

## **Scenario 174**

### **DR A QADEER KHAN HUMILIATED**

#### **GEN MUSHARRAF WAS COWARD:**

**On 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2004;** the world media was stung to know that ***Pakistan's top nuclear scientist Dr A Qadeer Khan had admitted he leaked nuclear secrets to groups working for Iran, Libya and North Korea.*** Dr Khan had confessed to passing on information about nuclear technology in the 1980s and 1990s. He was also dismissed as an Adviser to the government on that day.

Dr Khan is regarded [***and would continue to be regarded***] as a national hero for making Pakistan a nuclear power.

A senior Pakistani official of Gen Musharraf's military regime told journalists at a two-hour briefing in Islamabad that:

*"Dr Qadeer [Khan] and four others have accepted that they were involved in leaking nuclear know-how outside Pakistan to groups working for Iran, Libya and North Korea."*

That official briefed the journalists that how Dr Khan had allegedly run a network that systematically smuggled nuclear equipment to third countries using chartered planes and shared secret designs for centrifuges capable of producing weapons-grade uranium. Dr Khan, it was alleged, also secretly travelled abroad to explain to Iranian, Libyan and North Korean scientists how to make nuclear bombs.

The 69-year-old 'nuclear father of the nation' was being made scapegoat for unknown reasons. Gen Musharraf's cronies wanted to prosecute him on the basis of his 'fabricated' confession but, as the BBC's Paul Anderson in Islamabad held, that was risky because of a possible domestic backlash.

A group of opposition parties had already launched a nationwide campaign against what it called the harassment and humiliation of Pakistan's nuclear

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scientists by the military regime. They accused Gen Musharraf of bowing to American pressure over the move.

Dr Khan's supporters rightly held that if there was nuclear transference - it could not have happened without the knowledge of military intelligence. ***"The Pakistani people were correct to think that he [Dr Qadeer] was humiliated because of the American pressure."***

The inquiry started into Dr Khan's affairs two months ago after the UN gave Pakistan information it had gathered about Iran and Libya's nuclear programmes. About 15 people from the country's premier nuclear enrichment facility, Khan Research Laboratories [KRL], were questioned then and five scientists and officials remained in custody for weeks and months.

In fact the US and the western bloc had levelled the said allegations about illegal sales to make Pakistan's future bleak by declaring the country was behaving irresponsibly in nuclear power fields.

After February 2004's above telecast, in his first western media interview with ***'the guardian'***, [the paper dated **30<sup>th</sup> May 2008** is referred], Dr Khan said:

*".....the confession had been forced upon me by President Musharraf. It was not of my own free will. It was handed into my hand."*

More worryingly, Dr Khan swore never to cooperate with investigators from the International Atomic Energy Agency. He said:

***"Why should I talk to them? I am under no obligation. We are not a signatory to the NPT [nuclear non-proliferation treaty]. I have not violated international laws. [The alleged] clandestine nuclear supply network were my internal affair and my country's affair."***

Despite numerous requests from the IAEA and the US government, Pakistan had refused access to Mr Khan, who was ***still considered a national hero***. In reality, he was waiting for Gen Musharraf to be forced out from the political landscape.

Reports that nuclear technology was smuggled abroad were ***"western rubbish"***, once Dr Khan said; and unfavourable accounts of his life were ***"shit piles"***. He harshly dismissed nicknames such as ***"the Merchant of Menace"*** from a **Time magazine** cover.

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Responding to the Western cries over nuclear supplies to Iran and North Korea etc, Dr Khan said:

*"... yesterday that nuclear technology was freely available in the west to Iran or North Korea. They were supplying to us, they were supplying to them ... [to] anyone who could pay."*

Supporters claimed he was made replacement for Pakistani Generals involved in nuclear trading. Dr Khan always refused to discuss the issue. **"I don't want to talk about it. Those things are to forget about."**

Gen Musharraf's rogue team had been spreading the dis-information that Dr AQ Khan had 43 houses in Islamabad, one hotel in Tumbukto [Mali] and that military Generals were in deals through his daughter Dina, based in London. Dr Khan denied speculation smilingly telling the media that **'go and get hold of those 43 houses – all yours'**.

