

10/01/2008 تاریخ

نویسنده: حکیم نعیم

وزارت خارجه امریکا افشا میکند:

طالبان تکنوکرات به جای طالبان قرون وسطایی

بدون شک دولت و یا به طور خاص، اردوی پاکستان نقش محوری را در شکل گیری تاریخ خونین و تاریک سه دهه اخیر کشور افغانستان دارا بوده است. نظامیان پاکستان با حمایت امریکا توانسته اند در هر برهه معین، نوکران زیاد داخلی را استخدام نموده زیر نام رهبر، قومندان، رئیس قوم، ملا، طالب، روشنفکر و تکنوکرات بر کرده مردم مان سوار کنند. اسناد معتبر زیادی وجود دارد و نشان میدهد که دولت پاکستان دست بالایی را در معامله با رهبران کاذب و سیاست مداران دروغین، از هر جنس و قماش آن چه آنهایی که روابط پیدا و پنهان قبیلوی با پاکستان دارند و چه آنهایی که در هر فرصت ممکن سنگ دشمنی با پاکستان را به سینه میکوبند و میخواهند جنایات و خیانت های شان را به این شکل توجیه کنند، دارا بوده و میباشد.

سندی که در آرشیف اطلاعاتی امنیت ملی امریکا وجود دارد و به دسترس عامه قرار گرفته است، میتواند ثبوت محکمی برای ادعای بالا باشد. این سند که در ماه اگست ۱۹۹۷ از طرف شخص سفیر وقت امریکا در پاکستان آقای تاماس سیمنس (۱) به وزارت خارجه امریکا ارسال شده است، از ملاقات های پنهانی او با یک کارمند بلند رتبه پاکستانی که از افشای اسمش خودداری شده است، پرده برمیدارد.

در این سند آمده است که این کارمند بلند رتبه دولت پاکستان که پنهانی از طرف شخص خود صدراعظم وقت پاکستان در امور افغانستان موظف بوده است، در مورد فعالیت ها و سفر هایی که به تهران، دوبی، قندهار، مزار و فرخار در ماه اگست ۱۹۹۷ داشته است، به سفیر امریکا در پاکستان گزارش داده است. شخص مذکور در ملاقات های که با نوکران قرون وسطایی خود در قندهار داشته است به آنان توصیه نموده است که برای بهتر شدن وضعیت زنان تلاش کنند و از مسایلی که آنقدر مهم نیست مانند اندازه کردن ریش بپرهیزند تا برای کمرنگ کردن تصویر خشن که جامعه جهانی از طالبان دارند، کمک کند.

همچنان برای مزدوران طالب نما خود، ملا حسن و ملا جلیل، که هر دو اشخاص کلیدی ای اس ای در بین طالبان بودند، گفته است که به ملا عمر توصیه کنند تا دیداری با لخصر براهیمی نماینده ملل متحد در امور افغانستان داشته باشد. این خود نشان میدهد که حتی ملاقات های ملا عمر هم از طرف پاکستانی ها اداره و تنظیم میشده است.

یکی از جالب ترین بخش های این سند، ملاقات این نماینده دولت پاکستان با احمد شاه مسعود در فرخار تاجکستان است. در سند به قول این نماینده عالی مقام دولت پاکستان، آمده است که مسعود از ما با الفاظ شیرین استقبال کرد، تو گویی برای ما سرود دلنشینی را زمزمه میکرد. مسعود گفت "شما شاید فکر کنید که یک تعدادی از افغانها دوست پاکستان است؛ این اشتباه است. هیچ افغان نمیتواند دشمن پاکستان باشد." همچنان مسعود به پاکستانی ها وعده داده است که از نفوذ خود که

در مزار دارد استفاده نموده در رهایی مقامات ارشد طالبان به شمول ملا غوث و ملا احسان که نزد جنرال ملک اسیر بودند، تلاش نماید.

