying from lack of food and medical care in Iraq, are considered collaterals, are not the 3,000 who died in New York and the 200 in Bali also just collaterals whose deaths are necessary for the operations to succeed?

18. Actually the life of any human being is sacred, no matter if the person is a friend or an enemy. That is why war is not a solution. A contest based on who can kill more people in order to establish who is the Victor and who the loser, worst still in order to determine who is right and who is wrong is primitive and does not speak well of the so called high level of civilisation we have achieved. The greatness of a nation should be based on a culture that values high moral qualities, aesthetics, learning and advancements in the sciences. Unfortunately thousands of years after the stone age we still measure the greatness of a nation by the capacity to slaughter the greatest number of people.

19. But the oppression and injustice is not confined to waging war and killing people; there is oppression in ideological propagation. We are now allowed only a democratic system of Government. We admit it is by far the best system of Governments. But applying sanctions, starving people, denying access to medicine in order to force the acceptance of democracy hardly seem to be democratic. Actually millions have died because they have not converted to this new religion. And millions more are suffering because they are unable to make democracy work, because of the resulting anarchy.

20. Relieved of the need to compete with the Communists, the capitalist free traders have ceased to show a friendly face. Their greed knows no bounds. They want countries which had fought hard to gain independence, to give up that independence, to do away with their borders, to allow the capitalists free access to do what they like to the economies of these countries. They call this free competition. As they merge and acquire each other, they become monstrous giants against whom the small businesses in the developing countries will not be able to compete. What is the meaning of competition if you cannot win at all. In the end a few of these monsters will control the economy of the whole world.

21. The sad thing is that they are not above cheating and corruption. And we know they can fail. We have seen how spectacularly they fail losing 100 billion dollars in one year. And that is only one corporation.

22. Then there are the rogue currency traders who destroyed the economies of half the world, threw tens of millions out of work, bankrupted banks and thousands of businesses, cause the collapse of Governments and precipitated anarchy; all so that half a dozen individuals can make billions for themselves.

23. Now the rich give no more aid. They do not lend either. And all the time the international agencies they control try to strangle the debt laden poor countries which had been attacked by their greedy market manipulators.

24. The disparities between rich and poor widen daily. The rich have per capita incomes of more than 30,000 US Dollars, the poor only 300 US Dollars. Still the rich want to squeeze out literally the last drop of blood from the poor.

25. It is this which plague the world today, this oppression of the poor by the rich; this injustice, this inequality. To nib salt into the wound the poor are always being told that they lack transparency and good governance, they don't respect human rights, they don't uphold freedom of speech, freedom of the press and so on and so forth, when in fact it is the rich who lack transparency, who do not respect human rights, who curb our rights to speak the truth about what they are doing, who use their media to hide their misdeeds and spread lies. How else can we interpret the operations of the hedge funds and the currency traders, sanctions and the systematic bombings of certain countries, the impoverishment of the already poor, and the censorship of news as well as distorted and fabricated reports about the south.

26. The fact is that the poor countries have been and are being oppressed and terrorised by the rich countries. Naturally the poor are bitter and angry and have lost faith in justice and honour. And the last straw which caused them to resort to futile and destructive terror attacks is the blatant support for state terrorism as practised by Israel and others. If Israeli terrorism is a response to Palestinian terrorism, then Palestinian terrorism, and terror acts by their sympathisers must be due to the expulsion of Palestinians from their land, the further occupation of Palestinian territory and the open support for Israeli intransigence and terrorism by the Europeans. But the developing countries must admit that we are also responsible for the mess the world is in today. We have not used our independence and freedom to develop our countries for the good of our people. Instead we have been busy overthrowing our Governments, setting up new Governments which in turn would be overthrown. We have even killed our own people by the millions. And

frequently, frustrated with anarchic democracy we resort to autocratic Governments, exposing ourselves to much vilification.

27. The result of this confrontation between the haves and the have nots, the developed and the developing is a world that is practically ungovernable. Despite all the advances in science and technology, the world is in a terrible state. With more than enough food to feed the six billion people of the world, fully one in six is actually underfed, starving, with hundreds dying daily.

28. Since Sept 11, the rich and the powerful have become enraged with the poor half of the world. And their extreme measures to ensure security for themselves have only amplified the anger of the oppressed poor. Both sides are now in a state of blind anger and are bent on killing each other, on war.

29. War solves nothing. War is primitive. Today's war is more primitive than stone age wars. The targets are not the fighters, the combatants. The target is the ordinary civilians, the women, children and old people. Whether it is terror attacks or military action, these are the victims.

30. In primitive wars the carnage is witnessed by the warriors. While the suicidal terrorists die with each attack, the great warriors who press the buttons see nothing of the mangled bodies, the heads and limbs which are torn from disemboweled bodies, the blood and the gore of the innocent people who an instant before were living people like them. And because they don't see, the button pressing warriors and the people who commanded them go back to enjoy a hearty meal, watch TV shows or moral boosting troop entertainers and then retire to their cosy beds for a good sleep. Tomorrow they would make more sorties, to carpet bomb more children, women and old people or they would press more buttons to send missiles to tear off more heads and limbs.

31. War is about slaughtering people. Newer and more brutal weapons are being invented to kill more people more efficiently. And now there is talk that the use of nuclear weapons is justified. Is it because the people to be slaughtered are chromatically different? Is it because they cannot hit back?

32. Our meeting here today is a meeting of Heads of States and Heads of Governments. We must admit that our organisation has not been as effective as it should be. We may want to remain uninvolved and to avoid incurring the displeasure of the powerful countries. But our people are getting restless. They want us to do something. If we don't then they will, and they will go against us. They will take things into their own hands. Unable to mount a conventional war they will resort to guerrilla war, to terrorism, against us and against those they consider to be their oppressors.

33. They cannot be ignored any longer. We cannot incarcerate them all for we do not always know who they are or where they are.

34. Sept 11, has demonstrated to the world that acts of terror even by a dozen people can destabilise the whole world completely, put fear into the hearts of everyone, make them afraid of their own shadows.

35. But their acts have also removed all the restraint in the countries of the north. They now no longer respect borders, international laws or even simple moral values. And they are now talking of wars, of the use of military conquests in order to change Governments. They are even talking of using nuclear weapons.

36. It is no longer just a war against terrorism. It is in fact a war to dominate the world i.e. the chromatically different world. We are now being accused of harbouring terrorists, of being Axis of Evil, etc. NAM has a lot of problems and issues which it must tackle. But at the moment the most important threat that we face is the tendency of the powerful to wage war when faced with opposition to the spread of their dominance. We cannot fight a war with them.

37. Fortunately many of their people are also sick of war. They have come out in their millions to protest the warlike policies of their leaders. We must join them. We must join their struggle with all the moral force that we can command.

38. War must be outlawed. That will have to be our struggle for now. We must struggle for justice and freedom from oppression, from economic hegemony. But we must remove the threat of war first. With this Sword of Democles hanging over our heads we can never succeed in advancing the interests of our countries.

39. War must therefore be made illegal. The enforcement of this must be by multilateral forces under the control of the United Nations. No single nation should be allowed to police the world, least of all to decide what action to take, when.

40. Globalisation must not be confined to the exploitation of the wealth of the earth only. Globalisation must include the multilateral protection of countries threatened by war or hegemony.

41. There must be a new world order in which power is shared equitably by all. The United Nations must be reformed. It must no longer be bound by the results of a world war fought more than half a century ago. Everyone must disarm. Weapons of mass destruction must be disallowed for all. And there should be no more research into making conventional weapons more lethal.

42. If it is right for an international agency in a globalised world to

oversee human rights, business practices and the kind of democracy practised by countries, then a truly International Agency beholden only to the United Nations General Assembly should oversee the military budget of all countries, big and small. Trading in arms must come under United Nations supervision. Brutal ethnic cleansing must be stopped by a multinational standing army.

43. When Japan was defeated, it was allowed to spend only one percent of its GDP on its armed forces. If such a condition can be imposed on Japan, why cannot it be imposed on all countries?

