

CONFIDENTIAL

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B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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INFO	LOG-00	MFA-00	NP-00	AID-00	A-00	ACQ-00	INL-00
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	ACE-00	P-00	SCT-00	SP-00	IRM-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00
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 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
 USMISSION USNATO  
 USEU BRUSSELS  
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 AMCONSUL DUBAI  
 AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 CLASSIFIED BY DEPT. OF STATE, L. R. LOHMAN, DAS, A/ISS  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE  
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)  
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 29 NOV 2021  
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 AUG 2006 200502534

UNCLASSIFIED

AMCONSUL JEDDAH  
AMCONSUL KARACHI  
AMCONSUL PESHAWAR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 08 BONN 000010

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/29/11  
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, ACOA, AF  
SUBJECT: AFGHAN CONFERENCE PROCEEDING ON INTERIM  
ADMINISTRATION FORMATION, MOOD REMAINS OPTIMISTIC

CLASSIFIED BY: SPECIAL ENVOY AMBASSADOR JAMES DOBBINS  
FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (C) SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION: THE MOOD IN BONN ON  
THURSDAY, NOV 29, WAS ONE OF WATCHFUL WAITING AS NA  
DELEGATION HEAD QANUNI AWAITED AUTHORIZATION FROM KABUL  
TO NEGOTIATE OVER NAMES FOR THE INTERIM AUTHORITY AND  
SUPREME COUNCIL. DELEGATIONS MET INFORMALLY WITH EACH  
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OTHER AND WITH THE UN, WITH A FORMAL SESSION SCHEDULED  
FOR FRIDAY MORNING. US AND EUROPEANS AGREED ON  
PRIORITIES FOR THE MEETING, FIRST OF WHICH WAS  
AGREEMENT ON FORMATION AND MEMBERS OF AN INTERIM  
ADMINISTRATION. THE US AND EUROPEANS PRESSED THE  
IRANIANS AND RUSSIANS TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE  
NORTHERN ALLIANCE--ESPECIALLY WITH RABBANI--TO GET THEM  
TO COOPERATE IN GENERAL AND SPECIFICALLY TO SEND  
AUTHORIZATION TO NEGOTIATE ON NAMES TO QANUNI.

B1

[REDACTED] QANUNI  
STATED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE THAT HIS REMARKS OF THE  
DAY BEFORE SEEMING TO RULE OUT AN INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY FORCE WERE THE RESULT OF A MISTRANSLATION. HE  
ALSO MODIFIED HIS POSITION ON THE EX-KING.

[REDACTED] UN  
OFFICIALS SPOKE OF A THREE-STAGE PLAN OF AGREEMENT ON  
AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION HERE, UNSC AUTHORIZATION OF A  
SECURITY FORCE, AND MOVEMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO  
KABUL. PUSHTUNS COMPLAINED THEY WERE UNDERREPRESENTED,

[REDACTED] END SUMMARY  
AND INTRODUCTION.

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WAITING BUT GENERALLY UPBEAT

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2. (C) AFGHANS, UN AND OBSERVERS CIRCULATED IN THE HALLS OF THE PETERSBERG ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29. NA DELEGATION LEADER QANUNI CONTINUED TO AWAIT AUTHORIZATION FROM A MEETING IN KABUL TO PROVIDE A LIST OF NAMES FOR A SUPREME COUNCIL AND AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION. BRAHIMI SCHEDULED A MEETING WITH A WORKING GROUP OF 2 MEMBERS FROM EACH GROUP FOR FRIDAY MORNING. DELEGATES ALSO SAID THAT THEY WERE DISCUSSING, AT LAST IN GENERAL TERMS, THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PRESENCE IN KABUL.

PRESSING IRAN AND RUSSIA

3. (C) US PRESSED IRAN AND RUSSIA TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE ON RABBANI TO COOPERATE WITH THE BONN CONFERENCE. A "GENEVA GROUP" MEETING OF THE US, GERMANY, ITALY AND IRAN MET THURSDAY MORNING, WITHOUT A UN PRESENCE. (IRAN WAS REPRESENTED BY NEWLY-ARRIVED

