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#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE ARA/NEA REARCS

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INFO: IN (03) SAF (64) SRA (01) AF (81)

----- 10/1740Z A5 MAH (TOTAL COPIES: 910)

ACTION SA-88

INLB-01 CTAE-00 SMEC-00 INL-01 INFO LOG-00 DASY-80 DOEE-80 TEDE-00 INR-00 SRPP-00 EAP-00 EUR-80 01G0-81 H-01 NEA-OO 10-00 LAB-01 L-00 ADS-00 M-00 NSAE-00 PA-BB PM-66 PRS-00 P-GO NSCE-00 01C-92 0MB-81 SCT-00 SP-00 \$\$0-00 TRSE-00 FMP-00 SNIS-00 C10-88 NISC-80 PM8-80 PRME-81. DRL-69 G-00 /823W -----6EACO6 101151Z /38

0 181122Z OCT 96 FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2475 INFO AMCONSUL PESHAWAR PRIORITY AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY RIYADH USIA WASHDC 5959 AMEMBASSY BEIJING AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY DUSHANBE AMEMBASSY ASHGABAT AMEMBASSY ALMATY AMEMBASSY BISHKEK AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI AMEMBASSY MOSCOW AMEMBASSY ANKARA DIA WASHDC USMISSION USUN NEW YORK AMEMBASSY TASHKENT

AMEMBASSY BONN AMEMBASSY ROME

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DEPT FOR SA/PAB, NEA/NGA, AND EUR/CEN; LONDON FOR POL - TUELLER; PARIS FOR POL - RAVELING; ROME FOR POL - NDEMPSEY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/89/01 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, AF

SUBJECT: AFGHANISTAN: FOREIGN SECRETARY MULLS OVER AFGHANISTAN

REF: A. ISLAMABAD 8520; B. PESHAWAR 916

- 1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY AMB. THOMAS W. SIMONS, JR. REASON: 1.5 (B.DI.
- 2. ICI SUMMARY: FOREIGN SECRETARY SHAIKH CALLED IN THE AMBASSADOR OCT 6 SEEMINGLY TO DISPEL ANY NOTION THAT PAYISTAN IS THROWING ITS CHIPS IN WITH THE TALIBAN; SHAIKH STRESSED THAT PAKISTAN'S FOCUS IS TO GET THE TALIBAN AND JUMBESH LEADER DOSTAM TOGETHER SO FIGHTING IN THE NORTH DOES NOT SPREAD. WHEN ASKED ABOUT REPORTS OF INCREASED PAK ASSISTANCE TO THE TALIBAN, SHAIKH DODGED THE QUESTION, BUT A COUPLE OF DAYS LATER CALLED THE AMBASSADOR TO REPORT THAT HE HAD CHECKED AND COULD CONFIRM THERE HAD BEEN NO SUCH INCREASE. THE AMBASSADOR BRIEFED (AND ON OCT & UPDATED) SHAIKH ON THE STATUS OF A USG VISIT TO KABUL. END SUMMARY.

GOP PUSHING RECONCILIATION

3. (C) FOREIGN SECRETARY SHAIKH CALLED IN THE AMBASSADOR OCTOBER

6 TO "DISCUSS AFGHANISTAN." SHAIKH'S POINT SEEMED TO BE THAT PAKISTAN'S MESSAGE TO THE TALIBAN IS TO "GET TOGETHER" WITH DOSTAM TO ENSURE THAT FIGHTING DOES NOT SPREAD TO THE NORTH UNITED STATES OF PARTIMENT OF STATE TALIBAN REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER

DATE/CASE ID: 21 NOV 2003 200104208

ISLAMA - 08637 00 OF 02 181150Z 882875 5083759 TO STOP FIGHTING MASOOD AND RABBANI -- "THAT'S A WASTED EFFORT." SHAIKH NOTED A DELEGATION FROM DOSTAM IS COOLING ITS HEELS IN PESHAWAR. HE SAID DOSTAM WANTS TO SEE TALIBAN LEADER MAULUL RABBANI, BUT RABBANI IS ILL (NFI). THE QUESTION NOW HAS BECOME ONE OF PROTOCOL: IF RABBANI IS UNAVAILABLE, THEN WHOM SHOULD DOSTAM MEET? SHAIKH OPINED THAT ANY SUMMIT MEETING BETWEEN THE TALIBAN AND DOSTAN WOULD TAKE PLACE INSIDE AFGHANISTAN. SHAIKH DID NOT SEEM OPTIMISTIC, HOWEVER, THAT PAKISTAN'S EFFORTS TO GET DOSTAM AND THE TALIBAN TOGETHER IN ANY LASTING WAY MOULD SUCCEED -- "HOW SUCCESSFUL WE WILL BE IN THIS ENDEAVOR IS UP IN THE AIR."