44. In the struggle to outlaw war and control arms, nuclear as well as conventional, NAM will find growing support from among many people in the North. It is a daunting task nevertheless. But unless we take the moral high ground now, we will wait in vain for the powerful North to voluntarily give up slaughtering people in the name of national interest.

45. Again I would like to say that NAM must struggle to outlaw war. NAM must struggle to outlaw nuclear weapons. NAM must struggle to stop the research and development of more and more lethal so called conventional weapons. NAM must struggle to control the arms trade.

46. We must work for a new world order, where democracy is not confined to the internal governance of states only but to the governance of the world. We must work for the revival of the United Nations and multilateralism. We must work to do away or modify the powers of the victors of a war fought half a century ago.

47. We know we are weak. But we also know we have allies in the North. They too want the abolition of wars, the slaughter of people for whatever reason. They may not agree with us in everything. But in the opposition to war very many will be with us. They are ready to oppose their warlike leaders. We must work with them.

48. This then is our struggle. We are not irrelevant. We are not anachronistic. We have a vision, the vision to build a new world order, a world order that is more equitable, more just; a world order which is above all free from the age old belief that killing people is right, that it can solve the problems of relations between nations.

49. For all these we must revitalise the Non Aligned Movement. And that vitality can only come from our closing ranks and acting together.

50. I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak before this august assembly. Malaysia pledges to work vigorously to oppose war including the war against Iraq and to ensure the success of this our Movement.

Prime Minister's Office, PUTRAJAYA. ■

<http://www.nam.gov.za/media/030225na.htm>>

Document No. 10

NAM XIII SUMMIT, KUALA LUMPUR DECLARATION ON CONTINUING THE REVITALISATION OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, 25 FEBRUARY 2003

Date: 25 February 2003

We, the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, gathered in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on 24 – 25 February 2003 for the XIII Summit Conference, reaffirmed our abiding faith in, and strong commitment to, the ideals, principles and purposes of the Movement, as laid out at the Bandung Conference of 1955, and the Charter of the United Nations, in our common and continuing pursuit of establishing a peaceful, prosperous, and a more just and equitable world order.

The Movement had played an active, even central role, over the years, on the issues of concern and vital importance to its members, such as decolonisation, apartheid, the situation in Palestine and the Middle East, disarmament, poverty eradication and socio-economic development, among others. After more than forty years of its founding, and having undergone many challenges and vicissitudes, it is timely and appropriate to comprehensively review the role, structure and work methods of our Movement in keeping with the times and the new realities, aimed at the further strengthening of our Movement. With the end of the Cold War, the emergence of unipolarity, the trend towards unilateralism and the rise of new challenges and threats, such as international terrorism, it is imperative for the Movement to promote multilateralism, better defend the interests of developing countries and prevent their marginalisation.

With increased globalisation and the rapid advance of science and technology, the world has changed dramatically. The rich and powerful countries exercise an inordinate influence in determining the nature and direction of international relations, including economic and trade relations, as well as the rules governing these relations, many of which are at the expense of the developing countries. It is imperative, therefore, that the Movement respond in ways that will ensure its continued relevance and usefulness to its members.

Globalisation presents many challenges and opportunities to the future and viability of all states. In its present form, it perpetuates or even increases the marginalisation of developing countries. We must ensure that globalisation will be a positive force for change for all peoples and will benefit the largest number of countries and not just a few. Globalisation should lead to the prospering and empowering of the developing countries, not their continued impoverishment and dependence on the wealthy and developed world.

The revolution in the Information and Communications Technology is changing the world at a rapid speed and in a fundamental way, and is already creating a vast and widening digital divide between the developed and developing countries, which must be bridged if the latter are to benefit from the globalisation process. This new technological innovation must be made more easily available to the developing countries in their efforts to modernise and revitalise their economies in pursuit of their developmental goals.

The achievement of these developmental goals requires an enabling international environment and the honouring of commitments and pledges made by states, including our partners in the developed world.

The future presents as many challenges and opportunities as the past and the Movement must continue to remain strong, cohesive and resilient. The continued relevance of the Movement will depend, in large measure, on the unity and solidarity of its members as well as its ability to adapt to these changes. In this regard, the process of the revitalisation of the Movement, begun at its previous Summit Meetings, must be given further impetus.

Consistent with our desire to translate our rhetoric into action, and in rededicating ourselves to the fundamental principles, purposes and goals of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, we resolve to make every effort to:

• Enhance our unity, based on our common interests and history of shared struggles, and persevere with our efforts to ensure that these interests are continuously promoted and our concerns are fully addressed.

• Uphold and adhere to the fundamental principles of the Movement and the Charter of the United Nations in the preservation and promotion of world peace through dialogue and diplomacy among states and the avoidance of the use of force to resolve conflicts.

• Promote and strengthen the multilateral process as an indispensable vehicle in safeguarding the interests of member states of the Movement as well as those of the United Nations.

• Promote the democratisation of the system of international governance in order to increase the participation of developing countries in international decision making.

• Be pro-active, rather than reactive, to international developments, especially those that impact on the members of the Movement, so as to ensure that the Movement is not sidelined but be at the forefront of the international decision making processes.

• Strengthen our national capacities in order to enhance our individual and collective resilience.

• Enhance South-South Cooperation in all areas of our relations, particularly in the political, social, cultural, economic and scientific fields.

• Promote a more dynamic and cooperative relationship with the developed and industrialised countries, based on constructive engagement, broad partnership and mutuality of benefits.

• Promote closer interaction and cooperation with organisations of our civil society, the private sector and parliamentarians on the recognition that they can play a constructive role towards the attainment of our common goals.

- In pursuit of these goals, Member States of the Movement shall strive to implement the following concrete measures:-
- Undertake a sound review and analysis of the positions of the Movement on international issues, with a view to consolidating the common denominators among member states by focusing on issues that unite rather than divide us, thereby strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Movement.
- Review and redefine the role of the Movement and improve its structure and methodology, including the need for a more focused and concise documentation, in order to make it more effective and efficient.
- Enhance our coordination and cooperation through regular meetings of the Coordinating Bureau in New York, as well as in Geneva, Vienna, Nairobi and other centres, if necessary, with a view to responding, on a timely basis, to international developments affecting the Movement and its members.
- Utilise fully and effectively all existing mechanisms and institutions, such as the Troika, the Coordinating Bureau and all existing working groups, committees, the Non-Aligned Caucus of the Security Council, and establish new ones, as appropriate.

-
- Utilise more effectively the regular NAM Foreign Ministers Meetings through more interactive sessions as well as encourage the interaction and involvement of other relevant Ministers towards enhancing the effectiveness and profile of the Movement.
 - Strengthen the role of the Chair, as spokesman of the Movement, through the establishment of appropriate mechanisms as part of the necessary backup system.
 - Strengthen coordination and cooperation, and formulate common strategies on socio-economic and development-related issues, with the Group of 77 through regular and more frequent meetings of the Joint Coordinating Committee (JCC).
 - Follow up on decisions made at the United Nations Millennium Assembly and other international fora, such as the Doha Meeting on international trade, the Monterrey Conference on Financing for Development and the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development as imperatives in addressing the urgent concerns of developing countries, such as poverty eradication, debt relief, capacity building and HIV/AIDS.
 - Expand, deepen and enrich South-South cooperation through enhanced regional and inter-regional cooperation, undertaking concrete projects and programmes, pooling of resources, and tapping the contributions of eminent personalities and institutions of the South.
 - Promote and develop mechanisms, including at relevant conferences, for international cooperation and solidarity in efforts to bridge the digital divide based on a partnership involving states, civil society and the private sector.
 - Continue to strongly support international programmes for Africa, particularly through NEPAD, as well as the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing Countries.
 - Promote constructive dialogue and interaction with our development partners, particularly the G-8, through existing and appropriate new mechanisms, including institutionalised contacts, so as to bring about greater understanding between the North and South and to ensure that the views of the Movement are fully taken into account before important decisions affecting developing countries are made.

