

UNCLASSIFIED

PTQ5408

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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ACTION SA-00

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	L-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-00
	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-02	G-00	CCR-01	SAS-00

/006W

-----18B821 301000Z /25

P 300659Z AUG 01
 FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8554
 INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
 AMEMBASSY DHAKA
 AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
 AMCONSUL KARACHI
 AMEMBASSY DHAKA
 AMCONSUL LAHORE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 004780

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958: DECL: N/A
 TAGS: OTRA, PREL, PK, AF
 SUBJECT: STAFFDEL FOCUSES ON AFGHANISTAN AT MFA

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED-PLEASE HANDLE
ACCORDINGLY

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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 04780 01 OF 03 301000Z
 1. (SBU) SUMMARY. STAFFDEL BERKOWITZ DISCUSSED
 AFGHANISTAN, INDO-PAK, AND U.S.-PAK ISSUES AT
 MFA. THE PAKISTANIS DEFENDED THEIR ENGAGEMENT
 WITH THE TALIBAN AS PRAGMATIC, UNAVOIDABLE, AND
 CONSISTENT WITH GOP POLICY SINCE 1947 IN DEALING
 WITH WHOMEVER RULES KABUL.

B1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARGUED THAT THE USG SHOULD
 REMOVE ALL PRESSLER, SYMINGTON, AND GLENN
 AMENDMENT SANCTIONS AGAINST PAKISTAN [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 CLASSIFIED BY DEPT. OF STATE, M. GRAFELD, DAS, A/ISS, ACTING
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: CHARLES L DARIS
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 30 AUG 2021
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 SEP 2007 200605210

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FOR PURSUING NONPROLIFERATION AND REGIONAL
STABILITY. END SUMMARY

2. ON AUGUST 28, HIRC PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS
PAUL BERKOWITZ AND DAVID ADAMS CALLED ON MFA
OFFICIALS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] POLOFF (NOTETAKER)
ACCOMPANIED.

[REDACTED] TALK TO TALIBAN, DROP PAK SANCTIONS

B1

3. (SBU) AFTER OPENING PLEASANTRIES WITH
[REDACTED] AND A
MUTUAL DESIRE TO RENEW BILATERAL ENGAGEMENT,
BERKOWITZ NOTED THAT PAKISTAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH
THE TALIBAN AND WITH AFGHANISTAN-BASED TERRORISTS
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WERE HIGHLY VISIBLE ISSUES IN THE U.S. [REDACTED] IN
TURN HAILED THE GOOD NEWS FROM KABUL (I.E.,
CONSULAR ACCESS FOR THE WESTERN SNI DETAINEES).
THE GOP, HE SAID, HAD PUSHED THE TALIBAN HARD TO
PROVIDE ACCESS, AND HE HOPED THAT LOCAL PRESS
SPECULATION THAT THE DETAINEES WOULD SOON BE
RELEASED WOULD BE REALIZED.

4. (SBU) [REDACTED] ALSO HOPED THAT THE GOP'S EFFORTS
FOR THE SNI DETAINEES WOULD BE APPRECIATED.
PAKISTAN, HE SIGHED, IS IN A TIGHT SPOT; IF GOP
PRESSURE ON THE TALIBAN SUCCEEDS, CRITICS SAY IT
PROVES THE GOP HAS LEVERAGE; IF GOP PRESSURE
FAILS, CRITICS COMPLAIN THAT PAKISTAN OPTED NOT
TO USE ITS LEVERAGE. THE GOP, [REDACTED] ASSERTED,
HAS ACCESS TO TALIBAN LEADERS BUT THE AFGHANS
MAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS. HE URGED THE U.S. AND
EVERYONE ELSE INTERESTED IN AFGHANISTAN TO
MAINTAIN OPEN CHANNELS TO THE TALIBAN.

5. (SBU) THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM IN THE U.S.,
BERKOWITZ OBSERVED, IS THAT PAKISTAN HAS AS A
MATTER OF CHOICE MANY TIES TO THE TALIBAN VIA THE
ISI AND THE TALIBAN-LINKED MADRASSAS. HOW CAN WE
GET BEYOND THAT PERCEPTION? AMERICANS, [REDACTED]
RESPONDED, SHOULD KEEP AN OPEN MIND ON WHAT
PAKISTANIS ACTUALLY SAY AND DO. BY VIRTUE OF
THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH THE AFGHANISTAN ANTI-SOVIET
JIHAD, AMERICANS, HE SAID, HAVE LONG KNOWN THAT

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AFGHAN COMMANDERS AND REGIONAL LEADERS ARE
INCORRIGIBLY FRACTIOUS, UNPREDICTABLE,
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UNCOMPROMISING, AND POWER OBSESSED; THESE SAME
TRAITS CHARACTERIZE PAKISTAN'S FRUSTRATIONS IN
DEALING WITH THE TALIBAN.