In fact MI6 had once spoken to Dr Khan's daughter Dina in London, had also visited her house – but disappointed; no official papers were there. Dr Khan blamed this on the *"self-seekers and sycophants"* around Gen Musharraf, who had allowed Pakistan to become a **"banana republic"**.

Let us travel a few years up.

Referring to the **'New York Times'** dated **7<sup>th</sup> July 2011**: A letter purportedly written to Dr A Q Khan by a senior North Korean official 13 years ago apparently became the strongest evidence yet suggesting that Pakistan's top military officials were involved in the secret sale of equipment to the North Korea that had enabled it, years later, to begin enriching uranium.

The alleged letter was from Jon Byong Ho, a North Korean who American intelligence agencies had long believed to be at the centre of the country's trade in missile and nuclear technologies. It reported that the chief of the Pakistani army at the time, **Gen Jehangir Karamat**, had been paid \$3 million and asked **"the agreed documents, components, etc."** be placed on a North Korean plane that was returning to Pyongyang after taking missile parts to Pakistan.

In fact, the said letter 'made to appear' at an inopportune moment for the Pakistani military. Already discredited inside Pakistan for its failure to detect the American commando raid that killed Osama bin Laden on 1<sup>st</sup> May that year, the military had veered from crisis to crisis since then. The said letter was fabricated to rekindle questions about whether Pakistan's most re-

spected institution – Army had played a key role in the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology.

The fact also remains that Simon Henderson, who had reportedly passed the said letter, **un-authenticated**, to **The Washington Post** was not able to verify that the said letter, which was written in English, had actually come from Mr Jon [Jeon Byung-ho] of N Korea.

Pakistan government, however, had dismissed the letter as a fabrication, and Gen Karamat said that the tale of the \$3 million payment was untrue.

***[ There were reasons to be sceptical about the letter's origins. It was written in better English than most North Korean documents. It was NOT on letterhead. The date was written in Western form, not the peculiar dating system common in North Korea.***

*The letter was dated 15<sup>th</sup> July 1998, just a month and a half after Pakistan's first nuclear test, which was conducted in response to a test by India.*

*Mr Jon offered his "heartiest felicitations" on the success of that test, which led to American sanctions against both countries. North Korea conducted its own first nuclear test eight years later.]*

The only way to confirm its authenticity was a verdict from Mr Jon, who had since been pushed out of the hierarchy.

Another element of the letter referred to the killing, just weeks before, of the wife of a North Korean General, Kang Tae Yun, who was based in Pyongyang. In fact Gen Kang was the target and no doubt the CIA and South Korean intelligence agents were involved - as the letter stated.

The letter also reported that Gen Kang was to be replaced by Mr Yon, "*who had served in Iran, Egypt, Syria and Libya and is very competent.*" With the exception of Egypt, all of those countries ultimately bought nuclear equipment and designs from North Korea.

**Dr KHAN JUMPS IN POLITICS & QUILTS:**

**On 26<sup>th</sup> August 2012;** Dr Abdul Qadir Khan, the father of Pakistan's nuclear programme, announced to launch a nationwide campaign under the banner of ***Tehreek-e-Tahaffuz Pakistan***. The campaign was aimed at increasing political awareness amongst the youth in the country. Dr Khan told the media:

*"Tehrik wants to create political awareness amongst the youth regarding who to vote for and who not to vote for. I will consistently urge youth to elect honest persons in upcoming elections and stand for survival of the country."*

Noting the failure of traditional political parties in delivering on their promises, Dr Khan called a spade a spade by emphasising that his party's campaign would ask the youth not to vote for traditional parties such as Pakistan People's Party [PPP] and PML[N].

Established in July 2012, the *Tehrik* could gain little political ground among the masses. Political pundits had predicted it earlier that Dr Khan's party was unlikely to achieve any significant vote bank or public support. Prior to that Dr Khan had demonstrated his preference for Imran Khan's PTI. His campaign was aimed to advocate such platforms as an alternative political choice for the youth.