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 08 BONN 000010

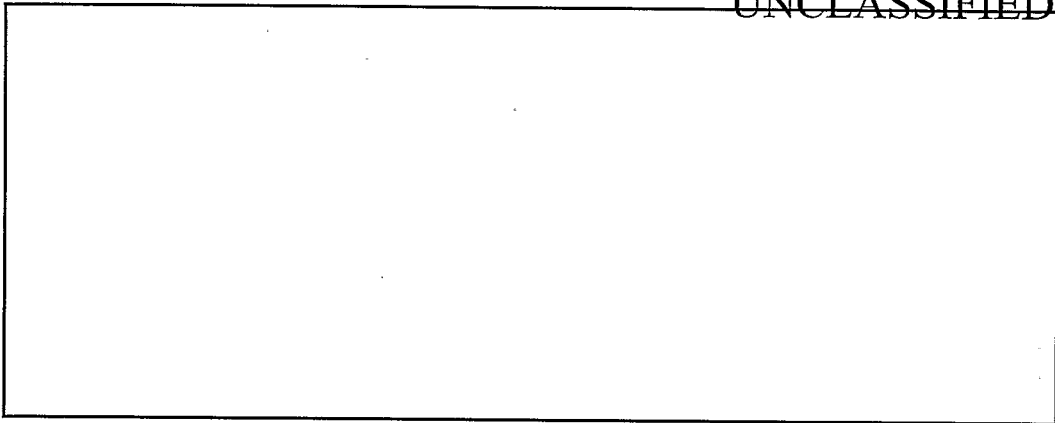
E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/29/11

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, ACOA, AF

SUBJECT: AFGHAN CONFERENCE PROCEEDING ON INTERIM  
ADMINISTRATION FORMATION, MOOD REMAINS OPTIMISTIC

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ZARIF, PLUS TAHERIAN AND  
ZIARAN.) DOBBINS TOLD THE IRANIANS THAT IT WAS  
IMPERATIVE TO COMPLETE THE PROCESS HERE, AND THAT OUR  
PRIORITY WAS TO GET AGREEMENT ON AN INTERIM  
ADMINISTRATION--FORM AND MEMBERS.

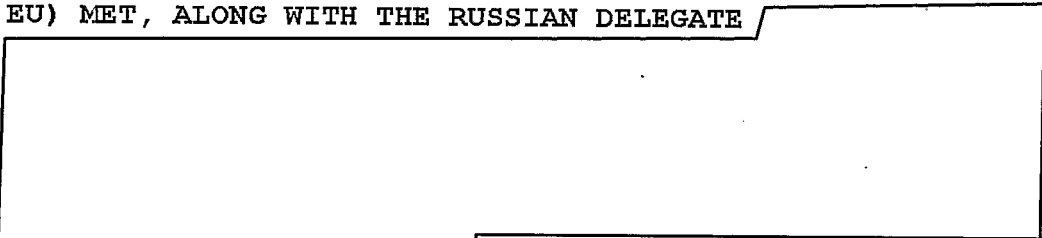
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US/EU/RUSSIA

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5. (C) THURSDAY AFTERNOON US PLUS ALL EU COUNTRIES PRESENT (FRANCE, UK, GERMANY, BELGIUM, FRANCE AND THE EU) MET, ALONG WITH THE RUSSIAN DELEGATE



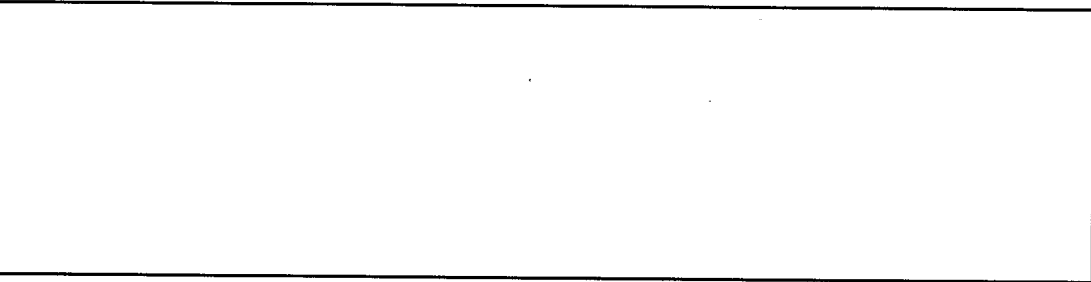
DOBBINS REJOINED THAT THIS MEETING WOULD BE A FAILURE IF IT JUST NAMED THE LEADERS OF THE BODIES. HE LISTED WHAT HE BELIEVED THE PRIORITIES SHOULD BE:

--AGREEMENT ON AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION AND ITS  
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MEMBERS

--AGREEMENT ON A SUPREME COUNCIL AND THE ROLE OF THE KING

--A ROAD MAP AND PRINCIPLES FOR THE FUTURE.  
IF WE AGREED ON THESE PRIORITIES, WE SHOULD PUSH THE AFGHANS TO ACCEPT THEM AND NOT LEAVE UNTIL THEY REACHED THE GOALS. THE EUROPEANS BACKED THIS APPROACH. SAID RUSSIA HAD NO PROBLEMS WITH THESE GOALS, BUT DOUBTED WHETHER THEY WERE ACHIEVABLE.



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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 08 BONN 000010

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/29/11

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, ACOA, AF

SUBJECT: AFGHAN CONFERENCE PROCEEDING ON INTERIM  
ADMINISTRATION FORMATION, MOOD REMAINS OPTIMISTIC

[REDACTED]

WHERE ARE THE PUSHTUNS?  
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7. (C) THERE HAS BEEN GRUMBLING FROM VARIOUS PARTIES  
THAT PUSHTUNS ARE NOT ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED HERE,  
AND/OR THAT THE VIEWS OF IMPORTANT PUSHTUNS INSIDE THE  
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COUNTRY ARE NOT BEING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. THE ACTUAL  
PERCENTAGE OF PUSHTUNS HERE IS, WE BELIEVE, WELL OVER  
HALF.

[REDACTED]

IN GENERAL,

DELEGATES AND UN OFFICIALS AGREED THAT SOUTHERN  
PUSHTUNS ARE UNDER-REPRESENTED. ONE SOLUTION BEING  
MOOTED WAS TO LEAVE SOME SEATS VACANT ON THE SUPREME  
COUNCIL SO THAT PUSHTUNS COULD BE ADDED LATER.

UN CONTINUES TO FACILITATE TALKS  
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8. (U) IN HIS DAILY PRESS CONFERENCE, UN SPOKESMAN  
AHMAD FAWZI SAID THAT BRAHIMI HAD MET SEPARATELY WITH  
ALL FOUR DELEGATIONS ON THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 28.  
THE UN FOUND "FOUR CLEAR IDEAS" ON HOW TO PROCEED, BUT

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NOTED THAT IT HAD NOT YET SEEN THE EMERGENCE OF A SINGLE "CLEAR IDEA" THAT WOULD CONSTITUTE AN AGREEMENT. FAWZI CATEGORIZED THE UNITED FRONT/NA AND ROME GROUP POSITIONS AS "QUITE CLOSE", BUT STRESSED THAT NO AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED. THE AFGHAN DELEGATIONS ARE WORKING ON LISTS FOR THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL (15-25 MEMBERS) AND THE INTERIM SUPREME COUNCIL (120-

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 200 MEMBERS). FAWZI NOTED THAT SECURITY ISSUES WERE BEING DISCUSSED, BUT REFUSED TO GIVE DETAILS. WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE DURATION OF THE BONN CONFERENCE, HE REPLIED THAT THE UN WAS WORKING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE OVER ON DECEMBER 1 OR 2.

9. (U) FAWZI ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT A DELEGATION OF EUROPEAN WOMEN LEADERS HAD MET WITH ALL FOUR AFGHAN GROUPS ON THE PETERSBERG TO HIGHLIGHT THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE FUTURE OF AFGHANISTAN. TWO OF THE FEMALE AFGHAN DELEGATES, SIMA WALI (ROME GROUP) AND AMINA AFZALI (UNITED FRONT/NA), ALSO ADDRESSED THE MEETING.

10. (C) SEPARATELY, A UN OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT THE UN SAW THE PROCESS AS HAVING THREE STAGES. THE FIRST WOULD BE AGREEMENT ON AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION AND PERHAPS A SUPREME COUNCIL. THE UNSC WOULD THEN AUTHORIZE SOME TYPE OF SECURITY PRESENCE. THIS PRESENCE AND THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 08 BONN 000010

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/29/11

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, ACOA, AF

SUBJECT: AFGHAN CONFERENCE PROCEEDING ON INTERIM  
ADMINISTRATION FORMATION, MOOD REMAINS OPTIMISTIC

INTERIM ADMINISTRATION WOULD THEM MOVE TO KABUL. (NOTE:  
THIS IS ONE [REDACTED] OFFICIAL'S VIEW. IT MAY NOT  
REFLECT COMPLETELY BRAHIMI/UN VIEWS.)