مقام پاکستانی، در تهران ملاقات های متعددی با علاءالدین بروجردی، که جنرال حمید گل ایران در امور افغانستان شمرده میشد، داشته است. و نیز با علی اکبر ولایتی وزیر خارجه وقت ایران دیدار نموده است. ولایتی از این مقام پاکستانی خواهش نموده است تا اجازه دهد که بروجردی او را در سفر هایش به قندهار همراهی نماید که واضحاً این خواهش وی از طرف مقام پاکستانی رد شده است. این خود نشان دهنده آنست که دولت ایران همیشه در تلاش ارتباط با طالبان بوده تا اگر از آنها هم به شکلی از اشکال در راه منافع خود استفاده کند. چیزی که امروز به آن نسبتاً دست یافته است. در دومی این مقام گمنام ولی با صلاحیت پاکستانی در یک ملاقات پنهانی با یونس قانونی، یکبار دیگر خواهان رهایی اسیران بلند رتبه طالبان از زندان های نیروهای شمال شده است. جالب است که آقای قانونی زاری کنان خواهان سرعت بخشیدن تلاش های پاکستان برای حل (!) مسئله افغانستان شده و در مورد کنفرانس بین‌الافغانی فرانکفورت به این مقام پاکستانی گزارش داده است.

مقام پاکستانی از سفیر امریکا خواسته تا دولت امریکا به ملل متحد فشار وارد کند که کرسی افغانستان در ملل متحد تا ایجاد یک دولت مردمی (!) در افغانستان، به حالت تعلیق درآورده شود. وی همچنان اتحاد مخالفان طالبان را یک ائتلاف شکننده خوانده و گفته است که رهبران آن در نزد مردم شان از احترام برخوردار نیستند. بطور نمونه از جنرال ملک یاد آور شده، که "اوزبک ها از ملک نفرت دارند و بنابر وابستگی بدون قید و شرط جنرال ملک به مسعود، او را "خانم مسعود" خطاب میکنند."

مهمترین و آموزنده ترین بخش این سند ارزیابی ها و نتیجه گیری های نماینده پاکستانی از اوضاع وقت افغانستان است. وی با صراحت گفته است که طالبان سرانجام به پیروزی میرسند و در صورتی که با چالش هایی در عرصه های اداره و حکومت داری روبرو شوند، تکنوکرات هایی مثل آقای ارسلا (هدایت امین ارسلا - نگارنده) وجود دارند که به کمک شان خواهند شتافت. چیزی که امروز با تغییر طالبان قرون وسطایی به طالبان تکنوکرات، مردم زجر دیده و داغدار مان شاهد آن اند.

یادداشت ها:

(۱) THOMAS SIMON

(۲) تکیه ها از نگارنده است.

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ACTION SA-01

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(D)

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	INLB-01	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	INL-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	OS-00	EAP-01
	EB-00	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	P-00	CIO-00
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	STR-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/040W					

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-----DE8471 271357Z /38-----
 O 271304Z AUG 97
 FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9562
 INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMEMBASSY TASHKENT
 USMISSION USVIENNA
 USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI
 AMEMBASSY ASHGABAT
 AMEMBASSY DUSHANBE
 USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL
 AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BISHKEK
 AMEMBASSY ALMATY
 AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY RIYADH
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMCONSUL KARACHI

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 04 ISLAMABAD 007343

USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE
CINCPAC AND CENTCOM FOR POLADS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 8/27/2007
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, AF, PK, TR, UN, US
 SUBJ: AFGHANISTAN: [redacted] BRIEFS THE AMBASSADOR
 ON HIS ACTIVITIES. PLEADS FOR GREATER ACTIVISM BY U.N.

REFS: A) ISLAMABAD 6503 B) ISLAMABAD 6454 C) ISLAMABAD 6309
 ISLAMABAD 01 OF 04 7343

(U) CLASSIFIED BY POLCOUNS THOMAS PRICE PURSUANT TO 1.5 (B), (D).

1. (U) THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE; ACTION REQUEST IS IN PARA (10).

2. (C) SUMMARY: ON AUGUST 27, [redacted] REVIEWED HIS ACTIVITIES OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS AND PROVIDED A DETAILED UPDATE OF WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE SINCE HIS LAST MEETING WITH US ON AUGUST 1 (REFTEL A). HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PAST FEW WEEKS WERE HIS TRIP TO TEHRAN AUGUST 4-5, A DUBAI MEETIG WITH QANUNI ON AUGUST 10, AND AN AUGUST 14 MEETING IN KANDAHAR WITH MULLAH HASSAN AND MULLAH JALIL. AT THAT LAST MEETING, HE ADVANCED A PROPOSAL, TO WHICH HE IS STILL AWAITING A RESPONSE, THAT THE POLITICAL COMMISSION WHICH BOTH SIDES HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO ESTABLISH SHOULD BE DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS: ONE TO WORK ON A CEASEFIRE AND EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS, AND THE OTHER TO DISCUSS A FUTURE MULTI-ETHNIC GOVERNMENT FOR AFGHANISTAN. THE GOP IS, ACCORDING TO THE [redacted] CONVINCED THAT THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE IS VERY SHAKY (REFS B AND C), AND THAT "ALL THE TALIBAN HAVE TO DO IS TO CEASE ALL MILITARY ACTIVITY AND THE ALLIANCE WILL CRUMBLE."