Perhaps, Dr Khan was inspired by the political rise of his Indian counterpart Dr APJ Abdul Kalam, who served as president of India. But the political analysts had suggested that the *Tehrik* would remain a small, insignificant political group such as the ***Awami Qiadat Party*** of former army chief Gen Mirza Aslam Beg. A political analyst Harris Khaliq observed:

*"Such initiatives are a product of political ambition and personal whims. It will be an addition to the many rightwing outfits which brood on a sense of glory only."*

In an attempt to start party organisation Dr Khan had held meetings with former army chief Gen Aslam Beg, former PM Azad Kashmir Sardar Attique Ahmed Khan, and former ministers Ghulam Sarwar Cheema and Malik Ameen Aslam.

The party, which had started its campaign through a Facebook page, could attract only 21 supporters in two months. To gain momentum among the populace, Dr Khan had planned to support the campaign through public appearances, columns, and TV programs – but there was no light seen at the end of the tunnel.

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During Dr Khan's campaign times, he was interviewed [*via e-mail question answer session*] by Simon Henderson of the '*Foreign Policy*' magazine of America which appeared in the issue of **5<sup>th</sup> September 2012**; some glimpses here:

- ..... and, according to Washington officialdom, the architect of the greatest violation to the nuclear non-proliferation regime that the world has ever seen.
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- .....and, in this interview, he rejects criticism of his actions as an example of ***Western "double standards."***

**Foreign Policy: *Why are you launching this movement now?***

**Dr A Q Khan:** At the moment Pakistan is in an extremely precarious and dangerous condition - no law and order, widespread load shedding, a high crime rate, high unemployment, high inflation, target killing on religious, sectarian or provincial bases, extortions, kidnappings for ransom, etc.

In short, it has gone to the dogs thanks to our most incompetent and corrupt rulers and their Western patrons. When there was mortal danger to Pakistan's existence and sovereignty after the first Indian nuclear explosion in May 1974, our successful nuclear and missile programme provided the country with an impregnable defence.

At present we are in an even worse position than at that time. I can't simply sit back and see it destroyed. I feel that I must do something to try to save the situation, to make people aware of the importance and the sanctity of their votes and to use their vote judiciously and wisely in the next [national assembly] elections [due to take place in April 2013].

**FP: *What is the Tehrik e Tuhaffiz e Pakistan [TTP]'s platform?***

**AQK:** The aim of the Movement is to address the young generation (47% of the voters' bank), the educated, honest and competent government employees, businessmen (and women), lawyers, etc. in order to mobilize and prepare for the coming elections. They must be aware of the importance of selecting good, competent, qualified bureaucrats and technocrats to stand as independent candidates.

A team put together by me will go from city to city to interview and investigate the antecedents of aspiring candidates and select them for the coming

elections. We will then wholeheartedly support them. In the very short time of our existence, we already have more than two million volunteers.

**FP: *Do you have any particular prescription for Pakistan's economy and its energy shortages that can have an immediate impact?***

**AQK:** As a competent and experienced engineer and scientist, I have ways and means in mind to solve these problems. Writing reports and forming committees serves little purpose. I am a go-getter and have always done my best to deliver what I promise to do. I am confident that we can solve many of these problems within a reasonable span of time.

My own knowledge and capabilities and the trust the people have in my abilities are the greatest assets. They know I am a competent, honest Pakistani and that I can solve problems and help them out of some of their miseries.

**FP: *How do you define success for your movement?***

**AQK:** The people realize that things need to change and there is some change in their way of thinking already. If we manage to get a reasonable number of good people elected to Parliament, they can play a very important role.

Currently the MQM [*Muttahida Qaumi Movement*, based in Sind province] with 25 seats (out of 342), the JUI [*Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam*, an Islamist party] with 7 seats and the ANP [*Awami National Party*, supported by ethnic Pashtuns] with 17 seats are blackmailing and determining national policy.

We could play a restraining and positive role, blocking all anti-state policies and activities. If we can achieve this, and I am very hopeful of being able to do so, then it will be a big success.

**FP: *Isn't one of the problems of Pakistan the dominant role of the military in politics and public affairs? How can this change? What is your prescription for the Pakistan military?***

**AQK:** The army has been used by corrupt politicians, just as was happening in Turkey. If promotions were made purely on a seniority basis and personal likes and dislikes are not allowed to play a role, then they would never dare to indulge in politics. Right from the time of Ayub Khan [military ruler from 1958 to 1969] down to the present Chief [of Army Staff, General

Ashfaq Kayani], the principle of seniority has been ignored and the consequences have been disastrous.