QANUNI PRESS CONFERENCE: NA SUPPORTS INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY FORCE

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11. (U) UNITED FRONT INTERIOR MINISTER AND DELEGATION HEAD YOUNIS QANUNI BRIEFED REPORTERS ON NOVEMBER 29, EMPHASIZING THAT HE WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN YESTERDAY ON PROSPECTS FOR REACHING A CONCRETE AGREEMENT ON AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION DURING THE BONN CONFERENCE. QANUNI CLARIFIED THAT THE UNITED FRONT SUPPORTS AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORCE IN AFGHANISTAN AS PART OF THE TRANSITIONAL POLITICAL PHASE ONCE AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION IS AGREED UPON AND IF IT IS DEEMED NECESSARY. ANY MISUNDERSTANDING OVER THIS ISSUE DURING HIS NOVEMBER 28 PRESS CONFERENCE WAS THE RESULT OF FAULTY TRANSLATION. FOR THE TIME BEING, HE CONTINUED, THE UNITED FRONT WILL MAINTAIN SECURITY IN AFGHANISTAN AND CURRENTLY SEES NO NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL FORCES. ONCE AN INTERIM MECHANISM IS ESTABLISHED AND IF AT THAT TIME AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE IS REQUIRED, THE UNITED FRONT WILL SUPPORT SUCH A FORCE. QANUNI SAID THE UNITED FRONT HAS NO PARTICULAR REQUIREMENTS FOR THE COMPOSITION OF SUCH A FORCE, BUT THAT THE AFGHAN PEOPLE WOULD PREFER FORCES FROM ISLAMIC COUNTRIES. IN RESPONSE TO FURTHER QUESTIONING ON REPORTED DIVISIONS BETWEEN THE UZBEK/HAZARA MEMBERS OF QANUNI'S DELEGATION AND THE TAJIK REPRESENTATIVES OVER SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN AFGHANISTAN (UZBEKS AND HAZARAS REPORTEDLY IN FAVOR, TAJIKS OPPOSED), QANUNI MAINTAINED THAT THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT AMONG THE UNITED FRONT DELEGATES ON THIS ISSUE. ON RABBANI, QANUNI SAID THAT THE AFGHAN PRESIDENT RETURNED TO KABUL TODAY AND HAD NOT TRAVELED TO EITHER SAUDI ARABIA OR PAKISTAN, AS PRESS REPORTS HAD SPECULATED. QANUNI REPORTED THAT

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RABBANI IN A PRESS CONFERENCE ON HIS RETURN TO KABUL HAD REAFFIRMED HIS WILLINGNESS TO TRANSFER POWER TO AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION AND HIS SUPPORT FOR THE UN PROCESS UNDERWAY IN BONN. QANUNI SAID THE UNITED FRONT AND ROME GROUP WERE IN AGREEMENT ON THE FORMATION OF A SUPREME INTERIM COUNCIL AS WELL AS AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION; HOWEVER, THERE IS NOT YET AGREEMENT ON NAMES FOR BOTH GROUPS. RESPONDING TO PRESS REPORTS THAT GENERAL DOSTUM DID NOT FEEL WELL REPRESENTED IN BONN, QANUNI REPLIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A "MISUNDERSTANDING" ON DOSTUM'S REPRESENTATION BUT THAT IT HAD BEEN RESOLVED YESTERDAY. DOSTUM'S REPRESENTATIVE IS TAKING PART IN DISCUSSIONS, SAID

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QANUNI. THE UNITED FRONT REPRESENTATIVE OFFERED LITTLE  
NEW ON THE KING'S ROLE, SAYING THAT THE KING REMAINS AN  
IMPORTANT NATIONAL AND POLITICAL FIGURE WHO CAN HELP  
ENSURE NATIONAL UNITY.

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ACTION EUR-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 08 BONN 000010

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/29/11

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ADMINISTRATION FORMATION, MOOD REMAINS OPTIMISTIC

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AMCONSUL PESHAWAR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 08 BONN 000010

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/29/11

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, ACOA, AF

SUBJECT: AFGHAN CONFERENCE PROCEEDING ON INTERIM  
ADMINISTRATION FORMATION, MOOD REMAINS OPTIMISTIC

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ROME GROUP MEETING  
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14. (C) DOBBINS ALSO MET ON 11/29 WITH ROME GROUP

PESHAWAR GROUP UPDATE  
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15. (C) ON 11/29, AMBASSADOR DOBBINS TOUCHED BASED WITH THE PESHAWAR GROUP.

