

4aFeb.06

Mr. Awais Ghani: (Continued).... His wisdom in that. What we choose to adopt. I got we do not, he is very, very important for our future. We talk about this after little while. I just want to, in the context of Pakistan State that in this real world of competing nation States. The stranger States they want to dominate what are the options for the weaker States. There are two options either subservience and if you not over the line then there is isolation. So, the choice is very limited but more of this later. Now, I come to the issue at hand because we will talk now about the regional damage. I talked about the global dimension that is the canvass, the background on which this entire game is being played out and let us see how it affected the region. And, I talk about the region that is Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asian Republics, India. The entire region which is disturbed today and the centre of world's attention. What we see today in the region is also a fallout of the global geo-political game. In this, of late since many years Pakistan has been blamed by the entire

world. Press, they say; Pakistan is doing this, Pakistan is doing that, Pakistan is doing a double game, Pakistan has done that, Pakistan is responsible for all this terrorism, for all this extremism. We have heard this again and again and again. I was telling one Western diplomat. I said; Excellency, it has no affect on us any more because you have played painted a black that another quote of paint is not going to make any difference to us. You can go and say what you want but the fact is and this is what I have told. I have been telling everybody. The fact is Pakistan did not invite the Soviet Army to Afghanistan in 1979 to invade. Pakistan did not do it. Somebody else did. Pakistan did not locate and bring Osama Bin Ladin to this region somebody else did. Pakistan did not invite Osama Bin Ladin and his Al-Qaeda 2nd time into Afghanistan, somebody else did it. Today the United States and coalition troops or NATO are in Afghanistan not on the invitation of Pakistan, somebody else. But what has been happening is Pakistan has been facing the fallout from the anarchy and chaos in Afghanistan over the past 30 years. Now a days, there is a tendency people talk about 9/11 and what has happened afterwards but they don't realize that our problem started in

1979, 30 years ago and it is prolonged conflict in this region which has destabilised the region. It has brutalized society and that is why, we are seeing all this violence. Its, I will explain this later also. In all this Pakistan not a very large nation, not

ابا very prosperous one still coming up, still in its as I say;

پاکستان جو ہے اس وقت اپنے لڑکپن سے ایک قدم باہر موڑ لیا ہے۔ ابھی ہم اپنی

جوانی پہ بھی نہیں پہنچے ہم - What is 60 plus years of history. We are

still moving out from

boyhood into our youth but Pakistan has been acting as a true

nation State in that it has facing this fallout and organizing

itself manoeuvring etc. to protect its own interests and looking

at it from its own form of reference. I say; Pakistan is a victim

because now a day sayt the problem is in Pakistan. I say;

Pakistan is a victim of it why? Because we may dispute and

debate every other issue that Pakistan has done this or that or

that as the world does it. But there is one aspect which is

nobody can dispute and that is a that every single bullet, every

gun, every bomb, every rocket, every ounce of explosive,

3very gram of heroine comes from Afghanistan. None of it

comes from Pakistan. Whatever we are seeing today, everything

comes from there. They talk about cross-border terrorism from

Pakistan. Nobody talks about this cross-border terrorism into Pakistan and this has been happening for since 30 years. Thirty years, ladies and gentlemen! Whose responsibility is this to control this. Those who if assume responsibility in Afghanistan. They are the ones who are responsible for it. They are supposed to check it, check that all this armament and explosives. The one which made all this high level of terrorism possible and this violence possible should be checked. It should not come into Pakistan and we have been screaming and shouting about this and it is not that we did not go on about this or do not that we did not take it up with the rest of the world. We did, yet it is happening and it is for those who responsible across the border. They have to control it. I have taken up this issue several times with them. The government as taken it up that look you talk you say, you are, you know, monitoring everything and you have all these fancy gadgets to look at all this. You can see one person coming from Pakistan crossing the border and creating problems is Pakistan. Do you not see these trucks and pick-ups of a heavy weaponry being transported across. Ever once and this is a question I have asked repeatedly from our allies. Ever once in these four and

a half years in Balochistan, two years here, six and a half years.

Ever once if anyone has said that look Governor, we can't stop it here is one consignment of weapons or explosive coming in and you stop it over there. Ever once, never. Now, I said it is a regional problem but the canvass is the global competition that is taking place, global geo-politics. I am sure, ladies and gentlemen! You must have heard about the great game which was played between Russia and, the Russian Empire and the British Empire. It was called a game because there were two players and we were caught in between but today what is

happening in

Afghanistan is not a great game at all. It is what I have called

the great

(buzkashy) Why? Because let's look at all the players that بزرگش

are there.