**FP: *The acronym for your movement, TTP, is the same as that of the Pakistani Taliban. This is at best unfortunate or confusing. Was it intentional?***

**AQK:** This is sheer coincidence and only came to my notice later. I have never been interested in the activities of the Taliban. The best word to convey our message was "*Tahaffuz*", which means "*protection*" or "*safety*". So the name became "Movement for the Protection of Pakistan", thus "Tehreek Tahaffuze Pakistan".

**FP: *What are your own political ambitions? You are sometimes seen as a potential candidate as head of state (president) of Pakistan - would you take on this non-political role?***

**AQK:** None. The love and affection the whole nation has shown me during all my trials and tribulations has given me what no money can buy. I want to help the country out of this rut and for it to become a respected, moderate, peaceful welfare state having friendly relations with all, especially its immediate neighbours, and enmity with none. I do not want this country to play mercenary to foreign powers.

As far as the non-political role is concerned, if the majority of the people think I can help them in that way, I would not shrink from what I would consider as a duty to Pakistan. However, I do not aspire to the position and it would only be possible through overwhelming support and desire.

We are quite clear about my role. I am just a guide -- some sort of Lee Kwan [sic] Yew, the former PM of Singapore, Mahathir [of Malaysia] or, hopefully, Mandela. I will only advise on good governance.

**FP: *What does your wife and the rest of your family think about your current activities? Even if you are only partly successful, you are likely to face criticism from existing political parties or perhaps even threats.***

**AQK:** As far as criticism is concerned, I am not bothered by it (but my wife is) and have become used to it. I have never been a blue-eyed boy of the West like [present President Asif Ali] Zardari or [former military ruler and President Pervez] Musharraf, but that didn't bother me. I do care about what the ordinary people of Pakistan think of me.

**FP: *What restrictions are you currently under in terms of where you can go, who you can meet, and what you can say?***

**AQK:** Security issues do exist. I can go anywhere, meet anybody (except foreigners), can address meetings, functions, convocations, bar associations, etc. and can give phone interviews to TV and radio provided only that these are within the country and are not about secret nuclear issues.

**FP: *You recently accused Musharraf of treason for handing over uranium enrichment centrifuges to the United States. Please say more: how many, what type, to whom, why? Also, was this somehow related to Iran or North Korea, or both?***

**AQK:** Musharraf gave all our highly classified and secret information to the USA, the UK, Japan, the IAEA, etc. and sent invaluable centrifuge samples to the USA and the IAEA. He even gave them centrifuge drawings worth billions of dollars just to gain their patronage. For that he is a traitor.

**FP: *Following the recent terrorist attack on the Kamra air base and earlier attacks on the military HQ in Rawalpindi and the naval air base in Karachi, are Pakistan's nuclear weapons safe? How can the world be confident in Pakistan's claims on this point?***

**AQK:** Pakistan's nuclear assets are as safe as President Obama's black box. Nobody can even steal a screw from them. Gen Khalid Kidwai, DG SPD [Director-General Strategic Plans Division which controls Pakistan's nuclear arsenal], and Gen Muhammad Tahir, DG Security, are professional and competent officers and have established a very efficient security system.

A real danger can arise only if there is a spineless military dictator or a stooge Army Chief who can order them or their successors to override the system. The world should worry about its own problems, not about ours.

**FP: *Your international reputation is that you were a rogue agent when Pakistan supplied centrifuge technology to Libya, Iran, and North Korea. How do you respond to this label? How would you prefer to be remembered?***

**AQK:** I don't care what Western leaders think about me. To them a pirate like Francis Drake becomes Sir Francis; James Cook, who murdered innocent Polynesians, is a hero and those who murdered Iraqis, Afghans, Vietnamese, and Koreans now have chests full of ribbons and medals. [Former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem] Begin, [former President George W.]

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Bush, [former British Prime Minister Tony] Blair, [former French President Nicolas] Sarkozy, etc. who all caused (ordered) the murder of hundreds of thousands of innocent people are highly respected.

