

SECRET

PTQ7462

RELEASED IN PART
B6, B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)PAGE 01 ISLAMA 07932 01 OF 03 221417Z
ACTION SCT-00

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	INLB-01	AID-00	A-00	ACQ-01
	CA-02	CCO-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	DS-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	TEDE-00
	INR-00	IO-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
	NEA-01	DCP-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-03	OIC-02	PM-00
	P-00	SP-00	SSO-00	TRSE-00	USSS-00	SA-01	ASDS-01
	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00
	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/028W				

-----78B1D8 221417Z /38

O 221417Z OCT 98
 FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1041
 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY ASHGABAT
 AMEMBASSY ALMATY
 AMEMBASSY BISHKEK
 AMEMBASSY TASHKENT
 AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY RIYADH
 DIA WASHINGTON DC
 AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
 AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY BEIJING
 USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ2/CCJ3/CCJ5/POLAD//
 SECRET

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 07932 01 OF 03 221417Z
AMCONSUL LAHORE

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 007932

DEPT FOR SA/PAB AND EUR/CACEN; LONDON FOR POL/SUTPHIN; PARIS FOR
POL/RAVELING; ABU DHABI PLEASE TO DUBAI

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/22/08
 TAGS: PGOV, KISL, PINR, PTER, AF
 SUBJ: AFGHANISTAN: TALIBAN LEADER MULLAH OMAR: INTIMATIONS OF
 RADICAL PAN-ISLAMIC THINKING?

(U) CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR WILLIAM MILAM. REASONS: 1.5 (C) (D).

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: SHARON E AHMAD
 CLASSIFICATION: SECRET REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 22 OCT 2013
 DATE/CASE ID: 21 JUL 2006 200500832

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

1. (C) SUMMARY: TALIBAN LEADER MULLAH OMAR HAS BEEN CITED AS MAKING RECENT REMARKS -- SOME CONFIRMED, SOME NOT -- THAT HAVE LED TO QUESTIONS WHETHER HIS THINKING IS EVOLVING IN A PAN-ISLAMIST DIRECTION. THESE REMARKS TEND TO CUT AGAINST THE GRAIN OF WHAT WE HAD THOUGHT WE KNEW ABOUT OMAR, WHOM MOST OBSERVERS HAVE PICTURED AS A "TRADITIONALIST," INWARD-LOOKING SUNNI MUSLIM. GIVEN THE CONTENT OF THESE REMARKS, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT OMAR MAY HAVE COME UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF TERRORIST USAMA BIN LADIN (OR PERHAPS OTHER RADICALS), ALTHOUGH THAT IS SPECULATION. THE POSSIBILITY OF OMAR BEING INFLUENCED IN SUCH A WAY WOULD NOT BE UNIQUE -- THERE ARE MANY EXAMPLES OF AFGHAN MULLAHS BEING RADICALIZED WHEN EXPOSED TO PAN-ISLAMIC THOUGHT. THE REGIONAL RAMIFICATIONS OF A RADICAL DRIFT BY OMAR COULD MEAN THAT WHEN AND IF THE TALIBAN SETTLE THE CURRENT WAR THAT THEY GO ON TO SEEK NEW CHALLENGES IN KASHMIR, CENTRAL ASIA, OR EVEN PAKISTAN. END SUMMARY.

INTIMATIONS OF PAN-ISLAMISM

SECRET

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 07932 01 OF 03 221417Z

2. (S) IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, TALIBAN LEADER AMIR AL-MUMINEEN ("COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL") MULLAH MOHAMMAD OMAR HAS BEEN CITED AS MAKING REMARKS -- SOME CONFIRMED, SOME NOT -- THAT HAVE LED MANY TO QUESTION WHETHER HIS THINKING IS TAKING ON A RADICAL PAN-ISLAMIC HUE. (NOTE: PAN-ISLAMISM HERE IS DEFINED AS THE BELIEF THAT MUSLIMS SHOULD PURIFY THEIR COUNTRIES AND UNITE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT WITH THE WEST AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT WESTERN MODES OF THOUGHT.) THESE REMARKS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

-- REPEATED, CONFIRMED STATEMENTS THAT THE U.S. SHOULD WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM SAUDI ARABIA.

-- AN UNCONFIRMED (BUT WELL-SOURCED) STATEMENT THAT THE SAUD REGIME IN SAUDI ARABIA IS ILLEGITIMATE BECAUSE IT ALLOWS U.S. FORCES TO BE BASED IN THAT COUNTRY.

-- AN UNCONFIRMED (BUT WELL-SOURCED) STATEMENT THAT U.S. FORCES ARE PLANNING TO OCCUPY THE TWO ISLAMIC HOLY SITES OF MECCA AND MEDINA.

-- A CONFIRMED STATEMENT THAT JEWS ARE THE COMMON ENEMY OF MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS.