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	MFA-00	NP-00	AID-00	A-00	ACQ-00	INL-00
	USNW-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	OIGO-00	VC-00	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	L-00	VCE-00	M-00	AC-01
	NEA-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00
	ACE-00	P-00	SCT-00	SP-00	IRM-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SA-00	EPAE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-00	DRL-02	G-00
	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/007W				

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R 292048Z NOV 01  
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0009  
 DIA WASHDC  
 NSC WASHDC  
 SECDEF WASHDC  
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC  
 CIA WASHDC  
 USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL  
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
 USMISSION GENEVA  
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
 USMISSION USNATO  
 USEU BRUSSELS  
 AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI  
 AMEMBASSY ALMATY  
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
 AMEMBASSY ASHGABAT  
 AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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 AMEMBASSY DUSHANBE  
 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY RIYADH  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SANAA  
AMEMBASSY TASHKENT  
AMCONSUL DUBAI  
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF  
AMCONSUL JEDDAH  
AMCONSUL KARACHI  
AMCONSUL PESHAWAR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 08 BONN 000010

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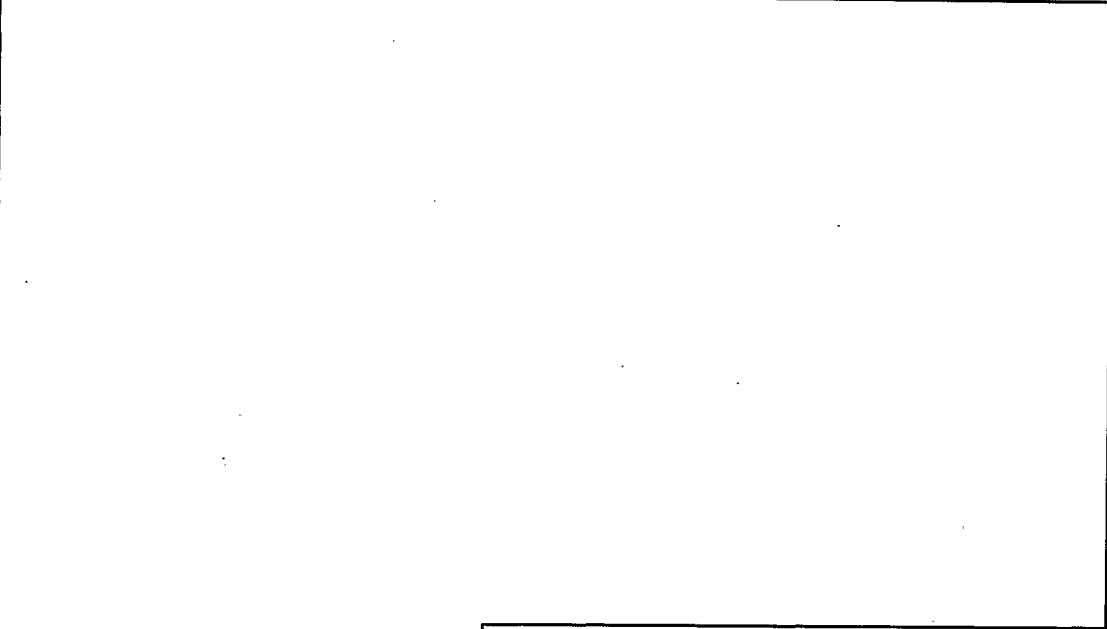
17. (C) AMBASSADOR DOBBINS TOLD THE PESHAWAR GROUP THAT THERE IS A CONVERGENCE AMONG THE OBSERVER DELEGATIONS THAT FIRM CONCLUSIONS MUST RESULT FROM THE BONN MEETING. DOBBINS SAID THAT THE BONN PARTICIPANTS CANNOT DEFER KEY DECISIONS TO SOME FUTURE MEETING. RATHER THEY MUST TURN OVER THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TO SOME NEW INSTITUTIONS, SPECIFICALLY, A NEW INTERIM

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ADMINISTRATION, SUPPORTED BY A LARGER LEGITIMATING COUNCIL, AND UNDERPINNED BY MUTUALLY AGREED-UPON GUIDELINES AND PRINCIPLES. DOBBINS NOTED THAT THE BONN DELEGATES SHOULD CONSIDER MAKING ROOM IN THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATION, AND ON THE LARGER COUNCIL, FOR IMPORTANT AFGHANS, ESPECIALLY FROM THE SOUTH, WHO HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ATTEND THE BONN MEETING.