6. (SBU) ASKED WHY THE GOP ALLOWS ITS POLITICAL,
MILITARY, INTELLIGENCE, AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT TO
THE TALIBAN TO HELP IT CONSOLIDATE ITS HOLD ON
AFGHANISTAN, [] DENIED THAT ISI OR ANY PART OF
THE GOP ARMS OR OTHERWISE ASSISTS THE TALIBAN
MILITARILY. RATHER, DESPITE ITS MISGIVINGS, THE
GOP AS A CONSCIENTIOUS MEMBER OF THE UN IS
COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING UNSCR SANCTIONS AGAINST
THE TALIBAN, INCLUDING THE DEPLOYMENT OF
MONITORS. WHILE NO ONE KNOWS THE MAGIC SOLUTION
FOR AFGHANISTAN, THE FIRST STEP MUST BE TO DEAL
WITH THE "GROUND REALITIES" DICTATED BY
DEMOGRAPHY AND ETHNICITY; VIEWING AFGHANISTAN
THROUGH A MORALIZING PRISM OF GOOD VERSUS EVIL
DOES NOT WORK.

7. (SBU) TURNING TO U.S.-PAKISTAN ISSUES, ADAMS

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/006W

-----18B82E 301000Z /25

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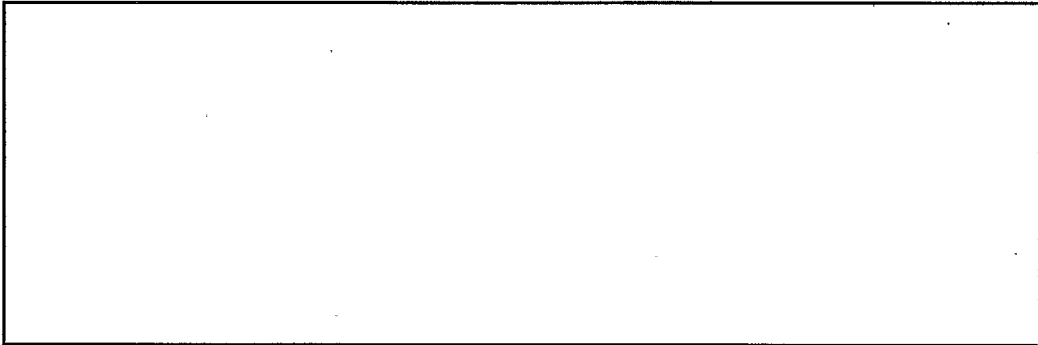
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REMARKED THAT A DECISION BY THE BUSH
ADMINISTRATION ON SANCTIONS RELIEF APPEARED
IMMINENT. CONGRESSIONAL OPINION IS MIXED, HE
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NOTED, WITH SOME MEMBERS FAVORING EQUITABLE
TREATMENT OF PAKISTAN AND INDIA, WHILE OTHERS
WANT PAKISTAN TO DO SOMETHING "POSITIVE" FIRST OR
IN RETURN. THE SECTION 508 "ANTI-COUP" SANCTIONS
AGAINST PAKISTAN, HE UNDERScoreD, WOULD REMAIN,
HOWEVER. ASKED ABOUT THE GOP'S DEMOCRATIZATION
PROGRAM, [REDACTED] REVIEWED PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF'S
COMMITMENT TO HOLD PARTY-BASED ELECTIONS BY
OCTOBER 2002. THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND THE
CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES "EXPECTED BY MANY" WOULD
BE CONDUCTED LAWFULLY, HE INSISTED. WE BELIEVE
WE KNOW YOUR CONCERNS, [REDACTED] ADDED, BUT THE U.S.
SHOULD VIEW PAKISTANI DEMOCRACY AS A CONTINUUM
AND ACT TO SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE DEMOCRATIZATION;
"DON'T BACK-LOAD THE PROCESS."

