FOLLOWING STATE 157813 DATED 130031Z SEP 01 SENT ACTION ISLAMABAD BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO:

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 157813

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/12/21
TAGS: PRL, PK, US, PTER
SUBJECT: DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE'S MEETING WITH PAKISTAN INTEL CHIEF MAHMUD: YOU'RE EITHER WITH US OR YOU'RE NOT
Pakistani Intelligence Chief General Mahmud on September 12 to lay out a stark choice: Pakistan must either stand with the United States in its fight against terrorism or stand against us. There was no maneuvering.

Room. We would be approaching Pakistan once we had determined how the U.S. was going to respond to yesterday's heinous terrorist attacks. At this point the information pointed strongly toward Usama bin Laden's organization al Qaeda in Afghanistan. President Bush had the Taliban very much in mind when he told the nation September 11 that the U.S. would go after those who harbored terrorists. The right choice by Pakistan in this matter could open bright prospects for a positive relationship with the U.S., including possible lifting of some sanctions. Mahmud, claiming to be representing his president in this matter, assured Armitage that he could count on Pakistan's "unqualified support," that Islamabad would do whatever was required of it by the U.S. Action request: Ambassador should seek earliest opportunity to reinforce Deputy Secretary's message to President Musharraf. End summary and action request.

Deputy Secretary Armitage met Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI-D) Director Mahmud Ahmed on September 12 for 15 minutes to deliver a stern message on Pakistan's role in the follow-up to September 11's terrorist attacks in New York and Washington.

Mahmud began by offering his and his president's deepest condolences for this terrible tragedy. He had been instructed by President Musharraf to stay in Washington and offer Pakistan's "unqualified support for whatever was required to be done." Islamabad was awaiting
6. (S) DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE EXPRESSED THANKS FOR THESE WORDS, AND INDICATED WE MIGHT BE TESTING PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF'S INSTRUCTIONS QUITE SOON. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY HAD PLANNED TO GO TO CONGRESS THIS WEEK TO DISCUSS LIFTING SANCTIONS ON BOTH INDIA AND PAKISTAN, BUT IT WAS NOW UNCLEAR JUST WHEN WE WOULD BE ABLE TO GET BACK ON TRACK IN VIEW OF YESTERDAY'S EVENTS.

7. (S) MR. ARMITAGE HAD A CLEAR MESSAGE TO PASS, ONE WHICH HE WOULD ASK AMBASSADOR CHAMBERLIN TO DELIVER TO PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF JUST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. PAKISTAN FACES A STARK CHOICE: EITHER IT IS WITH US OR IT IS NOT; THIS WAS A BLACK-AND-WHITE CHOICE, WITH NO GREY. IT IS QUITE PROBABLE THAT AL QA'IDA AND USAMA BIN LADEN WOULD BE FINGERED AS OUR INVESTIGATION CONTINUES. THE NOOSE WAS TIGHTENING AROUND THEIR NECKS. THERE MAY BE MORE ACTS OF TERRORISM IN THIS COUNTRY. THE CHOICE WAS CLEAR, MR. ARMITAGE REITERATED.

8. (S) THE DEPUTY SECRETARY NOTED THAT BECAUSE OF THE HEINOUS NATURE OF THIS CRIME, WE ARE RECEIVING VERY STRONG SUPPORT ACROSS THE BOARD, WITH THE UN, WITHIN NATO, IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS AND OTHERS. WE ARE CURRENTLY PLANNING WHAT WE ARE GOING TO DO. WE MAY SOON TEST THE OFFER OF COOPERATION THAT PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF HAD EXTENDED THROUGH GENERAL MAHMUD THIS MORNING.

9. (S) MAHMUD REPLIED THAT PAKISTAN HAS ALWAYS SEEN SUCH MATTERS IN BLACK-AND-WHITE. IT HAS IN THE PAST BEEN ACCUSED OF "BEING IN BED" WITH THOSE THREATENING U.S.

10. (S) MR. ARMITAGE INDICATED IT WAS STILL NOT CLEAR WHAT MIGHT BE ASKED OF PAKISTAN BY THE U.S.
11. Deputy Secretary Armitage characterized yesterday's attack as a tragedy for all people.

There was a perception that some in Pakistani society were very sympathetic with the Taliban.

In that context, the Deputy Secretary wanted to make it very clear that President Bush, in speaking of those who harbored terrorists in his address to the nation last night, was specifically thinking of the Taliban.

12. Mahmud indicated his understanding. Pakistan has been a front-line state for a long time. It has always been against terrorism. While acknowledging the horrific scale of yesterday's attack, Mahmud reminded us that Pakistan has been struck many times in the past by smaller scale terrorist attacks. So he understood the import of Mr. Armitage's message to his country. These crimes had nothing to do with ethnicity or religion. They were crimes against humanity and as such could not be condoned. These were acts of violence against all beliefs.