In realising our goal of revitalising the Non-Aligned Movement, we must exert every effort towards the promotion of a multipolar world through the strengthening of the United Nations, as an indispensable international organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security, the promotion of human rights, social and economic development and respect for international law, as enshrined in its Charter. ■

<<http://meadev.nic.in/speeches/NAMdec.htm>>

Document No. 11

As Delivered

Introduction of draft UNMOVIC Work Programme, Security Council 19 March 2003

Executive Chairman Dr. Hans Blix

Mr. President

UNMOVIC was established by the Security Council resolution 1284 (1999) and was enabled to enter Iraq and carry out its inspection work almost three years later.

It might seem strange that we are presenting a draft work programme only after having already performed inspections for three and a half months. However, there were good reasons why the Council wanted to give us some time after the start of inspections to prepare this programme. During the months of the build up of our resources in Iraq, Larnaca and New York and of inspections in Iraq we have - as was indeed the purpose - learnt a great deal that has been useful to know for the drafting of our work programme and for the selection of key remaining disarmament tasks. It would have been difficult to draft it without this knowledge and this practical experience.

The time lines established in resolution 1284 (1999) have been understood to mean that the work programme was to be presented for the approval of the Council at the latest on 27 March. In order to meet the wishes of members of the Council we made the Draft Work Programme available already on Monday this week. I note that on the very same day we were constrained together with other UN units to order the withdrawal of all our inspectors and other international staff from Iraq.

I naturally feel sadness that three and a half months of work carried out in Iraq have not brought the assurances needed about the absence of

weapons of mass destruction or other proscribed items in Iraq, that no more time is available for our inspections and that armed action now seems imminent.

At the same time I feel a sense of relief that it was possible to withdraw yesterday all UN international staff, including that of UNMOVIC and the IAEA. I note that the Iraqi authorities gave full cooperation to achieve this and that our withdrawal to Larnaca took place in a safe and orderly manner. Some sensitive equipment was also taken to Larnaca, while other equipment was left and our offices in Baghdad have been sealed. Some inspection staff will remain for a short time in Larnaca to prepare inspection reports. Others who have come from our roster of trained staff, will go home to their previous positions and could be available again, if the need arises.

Mr. President,

I would like further to make some specific comments that relate to the Draft Programme. I am aware of ideas which have been advanced that specific groups of disarmament issues could be tackled and solved within specific time lines. The programme does not propose such an approach, in which, say, we would aim at addressing and resolving the issues of anthrax and VX in March and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) and Remotely Piloted Vehicles (RPVs) in April. In the work we pursued until now we worked broadly and did not neglect any identified disarmament issues. However, it is evidently possible for the Council to single out a few issues for resolution within a specific time, just as the draft programme before you selects twelve key tasks progress on which could have an impact on the Council's assessment of cooperation of Iraq under resolution 1284 (1999). Whatever approach is followed, results will depend on Iraq's active cooperation on substance.

May I add that in my last report I commented on information provided by Iraq on a number of unresolved issues. Since then, Iraq has sent several more letters on such issues. These efforts by Iraq should be acknowledged, but, as I noted in this Council on 7 March the value of the information thus provided must be soberly judged. Our experts have found so far that in substance only limited new information has been provided that will help to resolve remaining questions.

Mr. President,

Under resolution 1284 (1999) UNMOVIC's work programme is to be submitted to the Council for approval. I note, however, that what was drafted and prepared for implementation by a large staff of UNMOVIC inspectors and other resources deployed in Iraq, would seem to have only limited practical relevance in the current situation.

UNMOVIC is a subsidiary organ of the Security Council. Until the Council takes a new decision regarding the role and functions of the Commission, the previous resolutions remain valid to the extent this is practicable. It is evidently for the Council to consider the next steps.

In its further deliberations I hope the Council will be aware that it has in UNMOVIC staff a unique body of international experts who owe their allegiance to the United Nations, and who are trained as inspectors in the field of weapons of mass destruction. While the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has a large department of skilled nuclear inspectors and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) has a large staff of skilled chemical weapons inspectors, no other international organizations have trained inspectors in the field of biological weapons and missiles. There is also in the secretariat of UNMOVIC staff familiar with and trained in the analysis, both of discipline specific issues and in the broad questions of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. With increasing attention being devoted to the proliferation of these weapons this capability may be valuable to the Council.

I thank you, Mr. President. ■

<<http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/blix19mar.html>>

Document No. 12

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR MUNIR AKRAM, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN, AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MINISTERIAL MEETING ON THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT ON MARCH 19, 2003

We are meeting at a momentous and tragic moment in modern history. We meet today when the hopes for a peaceful solution of the Iraq issue are about to end. This is a sad occasion for the Council and the United Nations whose vocation is peace.

War, as the Secretary General has just recently stated, is always a “catastrophe.” “It leads to major human tragedy.”

We thank Dr. Blix for his presentation of the Programme of Work of UNMOVIC. We also thank the representative of IAEA for giving us the Programme of Work of IAEA.

Everyone is agreed that Iraq should implement its obligations under the resolutions of the Security Council.

Unfortunately, in its detailed discussions spanning over several weeks, the Council could not find convergence on any of the proposals on the table or otherwise under consideration within and amongst Security Council members.

Pakistan has consistently advocated a peaceful solution. We stressed that every possible avenue must be exhausted to seek a peaceful solution and that the use of force should only be the last, the very last resort.

Mr. President,

It is in this backdrop that Pakistan had awaited the conclusion of work by UNMOVIC on its Program of Work and Key Remaining Disarmament Tasks (KRDTs).

I also wish to take this opportunity to record our deep appreciation for Dr. Blix and Dr. ElBaradei -- as well as their respective teams -- for having done their job in the most thorough, professional and objective manner.

We have carefully studied the Program of Work and the 12 key remaining disarmament tasks identified by Dr. Blix and his team.

We believe this could have provided a useful basis for completion of the disarmament process in Iraq in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions – if Iraq's full and unconditional cooperation could have been assured.

It is regrettable that, in the situation as it has evolved, UNMOVIC and IAEA will, obviously, be unable to pursue their responsibilities for the present.

We agree that resolutions 1284 and 1441 remain in force and relevant for the future.

We take cognizance of the decision made by the Secretary General, justified by the need to ensure the continued safety and security of UN personnel to temporarily withdraw all UN personnel, including the UNMOVIC and IAEA staff.

Pakistan supports the Secretary General's decision. He had no other choice, under the circumstances, but to give priority to ensuring the safety and security of UN personnel.

The Secretary General has notified to the Council members that the activities of UNMOVIC/IAEA, as well as other UN mandates, have been "suspended de facto."

We understand this necessity and await the time when conditions would allow the inspectors to resume and complete their tasks.

Indeed, the long-term task of monitoring would require their return to Iraq.

We, therefore, presume that the present structures would be kept intact.

Mr. President,

These past few weeks have seen the whole world's attention riveted on our Council.

Despite the best efforts of all members, we found that the Council was not in a position to traverse a path that took everybody along.

The members were separated by difference, we believe honest differences.

In Pakistan's view, despite this inability to bridge differences, the Security Council remains relevant.

The Security Council is the embodiment of humanity's best hopes for peace.

The Security Council must uphold international legality equitably. It must seek to implement all Security Council resolutions -- including those on Palestine, and particularly those on Jammu and Kashmir, whose people have been struggling and dying for over fifty years.

Mr. President,

The changed circumstances have also re-ordered our priorities.

Today, I believe everyone agrees, the most urgent task before us is to decide how to address the humanitarian challenge that would mount in the days ahead.

The withdrawal of UN humanitarian staff from Iraq and the suspension of the Oil-for-Food program and outbreak of hostilities could lead to a humanitarian fall-out whose dimensions are unclear at this time.

The Secretary General also intends to make proposals to the Council that we all have agreed to consider as soon as these are ready.

Pakistan will do everything possible to ameliorate the suffering of our unfortunate brothers and sisters in Iraq.

Pakistan will work closely with the Secretary General and Council members to ensure that Iraqi people do not suffer any further.