18. (C) DOBBINS ALSO PRESSED THE PESHAWAR GROUP FOR ITS VIEWS ABOUT THE ACTUAL ROLE OF THE EX-KING.



DOBBINS NOTED THAT THE EMERGING CONSENSUS SEEMS TO BE THAT THE EX-KING SHOULD SERVE AS THE LARGELY CEREMONIAL HEAD OF SOME LARGER COUNCIL, COMPOSED OF 150-200 NOTABLES, WHO WOULD SUPPORT AN ADMINISTRATIVE CABINET, WHICH WOULD BE CHARGED WITH ACTUALLY RUNNING THE COUNTRY.

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ACTION EUR-00

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	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	L-00	VCE-00	M-00	AC-01
	NEA-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00
	ACE-00	P-00	SCT-00	SP-00	IRM-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SA-00	EPAE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-00	DRL-02	G-00
	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/007W				

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R 292048Z NOV 01  
FM USOFFICE BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0010  
DIA WASHDC  
NSC WASHDC  
SECDEF WASHDC  
JOINT STAFF WASHDC  
CIA WASHDC  
USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION USNATO  
USEU BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI  
AMEMBASSY ALMATY  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 08 OF 08 BONN 000010

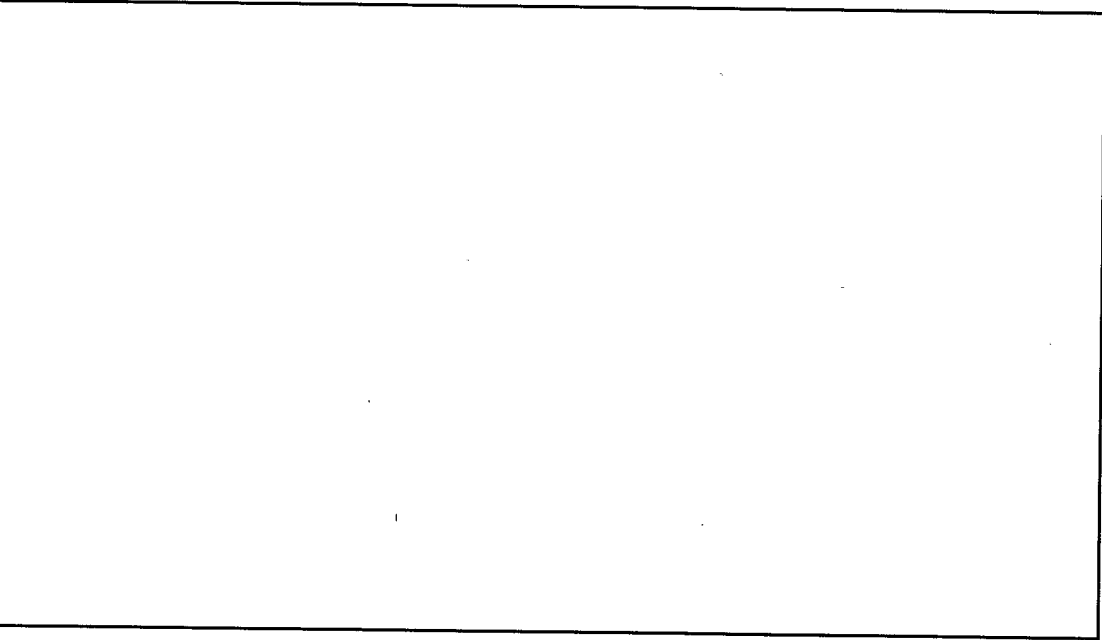
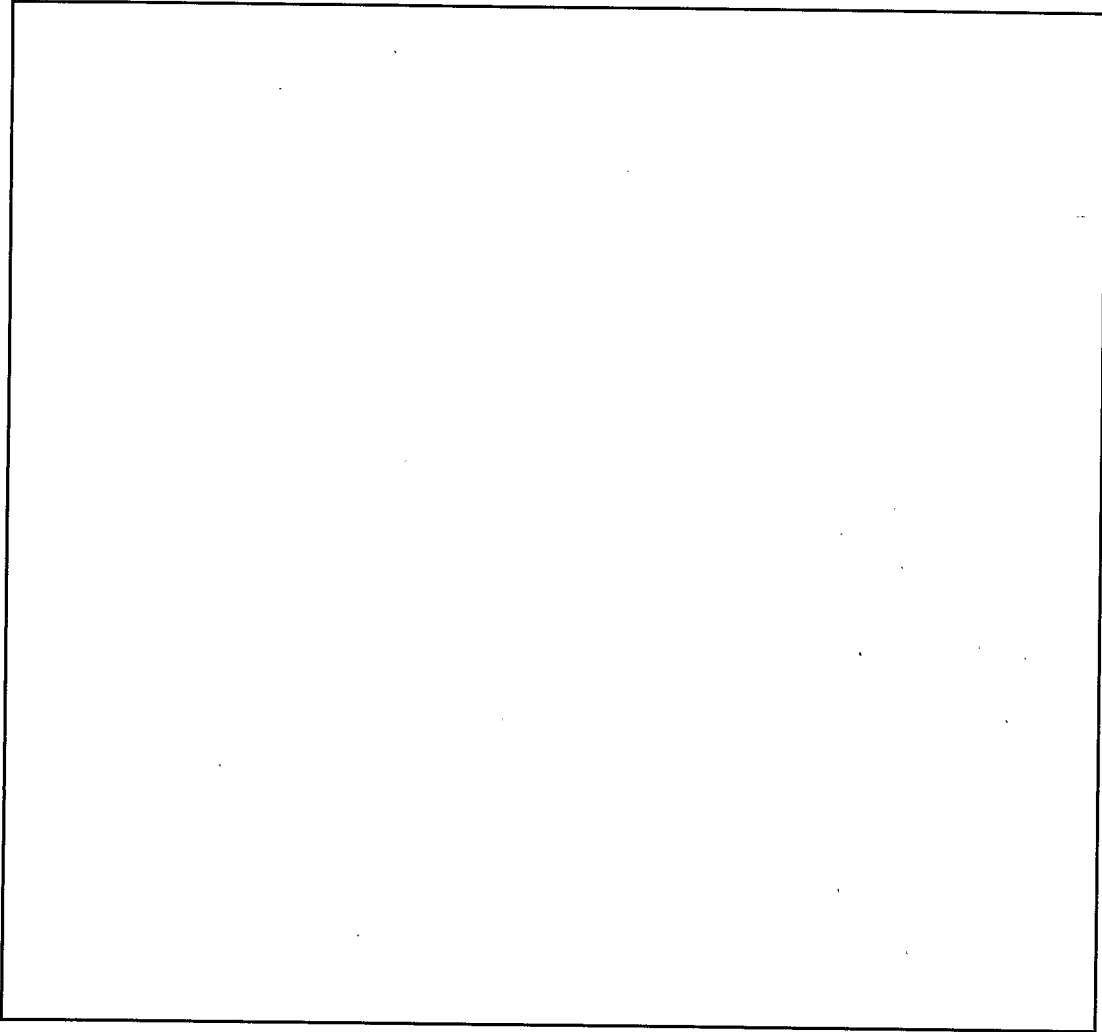
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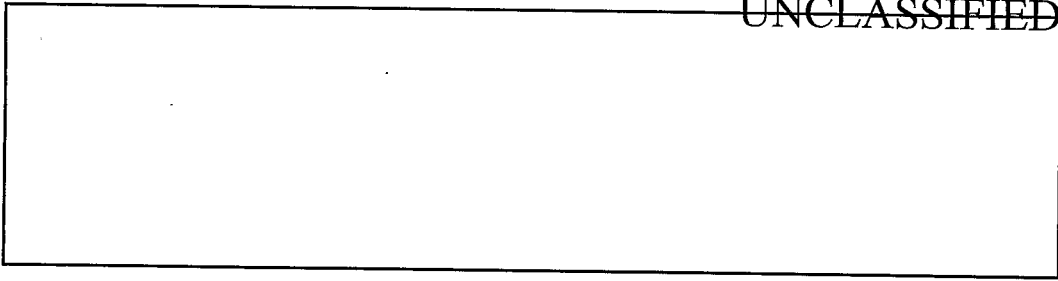
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