CUTTING AGAINST THE GRAIN

UNCLASSIFIED

3. (S) THE ABOVE REMARKS -- EVEN IF ALL ARE TAKEN AS CONFIRMED -- DO NOT PROVE BY ANY MEANS THAT MULLAH OMAR HAS BECOME A RADICAL

SECRET

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 07932 01 OF 03 221417Z
PAN-ISLAMIST. HOWEVER, WHAT THEY TEND TO DO IS TO CUT AGAINST THE GRAIN OF WHAT WE HAD THOUGHT WE KNEW ABOUT OMAR. HERETOFORE, MOST OBSERVERS HAVE PICTURED MULLAH OMAR AND MUCH OF THE REST OF THE TALIBAN LEADERSHIP AS "TRADITIONALIST" SUNNI MUSLIMS, WHO WERE INWARD-LOOKING, AND SET ON CREATING THEIR VERSION OF AN ISLAMIC STATE WITHIN AFGHANISTAN, NOT OUTSIDE. THE TALIBAN'S VERSION OF ISLAM WAS SAID TO BE THAT OF DEOBAND, ONE OF THE MOST PREVALENT SCHOOLS OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT IN SOUTH ASIA (DEOBAND IS LOCATED IN INDIA), WHICH WAS SAID TO REPRESENT THE TALIBAN'S CONSERVATIVE, TRADITIONALIST TYPE OF ISLAM. (NOTE: THIS VERSION OF ISLAM CANNOT BE SAID TO BE "MODERATE": ITS ATTITUDE -- WHICH THE TALIBAN SHARE TO THE EXTENT OF BRUTALITY -- TOWARD WOMEN AND SHI'AS IS EXTREME.) THE TALIBAN AND MULLAH OMAR, IN FACT, HAVE OFTEN DEFINED THEMSELVES AS BEING SET AGAINST OTHER AFGHAN LEADERS WHOM THEY CONSIDERED TO REPRESENT RADICAL PAN-ISLAMIC THOUGHT. THE TALIBAN USED TO DERIDE THESE MUSLIMS, WHICH INCLUDED GULBUDDIN HEKMATYAR AND ABDUL RASUL SAYYAF, AS BEING "IKWANIS," THEIR TERM FOR RADICAL PAN-ISLAMISTS.

IS OMAR BEING INFLUENCED BY BIN LADIN?

4. (S) THE POSSIBLE SHIFT IN THINKING -- EXHIBITED BY THE REMARKS

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

SECRET

PTQ7464

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 07932 02 OF 03 221417Z
ACTION SCT-00

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-08 ACDE-00 INLB-01 AID-00 A-00 ACQ-01
CA-02 CCO-00 CIAE-00 SMEC-00 INL-01 DODE-00 DOEE-00
SRPP-00 DS-00 EAP-01 EUR-01 FAAE-00 FBIE-00 TEDE-00
INR-00 IO-00 LAB-01 L-01 ADS-00 MMP-00 M-00
NEA-01 DCP-01 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OCS-03 OIC-02 PM-00
P-00 SP-00 SSO-00 TRSE-00 USSS-00 SA-01 ASDS-01
FMP-00 SNIS-00 NISC-00 PMB-00 DSCC-00 DRL-02 G-00
NFAT-00 SAS-00 /028W

-----78B1EC 221418Z /38

O 221417Z OCT 98
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1042

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY ASHGABAT
AMEMBASSY ALMATY
AMEMBASSY BISHKEK
AMEMBASSY TASHKENT
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RIYADH
DIA WASHINGTON DC
AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY BEIJING
USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ2/CCJ3/CCJ5/POLAD//
SECRET

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 07932 02 OF 03 221417Z
AMCONSUL LAHORE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 007932

DEPT FOR SA/PAB AND EUR/CACEN; LONDON FOR POL/SUTPHIN; PARIS FOR
POL/RAVELING; ABU DHABI PLEASE TO DUBAI

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/22/08
TAGS: PGOV, KISL, PINR, PTER, AF
SUBJ: AFGHANISTAN: TALIBAN LEADER MULLAH OMAR: INTIMATIONS OF
RADICAL PAN-ISLAMIC THINKING?

CONTAINED IN PARA TWO -- HAS RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER MULLAH
OMAR IS BEING INFLUENCED TO TAKE UP PAN-ISLAMIC STRAINS OF THOUGHT.
IF SO, WHO IS DOING THE INFLUENCING? THE ANSWER THAT IS ALMOST
UNIVERSALLY GIVEN IN RESPONSE TO THIS QUESTION IS THE NAME OF
TERRORIST USAMA BIN LADIN, ALTHOUGH A HOST OF OTHER ARAB AND
PAKISTANI EXTREMISTS ARE ALSO SAID TO BE POSSIBLY INVOLVED. WHILE
IT IS SPECULATION GIVEN THE LACK OF SPECIFIC EVIDENCE, MANY
OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT BIN LADIN, WHO HAS BEEN LIVING IN KANDAHAR
SINCE EARLY 1997, HAS A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH MULLAH OMAR. THIS,
DESPITE TALIBAN CLAIMS THAT BIN LADIN IS ONLY A "GUEST," WHOSE
ACTIVITIES ARE FULLY UNDER CONTROL. TENDING TO CONTRADICT THIS
TALIBAN CLAIM ARE REPORTS, SUCH AS THAT POLOFF HEARD OCTOBER 22
FROM [REDACTED] AN AFGHAN BUSINESSMAN WHO OFTEN TRAVELS TO
KANDAHAR, THAT MULLAH OMAR AND BIN LADIN OFTEN DINE TOGETHER WITH
THEIR ADVISERS. CONTINUING, [REDACTED] -- REPEATING AN ARGUMENT POLOFF
HAS HEARD FROM OTHER SOURCES -- WENT ON TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING
CLAIMS TO POLOFF (WHICH POLOFF HAS PARAPHRASED):