The people of Iraq have already suffered enormously. Any delay or procrastination that exacerbates their suffering would be doubly regrettable.

Mr. President,

Pakistan believes that the time and space for diplomacy never ends.

Even once the guns speak, the duty of the Security Council to restore peace and security; to contain conflict; to prevent the human suffering of the Iraqi people and others in the region; to ensure the unity and territorial

integrity of Iraq and its neighbours; to ensure the stability of this sensitive region of the world, will not end. They will become more acute.

The Security Council's exertions of the past few weeks have revealed the divisions within the world nations.

But the healing of the wounds that have opened and may become exacerbated in the next days and weeks, could also be accomplished here in the Security Council of the United Nations.

I thank you, Mr. President ■

<<http://www.un.int/pakistan/00home00sc107.htm>>

Document No. 13

ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN

MIR ZAFARULLAH KHAN JAMALI

ON

“PAKISTAN'S POLICY ON PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA”

March 25, 2003

Your Excellency Madam He Lull,
Distinguished Scholars,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to Madam He Lull for providing me this opportunity to speak to this distinguished gathering of Chinese scholars and political analysts on my government's policy and concerns relating to peace and security in South Asia.

I deeply appreciate your welcome remarks. I am happy to see here members of the newly established Pakistan-China Friendship Forum. I am sure that this Forum will serve as a vehicle for further strengthening of the close bilateral cooperation between our two countries.

Current Visit and Pakistan-China Relations:

I consider it a special privilege that I have been the first Head of Government to China to meet the new leaders of China,

I had extremely cordial and highly useful talks with His Excellency Premier Wen Jiabao yesterday.

This afternoon I look forward to my meetings with His Excellency President Hu Jintao and His Excellency Wu Bangguo, Chairman of National People's Congress. I will also meet His Excellency Jiang Zemin to thank him

for his personal contribution to the strengthening of relations between Pakistan and China.

Premier Wen Jiabao reaffirmed the commitment of new leaders of China to the traditional friendly cooperation between our two countries.

Our friendship is enduring. Over the decades, it has remained constant and unaffected by domestic changes in the international environment.

From my talks yesterday, I have emerged with new confidence that our friendship and cooperation will continue to gain in strength with time and serve the interest of peace, stability and progress in our region.

Principles guiding our Policy:

The policy of my government in foreign relations is governed by the guiding principle set out by the founding father of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. When addressing the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, he stated that: "we desire friendship with all and nurture hostility towards none". Our policy is also based on the UN Charter principles of respect for sovereign equality and peaceful settlement of disputes and the universally recognized norms of peaceful coexistence.

Root cause of tension in South Asia:

In South Asia, the principal source of tension between Pakistan and India has been the half-century old Jammu and Kashmir dispute, which is truly a legacy of the unfortunate colonial past of the region. A just settlement of this issue will lead to normalization of relations between the two major countries of South Asia and will allow nearly one and a half billion people of this region to use their energies for economic development.

However, for fifty years, efforts for peace have remained fruitless. India refuses to respect UN Security Council Resolutions calling for a free and fair plebiscite to determine the wishes of the 'Kashmir people. Meanwhile, India has deployed over six hundred thousand troops in Kashmir and continues to suppress the basic rights of the Kashmiris.

In, recent years, exploiting the international sentiment against terrorism, India has vainly tried to project the Kashmir dispute as a problem of terrorism. This cannot mislead the international community. The character of the Kashmir dispute has been defined by UN Security Council resolutions and it cannot be altered because of Indian campaign to malign the Kashmiri struggle.

Current Tension and Pakistan's position:

Last year, India resorted to military pressure tactics by mobilizing nearly one million troops against Pakistan along the Line of Control in Kashmir and the

international border. These moves created a highly dangerous Situation. Pakistan maintained a policy of restraint and kept insisting on the need for de-escalation and dialogue to avoid a dangerous conflict between two nuclear capable neighbours. The policy found resonance Internationally. In particular, China supported the need for de-escalation and dialogue.

Eventually, India saw the futility of its massive troop mobilization. Starting last November, it began to re-locate its troops incurring considerable expenditure. However, India continues to pursue a policy of hostility against Pakistan. It refuses a meaningful dialogue With Pakistan.

There are interest groups who, for domestic reasons whip up communal politics and maintain hostility towards Pakistan. Such thinking is dangerous. Nonetheless, it remains our hope that India will see reason and decide to respond positively to our offer of dialogue. In today's world, there is not alternative to dialogue.

Our Concept of Peace and Security in South Asia:

The main elements of our approach to relations with India essentially include:

First, dialogue for settlement for all outstanding disputes including Kashmir;

Second, restraint and security balance in South Asia, we do not desire an arms race in the region, conventional or nuclear; and

Third, cooperation for economic development of the region.

These elements are the essence of the structure of peace and development that we wish to promote in South Asia. Let me elaborate.

My government reiterates our offer of dialogue to India. We must begin a process of talks in an effort to resolve problems. The process will pave tile way for confidence building and improvement of political environment in the region needed for the settlement of all issues.

The two countries must choose the course of restraint and reduction of tension. Pakistan was obliged to develop nuclear option in order to restore strategic balance, which was particularly disrupted by the Indian nuclear tests in 1998. Now, maintaining deterrence is essential for our security and a key element of balance in the region.

However, it is only rational and prudent to exercise restraint and avoid arms race. For its part, Pakistan will not engage in a disastrous arms race. We will only maintain a credible level of deterrence and conventional preparedness to be able to defend ourselves and resist the tendency of domination and hegemony in the region.

We cannot remain oblivious of the massive increases in arms expenditure by India. The Indian military ambitions reach beyond South Asia and the Indian Ocean regions.

India is developing two separate Blue Water Navies for the Western and Eastern regions of the Indian Ocean. Its nuclear doctrine calls for the development of a triad of air, land and sea based nuclear assets. This will entail the diversion of large and precious resources of the region, away from meeting the demand of economic development and poverty reduction.

This is a regrettable drain on limited resources of a region, which needs to address the enormous problems of socio-economic development. South Asia has the largest number of people, in any single region of the world, who live below the poverty line. The region faces many challenges for ensuring basic welfare of the people, especially in the education and health sectors. The countries of South Asia need cooperation to achieve these objectives.

SAARC:

This was the purpose of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), which includes seven South Asian states. Unfortunately, the Organization is severely constrained by tensions between Pakistan and India. The SAARC Summit, scheduled to be held in Islamabad early this year, could not take place because of Indian non-cooperation. The Organization remains paralyzed, despite keenness on the part of other members to meet and develop cooperation within its framework.

SAARC Charter only allows cooperation in the non-political areas. However, its Summits and other high-level meetings make it possible for leaders of the member states to meet and have informal exchanges. SAARC is a ready instrument that can help in improving the environment and reducing tension. Of course, political will is needed to move in that direction.

Global and Regional Context:

When focusing on South Asia, we need to look at the global context and the neighbouring regions.

We live in a world which is a mix of dangerous trends and promising opportunities.

We deplore the military action against Iraq. Along with China, we made strenuous efforts for a peaceful solution of the problem. All avenues must have been explored since the use of force is envisaged in the UN Charter only under extreme situations. It was unfortunate that a consensus between the permanent members of the Security Council could not be reached and the efforts of non-permanent members of the Council, including Pakistan, could not bridge this divide.

We believe that military action should not prolong. Priority must be given to avert a humanitarian crisis in Iraq. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq must be preserved.

Most importantly, the Security Council must resume its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The military action against Iraq should not be considered as setting a precedent in the conduct of inter-state relations. Pakistan believes in preserving the centrality of the United Nations. At the same time, the Security Council should uphold international legality equitably by implementing all its resolutions without selectivity.

Terrorism is another new danger on the international scene. We must reject and fight this new evil, which threatens to destabilize our societies.

On the positive side of global changes, the foremost is the great economic development of China and the transformation brought about by communications and information revolution. These changes hold great promise. China and the Far East have emerged as new economic powerhouses on the global scene. China's economy has been a factor of support and stability for the economy of the entire Asia Pacific region.