B1



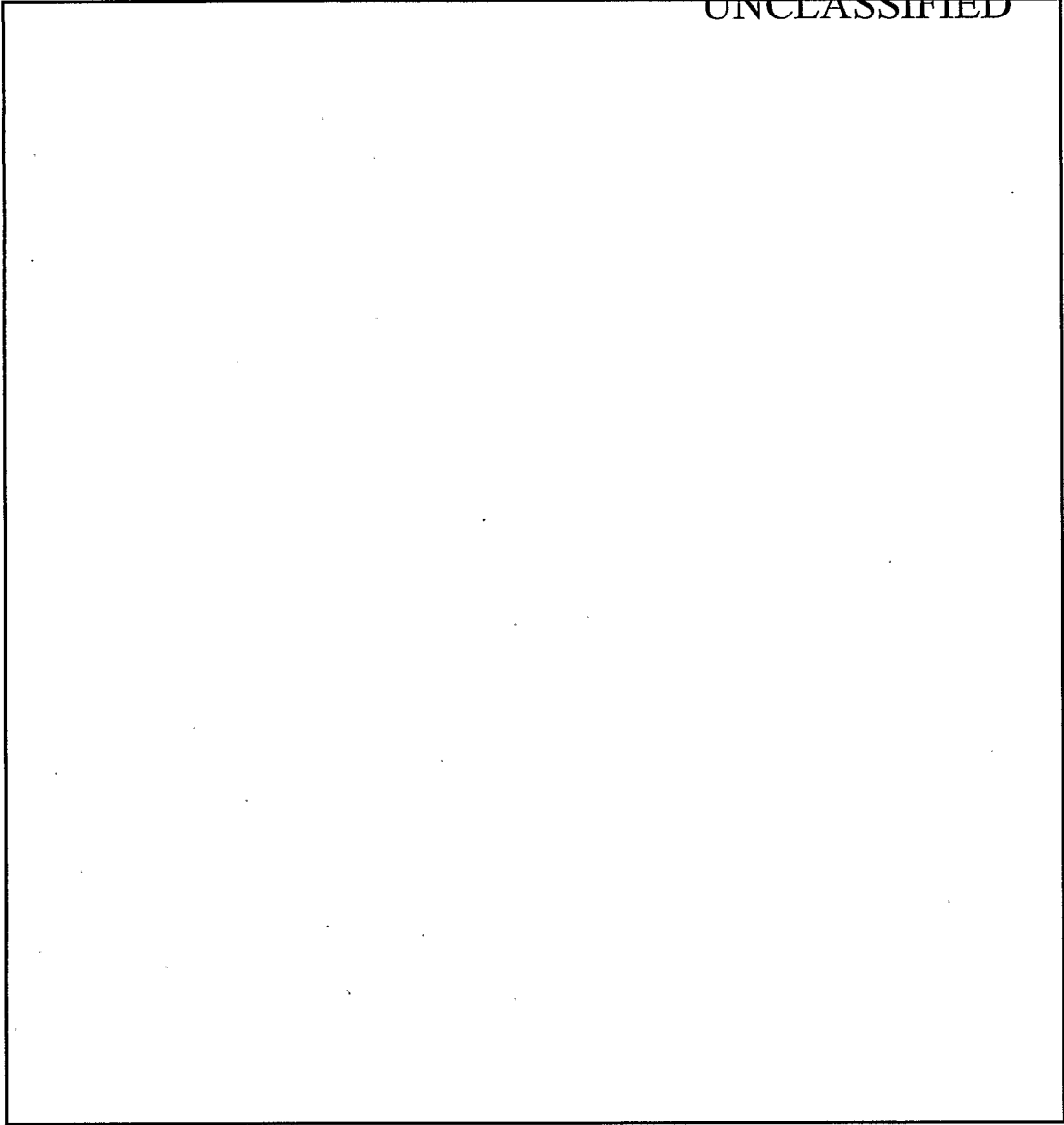
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[REDACTED] IT'S INDIA'S FAULT

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9. (SBU) [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] TALIBAN IS [REDACTED] REALITY

12. (SBU) AFTER THE POSITIVE NEWS ON THE SNI
DETAINEES WAS WELCOMED, ADAMS ASKED [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WHY PAKISTAN
SUPPORTS THE TALIBAN. "WE DON'T SUPPORT BUT
INTER-ACT WITH THE TALIBAN," [REDACTED] REPLIED. SINCE
1947, PAKISTAN HAS ALWAYS DEALT WITH THE RULING
POWER IN KABUL, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SUCH AS THE FIRST COMMUNIST REGIME OR
THE RABBANI GOVERNMENT, WHICH HAD AT ONE POINT IN
BILATERAL PIQUE BURNED DOWN THE PAKISTANI
EMBASSY. A SHARED 200-KILOMETER BORDER

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UNDERScoreD THE IMPORTANCE OF DEALING PRAGMATICALLY WITH AFGHANISTAN; IF MASOOD WON, PAKISTAN WOULD DEAL WITH HIM, TOO.