- 4. (C) THE AMBASSADOR ASKED SHAIKH TO COMMENT ON REPORTED SIGNS OF INCREASED PAKISTANI MATERIAL SUPPORT TO THE TALIBAN. SHAIKH DODGED THE QUESTION. INOTE: ON OCT 9 SHAIKH CALLED THE AMBASSADOR TO REPORT THAT HE HAD "CHECKED THREE PLACES" AND FOUND NO BASIS FOR REPORTS OF INCREASED PAK ASSISTANCE TO THE TALIBAN. HE SUGGESTED THAT ICRC FOOD CONVOYS CONSISTING OF "TRUCKS OF COLOR" ARE PERHAPS BEING MISTAKEN FOR PAK MILITARY VEHICLES. ISEE REFTEL B FOR CONSULATE PESHAWAR'S READING ON TRAFFIC AT THE BORDER CROSSING!
- 5. (C) REGARDING THE SITUATION ON-THE-GROUND, SHAIKH SAID HE "DOUBLE CHECKED" CONCERNING THE STATUS OF DOSTAM'S FORCES AT SALANG TUNNEL -- "FROM WHAT WE KNOW, DOSTAM HAS ABANDONED POSITIONS ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE TUNNEL." SHAIKH ADDED THAT DOSTAM HAD APPARENTLY RECEIVED "LOTS" OF AMMUNITION AND

EQUIPMENT FROM MASOOD'S RETREATING TROOPS. ACCORDING TO ONE REPORT, SHAIKH NOTED, DOSTAM HAD ALSO RECEIVED TANKS AND "THOUSANDS" OF KALASHNIKOVS FROM HEKMATYAR'S FORCES AS THEY RETREATED. SHAIKH CITED STILL ANOTHER REPORT -- THIS ONE DESCRIBED AS "UNCONFIRMED" -- TO THE EFFECT THAT DOSTAM HAD RECEIVED 18 TANKS AND 6 PLANES FROM KAZAKSTAN OR, POSSIBLY, UZBEKISTAN. SHAIKH ADDED THAT THE PAK CONSULATE IN MAZAR-E-SHARIF WAS CHECKING OUT THIS REPORT.

- 6. (C) NOTING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, THE AMBASSADOR SAID HE AGREED THAT STOPPING THE FIGHTING IN THE NORTH WAS THE ISSUE OF THE MOMENT, NOT ONLY TO PREVENT FURTHER. BLOODSHED, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF CONCERN OVER HOW AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS MIGHT REACT. THE AMBASSADOR THEN SKETCHED FOR SHAIKH HIS PERSONAL VIEWS ON TWO POSSIBLE SCENARIOS OF HOW EVENTS COULD UNFOLD IN AFGHANISTAN:
- -- THE "GOOD" SCENARIO WOULD HAVE THE TALIBAN CONDUCTING THEMSELVES IN A STATEMANSLIKE MANNER, RESPECTING THE RIGHTS OF RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES, AND BRINGING PEACE AND PROSPERITY TO AFGHANISTAN. UNDER THIS SCENARIO, AFGHANISTAN WOULD BECOME A BRIDGE -- NOT A BUFFER -- BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND

PAKISTAN.

-- THE "BAD" SCENARIO WOULD HAVE THE TALIBAN TRYING TO DOMINATE THE OTHER ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS, FORCING DOSTAM INTO THE ARMS OF THE UZBEKS AND RUSSIANS, CAUSING A BREAKDOWN IN THE TAJIKISTAN CEASEFIRE, DRIVING THE RUSSIANS CRAZY, AND INSPIRING IRAN TO INTERFERE FURTHER TO PROTECT ITS PERCEIVED INTERESTS IN

AFGHAN AFFAIRS.