13. Deputy Secretary Armitage expressed his understanding of Mahmud's point, recalling that when Pakistan lost its President, he had lost a friend, as well as our American ambassador and General Wasmom, also our friends. Mahmud then made it clear Pakistan intended to stand by the United States in this crisis.
MAHMUD CONCLUDED BY PROMISING

TO REPORT THIS CONVERSATION PROMPTLY TO HIS PRESIDENT, AND
REITERATING PAKISTAN'S CONDOLENCES OVER AMERICA'S TRAGEDY.
POWELL UNQUOTE POWELL

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FOR AMBASSADOR FROM DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/12/21
TAGS: PREL, PK, US, PTER
SUBJECT: DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE'S MEETING WITH PAKISTAN INTEL CHIEF MAHMUD: YOU'RE EITHER WITH US OR YOU'RE NOT

(U) CLASSIFIED BY DEPUTY SECRETARY RICHARD ARMITAGE;
REASONS 1.5 (B AND D)

1. (U) 9/12/01, 11:00 AM, DEPUTY SECRETARY'S OFFICE

2. (U) PARTICIPANTS:

U.S.

DEPUTY SECRETARY
A/S CHRISTINA ROCCA
S/CT FRANK TAYLOR
SA DONALD CAMP
SA/PAB STEPHEN YOUNG
D STAFF TOM CYNKIN

PAKISTAN

GENERAL AHMED MAHMUD
AMBASSADOR MALEEHAA LODHI

BRIGADIER MAZHAR UL HAQ
BRIGADIER MUJTABA, EMBASSY DATT
ZAMIR AKRAM, DCM
FIRST SECRETARY SOHAIL MAHMOOD

3. (S) SUMMARY: DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE CALLED IN VISITING PAKISTANI INTELLIGENCE CHIEF GENERAL MAHMUD ON SEPTEMBER 12 TO LAY OUT A STARK CHOICE: PAKISTAN MUST EITHER STAND WITH THE UNITED STATES IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM OR STAND AGAINST US. THERE WAS NO MANEUVERING ROOM. WE WOULD BE APPROACHING PAKISTAN ONCE WE HAD DETERMINED HOW THE U.S. WAS GOING TO RESPOND TO YESTERDAY'S HEINOUS TERRORIST ATTACKS. AT THIS POINT THE INFORMATION POINTED STRONGLY TOWARD USAMA BIN LADEN'S ORGANIZATION AL QAIDA IN AFGHANISTAN. PRESIDENT BUSH HAD

THE TALIBAN VERY MUCH IN MIND WHEN HE TOLD THE NATION SEPTEMBER 11 THAT THE U.S. WOULD GO AFTER THOSE WHO HARBORED TERRORISTS. THE RIGHT CHOICE BY PAKISTAN IN THIS MATTER COULD OPEN BRIGHT PROSPECTS FOR A POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S., INCLUDING POSSIBLE LIFTING OF
SOME SANCTIONS. MAHMUD, CLAIMING TO BE REPRESENTING HIS PRESIDENT IN THIS MATTER, ASSURED ARMITAGE THAT HE COULD COUNT ON PAKISTAN'S "UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT," THAT ISLAMABAD WOULD DO WHATEVER WAS REQUIRED OF IT BY THE U.S. ACTION REQUEST: AMBASSADOR SHOULD SEEK EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY TO REINFORCE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF. END SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUEST.

4. (S) DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE MET PAKISTAN INTER-SERVICES INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE (ISI-D) DIRECTOR MAHMUD AHMED ON SEPTEMBER 12 FOR 15 MINUTES TO DELIVER A STERN MESSAGE ON PAKISTAN'S ROLE IN THE FOLLOW-UP TO SEPTEMBER 11'S TERRORIST ATTACKS IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.

5. (S) MAHMUD BEGAN BY OFFERING HIS AND HIS PRESIDENT'S DEEPEST CONDOLENCES FOR THIS TERRIBLE TRAGEDY. HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF TO STAY IN WASHINGTON AND OFFER PAKISTAN'S "UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR WHATEVER WAS REQUIRED TO BE DONE." ISLAMABAD WAS WAITING FURTHER WORD FROM THE UNITED STATES.