CONFIDENTIAL

1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: APPEALS REVIEW PANEL
 APPEAL ACTION: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RELEASED
 REASON(S): B1, 1.4(D)
 DATE/CASE ID: 29 OCT 2004 200104202

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK E SCHMELZER
 DATE/CASE ID: 18 DEC 2003 200104202

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IT BELIEVES THAT DURING THE PAST TWO DAYS THE FOCUS OF TENSION HAS SHIFTED FROM KABUL TO KUNDUZ, WHERE FAMILIAR TALIBAN BLUNDERS HAVE PUT THE ALLIANCE IN A POSITION TO GIVE THE TALIBAN A BEATING. IT ALSO BELIEVES THAT THE UNSMA NEEDS TO BE FAR MORE ACTIVE, AS DO THE "OUTSIDE BACKERS" OF THE VARIOUS FACTIONS, IN PUSHING THE PARTIES TOWARDS PEACE. FINALLY, THE GOP ASKED US TO SUPPORT THE OIC DECISION IN FAVOR OF THE "VACANT SEAT POLICY" TOWARD AFGHANISTAN AT THE UN, AS A WAY OF OFFERING THE TWO SIDES AN INCENTIVE TO BEGIN TO TALK WITH EACH OTHER. END SUMMARY.

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3. (C) ON AUGUST 27, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BRIEFED THE AMBASSADOR, DCM, AND POLCOONS ON HIS ACTIVITIES DURING THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS AND PROVIDED A DETAILED UPDATE ON WHAT HE HAS DONE SINCE HIS LAST MEETING WITH US ON AUGUST 1. IN DISCUSSING HIS ACTIVITIES PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST, [REDACTED] SHOWED AN UNCHARACTERISTIC MODESTY, BUT BASICALLY STUCK TO THE STORY HE HAD GIVEN US AT OUR LAST MEETING (REF A). HE ADDED A FEW DETAILS, AND REVISED THE RECORD ON WHAT HE HAD ADVISED THE TALIBAN TO DO IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THEIR IMAGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THIS TIME, HE CLAIMED TO HAVE TOLD THEM NOT ONLY TO IMPROVE THEIR RHETORIC ON WOMEN, BUT ALSO TO APPEAR TO BE MORE TOLERANT AND LESS RIGID ON UNIMPORTANT MATTERS, SUCH AS THE LENGTH OF A MAN'S BEARD. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE TERM "BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT" HAD BECOME ANATHEMA FOR THE TALIBAN, BECAUSE THEY UNDERSTAND THAT TO MEAN THE INCLUSION OF PEOPLE THEY CONSIDER WAR CRIMINALS, COMMUNIST STOOGES, AND GODLESS TRAITORS, SUCH AS AHMED SHAH MASOOD, GENERAL MALIK, AND BURHANUDDIN RABBANI. THE POLITICALLY CORRECT TERM, AT LEAST FROM THE TALIBAN POINT OF VIEW, IS NOW "MULTI-ETHNIC GOVERNMENT."

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4. (C) SUMMARIZING THE POSITION AS OF AUGUST 1, [REDACTED] SAID THAT HE BELIEVED HE HAD AGREEMENT FROM ALL SIGNIFICANT OUTSIDE PARTIES (RUSSIA, IRAN, AND THE U.S.) THAT OUR SHARED OBJECTIVES FOR AFGHANISTAN WERE:

- THE RESTORATION OF A DURABLE PEACE,
- CESSATION OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN AFGHAN AFFAIRS, AND
- MAINTAINING THE UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF AFGHANISTAN.

THE SIGNIFICANT INSIDE PARTIES (TALIBAN, JUMBESH, JAMIAT, AND THE HEZB-I-WAHDAT) HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POLITICAL COMMISSION TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN.