Another positive indicator is the increasing consolidation of regional arrangements for economic cooperation. The European Union and the ASEAN are two outstanding examples.

Pakistan desires to see South Asia benefiting from the positive global trends, while protecting itself from the negative developments.

Pakistan's neighbourhood:

Pakistan is not only a part of South Asia but is also strategically located at the intersection of Central Asia, West Asia and South Asia. While our efforts to build normal relations with India remain stalled by Indian refusal to address the longstanding Kashmir dispute, Pakistan enjoys good relations with all other neighbours as well as major powers with interest in the stability of our region.

First and foremost, our friendship with China is a corner stone of our foreign relations. Our friendship is time tested and based on our common aspirations for peace and development in the region.

We also enjoy good relations with the United States despite the ups and downs in the past. The US has a strong interest in the stability of the region and regards Pakistan as a pivotal country from that perspective. It has been helpful in efforts to persuade India to reduce tension and resume dialogue with Pakistan. The US also attaches importance to cooperation with Pakistan in the international fight against terrorism.

Our relations with Russia have improved. In this regard, we are grateful for the positive role played by China in helping the two countries to develop better appreciation of each other's positions and removing misgivings lingering from the past.

With Iran and Afghanistan, we are linked with ties of common history, geography and culture. Our friendly and cordial relations are reflected in frequent high-level exchanges. President Khatami visited Pakistan last December and President Karzai was in Islamabad two days ago. The three countries are part of the Economic Regional Cooperation (ECO).

Afghanistan is making slow but steady progress towards stability and normalcy.

There is a great need, however, for enhancing international assistance to help this war ravaged country with economic reconstruction. Pakistan has committed US\$ 100 million for this purpose. More importantly, we have offered every facility to help Afghanistan revive its economy and trade. We also look forward to international participation in a Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan gas pipeline. This project will greatly help the region, in particular Afghanistan.

The neglect and indifference of the international community towards Afghanistan in the past ten years have been very costly to the world. Total collapse of its economy and institutions made the country vulnerable to Al-Qaeda and other terrorist networks. The fight against these networks has been difficult, but it is making progress.

The principal lesson to be learnt from the Afghanistan tragedy is that the world cannot afford to ignore economic collapse in any region of the world. Peace depends on shared economic development and prosperity.

Our policies, particularly in South Asian and, our neighbourhood, are focused on building cooperative relations for peace and development. In this endeavour, we face many challenges at the regional and global levels.

In the uncertain environment of international relations, our friendship with China is a shining example of good neighbourly relations and an assurance for peace and stability in the region. This conviction has been reinforced during the exchange of views I had with Prime Minister Wen Jiabao yesterday.

Before concluding, I wish to express our deep appreciation for the warm and cordial hospitality extended to me and my delegation since our arrival in your great capital city, Beijing. ■

Text obtained from Foreign Office

Document No. 14

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR MUNIR AKRAM, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S OPEN DEBATE ON THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT (MARCH 27, 2003)

Mr. President,

1. War has come again to the Gulf. War is not only the last option; it is an ugly option.
2. Pakistan deplores the resort to the use of force. This was a war which Pakistan tried strenuously and sincerely to prevent. This is a war that was twelve years in the making. It could have been prevented if the increasingly robust UN inspection regime, installed after the adoption of resolution 1441, had been allowed more time to secure the effective and verified elimination of Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction.
3. A large segment of the UN membership has participated in this debate conducted at the request of the Arab League and the Non-Aligned Movement. We hope the concerns voiced and the positions articulated here would help the Council find a united way forward in dealing with the challenges we confront.
4. We thank the distinguished Secretary-General for his very thoughtful statement yesterday. His eloquent call for urgent humanitarian relief for the Iraqi people and for unity within the Council deserves our utmost attention.

Mr. President,

5. The outbreak of this war was not due to the failure of the Security Council. The Council did not endorse the war. The Security Council remains relevant to restoring the peace, containing the conflict, providing relief and restoring stability and the rule of law.

Mr. President,

6. As Pakistan has said: The time and space for diplomacy never ends. The mandate of this Council is not only to maintain but also to "restore international peace and security." In this situation, the Security Council cannot give up efforts for the cessation of hostilities.
7. In the midst of conflict, we must continue our collective efforts to search for ways in which peace can be restored. Obviously, we will not be able to achieve this by condemnation or recrimination, however deplorable the use of force. We could do so through exploration of the possibilities for peace

between the warring parties. Surely, no one wishes to witness the needless loss of the lives of their sons and daughters and specially of innocent civilians. The search for the “magic ring” must not be given up.

Mr. President,

8. People must come first. To contain the human consequences of the conflict is our most urgent task. It is a task which we can fulfill. Pakistan was the first to call on the Council to address the welfare of the Iraqi people. We join in mourning for those – specially innocent men, women and children – who have lost their lives in these early days of the war.

9. The Council must ask for strict respect for international humanitarian law by the parties to the conflict. The ICRC has warned that humanitarian law prohibits “direct attacks against civilians” and requires that “belligerents must take every precaution in military operations to spare the civilian population.” Humanitarian law also states that “the right to choose methods of warfare is not unlimited. Weapons having indiscriminate effect and/or causing unnecessary suffering are forbidden.” Besides protecting civilians, sparing infrastructure, and preserving the sanctity of the holy places, the parties to the conflict must treat detainees humanely and provide maximum protection and assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons.

Mr. President,

10. As stipulated by the Fourth Geneva Convention, those in effective control or occupation of any territory are responsible for meeting the humanitarian needs of its population, and are required to maintain dialogue and cooperation with international organizations engaged in humanitarian relief.

11. Due to the application of sanctions for a dozen years, the Iraqi people are unfortunately dependent to meet their essential needs on the UN operated Oil-for-Food Programme. This relationship has been disrupted. Warned of the impending war, the Secretary-General had no choice but to withdraw UN personnel. Now, once the parameters of the conflict have become clearer, the UN can begin to resume its role and responsibilities for humanitarian and food assistance to the Iraqi people. Fortunately, the UN has the machinery to discharge these responsibilities.

12. Pakistan agrees that appropriate adjustments need to be made to the Oil-for-Food Programme to enable the Secretary-General to ensure that shipments of the most urgently required items that have already been contracted for are the first to be delivered at places where they can be received and distributed. We believe that for the provision of emergency relief the first consideration should be humanity rather than legality. The UN must deal with

whoever is in effective control in the areas where aid is to be distributed. It must use all the existing Iraqi distribution networks for this purpose.

13. In this context, arrangements should be put in place to enable all humanitarian agencies and organizations which are prepared to assist, including humanitarian organizations in several Islamic countries, to be enabled to provide relief assistance to the Iraqi people. In Pakistan, official and non-governmental organizations are on stand-by for such arrangements to bring help to their Iraqi brothers and sisters.

14. While the existence of the Oil-for-Food Programme and the contracted shipments of 2.5 billion dollars underway may be the best option to urgently meet the essential needs of the Iraqi people, it is vital to underline certain principles in this context:

One, the Security Council must re-affirm the permanent sovereignty of the Iraqi people over their natural resources. Control over these resources must revert to them as soon as possible. To this end, the sanctions imposed in the past must end quickly after the conflict.

Two, the Iraqi people should not be asked to bear the burden of the extra costs that will be incurred in making the adjustments in the existing Oil-for-Food Programmes – by way of accelerating, delaying or diverting shipments. These extra costs should be met through the normal insurance coverage. If paid by the Oil-for-Food programme, they should be reimbursed by the contributions from the international community as soon as possible.

Three, apart from the humanitarian responsibilities of the parties to the conflict, the international community must also contribute to meeting the essential needs of the Iraqi people. The existence of the Oil-for-Food Programme should not imply that the Iraqi people must pay for the emergency needs created by a conflict, which is not of their making.