There is Afghanistan, there is Pakistan, there is Iran, there is India, there is the United States of America. There is all Europe through NATO, there is Russia important player. There is China, there is the Central Asian Republics, there is Turkey, there is the Middle East and there is, and I will explain the impact of that later. A very important player that the international Narco

mafia, whose main business today is Afghanistan and in this everybody is seeking to promote their own interests. Make their own games. So, if you know something about the game of buzkashy. There is that goat for which all these horse-riders are fighting and in this game the poor goat is pulled and pushed and thrown and trampled and at the end of the game. It is not recognizable anymore as a goat. So, poor Afghanistan that has been centre of this Buzkashy is slowly and slowly becoming more and more unrecognizable. Ladies and gentlemen! It is a year 2004 when Pakistan started warning its allies that they were headed for failure in Afghanistan. It was not just verbal, it was in writing and repeated again and again. Why they were headed for failure. We also explain it, it was not just. We say, why you are going to fail? We say, you are headed for failure because of two reasons, two main reasons. No.1, there was this global war on terror. Go what global war on terror. We say look, this is wrong strategy. It is muddled strategy. You say global war on terror. What are you going to do about terrorist situations in Sri Lanka, Baast Spain, in Ireland, in Rwanda. Are you going to bomb everybody. You should to re-phrase it to read as war on global terrorism. So

that you can differentiate between the global terrorists, who have a global design, a global agenda and a global reach as opposed to the local militants. Who have a local political agenda and a local reach. In the global war on terror and what you are lumping them together. You are compounding your own problems. It makes better strategic sense to divide because

have to

be treated separately. You can't do it this way and it should be walked rather than go what, And we said, because of this you are not going to get your results. We have been proved right today, the allies are talking about some sort of differentiation between the global terrorists and the local militants or local insurgents in Afghanistan. The other reason why we said you are headed for failure is, and this is mind your 2004 and 2005 beginning. Repeatedly we said, we said for the love of God. Do

not allow opium cultivation in Afghanistan. Afghanistan

is complicated as it is and

if you do this. You are going to lose Afghanistan. Reason?

One, the insurgents there are hard-pressed and you will

throw them a funding lifeline and they will revive.

Ladies and gentlemen! We have seen they have

revived and today the world is talking about the nexus between narcotics and terror. Secondly, we said please understand what narcotics do, it will criminalize the economy in Afghanistan and it will criminalize society, it will criminalize the government and it will become a government which will not be able to govern.

And thirdly, we said; beyond a certain point you will create such a huge vested interest of the international narco mafia in continued conflict in Afghanistan. So, that they can continue with their business and you will lose Afghanistan. When we sound it this warning and repeatedly not here at every forum, of course, we didn't do it publicly. We kept on talking to the policy

makers there at that time they should pick up the United

Nations report on

narcotics you will see. At that time there was 10 thousand acres

cultivation in Balochistan, our Balochistan. Twenty-eight

thousand acres

in NWFP and FATA and 38 thousand acres in Afghanistan.

In two years, 2004 and 2005 in Balochistan we have brought it

to zero and we did it with will and with resolve. In NWFP and

FATA it is down from 28 thousand to less than 04

thousand acres but in that period in Afghanistan it shot through the roof from 38 thousand acres to over 400 thousand acres. Today in Afghanistan is supplying 93% of the world's demand for opium and heroin. Ninety-three percent, it is valued. Ladies and gentlemen! Not my figures these are all figures from United Nations and their surveys. This narcotic is valued at 38 billion dollars per annum from the market. Three to four billion dollars per annum from the market. Three to four billion dollars comes back into Afghanistan. The rest stays in the pockets of the international narco mafia. Look at the stake, we don't have the sort of money which is being generated over there. And see what has happened to Afghanistan. Every word we said has been proven to be right and we told them look. We with that, we said; remember history evidences that there can be no pure military solution in Afghanistan right from the time of Alexander till now. Nobody has been able to effect a pure military solution in Afghanistan. There has to be a parallel political strategy. I use to give the example of Alexander, I said; let us go back to Alexander. When Alexander came here in this region he fought many battles and he won them. One of the biggest battles he fought were, was in this region where he