6. (S) DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE EXPRESSED THANKS FOR THESE WORDS, AND INDICATED WE MIGHT BE TESTING PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF'S INSTRUCTIONS QUITE SOON. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY HAD PLANNED TO GO TO CONGRESS THIS WEEK TO DISCUSS LIFTING SANCTIONS ON BOTH INDIA AND PAKISTAN, BUT IT WAS NOW UNCLEAR JUST WHEN WE WOULD BE ABLE TO GET BACK ON TRACK IN VIEW OF YESTERDAY'S EVENTS.

7. (S) MR. ARMITAGE HAD A CLEAR MESSAGE TO PASS, ONE WHICH HE WOULD ASK AMBASSADOR CHAMBERLIN TO DELIVER TO PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF JUST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. PAKISTAN FACES A STARK CHOICE: EITHER IT IS WITH US OR IT IS NOT; THIS WAS A BLACK-AND-WHITE CHOICE, WITH NO GREY. IT IS QUITE PROBABLE THAT AL QAIDA AND USAMA BIN LADEN WOULD BE FINGERED AS OUR INVESTIGATION CONTINUES. THE NOOSE WAS TIGHTENING AROUND THEIR NECKS. THERE MAY BE MORE ACTS OF TERRORISM IN THIS COUNTRY. THE CHOICE WAS CLEAR, MR. ARMITAGE REITERATED.

8. (S) THE DEPUTY SECRETARY NOTED THAT BECAUSE OF THE HEINOUS NATURE OF THIS CRIME, WE ARE RECEIVING VERY STRONG SUPPORT ACROSS THE BOARD, WITH THE UN, WITHIN NATO, IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS AND OTHERS. WE ARE CURRENTLY PLANNING WHAT WE ARE GOING TO DO. WE MAY SOON TEST THE OFFER OF COOPERATION THAT PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF HAD
EXTENDED THROUGH GENERAL MAHMUD THIS MORNING.

9. (S) MAHMUD REPLIED THAT PAKISTAN HAS ALWAYS SEEN SUCH MATTERS IN BLACK-AND-WHITE. IT HAS IN THE PAST BEEN ACCUSED OF "BEING IN BED" WITH THOSE THREATENING U.S. INTERESTS. HE WANTED TO DISPEL THAT MISPERCEPTION. IN HIS EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH HIGH LEVEL U.S. OFFICIALS IN THE PAST SEVERAL DAYS, MAHMUD FELT HE HAD MADE IT CLEAR WHERE ITS SUPPORT LAY. THIS HAS BEEN UNDERSTOOD BY PAKISTAN'S ALLIES, HE CONCLUDED.

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10. (S) MR. ARMITAGE INDICATED IT WAS STILL NOT CLEAR WHAT MIGHT BE ASKED OF PAKISTAN BY THE U.S.

11. (S) DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE CHARACTERIZED YESTERDAY'S ATTACK AS A TRAGEDY FOR ALL PEOPLE.

THERE WAS A PERCEPTION THAT SOME IN PAKISTANI SOCIETY WERE VERY SYMPATHETIC WITH THE TALIBAN.

IN THAT CONTEXT, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY WANTED TO MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THAT PRESIDENT BUSH, IN SPEAKING OF THOSE WHO HARBORED TERRORISTS IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE NATION LAST NIGHT, WAS SPECIFICALLY THINKING OF THE TALIBAN.

12. (S) MAHMUD INDICATED HIS UNDERSTANDING. PAKISTAN HAS BEEN A FRONT-LINE STATE FOR A LONG TIME. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST TERRORISM. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THE HORRIFIC SCALE OF YESTERDAY'S ATTACK, MAHMUD REMINDED US THAT PAKISTAN HAS BEEN STRUCK MANY TIMES IN THE PAST BY SMALLER SCALE TERRORIST ATTACKS. SO HE UNDERSTOOD THE IMPORT OF MR. ARMITAGE'S MESSAGE TO HIS COUNTRY. THESE CRIMES HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH ETHNICITY OR RELIGION. THEY WERE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AND AS SUCH COULD NOT BE CONDONED. THESE WERE ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST ALL BELIEFS.
13. DEPUTY SECRETARY ARMITAGE EXPRESSED HIS UNDERSTANDING OF MAHMUD’S POINT, RECALLING THAT WHEN PAKISTAN LOST ITS PRESIDENT, HE HAD LOST A FRIEND, AS WELL AS OUR AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AND GENERAL WASSOM, ALSO OUR FRIENDS. MAHMUD THEN MADE IT CLEAR PAKISTAN INTENDED TO STAND BY THE UNITED STATES IN THIS CRISIS.

MAHMUD CONCLUDED BY PROMISING TO REPORT THIS CONVERSATION PROMPTLY TO HIS PRESIDENT, AND REITERATING PAKISTAN’S CONDOLENCES OVER AMERICA’S TRAGEDY.

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