15. The international humanitarian assistance to the Iraqi people will need to be coherently planned and effectively coordinated. This can be best done by the United Nations. The Secretary-General may wish to consider the appointment of an appropriate high official who can serve as the focal point and coordinator of international relief assistance to Iraq.

Mr. President,

16. The third objective for the Security Council, the United Nations and the international community is to contain the conflict, to arrest the spread of instability in the region, and to restore the rule of law in Iraq and in international relations. The principles involved are clearly prescribed in our Charter:

- respect for the political independence, unity and territorial integrity of Iraq and its neighbouring states;
- The right of the Iraqi people to choose their own political destiny and form of governance in exercise of their right to self-determination;
- non-intervention and non-interference in their internal affairs;
- permanent sovereignty and control over their natural resources;
- respect for the religious and cultural traditions of the people of Iraq and sanctity of the Holy places, which are among the most venerated in the Islamic world;
- the right of the Iraqi nation to economic and social reconstruction.

17. Discussion must commence within the Council and with others concerned – within and outside the UN – to realize these principles and objectives.

Mr. President,

18. Finally, to contain the Iraqi conflict, end hostilities, stabilize the region, and restore the rule of law, it will be essential to adopt a comprehensive and equitable approach to peace, security and progress in the region. This war in Iraq is being waged with the declared objective of security the implementation of Security Council resolutions.

19. As everyone acknowledges, the Middle East conflict must be resolved on the basis of resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council and the vision of two States – Palestine and Israel – living side by side in conditions of peace, justice and security. We look forward to concrete implementation of the positive intentions which have been announced for the Middle East. Equally, the dispute between Pakistan and India over Jammu & Kashmir must be resolved through implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions prescribing the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Jammu & Kashmir. The refusal of India to implement the Security Council resolutions, to refuse dialogue, to resort to repression of the Kashmiri people, and to threaten Pakistan with the use of force, should also be unacceptable to the United Nations and the international community.

Mr. President,

20. The failure to display and implement equity will accentuate the resentments and suspicions regarding the objectives of the current conflict. It will heighten the incidence of violence and terrorism; it will spread instability; it will erode the conduct of international relations on the basis of the principles of the UN Charter and international law.

Mr. President,

21. Whatever our views about the current conflict, we all realize that we are living through a defining moment in world history. The future of our countries and our peoples will depend considerably on the manner in which we respond to this crisis. Every crisis presents challenges; but it also opens up opportunities. Our response to this crisis must therefore be principled but wise, designed to construct a new world order for the 21st Century based on the principles of the UN Charter and the unrelenting quest of the human race for global peace, progress and justice.

I thank, you Mr. President. ■

<<http://www.un.int/pakistan/00bome00sc108.htm>>

Document No. 15**STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN
ON IMMEDIATE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE BY PAKISTAN
FOR THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ**

The People and Government of Pakistan are deeply concerned about plight of the Iraqi people and the emerging humanitarian crisis in Iraq. The military action in Iraq has compounded the problems of the already suffering Iraqi people who have lived under sanctions for over a decade. While our prime objective is the restoration of peace in Iraq, Pakistan has also in all its bilateral contacts as well as in the discussions in the Security Council stressed on the need to address the humanitarian dimensions of the Iraqi situation.

While the primary responsibility for addressing the immediate and long term needs of the Iraqi people rests with the parties involved in the military conflict, the Government of Pakistan in an expression of solidarity with the people of Iraq, intends to provide assistance for the Iraqi people, as soon as possible. Pakistan has decided to offer humanitarian assistance for the Iraqi people. This relief will include rice, wheat, tents, ground tarpaulin, blankets, medicines and surgical equipment. Also medical teams may be sent to Iraq to assist in addressing immediate medical needs.

We are exploring all avenues for sending such humanitarian relief; including contacting all parties to the conflict. The modalities for the provision of this assistance are being worked out.

The decision to send relief assistance is an expression of the solidarity of the People and Government of Pakistan with the Iraqi people in these difficult times in their history.

Islamabad, 28 March 2003. ■

<<http://www.forisb.org/PR03-101.htm>>

Document No. 16

PRESIDENT DISCUSSES ROADMAP FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE MIDDLE EAST MARCH 14, 2003

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. We have reached a hopeful moment for progress toward the vision of Middle Eastern peace that I outlined last June. I spoke of a day when two states, Israel and Palestine, will live side by side in peace and security. I called upon all parties in the Middle East to abandon old hatreds and to meet their responsibilities for peace.

The Palestinian state must be a reformed and peaceful and democratic state that abandons forever the use of terror. The government of Israel, as the terror threat is removed and security improves, must take concrete steps to support the emergence of a viable and credible Palestinian state, and to work as quickly as possible toward a final status agreement. As progress is made toward peace, settlement activity in the occupied territories must end. And the Arab states must oppose terrorism, support the emergence of a peaceful and democratic Palestine, and state clearly that they will live in peace with Israel. This moment offers a new opportunity to meet these objectives. After its recent elections, the nation of Israel has a new government. And the Palestinian Authority has created the new position of Prime Minister. Israeli and Palestinian leaders and other governments in the region now have a chance to move forward with determination and with good faith.

To be a credible and responsible partner, the new Palestinian Prime Minister must hold a position of real authority. We expect that such a Palestinian Prime Minister will be confirmed soon. Immediately upon confirmation, the road map for peace will be given to the Palestinians and the Israelis. This road map will set forth a sequence of steps toward the goals I set out on June 24th, 2002, goals shared by all the parties.

The United States has developed this plan over the last several months in close cooperation with Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations. Once this road map is delivered, we will expect and welcome contributions from Israel and the Palestinians to this document that will advance true peace. We will urge them to discuss the road map with one another. The time has come to move beyond entrenched positions and to take concrete actions to achieve peace.

America is committed, and I am personally committed, to implementing our road map toward peace. Our efforts are guided by clear principles: We believe that all people in the Middle East -- Arab and Israeli alike -- deserve to live in dignity, under free and honest governments. We believe that people who live in freedom are more likely to reject bitterness, blind hatred and terror; and are far more likely to turn their energy toward reconciliation, reform and development.

There can be no peace for either side in the Middle East unless there is freedom for both. Reaching that destination will not be easy, but we can see the way forward. Now the parties must take that way, step by step, and America will be the active partner of every party that seeks true peace.

Thank you very much. ■

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030314-4.html>

Document No. 17

PRIME MINISTER ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE'S STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO JAMMU AND KASHMIR, ON APRIL 23, 2003

In the Lok Sabha, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said during his recent visit to Jammu and Kashmir, he assured the people that we wish to resolve all issues - both domestic and external - through talks. He also said that the gun can solve no problem; brotherhood can.

The following is the text of Vajpayee's statement.

Honourable Speaker,

I went to Jammu and Kashmir on a two-day visit on April 18-19, 2003.

I had five programmes in Srinagar. The first had to do with the foundation-stone laying ceremony for modernisation of Srinagar Airport. This

project would double the capacity of the airport. We would like international air services to start from Srinagar.

The second programme related to the National Highway Development Project. Under this, work on a four-lane highway from Srinagar to Kanyakumari was launched. The newly elected Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, had been insisting that work on this project in the Kashmir Valley should start as early as possible.

In my public rally, I congratulated the people of Kashmir on participating in the assembly elections in large numbers. They exercised their franchise defying the threat of bullets. I assured them, "We have come here to share your pain and suffering. Whatever complaints you have, try to address them collectively. Knock on the doors of Delhi. Delhi will never close its doors for you. The doors of our heart will also remain open for you."

I assured the people of Jammu and Kashmir that we wish to resolve all issues - both domestic and external - through talks. I stressed that the gun can solve no problem; brotherhood can. Issues can be resolved if we move forward guided by the three principles of Insaaniyat (humanism), Jamhooriyat (democracy) and Kashmiriyat (Kashmir's age old legacy of amity).

In my speech, I spoke of extending our hand of friendship to Pakistan. At the same time, I also said that this hand of friendship should be extended by both sides. Both countries should resolve that we need to live together in peace.