defeated King Porous. Raja Porous he captured and history records that famous incident. When Porous was produced before Alexander and Alexander asked him a question. What sort of treatment do you expect from me and Porous gave back a very kindly reply. As one kind should treat another kind. What is the Alexander do it, he does not cut off his head. He reinstates him as his ally king back in his kingdom. That Ladies and Gentlemen! was the political solution. Because Alexander understood that there can not be a military solution. We said, forget about old history. Look at recent history, look at the British Empire. It was a super power they had to come to come to a political solution and look at the Soviet Empire. They came and they through an everything they had to their own detriment but what was the end result. They did not seek a proper political solution. Look at their, and you have to seek the political solution. Yes, military pressure is what creates the environment but the real solution is a political solution. And, we also told them that a stable Afghanistan will be achieved, a political stability in Afghanistan when all. I repeat, when all power groups all Afghan power groups in Afghanistan irrespective of the length of their beards, no beards, short

beards and long beards. As long as, they are Afghani political power groups they must have their just political share in any political dispensation in Afghanistan. Only then you will have political stability, you try to exclude one political group out of it you will never have peace in Afghanistan. Understand that, that is the bottomline and we have been saying this since 2004.

Now, today we are

has been lot of *خبر اسیے بسیار* proved right but after as they say;

death,

destruction, blood split, problems spilling into Pakistan etc. etc

. We do hope that as we see some glimmer of hope that people are talking about dialogue. People are talking about differentiating between a global and local militants. We hope that they will continue down this path and find a solution. I do not want to waste time I will just say something very brief about Afghanistan that's a bigger subject but the society in Afghanistan has broken down, its structures has broken down that society has to be restructured. What happened was when the Soviet's invaded in Afghanistan the elite class of Afghanistan which are supposed to give leadership to that unfortunate nation. They abandoned

ship, they are ran away. The ones with greater means ran away to US and Europe, the ones with lesser ones turned up in Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi. The ones, he is with lesser means who are in Peshawar, Kohat, DIK. The poorest of them who are all in the refugee camp and that nation was left leaderless in the fact of that invasion. In to that leadership vacuum walked in the religious scholars and the Mullah. They picked up the flag of resistance and they led the right back and they paid a huge price for it and they succeeded. Yes, the world everybody came in but they came in everybody to further their own interest. Whether it was the rest of the world or asked for everybody but they did it. Because of that today and we tell our allies again and again please understand. The Mullah today in Afghanistan is a political reality. We have to deal with them. You have no other choice. Now, I come to the national dimension and the local dimension with which we are concerned. Again, Ladies and Gentlemen! The canvass of the geo-political competition in the world that is the canvass based on that what do we have here? We in Pakistan are based on two fault lines, one is a geo-tectonic fault line. It is an earthquake zone - آتے رہیں گے - Its a geo-tectonic

faultline. The

geo-political region میں تو اس other is a geo-political faultline.

زلزلے آتے

This is the destiny of this area and it is nothing new - رہیں گے

and let's

آپ دکھیں جی ساری دنیا کے لوگ یہاں آئے ہیں - not go into history.

ایگزینڈر یہاں آیا ہے، تیمور یہاں آیا ہے، چنگیز آیا، بابر آیا، منگول آیا، ترک آیا

پر شین آیا۔ ہم کدھر گئے؟ ہم ادھر کے ادھر ہی ہیں - We have not gone

into the world, the world has

come here and we have always had to fight them off. Let's not

go too far off. 1947, we lost half the country, military defeat.

How many years that would be? 34 years, not 24 years. Seven

years later another super power invades Afghanistan comes to

our border an hour from Peshawar. The very next week, we

started facing bomb explosions in Peshawar. We were again in

a geo-political game. 1979, 1989 that super power moves back. I

think, 12 years later another super power and military power

NATO alliance has come in and we are still fighting mean. So,

what I want to say is that we Pakistanis must understand that

where we are located in a geo-political faultline. Only remember,

only strong tough nations can survive in this environment and

if destiny has placed us over here. Destiny sees in us that strength, that toughness, that resilience to and الحمد لله survive in these environment and we are surviving.

