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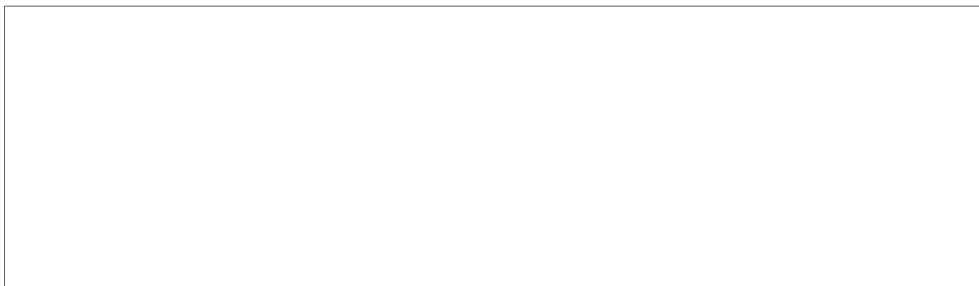
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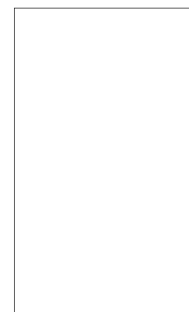
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EXDIS MILITARY TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE
MANILA FOR CODEL HATCH

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OREP, PK,
SUBJECT: CODEL HATCH: A USEFUL VISIT WITH THE GOP

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. CODEL HATCH SPENT TWO INTENSIVE DAYS LOOKING AT THE ISSUES RELATED TO AFGHANISTAN. THEY MET ALMOST ALL OF THE KEY PLAYERS (SAVE FOREIGN MINISTER YAQUB KHAN WHO WAS AT THE OIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN FES). THE PRESENTATIONS THE CODEL HEARD FROM THE NEW CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP AND PRESIDENT ZIA WERE NOTABLE FOR THE CANDOR WITH WHICH THEY SOUGHT TO CONVEY THAT PAKISTAN IS DIFFERENT THAN IT WAS JUST 15 DAYS AGO. THEY STRESSED THAT THE NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT IS AND MUST BE RESPONSIVE TO THE PEOPLE -- THE PRIME MINISTER PUT IT BLUNTLY IN NOTING THAT PRESIDENT ZIA TWO YEARS AGO DID NOT NEED TO CONSULT ANYONE BEFORE MAKING HIS DECISIONS; THE NEW GOVERNMENT MUST BRING ALONG THE PEOPLE.
3. FROM OUR VIEWPOINT, THE VISIT BY THE CODEL WAS A NOTEWORTHY SUCCESS. DOUBTLESS WE FOUND PAKISTAN-US DIFFERENCES OF VIEW BUT, IN THE END, THE VISIT GAVE BOTH SIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE EACH OTHER'S THINKING, BETTER TO GET THE MEASURE OF EACH OTHER'S

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86 9571082

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PAGE 002

NC 9571082

TOR: 140948Z JAN 86

ISLAMA 00910

CONCERNS AND CONTINUED COMMITMENT.

4. FOR CODEL HATCH, THERE WAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONGRATULATE THE NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT, TO INDICATE THE ENORMOUS SATISFACTION AMERICANS FEEL IN THE PEACEFUL PROCESS OF POLITICAL CHANGE UNDERWAY, AND TO UNDERScore AMERICAN DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF PAKISTAN. THEY PROJECTED THE AFGHAN ISSUE AS A DEEPLY IMPORTANT AND EMOTIONAL ONE WITH THE AMERICAN CONGRESS. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE AFGHAN POLICY LEAD MUST REMAIN WITH PAKISTAN, THEY LEFT NO DOUBT THAT THE CONGRESS FEELS UNDER ENORMOUS PRESSURE TO SHOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THE U.S. IS DOING SOMETHING CONCRETE TO GET THE SOVIETS OUT OF AFGHANISTAN.

5. THE POLITICAL MARKERS LEFT BY THE CODEL ARE CLEAR -- START MOVING OVERT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE INSIDE AFGHANISTAN AND WORK ON A POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR THE ALLIANCE THAT WILL ENABLE IT TO DEMONSTRATE THE KIND OF POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP THAT, OVER TIME, CAN MAKE IT A LEGITIMATE CLAIMANT FOR AFGHANISTAN'S SEAT IN THE UNITED NATIONS. A KEY TO THIS WOULD BE BETTER INFORMATION PROJECTION AND ACTIVE OVERSEAS ALLIANCE OFFICES, STARTING IN NEW YORK. IN TERMS OF THE WAR, THE CODEL EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE DOUBT THAT THE CURRENT LEVEL OF MILITARY PRESSURE IS ENOUGH TO FORCE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. THEY WERE UNANIMOUS IN EXPRESSING DOUBTS THAT THERE HAS BEEN A SOVIET CHANGE OF HEART. AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, USEFUL MARKERS WERE ALSO LEFT ON OUR CONCERN ABOUT NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING (SHARED BY THE GOP), PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM, AND OUR HOPES THAT PAKISTAN COULD MAKE PROGRESS IN REDUCING IRANIAN SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM (INCLUDING HELPING TO WIN THE RELEASE OF THE U.S. HOSTAGES IN LEBANON).