[REDACTED] THE "INSIDE" PARTIES HAD INSISTED ON VARIOUS PRE-CONDITIONS WHICH MADE IT VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE OTHER SIDE TO AGREE TO MOVE TOWARD ESTABLISHING THIS POLITICAL COMMISSION. AT THE SAME TIME, EACH SIDE INSISTED THAT IT WAS URGENT TO GET THE BALL ROLLING, AND THAT DIRE CONSEQUENCES WOULD

ISLAMABAD 02 OF 04 7343

RESULT IF PROGRESS WERE NOT MADE QUICKLY.

5. (C) SHUTTLING BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN MAZAR AND KANDAHAR, WITH ONE SIDE TRIP TO FARKHAR, [REDACTED] BELIEVED THAT HE HAD GOTTEN BOTH SIDES TO SOFTEN UP ON THEIR "IMPOSSIBLE" PRE-CONDITIONS: THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE REALIZED THAT IT COULD NOT FIRST DEMAND THE DEMILITARIZATION OF KABUL AND THE TALIBAN REALIZED THAT IT COULD NOT INSIST ON A COMPLETE CEASEFIRE AND THE RETURN OF ALL PRISONERS. AT ONE POINT IN EARLY JULY, THE TALIBAN'S STATED PRE-CONDITION WAS JUST THE RELEASE OF THE FOUR "PEACE EMISSARIES." THE HIGH-PROFILE PRISONERS PRESUMED TO BE IN GENERAL MALIK'S CUSTODY, INCLUDING MULLAH GHANUS AND MULLAH EHSAN. A WEEK LATER, THE TALIBAN HAD MOVED EVEN FURTHER, AND AGREE TO TALK WITH MALIK WITHOUT ANY PRE-CONDITIONS, REASONING THAT "PERHAPS MALIK IS NOT A FREE AGENT; PERHAPS HE IS UNDER THE CONTROL OF MASOOD." AT THE SAME TIME,

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2

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B1

[REDACTED] REPORTED, MASOOD WAS "SINGING SWEET MUSIC TO US, WELCOMING US REGALLY IN FARKHAT AND TELLING US THAT 'YOU MAY THINK THAT ONLY SOME AFGHANS REGARD PAKISTAN AS A FRIEND, BUT YOU WOULD BE WRONG: NO AFGHAN CAN BE AN ENEMY OF PAKISTAN.'" MASOOD PROMISED TO USE HIS INFLUENCE IN MAZAR TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF THE FOUR HIGH-PROFILE PRISONERS, BUT -- FOR REASONS [REDACTED] EITHER COULD NOT OR WOULD NOT EXPLAIN -- NEITHER THIS PROMISE NOR THE TALIBAN PROMISE TO MEET WITH MALIK WITHOUT ANY PRE-CONDITIONS, WAS EVER HONORED.

6. (C) [REDACTED] WENT TO TEHRAN, MET BRIEFLY WITH A VELAYATI HE DESCRIBED AS "VERY DEPRESSED," AND HAD SEVERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH BORUJERDI. HE TALKED ABOUT THE SHARED OBJECTIVES HE HOPES BOTH PAKISTAN AND IRAN HAVE IN AFGHANISTAN, OFFERING TO LET BORUJERDI ACCOMPANY HIM ON ANY OR ALL OF HIS VISITS TO KANDAHAR. THIS OFFER WAS DECLINED, BUT BORUJERDI DID REPORTEDLY ASK TO COME TO ISLAMABAD FOR A BRIEFING "AFTER [REDACTED]'S NEXT VISIT TO KANDAHAR." BORUJERDI ALSO WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO DISPEL THE NOTION THAT IRAN MIGHT BE RELUCTANT TO SIT WITH THE U.S. IN AN AFGHANISTAN-RELATED CONFERENCE: "WE HAVE NO SUCH RESERVATIONS." HE IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE SAID, FROM TEHRAN, [REDACTED] WHERE HE WAITED FOR QANUNI TO ARRIVE FROM THE INTRA-AFGHAN MEETING IN FRANKFURT. QANUNI GAVE HIM WHAT WAS NO DOUBT A THOROUGH AND OBJECTIVE READ-OUT ON THAT MEETING, AND THEN MADE A STRONG PLEA FOR GOP HELP TO GET THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING A POLITICAL COMMISSION UNDERWAY. [REDACTED] TOLD HIM THE NORTH WOULD HAVE TO STOP INSISTING ON THE DE-MILITARIZATION OF KABUL AS A PRE-CONDITION; QANUNI AGREED, BUT DEMURRED ON THE ISSUE OF PRISONERS, CLAIMING "THEY ARE NOT IN MY HANDS; THEY'RE IN MALIK'S," AND BEGGING FOR SPEED FROM THE GOP.