we still

continue to survive. Now, the terrorism issue that we are facing

. We have to analyse what are we facing. They are talking about Taliban, they are talking about this group and that group and that group. And, I will in brief explain to you what we are facing. We will not talk about Afghanistan. We will talk about now on the narrow focus in our area in FATA, NWFP and the rest of the country. There are four, roughly four discernible groups or types that we see in that area. No.1, we have what I call the purists. I call them the purists because their focus is Jihad in Afghanistan. They say it was Jihad against the Soviet occupation. So, it is Jihad against the American and their NATO go occupation. If that was Jihad, this is Jihad. If this is not Jihad and that is also Jihad, as far as, we are concerned we have not made our decision and their focus is there now. Who are they, there are in them we have all shades, we have now local Arabs, Chechans, Americans, Malaysians, Bangladeshis, some Punjabis, some we have Turkman, Uzbek,

Chechans etc. etc. But small numbers, lots of Uzbeks, of course, here. I am conscious of the fact that I am talking about very sensitive ticks but I think it is time we talked openly. It is time we talked about it to ourselves and thank you very much. This is a tradition in Parliaments. I have never been in Parliament before. But thank you very much I am glad you agree with me there. I think Pakistan should stop the apologetic about itself. Its time we talk straight about what we feel about these issues. So, one is the purist and the thing that separates them from the others is that the focus of their Jihad is in

You talk to them or you don't talk to them, it *خلاص* Afghanistan, makes no difference. I mean, I don't know why have call this place here because I wanted to tell you. I tell you a couple of stories that they have putted on the papers tomorrow then we will be in big problems. I will be sufferer, that doesn't matter all right.

Some other time I will tell you nice stories.

نہیں، نہیں غیر ہے کوئی بات نہیں۔ ایک بات اللہ تعالیٰ سے چھپی نہیں ہے تو

Then we have the second group. The *انسانوں سے کیا چھپائی۔*

second group if known as the

TTP (the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan), which have till now

no longer but in September, 2008. We made a some sort of

on it and we said that

they are the biggest group. There are so many groups from Swat to South Waziristan. They are the largest 7 thousand men in arms who were fighting but they were different. They also talk about Jihad but they are different because the focus of their Jihad is entirely Pakistan. They are not interested in firing a single bullet on the other side, entirely Pakistan so far.

Naturally, Pakistan's focus was that and for us it is, they are a big puzzle. Because they are the largest in September, 2008 we estimated they were about 15 thousand militants in arms all over. Each was being paid between six to eight thousand at that time Rupees per month. Our levy Khasadar was being paid three thousand, four thousand. The Frontier Corps soldier was being paid less than six thousand. So, they were being paid six to eight thousand, their command as well being paid that time twelve to eighteen thousand per month. Their ration, food free.

Their guns totally free, their ammunition as much as they wanted free. They were highly mobile in 4x4 vehicle, diesel free, maintenance free, tyres free

. They had the most modern communication equipment. In

some cases,

in general cases, they were able to intercept what we were

talking

and in many cases were not able to intercept at that time what

they were talking to each other and they had that. We roughly

estimated that per person the expenditure was about 20

thousand

per month which is nothing. What's a 20 thousand per month,

its a what

200 to something dollars, 225 dollars per month which is

nothing. But 20

thousand Rupees into 15 thousand into 12 months is; Ladies

and

Gentlemen! 3.6 billion per annum. So, between three and a

half;

four billion Rupees was their annual budget. Now, you know

and

I know no amount of donations, no amount of charity, no

amount

of Zakat etc. is going to raise this money. Where is this money

coming from is a very, very big question. Remember don't loose

sight of the canvass on which this entire thing is being paid
out

that's the competition between the nation States, that was the
budget and we are confident that we are reasonably correct
and

we looked at the situation. They had, obviously this was not a

ordinary bunch of people and I talk about their
strategies later. The third group that we discerned was
the normal gangsters, criminals etc. who found it
convenient to don the garb of the Taliban. The TTP
join them, you know, fight along with them also at the
same time on the side carry on their own criminal
activities of kidnapping for ransom, hired killing, vehicle
hijacking etc. etc. There was a fourth group, a very
interesting group a very shadowy one, very difficult to
put our figure on that and that was that whenever we
use to be able to reasonably control an area bring some
order create some sort of reconciliation in the area.

