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(2) ACTION: AMB-1 CHRON (DUMMY) EYES ONLY N O D I S

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TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE 6231
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S E C R E T STATE 043713

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EYES ONLY FOR AMB. DEAN FROM ARMACOST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, IN, US, AF
SUBJECT: RECENT DEMARCHES ON AFGHANISTAN AND
P. K. KAUL'S REACTION

REF: NEW DELHI 3503

DOS REVIEWED 18-Apr-2007: DECLASSIFIED IN FULL

1. SECRETENTIRE TEXT.

2. JOHN, NONE OF US IN WASHINGTON NEEDS TO BE REMINDED OF THE UTILITY OF KEEPING P.K. KAUL IN A CONSTRUCTIVE FRAME OF MIND. AS YOU KNOW FROM THE WASHINGTON CABLE TRAFFIC, I HAVE DEVOTED QUITE A LITTLE TIME TO STROKING P.K. KAUL OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS. FOR INSTANCE, YOU WILL RECALL I GOT A DECISION ON THE HOUSTON CONSULATE TO BOLSTER HIS POSITION WHEN RAJIV VISITED.

3. WHOEVER IS FOLLOWING AFGHANISTAN FOR YOU DOESN'T SEEM TO BE FULLY INFORMED ON OUR EXCHANGES WITH THE GOI, BECAUSE THE REPORTING FROM NEW DELHI SHOWS SOME MISUNDERSTANDING AS TO THE NATURE OF OUR REQUESTS TO THE INDIANS TO ENGAGE THEMSELVES IN THE ISSUE:

-- I MYSELF CONDUCTED THE MEETING WITH K.P.S. MENON DURING RAJIV'S VISIT. I ENCOURAGED THE GOI TO HAVE THEIR AMBASSADOR IN KABUL CONTINUE THE CONSTRUCTIVE CONVERSATIONS THAT HE HAD BEEN HAVING WITH JON GLASSMAN. IN ADDITION, I ENCOURAGED THE GOI TO USE THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS IN AFGHANISTAN TO FOSTER A GREATER SENSE OF REALISM IN MOSCOW ABOUT THEIR POLICY DILEMMA AND OPTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN. I CERTAINLY NEVER ENCOURAGED THE GOI TO ENGAGE ITSELF IN AN OPERATIONAL WAY IN SEEKING TO SHAPE THE INTERNAL POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN AFGHANISTAN.

I HAD ONE RECENT CONVERSATION WITH P.K. ON THIS SUBJECT. IT WAS INSPIRED BY CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT INDIAN CONTACTS WITH CERTAIN RESISTANCE LEADERS WERE AROUSING INTENSE SUSPICION AMONG BOTH PAKISTANIS AND AFGHAN MUJAHIDIN LEADERS AT JUST THE MOMENT WHEN THE LATTER WERE BEING ENJOINED TO COME UP WITH INTERIM GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS TO FACILITATE A COMPREHENSIVE AFGHAN SETTLEMENT.

ED DJEREJIAN'S SUBSEQUENT FEBRUARY 3 MEETING WITH P.K. WAS TRIGGERED BY PUBLIC REPORTS OF NATWAR SINGH'S INTENDED MEETING WITH ZAHIR SHAH, WHICH SET ALARM BELLS RINGING IN PESHAWAR. OTHERS, TO BE SURE, HAVE MET WITH ZAHIR SHAH -- THOUGH FAR MORE DISCREETLY. THE INDIANS ARE BIG BOYS, AND IF THEY WISH TO SEE ZAHIR SHAH, NO ONE CAN STOP THEM. BUT THEIR ACTIONS HAVE CONSEQUENCES. IN THIS CASE, INDIAN INTEREST IN ZAHIR SHAH HAS WEAKENED -- AND MAY HAVE DESTROYED THE FORMER KING'S CREDIBILITY IN THE EYES OF KEY PLAYERS IN ISLAMABAD AND PESHAWAR, THUS FURTHER DIMINISHING ANY REALISTIC POSSIBILITY OF HIS SERVING AS A KEY FIGURE IN TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. EVEN HIS STRONGEST SUPPORTERS IN THE RESISTANCE HAVE TOLD US THIS.

4. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER P.K. HAS BEEN MIFFED AT ANY OF THIS. I CONTINUE TO ENJOY VERY CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH HIM AND WILL SEE HIM AGAIN ON FEBRUARY 12 AT HIS REQUEST. EARLIER THIS WEEK, HE TELEPHONED ME TO SEEK MY REACTION TO GORBACHEV'S STATEMENT ON AFGHANISTAN.

5. ALL OF OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE GOI IN WASHINGTON HAVE BEEN DIRECTED AT ALERTING THE GOI TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ACTIONS DURING A DELICATE PHASE IN THE AFGHAN NEGOTIATIONS. OUR POINT HAS BEEN THAT WE WELCOME HELPFUL ACTIVITY, BUT THAT, PERHAPS UNINTENTIONALLY, SOME RECENT INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN DISTINCTLY UNHELPFUL.

6. I BELIEVE THAT CANDOR AND FRANKNESS ARE THE TOUCHSTONE OF MATURE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS. IF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS CAN'T STAND THIS KIND OF CANDOR, THEN THE

~~FOUNDATION MAY NOT BE AS STRONG AS THE REPORTING FROM NEW DELHI HAS BEEN SUGGESTING. I LOOK TO YOU AND YOUR STAFF TO BEAR IN MIND THE NEED FOR A SPIRITED DEFENSE OF U.S. PERSPECTIVES AND INTERESTS IN YOUR OWN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE INDIANS. SHULTZ~~

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