7. (C) [REDACTED] WHERE HE SAW MULLAH HASSAN AND MULLAH JALIL ON AUGUST 14. THEY PROMISED HIM THAT MULLAH OMAR WOULD RECEIVE HIM DURING HIS NEXT VISIT, "BECAUSE I HAD COME SO MANY TIMES AND THEY HAD GIVEN ME NOTHING." (NOTE: HE ALSO ENCOURAGED THEM TO ADVISE MULLAH OMAR TO RECEIVE AN SPECIAL ENVOY BRAHIMI; THEY HAD AGREED TO DO THIS, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] BUT BRAHIMI'S DELAYED ARRIVAL AND REFUSAL TO REMAIN OVERNIGHT THREW OFF THE SCHEDULE AND PREVENTED SUCH A MEETING FROM TAKING PLACE. BUT, [REDACTED] SAID, THE TALIBAN HAVE ASSURED HIM THAT IF BRAHIMI RETURNS TO KANDAHAR, HE WILL GET A MEETING WITH OMAR. END NOTE) [REDACTED] SAID THAT "I PROPOSED TO THEM THAT WE DIVIDE THE WORK OF THE SOON-TO-BE-ESTABLISHED POLITICAL COMMISSION INTO TWO AREAS: WORK ON A CEASEFIRE AND PRISONER EXCHANGE AND, SIMULTANEOUSLY, A DISCUSSION OF THE FUTURE, MULTI-ETHNIC GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN. THEY SEEMED TO REACT FAVORABLY; AND PROMISED TO DISCUSS THIS WITH BOTH MULLAH OMAR AND THE SHURA, BUT I HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET TO KANDAHAR SINCE THEN, SO I DO NOT YET HAVE A FORMAL RESPONSE." [REDACTED] PLANS TO RETURN TO KANDAHAR IN ABOUT TEN DAYS' TIME.

8. (C) AT THIS POINT, [REDACTED] GAVE A LONG ANALYSIS, WHICH WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL, OF STRAINS IN THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE, CONCLUDING THAT "IF THE TALIBAN WOULD SIMPLY CEASE ALL MILITARY ACTIVITY, THE ALLIANCE WOULD FALL APART." EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE UZBEKS FAVOR DOSTAM'S RETURN AND, TO ILLUSTRATE THEIR DISAFFECTION FROM MALIK, HE SAID THAT MALIK IS IN SUCH BAD ODOR THAT EVEN SOME OF HIS OWN MEN ARE REFERRING TO HIM AS "MRS. MASOOD." IN CLOSING, [REDACTED]

ISLAMABAD 03 OF 04 7343

SUMMED UP WHAT HE CONSIDERED THE MODEST ACHIEVEMENTS OF HIS OWN BRAND OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY AS FOLLOWS:

- PAKISTAN'S CREDIBILITY WITH THE NORTH HAS MOVED FROM 0% TO 15%;
- PAKISTAN HAS RE-ESTABLISHED CONTACT WITH MASOOD AFTER A 3-YEAR HIATUS;
- IRAN HAS BEEN GIVEN A JOLT, A SORT OF WAKE-UP CALL;

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3

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-- THE NORTH HAS DROPPED ITS INSISTENCE ON THE DE-MILITARIZATION OF KABUL AS A PRE-CONDITION TO FURTHER STEPS, AND

-- THE TALIBAN HAVE REDUCED THEIR DEMAND FOR A RELEASE OF PRISONERS FROM 100% TO 30%.