Suddenly, there

would be one incident and atrocity which would relight the
flame over. So, these were those agents at work who

wanted this chaos to continue in the area. Who were they working for people tell me that did our Pakistanis are very, you know, we have this, this paranoia, this and so. I tell them, سازش obsession with conspiracy and Ladies and Gentlemen! If there were no conspiracies in this world, there were no conspiracies then there would have been no need for CIA, for a KGB or a MUSAD or a RAW or ISI or something. There are conspiracies that is why all this is there and they all of these command a huge budget. So, this is a reality and I will here just explain to you that between nation States there are two patterns of competition. One is; when things go out of control and we have a hot war that is when things go out of control and you have a hot war. And that is far and fewbetween because hot wars can be very destructive, very expensive and nobody can sustain them for a long. So, you fall back into a more what we call the cold war competition. IN the cold war and the hot war is the regular armies are fighting each other. In the cold war who is fighting, who is competing. It is the intelligence

agencies so all the strongpowerful nations have very strongpowerful competent intelligence agencies. We want to be a strong powerfulnation we must have strong intelligence agency and the other who want to dominate you will try to weaken that just keep that in mind what I have said. Next time when you hear statementswhen you hear something in the Press correlate it with no answer. Right, whenever we face and I don't have to go into details. We heard things like in February, 2008 we were in a very tight position. No doubt about it, I think, if you ripped a call they were saying Peshawar is going to fall anytime. They were all over FATA had become totally no go area and it is a fact. Ladies and Gentlemen! Let me tell you when I took on the assignment, present assignment in 8th of January, 2008 in two, three, days that I spent in Peshawar. I realized that the state of Pakistan was in a We were in physical **پشپائی کی حالت میں تھا۔** state of a retreat. retreat, were were in ideological retreat. Physical retreat because whole areas had been given up, there was no state of Pakistan

in those areas. Whether it was tribal area, whether it was We had - *دو آبه اور مجننی، ورسک ایریا* - settled area, no go areas of lost them and they had reached the outskirts of Peshawar. The ideological retreat was that we were sitting and we used to be making terms for development, we said; we continue our work and we would say education. Ok, girls schools. I know in that area they were not allowing girls schools from this development programme for that region. Ideological retreat and they don't allow polio vaccination over there so let us not keep up provision in our development plans and budget for polio vaccination, ideological retreat. We were retreating, Italkabout the ideological dimension towards the end. So, we came up with the counter strategy and today I can confiding you. We said our response, our counter-response. We will be in three phases. The first is hold the line, no more retreat whatever we have lost but there now no step backwards. We will hold the line in and in the first four months was a most difficult period when we held the line and the greatest difficulty was that if you recall in South

Waziristan. There was a huge fight in February 2008, Ladha Fort was under siege for 18 days, tiers of courage and valour was written down in those 18 days in a way these 243 boys led by a Major put up a fight. I mean, you could make several Hollywood movies over it the way they fought it out over there and the way. I mean, I will just explain to you because that I want to explain to you this Ladha Fort Operation because that was the turning point in all this. That was when we were for the first time we held the line. The Ladha Fort had been invested, it is in a remote area we could not reach it. 243 boys, young boys led by young Major were trapped in there under siege very difficult area. Mountains, we could only give him some artillery support and we realized that Ladha Fort is a pivot around which the whole thing was now revolving. And, Ladha could not fall and the intelligence agencies told me that 32 hours we have Ladha is going to fall. They were running short of water, they were running short of food. They had some ammunition and we discussed and we said; we will not

allow under that fall. So, we put our plans in plans but
 its going to be very, very difficult and we need it those
 boys to hold on for at least, three weeks. So, I picked
 جو ان کے لئے کہا ملاؤ یہ جو ان

جو وہاں بیٹھا

and there was a Major Sahib. We got through to him on ^{ہوا ہے}
 a satellite

phone because it is all cut off. He was at almost 07 thousand
 feet there was too heat also and there was

melting snow to drink water. They were running out of

fire-wood also. I talked to him and over telephone, I

said: میجر صاحب ' سمجھنے کی کوشش کریں کہ یہ لہا کیوں؟

Why is it so important, Ladha can not fall. If it falls our task

will be a

hundred times more easier so, we are counting upon you. That,

جو ان نے اس طرف سے مجھے ایک منٹ میں جواب دیا اس نے کہا صاحب ہم آپ کو

ماہوں نہیں کریں گے۔ 18 days- And, they fought it out,

everyday before evening

800, 1000 mortars, rocket is to rain in that fort.