6. FROM THE GOP VIEWPOINT, THE NEW GOVERNMENT MADE CLEAR THAT IT REMAINS COMMITTED TO ACHIEVING A NEGOTIATED POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BASED ON A WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN. HOWEVER, PAKISTAN'S FIRST CONCERN MUST BE PAKISTAN. MINISTER OF STATE ZAIN NOORANI URGED RESPONSIBLE AMERICANS TO TRY TO THINK AS PAKISTANIS MIGHT THINK WHEN CONSIDERING VARIOUS POLICY PROPOSALS, WHETHER ON AFGHANISTAN SPECIFICALLY, OR ON SUCH ITEMS AS INCREASED MILITARY-MILITARY COOPERATION. PRESIDENT ZIA SAID PAKISTAN MUST BE THE ULTIMATE JUDGE OF HOW BEST TO TEND THE BOILING AFGHAN POT. ALL THE CODEL'S INTERLOCUTORS RUMINATED ON THE NEED TO

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ACCOMMODATE FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WITHIN THE LARGER POLITICAL POLICY FRAMEWORK THAT THE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT NOW MUST WORK WITH THE PARLIAMENT AND THE PAKISTANI PEOPLE.

7. ON THE WAR, THE GOP SIDE SAW THE MILITARY SITUATION AS JUST ABOUT RIGHT, ALTHOUGH ZIA CONCEDED A FEW MID-COURSE CHANGES COULD BE USEFUL. ON HUMANITARIAN AID, THE GOP REMAINS CAUTIOUS; PAKISTAN WELFARE INTERNATIONAL IS SET TO GO, BUT THE NEW GOVERNMENT STILL NEEDS TO BE SATISFIED IT IS THE RIGHT TIME AND THE RIGHT MECHANISM. SAME WITH POLITICAL STRATEGY AND

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86 9571082 SSO

PAGE 003
TOR: 140948Z JAN 86

NC 9571082
ISLAMA 00910

THE ALLIANCE. AS NOORANI PUT IT, THE GOP IS TRYING TO ACHIEVE UNITY AT THE GRASSROOTS -- PAKISTAN DOES NOT WANT JUST ANOTHER ARTIFICIAL UNITY OF LEADERS, AND THIS TAKES TIME.

8. PRESIDENT ZIA PUT PAKISTAN'S AFGHAN POLICY MOST SUCCINCTLY WHEN HE SAID: AT THE SUPERPOWER LEVEL PRESIDENT REAGAN SHOULD DEAL WITH GORBACHEV; AT THE MILITARY LEVEL THE U.S. SHOULD LEAVE IT TO THE MUJAHIDIN TO DEAL WITH THE RUSSIANS; AND IN PAKISTAN THE U.S. SHOULD LEAVE IT TO ZIA TO DETERMINE HOW BEST TO DEAL WITH THE THREE MILLION REFUGEES.

8. THE MOST INTERESTING FACT OF THE DIALOGUE WITH THE GOP WAS TO SEE THE VARIATIONS IN EMPHASIS BETWEEN VARIOUS PLAYERS IN THE GOP HIERARCHY. WHERE THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT USED TO GO IN LOCKSTEP, MARCHING TO

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THE SAME BEAT, THE NEW ELECTED OFFICIALS SHOWED CLEAR DIFFERENCES IN EMPHASIS. PRESIDENT ZIA STILL VIEWS THE WAR AS A "RELIGIOUS" (AND STRATEGIC) CAUSE TO WHICH HE IS PERSONALLY COMMITTED. THE PM SEES THE WAR MORE THROUGH THE PRISM OF DOMESTIC POLITICS. DESPITE SUCH DIFFERENCES, E.G., INCLUDING THE IMPORTANT QUESTION OF HOW MUCH FAITH TO PUT IN HINTS OF NEW SOVIET FLEXIBILITY (ZIA PROFESSES SOME HOPE THE SOVIET POSITION IS CHANGING; NOORANI CALLED SOVIET FLEXIBILITY A SMOKE SCREEN), THE BOTTOM LINE FOR EACH WAS THAT THE GOP MUST DO NOTHING THAT WOULD JEOPARDIZE WHATEVER SLENDER CHANCES THERE MAY BE. IN THIS CONNECTION, IN AN UNCHARACTERISTICALLY SOMBER AND RAMBLING AFTER-DINNER TOAST TO THE CODEL, ZIA ALSO EMPHASIZED OUR LEAKS HURT THE GOP.

9. OVERARCHING THE CONVERSATIONS, FOR US HOWEVER WAS THE CLEAR MESSAGE THAT AFGHANISTAN MUST COMPETE FOR PRIORITY WITH A WHOLE SLEW OF ISSUES THE NEW GOVERNMENT SEES AS IMPORTANT AND ON WHICH IT FEELS THE CLOCK IS TICKING RELENTLESSLY.

10. KABUL MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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