THE AMBASSADOR CONGRATULATED HIM ON THESE "SMALL BUT IMPORTANT STEPS." BUT POINTED OUT THAT [REDACTED]'S SUCCESS IN GAINING CREDIBILITY IN THE NORTH HAD BEEN ACHIEVED AT DR. HOLL'S EXPENSE. "THAT PART OF THE PUZZLE, AT LEAST, REALLY IS A ZERO-SUM GAME," THE AMBASSADOR SAID, "AND TO SOME EXTENT YOU'VE ACTUALLY REPLACED DR. HOLL. WHAT IF THE UN WANTS TO RESUME A FULL AND IMPARTIAL SHUTTLE ROLE?" [REDACTED] SAID THAT NOTHING COULD MAKE THE GOP HAPPIER, AND THAT PART OF THE REASON HE HAD BEEN SO ACTIVE IN THE PAST THREE MONTHS WAS THAT THE UN HAD SEEMED TO BE DOING SO LITTLE. IN FACT, HE ADMITTED TO HAVING NO CONTACT AT ALL WITH DR. HOLL FOR A PERIOD OF AT LEAST THREE MONTHS, AND TO BEING UNDER PRESSURE FROM HIS PRIME MINISTER WHO HAD TOLD HIM IN LATE JUNE TO DO WHATEVER IT TOOK TO "SOLVE THE AFGHAN CONUNDRUM IN ONE WEEK." WHEN [REDACTED] AND OTHERS PRESENT AT THIS MEETING HAD PROTESTED AT SUCH A PREPOSTEROUS DEADLINE, THE PM REPORTEDLY RELENDED AND SAID, "OKAY; TAKE TWO WEEKS."

9. (C) THE AMBASSADOR GAVE [REDACTED] HIS "PERSONAL" ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION: EVERYONE AGREES ON THE OBJECTIVES, BUT THEY ALL FEEL THEY HAVE A LOT TO LOSE BY TAKING THE FIRST STEP IN MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD THOSE OBJECTIVES. PAKISTAN HAS A "PRIVILEGED ASSOCIATION" WITH THE TALIBAN, BUT NOT CONTROL OVER THEM; IRAN, AND PERHAPS UZBEKISTAN AND RUSSIA, HAVE SIMILAR PRIVILEGED ASSOCIATIONS WITH OTHER PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, BUT WHERE DOES THAT LEAD US IN TERMS OF PRACTICAL STEPS? HOW CAN WE USE THOSE PRIVILEGED ASSOCIATIONS, AND THE LIMITED DEGREE OF MUTUAL TRUST THAT GOES WITH THEM, TO ADVANCE TOWARD THE SHARED OBJECTIVES? "I FEAR," CONCLUDED THE AMBASSADOR, "THAT THE AFGHANS FIRST NEED TO HAVE A FEELING OF DESPAIR ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF WINNING MILITARILY. UNFORTUNATELY, THE TALIBAN STILL SEEM TO BELIEVE NOT ONLY THAT GOD IS ON THEIR SIDE, BUT THAT THE PEOPLE ARE TOO."

10. (C) [REDACTED] RESPONDED BY MAKING SOME COMMENTS ABOUT THE GOP'S BELIEF THAT THE TALIBAN WILL EVENTUALLY WIN AND, WHEN FACED WITH THE CHALLENGE OF GOVERNING THE ENTIRE COUNTRY, WILL YIELD TO TECHNOCRATS SUCH AS ARSALA AND OTHERS WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT AT THE FRANKFURT MEETING. THE AMBASSADOR OPINED IN RESPONSE THAT THOSE WHO WANT PEACE WILL PROBABLY NOT WANT TO WAIT FOR THE TALIBAN TO MODERATE AFTER THEIR VICTORY -- IT HAD TAKEN A GENERATION AND A MAJOR WAR BEFORE WE COULD WORK AT ALL WITH THE BOLSHIEVICS, FOR INSTANCE -- AND WE SHOULD PROBABLY WORK FOR PEACE ON SOME ASSUMPTION OTHER THAN TALIBAN VICTORY. [REDACTED] THEN ASKED, "ON A PURELY PERSONAL BASIS," WHETHER THE USG WOULD BE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN A CONFERENCE ABOUT AFGHANISTAN WITHOUT THE AFGHAN PARTIES, BUT WITH ALL OF AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS (IRAN, TURKMENISTAN, UZBEKISTAN, TAJIKISTAN, CHINA, AND PAKISTAN) AND RUSSIA. THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT HE BELIEVED THAT IT WAS WHOLLY PREMATURE TO HOLD SUCH A MEETING, THAT THE IMPETUS FOR PEACE HAS TO COME FROM A SORT OF DIALECTIC BETWEEN THOSE OUTSIDE PARTIES AND THE AFGHANS THEMSELVES, AND THAT THE PROCESS COULD NOT NOW BE HELPED ALONG BY A MEETING WHICH EXCLUDED THE AFGHANS. [REDACTED] THEN ASKED FOR US SUPPORT OF THE "VACANT SEAT" POLICY AT THE UN, AS AGREED BY THE OIC AT ITS LAST MEETING. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT HE WOULD PASS THIS REQUEST ALONG, NOTING [REDACTED]'S ARGUMENT THAT IT COULD BE AN INDUCEMENT TO BOTH SIDES TO REACH OUT TO EACH OTHER SO

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THAT AFGHANISTAN WOULD STILL HAVE A VOICE IN THE UN.