تباہ کر دیا انہوں نے but یہ trenches میں بیٹھے ہوئے تھے۔ شہید جو ہو گئے تھے

ان کو برقوں میں رکھا ہوا تھا۔ زخمی ان کے پاس پڑے ہوئے تھے and he

just made one request;

میرے شہید اور یہ جو زخمی ہیں نکالیں کیونکہ میرے لڑکوں کا morale جو ہے وہ

And, Ladies and Gentlemen! There was - خراب ہو رہا ہے۔

one operation till, you have

a fantastic nation and you have a fantastic Army who did that.

There was one operation and if there any persons, intending to be produces and Directors or movies. You can make a theme on that. It was a two minute operation. Because there was no way we could break in and go there and get these people outside. It

had to be helicopter, a helicopter with the pilot (volunteer), 09 regular Army soldiers (volunteer).

Because the boys in the fort were all Frontier Corps Scouts volunteers they went in. We were on the phone, we have been informed on the progress. They went in and we were pounding the all around the fort just to keep things quite over there. But, once the helicopter came within a certain range we had to stop artillery because then we would have hit our own helicopter and we gavethe signal at that time. All the soldierandthis

Major and there was one young Captain from Sargodha also with him and they opened out firing all on the hill sites now. Hill sites were firing on them. In two minutes operation under fire this helicopter lands in the fort everybody is discharged the Shaheeds and injured are in this helicopter under fire lefts all. And, when I got the signal that we are safe and out and I said; now we have

Because after that point that الحمد لله done it and we started moving forward. It was the last retreat that was a point where we held to them. This was the sort of people who were fighting. I said; we can not loose,

After that you saw our الحمد لله

down the strategies. So, the first was hold the line and we held it by the grace of God. The second was that after holding the line we will move forward to reclaim lost ground. Today, as you see we have move forward and largely we are a back everywhere. If part from a few pockets and we will be there also we have done that and the third phase very important which has started now is the , we have to hold the place. We have to move forward with good-governance, socio-economic

development. That is what the area needs, that is the third phase. We are just starting now. In this, there has been a lot of criticism on the way. We have handled the counter attack, counter response but let me tell you. It has been managed very well. In one and a half year see where we are, see where we were and see where we are now. And, today the world is talking about this Pakistani model of how to handle it and this was a well thought out, well discussed, well debated strategy which I can today share with you at that time we could not. You see, I will explain to you in such circumstances in counter-insurgencies and counter-terrorism. There are two simultaneous battles have been fought. One is the battle of arms and the other is the battle of ideas. You have seen that we have joined the battle of arms but we still have to move forward on the battle of ideas but more or that later. In the battle of arms you have to first shape the environment and for us the environment, to shape the environment first was to we have to have the people on our sides. Two years ago, there was a lot of sympathy for these Taliban. Although many don't

part in that. Now, people thought they were doing the right thing. It was very important to get the people on our side. So, we have to shape the environment and there was no way we could do it all in one go. Good military strategy means you select your priorities and then you focus your strength over there. Do that then move to the other, then move to the other, move to the other. And, while you are doing and one you have to keep the other places on hold and people misunderstood that. When we were holding those areas they said there is no action going on. The government is tolerating and they are in fact .

Now, these دن کو soldiers ہوتے ہیں رات کو جو ہیں طالبان ہو جاتے ہیں۔

sort of

All we saw there and things conspiracies 'مخائیں'، ٹینکناں یہ۔

there we

could not even the respond to it. Because we were in the midst

of very important counter action but

everywhere according to the

local conditions we shaped the environment. For example, I

will

give you one example of Swat. How did we

shaped the environment? The key to shaping the
environment was;

It was a key. I remember, *اوه 'اوه 'نظام عدل* People said: *نظام عدل*

we were

again saying there is, because we said those people they are
not sincere about Shariat but these people, people
of Swat, Dir etc. for over a century. They have managed
their affairs under their Shariah and it is very near their
also and they want this. We had *قومی رواج*
promised in 1969 when we moulit them into mainstream Pakistan.