My last programme was about the start of work on the construction of Udhampur-Srinagar-Baramulla railway line. It is our resolve to ensure that train services start in Kashmir Valley before August 15, 2007.

Um(n)employment is the greatest problem facing the youth of Jammu and Kashmir. We have decided to facilitate creation of 100,000 opportunities for employment and self-employment over the next two years. For this, a special task force would be set up with representatives from the central government, state government, industry, commerce, banking and financial institutions.

The Task Force will present its report by June 30 and implementation would commence from August 15 this year.

At a press conference before returning to Delhi, I expressed the hope that a new beginning can take place between India and Pakistan. I said that we have extended our hand of friendship. Let us see how Pakistan responds to this. Stopping cross-border infiltration and destruction of terrorist infrastructure can open the doors for talks. Talks can take place on all issues, including that of Jammu and Kashmir.

Thank you.■

[http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/document/papers/pm\]Ktrip2003.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/document/papers/pm]Ktrip2003.htm)

Document No. 18

TEXT OF 'ROADMAP' PEACE PLAN FOR MIDDLE EAST MAY 01, 2003

The United Nations on Wednesday released the long-awaited "roadmap" peace plan for the Middle East, which was cosponsored also by the United States, the European Union and the Russian Federation. The following is the text of the first phase of the "roadmap" peace plan for the Middle East.

The following is the text of the first phase of the "roadmap" peace plan for the Middle East.

PHASE I: ENDING TERROR AND VIOLENCE, NORMALIZING PALESTINIAN LIFE, AND BUILDING PALESTINIAN INSTITUTIONS. PRESENT TO MAY 2003

In Phase I, the Palestinians immediately undertake an unconditional cessation of violence according to the steps outlined below; such action should be accompanied by supportive measures undertaken by Israel. Palestinians and Israelis resume security cooperation based on the Tenet work plan to end violence, terrorism, and incitement through restructured and effective Palestinian security services. Palestinians undertake comprehensive political reform in preparation for statehood, including drafting a Palestinian constitution, and free, fair and open elections upon the basis of those measures. Israel takes all necessary steps to help normalize Palestinian life. Israel withdraws from Palestinian areas occupied from September 28, 2000 and the two sides restore the status quo that existed at that time, as security performance and cooperation progress. Israel also freezes all settlement activity, consistent with the Mitchell report.

At the outset of Phase I:

Palestinian leadership issues unequivocal statement reiterating Israel's right to exist in peace and security and calling for an immediate and unconditional ceasefire to end armed activity and all acts of violence against Israelis anywhere. All official Palestinian institutions end incitement against Israel.

Israeli leadership issues unequivocal statement affirming its commitment to the two-state vision of an independent, viable, sovereign Palestinian state living in peace and security alongside Israel, as expressed by President Bush, and calling for an immediate end to violence against Palestinians everywhere. All official Israeli institutions end incitement against Palestinians.

SECURITY

Palestinians declare an unequivocal end to violence and terrorism and undertake visible efforts on the ground to arrest, disrupt, and restrain individuals and groups conducting and planning violent attacks on Israelis anywhere.

Rebuilt and refocused Palestinian Authority security apparatus begins sustained, targeted, and effective operations aimed at confronting all those engaged in terror and dismantlement of terrorist capabilities and infrastructure. This includes commencing confiscation of illegal weapons and consolidation of security authority, free of association with terror and corruption.

GOI takes no actions undermining trust, including deportations, attacks on civilians; confiscation and/or demolition of Palestinian homes and property, as a punitive measure or to facilitate Israeli construction; destruction of Palestinian institutions and infrastructure; and other measures specified in the Tenet work plan.

Relying on existing mechanisms and on-the-ground resources, Quartet representatives begin informal monitoring and consult with the parties on establishment of a formal monitoring mechanism and its implementation.

Implementation, as previously agreed, of U.S. rebuilding, training and resumed security cooperation plan in collaboration with outside oversight board (U.S.-Egypt-Jordan). Quartet support for efforts to achieve a lasting, comprehensive cease-fire.

All Palestinian security organizations are consolidated into three services reporting to an empowered Interior Minister.

Restructured/retrained Palestinian security forces and IDF counterparts progressively resume security cooperation and other undertakings in implementation of the Tenet work plan, including regular senior-level meetings, with the participation of U.S. security officials.

Arab states cut off public and private funding and all other forms of support for groups supporting and engaging in violence and terror.

All donors providing budgetary support for the Palestinians channel these funds through the Palestinian Ministry of Finance's Single Treasury Account.

As comprehensive security performance moves forward, IDF withdraws progressively from areas occupied since September 28, 2000 and the two sides restore the status quo that existed prior to September 28, 2000. Palestinian security forces redeploy to areas vacated by IDF.

PALESTINIAN INSTITUTION-BUILDING

Immediate action on credible process to produce draft constitution for Palestinian statehood. As rapidly as possible, constitutional committee circulates draft Palestinian constitution, based on strong parliamentary democracy and cabinet with empowered prime minister, for public comment/debate. Constitutional committee proposes draft document for submission after elections for approval by appropriate Palestinian institutions.

Appointment of interim prime minister or cabinet with empowered executive authority/decision-making body.

GOI fully facilitates travel of Palestinian officials for PLC and Cabinet sessions, internationally supervised security retraining, electoral and other reform activity, and other supportive measures related to the reform efforts.

Continued appointment of Palestinian ministers empowered to undertake fundamental reform. Completion of further steps to achieve genuine separation of powers, including any necessary Palestinian legal reforms for this purpose.

Establishment of independent Palestinian election commission. PLC reviews and revises election law.

Palestinian performance on judicial, administrative, and economic benchmarks, as established by the International Task Force on Palestinian Reform.

As early as possible, and based upon the above measures and in the context of open debate and transparent candidate selection/electoral campaign based on a free, multiparty process, Palestinians hold free, open, and fair elections.

GOI facilitates Task Force election assistance, registration of voters, movement of candidates and voting officials. Support for NGOs involved in the election process.

GOI reopens Palestinian Chamber of Commerce and other closed Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem based on a commitment that these

institutions operate strictly in accordance with prior agreements between the parties.

HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE

Israel takes measures to improve the humanitarian situation. Israel and Palestinians implement in full all recommendations of the Bertini report to improve humanitarian conditions, lifting curfews and easing restrictions on movement of persons and goods, and allowing full, safe, and unfettered access of international and humanitarian personnel.

AHLC reviews the humanitarian situation and prospects for economic development in the West Bank and Gaza and launches a major donor assistance effort, including to the reform effort.

GOI and PA continue revenue clearance process and transfer of funds, including arrears, in accordance with agreed, transparent monitoring mechanism.

CIVIL SOCIETY

Continued donor support, including increased funding through PVOs/NGOs, for people to people programs, private sector development and civil society initiatives.

SETTLEMENTS

GOI immediately dismantles settlement outposts erected since March 2001.

Consistent with the Mitchell Report, GOI freezes all settlement activity (including natural growth of settlements).

PHASE II: TRANSITION JUNE 2003-DECEMBER 2003

In the second phase, efforts are focused on the option of creating an independent Palestinian state with provisional borders and attributes of sovereignty, based on the new constitution, as away station to a permanent status settlement. As has been noted, this goal can be achieved when the Palestinian people have a leadership acting decisively against terror, willing and able to build a practicing democracy based on tolerance and liberty. With such a leadership, reformed civil institutions and security structures, the Palestinians will have the active support of the Quartet and the broader international community in establishing an independent, viable state.

Progress into Phase II will be based upon the consensus judgment of the Quartet of whether conditions are appropriate to proceed, taking into account performance of both parties. Furthering and sustaining efforts to normalize Palestinian lives and build Palestinian institutions, Phase II starts

after Palestinian elections and ends with possible creation of an independent Palestinian state with provisional borders in 2003. Its primary goals are continued comprehensive security performance and effective security cooperation, continued normalization of Palestinian life and institution-building, further building on and sustaining of the goals outlined in Phase I, ratification of a democratic Palestinian constitution, formal establishment of office of prime minister, consolidation of political reform, and the creation of a Palestinian state with provisional borders.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: Convened by the Quartet, in consultation with the parties, immediately after the successful conclusion of Palestinian elections, to support Palestinian economic recovery and launch a process, leading to establishment of an independent Palestinian state with provisional borders.