THE AMBASSADOR SAID MUCH DEPENDS ON HOW THE TALIBAN PLAY THEIR CARDS. THE TALIBAN, HE NOTED, ARE STILL A RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT NOT MUCH GIVEN TO THINKING IN POLITICAL TERMS AND, IN LIGHT OF THEIR MILITARY SUCCESSES, ARE NOW EVEN LESS LIKELY TO THINK POLITICALLY. REITERATING THE USG VIEW THAT THERE CAN BE NO DURABLE MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE AFGHANISTAN SITUATION, THE AMBASSADOR SAID A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TALIBAN AND DOSTAM REINFORCED BY OUTSIDE SUPPORT WOULD BE A RECIPE FOR THE DIVISION UNCLASSIFIED

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#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE ARA/NEA REARCS

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OF AFGHANISTAM -- A DEVELOPMENT THAT WOULD NOT BE IN PAKISTAM'S
OR ANYONE ELSE'S INTEREST. SHAIKH AGREED THAT THE INTEGRITY OF
AFGHANISTAN IS VITAL TO PAKISTAN'S INTERESTS.

- 7. (C) THE AMBASSADOR EXPLAINED THAT THE U.S. INTENDED TO SEND A SMALL TEAM HEADED BY THE DCM TO KABUL, MAZAR-E-SHARIF, KANDAHAR AND BACK TO KABUL FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE TALIBAN AND DOSTAMBUT THE TRIP HAD BEEN PUT ON HOLD BY THE TALIBAN FOR THE MOMENT. (NOTE: AFTER THE DCM'S MEETING WITH A TALIBAN REPRESENTATIVE ON OCT 7 (REFTEL), THE AMBASSADOR CALLED SHAIKH TO UPDATE HIM ON THE TALIBAN'S DECISION TO DELAY A VISIT BY AN OFFICIAL USG DELEGATION UNTIL AFTER THE TALIBAN HAVE BEEN "RECOGNIZED" BY SOME ISLAMIC COUNTRIES.)
- 8. (C) TURNING TO THE REGIONAL DIMENSION OF THE AFGHANISTAN SITUATION, SHAIKH SAID IJLAL ZAIDI, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S POLICY COORDINATION COMMITTEE, WAS LEADING A FEAN TO THE THREE CENTRAL ASIAN STATES DIRECTLY BORDERING AFGHANISTAN TO DISCUSS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. SHAIKH NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH MOSCOW WAS NOT ON THE TEAM'S ITIMERARY, THAT WOULD NEED TO BE ADDED. CONCERNING IRAN, SHAIKH SAID HE HAD TALKED TO THEM BOTH BEFORE

HE WENT TO THE UNGA AND AGAIN IN NEW YORK. HE SAID IRAN WAS OVER-REACTING TO EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN. HE ADDED THAT THE TALIBAN'S SWIFT ADVANCES WERE AN UNPLEASANT SUPPRISE FOR IRAN, WHICH HAD THOUGHT THAT THINGS WERE GOING WELL FOR IT IN AFGHANISTAN -- "THE TEHRAN-PROPOSED REGIONAL CONFERENCE WAS SUPPOSED TO PUT A STAMP OF LEGITIMACY ON THE THEN KABUL GOVERNMENT." WHEN ASKED WHETHER HE THOUGHT IRAN MIGHT UNLEASH ISMAEL KHAN, SHAIKH OPINED THAT THIS WAS NOT A LIVE OPTION -- "ISMAEL'S VOLUNTEER FORCES ARE NOT VERY ENTHUSIASTIC AND SUCH AN OPERATION WOULD BE VERY EXPENSIVE FOR IRAN."

9. (C) COMMENT: SHAIKH WENT TO GREAT PAINS TO REASSURE US THAT PAKISTAN IS NOT THROWING ITS CHIPS IN WITH THE TALIBAN. IN ANY CASE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO URGE PAKISTAN TO AVOID THE TEMPTATION OF SIDING WITH THE TALIBAN, BUT INSTEAD WORK TO PERSUADE THE TALIBAN THAT A DURABLE PEACE IS POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH GENUINE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION INVOLVING ALL AFGHANISTAN'S ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS. SIMONS