We said, that they said that you will give us
Shariah and we said; we will but we didn't and see what
happened. We first gave them the normal law they
protested. We withdrew them, then we gave them the
FCR they protest again. We withdrew them then for 03
years they were in a total Constitutional legal limbo. In
1973 Constitution, they were given some shape as
PATA and then there was no legal law. Even then, then
the Jirga laws were granted. They improved the
situation that with Book because the Jirga always ask
the disputants what law do you want your case is to be

judged and they said, they would invariably say; Shariat, Shariat and it would. But in 1990 this Jirga law was struck down by the court. They said; it is whatever, whatever, whatever they struck down. So, it went into again limbo, a legal Constitutional limbo with the result after 1990. Sufi Muhammad and his organization became violent and "*balawawa*," and you see what a mess we created. This is a largely self-created mess but the key was that these militans were saying;

we will give

you Shariat but we knew they were just play in warlords and they had no interest in that. We said, give the people what they want and the real face of these militants will be exposed and then we will take them on and there was a lot of debate. Somebody asked me, they said Governor; you were talking about this if you give them Shariah, Nizam-e-Adl, will the fighting stop. I said; no Sir, its going to get hotter. They said; why are we doing it. I said for this reason. We want to expose these people first to the, we can't do it without the support of people. We did it, I thought it will take two months.

Within one week the real face was exposed and then you saw all that and then the master stroke of our strategy was that in counter-terrorism collateral damage is something you can not afford. Because you lose the support of the people. So, the best way because the modern weapons are very destructive. The best way is depopulate the area, take the people out, create IDPs have a clear ground for you anything that moves is an justified target. We did that, take action clear the area take the people back. We first did it in February, 2008, it was not publicised but when we went into Mehsud area and we did a small action just to stabilize the situation there. 167 thousand men, women and children came out of Mehsud area and we took big action and then we were able to stabilize the situation then we did it in Bajor , same thing. The biggest challenge, of course, Swat because Bajor etc. these are small population. Bajor was 350 thousand but Swat, Malakand was 20 lacs and we said; how are you going to handle them and we couldn't even expose our hand but we did it and, let me tell you this is a great nation. Pakistan is a great nation

when it comes to the crunch when we need them they are there. When this over one week this huge torrent of

IDPs come out of Malakand. We, the government system could only handle the 10% or 12% over 18 lacs people were taken under roof by the people of the area.

Mardan, Swabi, Charsada, Peshawar and Noshehra.

They opened their doors, they said; you are our

brothers. Don't sit by the roadside

خواتین ہیں 'بے پردگی ہے یہ ہماری مائیں بہنیں ہیں۔ - Everybody taken کہ یہ

and we did not see anything. What روٹی آدھی کریں گے

you saw was a few camps

which was hardly accounted for 10, 12%. The rest were all in people's houses. This is the nation that you have, the earthquake is an experience. Look at the earthquake, look at the earthquake. I think that you will, I, if perhaps there is in recent history no such example of a response that came from the entire nation. This is what the people did and we were it, pulled it off and we are now doing it in South Waziristan again.

Again the Mehsud Tribe has voted in favour of Pakistan with its feet. They have come out of the area where have they gone.

They come into our camp. They are here with us in DIK, in

Tank. We have their support. That is why, look at the spectacular success we have had in South Waziristan against the militants. And, this enough about what we God has been kind. Now, here I come to some issues اللہ did that we

here which on the media and people talk about. What I called the simplistic approach. They talk about dialogue with militants, remember one thing . States will only dialogue with equals which means another State. The moment the State dialogues with the terrorist groups. You have elevated their status and degraded the status of the State. It is bad

اور پاکستان کی ریاست کو ایک ریاست کی طرح سوچنا چاہیے۔ ریاست کو مضبوط ہونا چاہیے اور خاص کر اس خطے میں کمزور قومیں اور کمزور ریاستیں جو ہیں وہ نہیں survive کر سکتی ہیں۔ ہماری ہمارے سامنے

You have to be strong. So, کتنی سلطنتیں آئیں اور خرق ہو گئی ہیں۔ you can

You have, can dialogue, dialogue. ہاں not dialogue with them.

We do

but who do we dialogue یہ نہیں کہ بغیر dialogue کے کام نہیں ہو رہا ہے dialogue dialogue.

We dialogue with people because the people are the owners of the State and therefore, if we are, if we are dialoging with the people. The Mehsud Tribe, the Swatis, the Bajori. Why?

Because they are the owners that's why we dialogue with them and why dialogue with them is that.

یہ غلط لوگ ہیں ہم ٹھیک ہیں۔ یہ تباہی کی طرف لے جا رہے ہیں۔ ہم آپ کو شیر کی طرف آئیں۔ آپ ادھر آجائیں۔ ہمیں چھوڑیں.... and

.... fd. by 7AFEB06