

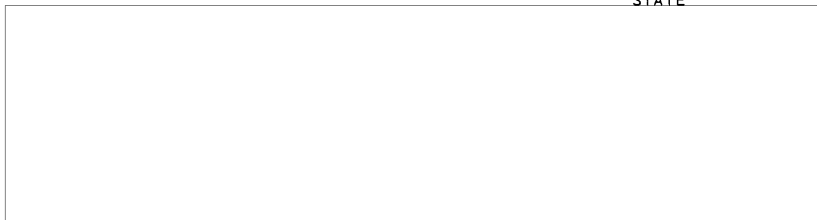
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MOSCOW 12538

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RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//POLAD
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RUSBKB/AMEMBASSY KABUL 1644
RUEHNE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3385
BT

Subversion

EZ1:
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MOSCOW 12538
EZ2:
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UR, US, AF, PK
SUBJECT: INCREASING THE PRESSURE ON PAKISTAN
REF: MOSCOW 6991
1. C - ENTIRE TEXT
SUMMARY

2. JUDGING FROM AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN PRAVDA
JULY 22, THE SOVIETS HAVE DECIDED TO TOUGHEN THEIR
PUBLIC LINE ON PAKISTAN. THE ARTICLE, WRITTEN

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BY A. FILIPPOV, IMPLIES THAT MOSCOW SEES NO POSSIBILITY OF A SETTLEMENT ON AFGHANISTAN, AS LONG AS THE ZIA GOVERNMENT REMAINS IN POWER, SINCE "CLASS INTERESTS" DICTATE THE "UNDECLARED WAR" AGAINST AFGHANISTAN. IN ADDITION, FILIPPOV CHARGES U.S. COLLUSION IN THE GOP NUCLEAR PROGRAM AND PORTRAYS THE GOP'S "UNDECLARED WAR" AGAINST AFGHANISTAN AS PART OF A GENERAL CAMPAIGN OF SUBVERSION AGAINST INDIA. THE ARTICLE SIGNALS GREATER SOVIET ENCOURAGEMENT OF OPPOSITION FORCES IN PAKISTAN AS WELL AS A REJECTION OF CONCESSIONS ON A TIMETABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL IN THE UPCOMING ROUND OF AFGHANISTAN TALKS IN GENEVA. END SUMMARY
NATURE OF THE REGIME

3. FILIPPOV IMPLIES THAT MOSCOW SEES NO POSSIBILITY OF A SETTLEMENT AS LONG AS THE PRESENT REGIME IS IN POWER. HE ARGUES THAT PAKISTAN'S "UNDECLARED WAR" AGAINST AFGHANISTAN RESULTS FROM THE "CLASS INTERESTS" OF THE REGIME. THE GOP IS USING AFGHANISTAN IN ORDER TO EXPAND ITS POLITICO-MILITARY COOPERATION WITH THE U.S., OTHER NATO COUNTRIES, AND WITH THE CONSERVATIVE ARAB STATES AND TO OBTAIN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. IN THIS RESPECT, FILIPPOV NOTES THAT PAKISTAN IS RECEIVING THE MOST MODERN U.S. (AND WESTERN) MILITARY EQUIPMENT. ACCORDING TO FILIPPOV, A "SUFFICIENTLY" INFLUENTIAL LAYER OF MILITARY BUREAUCRATS HAS FORMED IN PAKISTAN, WHICH IS "ENRICHING" ITSELF ON THE BASIS OF FOREIGN MILITARY AID AND THE "TWO BILLION" DOLLARS IN AID WHICH HAS FLOWED TO THE MUJAHIDEEN IN THE LAST FEW YEARS.

