SECRET ISLAMABAD 5531

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/5/85 (SHERMAN, RICK) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, PSOR, PK, AF
SUBJECT: (C) GAILANI REPRESENTATIVE REPORTS PROGRESS IN UNIFYING AFGHAN DISSIDENT GROUPS

REF: ISLAMABAD 4780

1. (C) ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: HUMAYUN ASEFI, AFGHAN ATTORNEY FROM PARIS WHO ACCOMPANIED SYED AHMED GAILANI TO EMBASSY ON APRIL 23 (REFTEL), CALLED ON EMBOFF MAY 13 WITH UP-DATE ON PROGRESS IN FORGING UNITY AMONG PESHAWAR-BASED GROUPS. ASEFI ALSO ADVISED OF SUCCESSES IN FIGHTING BETWEEN DISSIDENT FORCES AND DRA TROOPS. HE LEFT WITH US PARTS HE ALLEGED WERE TAKEN FROM MIG-21 AIRCRAFT DOWNGEYED BY DISSIDENT FORCES IN LATE APRIL. END SUMMARY.
3. ASEFI, WHO HAS BEEN TRAVELING THROUGHOUT PAKISTAN SINCE PREVIOUS VISIT TO EMBASSY IN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH UNITY OF DISSIDENT MOVEMENT, SAYS "MEANINGFUL ASSOCIATION" OF THREE GROUPS (ANLF, GAILANI GROUP, AND MIAN GUL JAN GROUP) IS NOW 90 PERCENT ASSURED AND SHOULD BE ANNOUNCED BY MAY 18. THE AGREEMENT WILL BE SIGNED BY LEADERS OF THREE ORGANIZATIONS IN PESHAWAR AND WILL BE ANNOUNCED TO PRESS "THROUGHOUT THE WORLD", ASEFI SAYS. THE ASSOCIATION WILL INCLUDE COMMAND COORDINATION IN FIELD OPERATIONS AND COOPERATION AT TOP LEVELS IN PESHAWAR.

4. ASEFI HAS ALSO ARRANGED FOR EXPATRIATE AFGHAN BUSINESSMEN TO SPONSOR A RADIO STATION WHICH WILL BE PURCHASED IN EUROPE AND SET UP IN WAZIRISTAN UNDER DIRECTION OF UNIFIED GROUPS COMMITTEE. ASEFI REPORTEDLY TOLD HIS COUSIN, GOP. FONSEC SHAHNAWAZ, OF HIS INTENTIONS AND ASKED "PERMISSION TO IMPORT RADIO EQUIPMENT. ASEFI DID NOT REPORT FONSEC APPROVAL; RATHER, SHAHNAWAZ "DID NOT TELL ME TO STOP THE PROCESS," ASEFI SAID.

5. ASEFI SAYS MAJOR TRIBAL GROUPS OF AFGHANISTAN HAVE RECENTLY BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN SUPPORTING REBEL ACTIVITIES. WAZIRS HAVE ACTIVELY JOINED FIGHT AS OF MAY 11 AND MENGALS, TAJIKS, UZBEKS, AND AFRIDIS HAVE ALL AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO DO SO BUT LACK ORGANIZATION TO COORDINATE THEIR PEOPLE'S EFFORTS. ANOTHER FACTOR CAUSING SOME HESITATION ON PART OF THESE ETHNIC/TRIBAL GROUPS IS LACK OF ANY LEADER OF "NATIONAL" STATURE WITH WHOM THEY CAN IDENTIFY. ASEFI HAS LETTER ALLEGEDLY SIGNED BY ALL THESE GROUPS ADDRESSED TO KING ZAHER SHAH APPEALING FOR HIS RETURN, OR THAT OF ABDUL WALI, TO REPRESENT RALLYING POINT FOR DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES. LETTER MAKES CLEAR TO KING , ACCORDING TO ASEFI, THAT RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF MONARCHY NOT, RPT NOT, INTENT OF THE GROUPS. ROYAL PERSONAGE WOULD BE FIGUREHEAD RATHER THAN RULING MONARCH.
ASEFI SAID HE HAS ASKED FONSEC SHAHNWAZ ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF ZAHER SHAH'S OR ABDUL WALI'S BEING PERMITTED TO ESTABLISH A BASE IN PAKISTAN. SHAHNWAZ' RESPONSE WAS "PERHAPS A LITTLE LATER, BUT NOT NOW." SHAHNWAZ ALLEGEDLY TOLD ASEFI THAT SOVIETS HAVE MADE DEMARCH AT MFA OPPOSING GOP'S PERMITTING AFGHAN ROYAL FAMILY TO TAKE UP RESIDENCE HERE.