Whatever I did, I did in good faith and upon instructions from authorities. Since then, many senior army officers and politicians have openly said in TV programmes that I did not do anything wrong and that, by taking sole blame, I had saved the country a second time by thwarting Security Council resolutions against our nuclear programme.

Nobody in Pakistan doubts my integrity, honesty, sincerity or patriotism. It is this that I care about. I am not going to live or die in their countries, hence I don't care. Pakistani historians will remember me by the nickname they have given me: "**Mohsin-e-Pakistan**" (Saviour of Pakistan).

**[NOTE:** *The quest for a Pakistani nuclear bomb was launched by then Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in 1972. "You men here will make it for me and for Pakistan," he told a secret meeting of scientists and Generals.*

*Bhutto's motive was to counter India's more developed programme. His secret asset was metallurgist **Abdul Qadeer Khan** who, while working in a Dutch nuclear laboratory, sent his papers home. Dr Khan returned to head the programme in 1976. Pakistan exploded its first nuclear device in 1998.*

**On 4<sup>th</sup> February 2004;** *Dr A Q Khan was disgraced during the military regime of Gen Musharraf. Dr Khan was made to sign a confession while in military custody that he has been selling the nuclear armaments to various states as a state business concern. He was made to utter the same words of confession before the whole nation in a televised address.]*

**FP: Do you have any regrets about your role in the transfer of nuclear technology to these countries?**

**AQK:** I did not do anything wrong, hence no regrets. I simply did as I was asked to do. Does France have any regrets about surreptitiously supplying nuclear weapons technology to Israel? Does Russia regrets supplying that technology to China and North Korea? Do the British have regrets about stealing secrets from Los Alamos in the late forties or early fifties?

There are many double standards in the world. What is good for me may be bad for you. What is just for you may be a crime for me.

**FP: Any other points you want to make?**

**AQK:** My only hope is that my efforts to make people aware of the importance and sanctity of their vote, and to elect capable leaders, makes a difference in the next elections. I have noticed that Western countries are nervous about my movement, possibly suspecting that I might be a fundamentalist or a *jihadi*.

They forget that I studied in Europe, lived there for 15 years, have a foreign wife, have two daughters who studied in the UK and have two granddaughters studying abroad, one in the UK and one in the USA.

How can I then be an enemy of any Western country? I seek mutually respectful, friendly relations with all, sanctity of our sovereignty, non-participation in mercenary activities or allowing our country to be used for terrorism, either from within or from outside. This is my dream.

Referring to '**the News**' dated **15<sup>th</sup> September 2012**;

Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan said in an interview with '**the News**':

*"Benazir Bhutto had asked for the transfer of nuclear technology to two countries that she had named. The transfer of nuclear technology was not so easy that one could put it into his pocket and hand it over to another country.*

*At least 800 people are used to supervise the process. The-then Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto summoned me and named the two countries which were to be assisted and issued clear directions in this regard.*

*I was not independent but was bound to abide by the orders of the PM, hence I did take this step in compliance with her order."*

Dr A Q Khan further revealed a stunning fact:

***"Nawaz Sharif**, who now claims credit for the nuclear tests and tries to become a hero, **was absolutely not ready to conduct the nuclear tests and did not want to do so** because of the fear that the United States might be annoyed and his government*

*might be threatened. Through some of his aides, who were also his [Dr Qadeer's] friends, Nawaz Sharif tried to convince him to win international sympathy by staying silent in response to the Indian nuclear tests.*

*But I made it clear that if he did so, I shall put the facts before the media. After this, Mian Nawaz Sharif was compelled to conduct the nuclear tests."*

The noted nuclear scientist said the delay in the decision by Mian Nawaz Sharif had paved the way for international pressure on Pakistan. Had he [the PM] immediately decided to respond to India, there would have been no time to pressurise Pakistan whereas we had made it clear that we could conduct nuclear tests on a notice of half-an-hour.

In response to a question, Dr Khan said he had **many expectations from Imran Khan but was disappointed after a few meetings with him**, as his political thoughts were still immature and those pinning hopes on him would be let down. He opined that ***'Imran Khan does cosmetics politics'***.

Although, years have passed since he achieved the feat of making the motherland the first nuclear power of the Islamic world, Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan is still the heartbeat of the living nation. His achievement was acknowledged not only in Pakistan but also throughout the world. All foreign dignitaries who met with Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan till 2000 mentioned him as a personality that made a great achievement for Pakistan and he earned immense acknowledgement and appreciation in the Muslim *Ummah* as the father of the nuclear bomb.