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13. (SBU) PRACTICAL ENGAGEMENT ASIDE, ADAMS ASKED, WHY DOES PAKISTAN GO ON TO GIVE THE TALIBAN INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT AND TO
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PRESS THE USG TO ENGAGE WITH THE TALIBAN?
REITERATED THAT THE TALIBAN ARE THE EFFECTIVE RULERS OF AT LEAST 90 PERCENT OF AFGHANISTAN, THAT THEY ENJOY SIGNIFICANT POPULAR SUPPORT BECAUSE THEY ENDED THE BANDITRY AND ANARCHY THAT ONCE BEDEVILED THE COUNTRY, AND THAT THE INSTANT SUCCESS OF THE OPIUM POPPY PRODUCTION BAN UNDERScoreD THESE THE REALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS

B1

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OF TALIBAN AUTHORITY. WHILE HE FOUND MANY TALIBAN POLICIES AGAINST WOMEN PERSONALLY DISTASTEFUL, WE SHOULD NOT EXAGGERATE THEIR IMPACT IN PREDOMINANTLY RURAL AFGHANISTAN; MOREOVER, THEY REFLECT MORE A MEDIEVAL AFGHAN MENTALITY PREVALENT IN AFGHAN SOCIETY THAN MAINSTREAM ISLAM.

14. (SBU) ASKED TO COMMENT ON THE WAR WITH THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE, [REDACTED] ASSERTED THAT THE MASOOD-LED FORCES, IF STRIPPED OF THEIR EXTERNAL SUPPORT, WOULD COLLAPSE IN A MATTER OF DAYS. REGARDING A LOYA JIRGHA, [REDACTED] SPECULATED IT MIGHT WORK IF IT WERE HELD IN AFGHANISTAN AND IF ALL 32 PROVINCES WERE AUTHORITATIVELY REPRESENTED, WHICH HE CLAIMED WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT TALIBAN CONCURRENCE.

B1

15. (SBU) HOW, BERKOWITZ ASKED, SHOULD THE WORLD DEAL WITH THE BEWILDERING COMPLEXITY OF AFGHANISTAN, INCLUDING UBL, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] INTERNATIONAL OUTRAGE OVER
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SOME TALIBAN PRACTICES, AND THE POTENTIAL FOR TALIBAN EXPANSIONISM? HOW DO WE START THE DIALOG NEEDED TO FIND A SOLUTION?

16. (SBU) AFGHANISTAN, [REDACTED] BEGAN, RECENTLY TRIED A MULTI-ETHNIC, BROAD BASED GOVERNMENT - RABBANI'S - BUT IT FAILED BECAUSE OF ITS INHERENT CONTRADICTIONS AND RABBANI'S REFUSAL TO SHARE POWER. THE SPIRITUAL AND LITERAL SUCCESSORS TO THAT FAILED REGIME ARE THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE, WHICH STILL FIGHTS MORE INTERNAL BATTLES THAN IT DOES AGAINST THE TALIBAN. THE TALIBAN, IN THE EVENT OF FINAL VICTORY, WOULD CRUMBLE AWAY BEFORE NEW FORCES CAPABLE OF ACTUALLY ADMINISTERING THE COUNTRY. THE BEST WAY TO ACCELERATE THAT PROCESS IS TO END THE WAR, NOT REFUEL IT THROUGH ONE-SIDED ARMS EMBARGOES, AND TO REBUILD THE NATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND ECONOMY. CHANGE COMES SLOWLY; IT IS TALIBAN OBSCURANTISM, NOT PASHTUN TRIBALISM, THAT DRIVES THE WAR. "DOING BUSINESS WITH PEOPLE PROMOTES CHANGE; CORRUPT THE TALIBAN (WITH AID AND A REBORN ECONOMY)."

17. (U) STAFFDEL BERKOWITZ CLEARED THIS MESSAGE.

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