6. WHEN ASKED ABOUT FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR DISSIDENT GROUPS ASEFI SAID THE PRC, UAE, AND SAUDIS HAVE ALL PROMISED ASSISTANCE BUT HAVE YET TO DELIVER. AS SOON AS COMMUNIQUE OF ASSOCIATION OF GROUPS IS ISSUED, ASEFI PLANS TO VISIT UAE AND SAUDI ARABIA TO FOLLOW-UP PROMISES. HE THEN PLANS TO RETURN TO PARIS VIA ROME TO DELIVER APPEALS TO ZAHER SHAH AND ABDUL WALI. THERE IS POSSIBILITY HE MAY BE ABLE ALSO TO ARRANGE STOP IN IRAN, AS HAZARA COMMUNITY IN PAKISTAN HAS OFFERED PUT HIM IN TOUCH WITH AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI TO ELICIT ASSISTANCE FROM THAT QUARTER.

7. ASEFI SAYS GROUPS IN PESHAWAR TEND TO DOUBT SOVIETS WOULD, IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, OCCUPY AFGHANISTAN TO SAVE KHALIQ GOVERNMENT. HE SAYS FIRST MOVE AFTER UNIFYING MAJOR GROUPS WILL BE TO CONTACT SOVIETS ON SOME NATURAL "TURF" AND ESTABLISH RELATIONSHIP BASED ON REALITIES OF THE SITUATION, I.E. THAT NO REGIME IN KABUL CAN EXIST WITHOUT GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THESE INTENTIONS CANNOT BE MENTIONED AT THIS TIME, ASEFI CONTENTS, OR THE SUPER-RELIGIOUS WOULD MISUNDERSTAND AND UNITY WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE.

8. PURPORTEDLY REFLECTING VIEWS OF SYED AHMED GAILANI AND OTHER LEADERS IN PESHAWAR AREA, ASEFI WARNED EMBOFF THAT AMEI ZIA NASSERY IS "PROBABLY A DOUBLE AGENT." ASEFI CLAIMS ZIA NASSERY MEET WITH HAFIZULLAH AHIN AT UN LAST YEAR SHORTLY THEREAFTER VISITED KABUL. HE THEN APPEARED IN PESHAWAR AND ALLIED HIMSELF WITH GAILANI AFTER BEING REPULSED AHF LEADER, MOJEDEDI. GAILANI NOW REGRETS BEFRIENDING ZIA NASSERY AND WANTS IT UNDERSTOOD THERE IS NO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIM AND THE AMERICAN, ACCORDING TO ASEFI.

9. ASEFI REPORTED THAT DISSIDENT FORCES HAVE NOT SHOT DOWN THREE DRA MIG AIRCRAFT. THE FIRST AT WOZA IN THE ZADRAN AREA OF PAKIA ON APRIL 25; THE SECOND NEAR PACHAR OGAR (SIC) VILLAGE PAKIA; AND THE LATEST, ON MAY 9 NEAR KNOWST IN PAKIA. HE DID NOT SPECIFY HOW AIRCRAFT HAD BEEN SHOT DOWN BUT LEFT WITH EMBOFF--ON LOAN--SEVERAL REMNANTS OF THE AIRCRAFT, INCLUDING FIVE MARKINGS PLATES TORN OFF THE FIRST MIG, AS WELL AS PHOTOS OF THE AIRCRAFT. COPIES BEING POUCHED TO LONGEITEIG C/O INR/RNA/SOA FOR INTERESTED WASHINGTON CONSUMERS.

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