4. FILIPPOV ASSERTS THAT THIS EXPLAINS ISLAMABAD'S DELAYS IN NEGOTIATING A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN, AND ITS ATTEMPT TO FOCUS THE NEGOTIATIONS ON WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS ONLY AND NOT ON THE CHIEF QUESTION, ARMED INTERVENTION. SUBVERSION

5. FILIPPOV CHARGES THAT THE CIA HAS HELPED PAKISTAN ESTABLISH SPECIAL FORCES TO SUPPRESS DOMESTIC DISSIDENT AND SECURITY ORGANS WHICH ENABLE PAKISTAN "MORE ACTIVELY" TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NEIGHBORS. HE QUOTES A "TIMES OF INDIA" REPORT ACCORDING TO WHICH PAKISTAN IS TRAINING SIKH EXTREMISTS IN CAMPS IN ABBOTABAD, NARUVALE, SAKHIVAL, FAISALABAD, MIANCHAN, AND HASAN-ABAD (SOME NAMES TRANSLITERATIONS). MORE THAN TWO THOUSAND, ALLEGEDLY, HAVE BEEN TRAINED. FILIPPOV ASSERTS THAT THE CIA HAS ALSO HELPED EXPAND A NETWORK OF

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SIGNALS INTELLIGENCE STATIONS.
NUCLEAR

6. QUOTING SEVERAL WESTERN SOURCES (THE FAR EAST ECONOMIC REVIEW AND NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE 31-81), FILIPPOV ASSERTS THAT PAKISTAN IS NEARING ACHIEVEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. MOREOVER, HE CLAIMS, PAKISTAN IS STRIVING TO BRING ITS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION AND IS IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING DELIVERY VEHICLES, E.G. MISSILES AS WELL AS F-16S.

7. ACCORDING TO FILIPPOV, THE U.S. IS CLOSING ITS EYES TO PAKISTAN'S ACTIVITIES. INDEED, O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 12538 E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UR, US, AF, PK
SUBJECT: INCREASING THE PRESSURE ON PAKISTAN HE CHARGES, THE RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON WITH PRIME MINISTER JUNEJO SHOW THAT THE U.S. IS ENCOURAGING PAKISTAN, RATHER THAN ADOPTING SANCTIONS AGAINST IT, BY CONCLUDING A 4.02 BILLION DOLLAR ASSISTANCE PACKAGE.
INTERNAL OPPOSITION

8. FILIPPOV PORTRAYS THE ZIA GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL BASE AS SHAKY. HE CLAIMS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT IN THE COURSE OF ONE WEEK IN PAKISTAN, SOME 20 MILLION PAKISTANIS IN 45 CITIES PARTICIPATED IN DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S REPRESSIVE POLICIES, ITS MILITARY COOPERATION WITH THE U.S., AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE "UNDECLARED WAR" AGAINST AFGHANISTAN.
COMMENT

9. MOSCOW HAS A NUMBER OF REASONS FOR TOUGHENING ITS LINE ON PAKISTAN. THE SOVIETS NO DOUBT FEEL FRUSTRATED WITH THE FAILURE OF THEIR CAMPAIGN OF "REASONABLENESS" (ALLEGED BROADENING OF THE DRA'S SOCIAL BASE, CLAIMS ABOUT AN INTEREST IN A QUICK POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, ETC.) TO ELICIT GOP ACQUIESCENCE IN THE SOVIET VERSION OF AN AFGHANISTAN SETTLEMENT. MOSCOW PRESUMABLY IS ALSO RESPONDING TO A SERIES OF EVENTS WHICH INDICATE A CLOSE U.S.-PAKISTAN RELATIONSHIP AND GOP DISINTEREST IN THE SOVIET AFGHANISTAN OFFER, INCLUDING THE 4.02 BILLION DOLLAR AID PACKAGE, THE JUNEJO VISIT TO WASHINGTON, AND THE VISIT TO WASHINGTON OF THE MUJAHIDEEN DELEGATION. MOREOVER, MOSCOW NOW PRESUMABLY BELIEVES IT HAS MORE TO GAIN BY EXACERBATING TENSIONS WITH ISLAMABAD THAN WOOLING ZIA AND

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OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT. JUDGING FROM
PAST EXPERIENCE, THE SOVIETS MAY NOW BEGIN MORE
ACTIVELY TO ENCOURAGE OPPOSITION FORCES IN
PAKISTAN.
10. KABUL - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. HARTMAN
END OF MESSAGE CONFIDENTIAL
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