About the drone attacks in the tribal areas, Dr Khan said these were being carried out with the consent of the political leadership and the military. He argued that:

*"The political leadership is responsible for the drone attacks in the tribal areas while the military too cannot be absolved of the responsibility because it swears to protect the soil and frontiers of the country but it is not abiding by its oath by not stopping the drone attacks on the soil of the country."*

During this interview, Dr A Q Khan pointed out another cogent danger;

*"The US agenda regarding Pakistan is very clear. It wants to divide Pakistan and wants to limit the country merely to the Punjab. The*

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*US wants to get a no-war pact signed with India after naming the Punjab as Pakistan whereas we should improve relations with and adopt a friendly attitude towards India, instead of signing a no-war pact with her."*

Dr Khan also said that:

*"Pakistan should promote friendly relations with India while sticking to its stance. He does not want to play a role in national politics but has launched the **Tehrik Tahaffuz-e-Pakistan** party to protect the country. He does not want to assume power; rather he wants to bring good and clean people in power.*

*President Asif Ali Zardari was even far ahead of Gen Ziaul Haq and had badly beaten Mian Nawaz Sharif in the political arena. A government, which has a democratic face and acts upon the dictates of the United States like the present government, is highly suitable to Washington.*

***The political ineptness, lack of strategy and wrong decisions on the part of Mian Nawaz Sharif had a major role in making President Asif Ali Zardari so strong."***

The above facts were confirmed when Nawaz cooperated with President Zardari in 2008 because he believed that the government of Asif Ali Zardari would last just a few months and then he would be the only successor. Because of the same confidence and misunderstanding, he did not even get his share for extending cooperation and did not demand the offices of the speaker-ship of the National Assembly or the office of the Senate chairman.

It was also wrong to assume that the Supreme Court *had closed all doors for the army to come into power was meaningless* because if the army wanted, it could assume power and then it could also create a justification for assuming power and constitutional protections. If the army wanted it could also hold elections on scheduled time.

Dr Khan turned another page of the history that:

*"When the aircraft of Gen Ziaul Haq met an accident, the COAS [Gen Aslam Beg] had decided to hold elections in the country without delay of even a moment. He reached Islamabad from Bahawalpur and decided to make Ghulam Ishaq Khan President of the country and directed the then Chief Election Commissioner [CEC],*

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*Justice (rtd) Nusrat Mirza, by summoning him to the Army House the same night to make preparations for holding elections.*

*Some quarters had advised him to put off the elections, saying that in this way Benazir Bhutto may come into power. On this, Aslam Beg said that if the people wanted the rule of a woman in the country, then who we are to stop them."*

Gen Musharraf presented Dr A Q Khan before the masses as a criminal to turn him from hero to zero to please the United States. The military ruler had sent Ch Shujaat and S M Zafar, who took him to Gen Musharraf.

Gen Musharraf told him that the US wanted to clamp sanctions on Pakistan's nuclear programme and for the purpose, the US was making a justification of the alleged involvement of the Pakistan government in nuclear proliferation and it could get Pakistan declared a terrorist state by raising the issue in the UN Security Council. Dr Khan added that:

*"Gen Musharraf paid me glowing tributes, lauded my services for the nuclear programme **and requested me** that if you accept the responsibility of nuclear proliferation as a personal act, our nuclear programme may be saved and I did the same.*

*But in fact Gen Musharraf wanted to please the United States for prolonging his rule and the same happened."*

**On 27<sup>th</sup> November 2012;** the Election Commission of Pakistan confirmed that Dr Khan's *Tehrik* was among 19 new political parties whose registration was approved a day before for the up-coming elections in May 2013. *Tehrik's* Secretary General Khurshid Zaman told the media that Dr Khan had yet to decide whether to stand himself for election.

**On 14<sup>th</sup> September 2013,** however, Dr Khan dissolved his political party after it failed to win a single seat in the 11<sup>th</sup> May 2013's general elections. His party had fielded 111 candidates for different seats of the national and four provincial assemblies - failed to win a single seat for any house.