11. (C) THE AMBASSADOR GAVE HIS VIEW THAT THE TRICK WOULD BE TO RELATE TWO EXISTING LEVELS OF REALITY TO EACH OTHER IN PRODUCTIVE

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4

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WAYS. AT ONE LEVEL, ALL THE PARTIES AGREED TO THE THREE OBJECTIVES [REDACTED] HAD DESCRIBED IN PRINCIPLE, BUT THE INSIDE PARTIES STILL HOPED FOR OR FEARED A TALIBAN VICTORY, MISTRUSTED EACH OTHER, AND WERE UNPREPARED FOR REAL NEGOTIATION OF A REAL POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. AT ANOTHER LEVEL, PAKISTAN HAD PRIVILEGED RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTH AND IRAN (AND PERHAPS RUSSIA AND UZBEKISTAN) WITH THE NORTH. THE CHALLENGE WAS TO USE THOSE PRIVILEGED RELATIONS AS LEVERAGE TO ADVANCE THE OBJECTIVES AGREED IN PRINCIPLE. OUR GOOD RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN ASSOCIATE US WILLY-NILLY, SO WE NEED TO BE EXTREMELY CAREFUL ABOUT PAKISTANI PROPOSALS THAT DRAW US EVEN CLOSER. FOR, AT THE SECOND LEVEL, PAKISTAN IS A PARTY RATHER THAN JUST A MEDIATOR; MOREOVER, ONE FEATURE OF THE SITUATION IS THAT WE DO NOT RELATE DIRECTLY TO IRAN, THE ANALOGOUS PARTY ON THE OTHER SIDE. THAT WAS ONE REASON WE SEE THE UN'S MEDIATING ROLE AS ESSENTIAL.

12. (C) [REDACTED] PROTESTED RATHER WEAKLY THAT TOTAL PAK AID TO THE TALIBAN THROUGH THE END OF 1996 HAD BEEN ONLY 20 MILLION RUPEES, AN ISI FIGURE. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT EVEN IF HE ACCEPTED THAT FIGURE, IT DID NOT INCLUDE ACCESS TO PAK WHEAT AND POL, OR THE TRUCKS AND BUSES FULL OF ADOLESCENT MUJAHID CROSSING THE FRONTIER SHOUTING "ALLAHU AKBAR" AND GOING INTO THE LINE WITH A DAY OR TWO OF WEAPONS TRAINING. THAT WAS PAKISTAN'S REAL AID. HE ASKED [REDACTED] HOW THE 'GOP WAS DOING IN ITS ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THE FLOW OF WHEAT AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO AFGHANISTAN. [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT HE HAD RUN INTO A MAJOR PROBLEM ON AUGUST 26 -- NOT WITH THE TALIBAN, BUT WITHIN HIS OWN GOVERNMENT. THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE WAS INSISTING ON SELLING WHEAT AT TEN RUPEES PER KILO, WHEREAS THE GOING PRICE IN PESHAWAR IS ONLY 6.5 RUPEES PER KILO. FM GOHAR AYUB KHAN HAD BROUGHT THIS UP AT A CABINET MEETING, AND THE PM HAD ASKED HIM AND THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE TO SORT IT OUT. SO FAR, THAT HAD MEANT GETTING THE OTHER MINISTRY TO AGREE TO REDUCE ITS ASKING PRICE TO 9 RUPEES PER KILO, GUARANTEED THROUGH APRIL, 1998. THAT IS STILL FAR TOO HIGH. [REDACTED] DECLARED, "AND I HAVE NOT YET SAID ANYTHING TO THE AFGHANS. IF I GO TO THEM WITH THIS PRICE, MY CREDIBILITY WILL BE RUINED." SIMONS

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5

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