Such a meeting would be inclusive, based on the goal of a comprehensive Middle East peace (including between Israel and Syria, and Israel and Lebanon), and based on the principles described in the preamble to this document.

Arab states restore pre-intifada links to Israel (trade offices, etc.).

Revival of multilateral engagement on issues including regional water resources, environment, economic development, refugees, and arms control issues.

New constitution for democratic, independent Palestinian state is finalized and approved by appropriate Palestinian institutions. Further elections, if required, should follow approval of the new constitution.

Empowered reform cabinet with office of prime minister formally established, consistent with draft constitution.

Continued comprehensive security performance, including effective security cooperation on the bases laid out in Phase I.

Creation of an independent Palestinian state with provisional borders through a process of Israeli-Palestinian engagement, launched by the international conference. As part of this process, implementation of prior agreements, to enhance maximum territorial contiguity, including further action on settlements in conjunction with establishment of a Palestinian state with provisional borders.

Enhanced international role in monitoring transition, with the active, sustained, and operational support of the Quartet.

Quartet members promote international recognition of Palestinian state, including possible UN membership.

PHASE III: PERMANENT STATUS AGREEMENT AND END OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT 2004 - 2005

Progress into Phase III, based on consensus judgment of Quartet, and taking into account actions of both parties and Quartet monitoring. Phase III objectives are consolidation of reform and stabilization of Palestinian institutions, sustained, effective Palestinian security performance, and Israeli-Palestinian negotiations aimed at a permanent status agreement in 2005.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: Convened by Quartet, in consultation with the parties, at beginning of 2004 to endorse agreement reached on an independent Palestinian state with provisional borders and formally to launch a process with the active, sustained, and operational support of the Quartet, leading to a final, permanent status resolution in 2005, including on borders, Jerusalem, refugees, settlements; and, to support progress toward a comprehensive Middle East settlement between Israel and Lebanon and Israel and Syria, to be achieved as soon as possible. Continued comprehensive, effective progress on the reform agenda laid out by the Task Force in preparation for final status agreement.

Continued sustained and effective security performance, and sustained, effective security cooperation on the bases laid out in Phase I.

International efforts to facilitate reform and stabilize Palestinian institutions and the Palestinian economy, in preparation for final status agreement.

Parties reach final and comprehensive permanent status agreement that ends the Israel-Palestinian conflict in 2005, through a settlement negotiated between the parties based on UNSCR242, 338, and 1397, that ends the occupation that began in 1967, and includes an agreed, just, fair, and realistic solution to the refugee issue, and a negotiated resolution on the status of Jerusalem that takes into account the political and religious concerns of both sides, and protects the religious interests of Jews, Christians, and Muslims worldwide, and fulfills the vision of two states, Israel and sovereign, independent, democratic and viable Palestine, living side-by-side in peace and security.

Arab state acceptance of full normal relations with Israel and security for all the states of the region in the context of a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace. ■

Document No. 19

STATEMENT MADE BY INDIAN PRIME MINISTER ATAL BEHARI VAJPAYEE IN THE PARLIAMENT ON RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH PAKISTAN ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS, MAY 2, 2003

Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee announced in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Indian Parliament) that a High Commissioner to Pakistan would be appointed and civil aviation links with Pakistan would be restored on a reciprocal basis.

Following is the text of the Prime Minister's statement:

"I received a telephone call on the evening of 28th April, from PM Jamali of Pakistan.

PM. Jamali conveyed his appreciation and thanks for the comments I had made in Srinagar and my remarks about India-Pakistan relations contained in my statement in the two Houses of Parliament. He also condemned terrorism.

As Honourable members are aware, we are committed to the improvement of relations with Pakistan, and are willing to grasp every opportunity for doing so. However, we have repeatedly expressed the need to create a conducive atmosphere for a sustained dialogue, which necessarily requires an end to cross border terrorism and the dismantling of its infrastructure.

We discussed ways of carrying forward our bilateral relations. In this regard, I emphasized the importance of economic cooperation, cultural exchanges, people-to-people contacts and civil aviation links. These would create an environment in which difficult issues in our bilateral relations could be addressed. PM Jamali suggested resumption of sporting links between the two countries. We agreed that, as a beginning, these measures could be considered.

In this context, it has been decided to appoint a High Commissioner to Pakistan and to restore the civil aviation links on a reciprocal basis.

I also emphasized the importance of substantive progress on the decisions for regional trade and economic cooperation taken at the SAARC Kathmandu Summit. Agreements arrived at Kathmandu must be implemented". ■

<<http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/countries/india/document/pmtalksmay2003.htm>>

Document No. 20

PAKISTANI PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH INDIA

During my phone call to Prime Minister Vajpayee on 28 April 2003, I sensed a positive desire on his part to break the impasse in our relationship and to take steps which would lead to improved relations between Pakistan and India. The entire international community is watching with hope and expectation the movement towards a future of peace, security and prosperity in South Asia.

I have sent a formal invitation to Prime Minister Vajpayee to visit Pakistan. He is welcome to visit Pakistan whenever he wishes to do so.

The current global situation is marked by several challenges facing the international community. It is our duty to deal with these challenges collectively and constructively. The fight against terrorism is a case in point. Pakistan condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and would continue to cooperate with the international community to eliminate this scourge. Of equal importance is the promotion of regional peace and security in regions of the world suffering from tensions and unresolved conflicts.

Encouraged by the recent positive developments and in order to set the stage for a meaningful dialogue with India, I have decided on the following measures:

- i. Since the majority of travellers between India and Pakistan use train and bus services, these will be resumed immediately on acceptance by India.
- ii. Resumption of airlink between India and Pakistan to facilitate travel of the people between the two countries.
- iii. Immediate release of all Indian fishermen, 22 Sikh youth and the 14 crew members of the Indian cargo boat "Raj Laxmi".
- iv. resumption of sports ties beginning with Cricket and Hockey.

- v. In addition to exchange of the two High Commissioners, we also propose restoration of the full strength of the missions of the two countries in their respective capitals.

In order to give impetus to SAARC to make it a more effective regional body, I have decided:

- a. To place additional seventy eight items on the positive list. It is my hope that this will clear the way for a more meaningful SAARC role for the promotion of regional trade.
- b. We will soon approach the Secretary General, SAARC to ascertain the convenience of the Member States for convening the 12th SAARC Summit in Islamabad well before the end of the current year.
- c. Pakistan is also willing to host SAF games as soon as possible.

Nuclear realities in our region impose certain obligations and responsibilities on our two countries. It is, therefore, important for both India and Pakistan to engage in serious discussions for nuclear and strategic stability in our region. In this context, Pakistan supports the Confidence Building Measures outlined in the MOU signed in Lahore in February 1999 and we hope that a reconvened dialogue will enable us to conclude substantive and result oriented measures for arms restraint and promotion of security in our region.

We believe that all outstanding issues between Pakistan and India must be addressed sincerely and constructively and in a composite manner through a sustained dialogue with a sense of priority.

It is my hope that India will seize the moment, put aside the acrimony of the past and purposefully move forward with Pakistan to peacefully resolve all issues, including the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir. Such a commitment is in the interest of harmony and stability in the region and for the prosperity of its billion-plus people. We should begin talks from where they were left off at Agra and work out an agenda for a tiered dialogue including Summit level interaction.

It is a matter of great satisfaction for me that in the endeavour we have undertaken, I enjoy the fullest support of the people and all major political parties whom I have consulted. With this national consensus we are ready to engage in a serious and substantive dialogue with India.

I want to assure my Kashmiri brothers and sisters as well as the people of Pakistan that at all stages, their interests will be of supreme importance.

Islamabad, 06 May 2003. ■

<<http://www.forisb.org/pm03-05-06.htm>>