KANDAHAR IS A VERY SMALL TOWN. OTHER THAN NGO AND UN STAFF,
WHOM OMAR DOES NOT ASSOCIATE WITH, THE MOST ARTICULATE PERSON

B6

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 07932 02 OF 03 221417Z

IN TOWN WOULD BE BIN LADIN. I BELIEVE THAT BIN LADIN HAS BEEN ABLE TO GET IN THE GOOD GRACES OF OMAR -- WHO IS VERY POORLY-EDUCATED AND UNSURE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS -- AND TO INFLUENCE HIM IN HIS WAY OF THINKING. THE MONEY MAY HAVE HELPED, BUT IT IS THIS PROXIMITY TO OMAR WHICH HAS GIVEN BIN LADIN SO MUCH INFLUENCE. (NOTE: BIN LADIN HAS PROVIDED THE TALIBAN FUNDS FOR VARIOUS PROJECTS. HENCE, AHMED'S REFERENCE TO MONEY.)

SUPPORTIVE OF CLAIMS OF A CLOSE OMAR/BIN LADIN RELATIONSHIP ARE UNCONFIRMED REPORTS THAT IN AUGUST MULLAH OMAR MARRIED BIN LADIN'S DAUGHTER OR VICE VERSA. THESE REPORTS HAVE BEEN DENIED BY THE TALIBAN.

IT'S HAPPENED IN THE PAST

5. (S) VIEWED HISTORICALLY, THE PURPORTED OMAR/BIN LADIN RELATIONSHIP WOULD NOT BE THE FIRST TIME IN PASHTUN HISTORY THAT A MULLAH CAME FACE-TO-FACE WITH RADICAL TRENDS OF ANTI-WESTERN ISLAMIC THINKING AND BECAME INFLUENCED BY THEM. THE HISTORY OF THE REGION (AFGHANISTAN AND THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE) IS REplete WITH SUCH INSTANCES. FOR EXAMPLE, EARLIER THIS CENTURY, AFGHAN MULLAHS HEARD THAT THE "CALIPHATE" (THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE) IN ISTANBUL WAS UNDER THREAT FROM THE WEST, SO THEY CAME OUT OF THE WOODWORK TO PRESSURE THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE A STAND AGAINST THE BRITISH. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN MANY INSTANCES IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF MULLAHS DRIFTING TOWARD PAN-ISLAMIC THOUGHT, AND TAKING TO THE WARPATH AGAINST THE BRITISH OR EVEN PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT, WHICH THEY DEFINED AS "KAFIR" OR "HERETICAL," RESPECTIVELY. IN THE 1930'S AND 1940'S IT TOOK THE BRITISH AND AFGHAN AUTHORITIES YEARS

SECRET

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 07932 02 OF 03 221417Z

OF EFFORT TO FINALLY SUBDUE THE FAKIR OF IPI AND THEN THE SHAMI PIR, WHO RAILED AGAINST THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND TOOK UP ISLAMIST SLOGANS. THE COMMON LINK SHARED BY ALL OF THESE MULLAHS IS THAT LEFT TO THEIR OWN DEVICES THEY MAY NOT HAVE DEVELOPED PAN-ISLAMIC IDEAS. THEY WOULD PROBABLY HAVE REMAINED TRADITIONALISTS. HOWEVER, THEIR (OFTEN-SLIM) EDUCATIONS IN ISLAMIC THOUGHT ONLY SERVED TO PRE-DISPOSE THEM TO SUPPORT PAN-ISLAMIC THINKING, NOT REJECT IT, WHEN THEY CAME INTO CONTACT WITH AN IDEA THAT TO THEM MADE SOME SENSE OF THEIR WORLD, I.E., THE NEED TO DEFEND THE CALIPHATE FROM THE WEST, THE NEED TO "SAVE ISLAM" BY FIGHTING THE BRITISH, ETC. IT IS POSSIBLE -- BUT STILL SPECULATION -- THAT THIS IS WHAT IS HAPPENING TO OMAR THROUGH HIS TIES TO BIN LADIN AND OTHER EXTREMISTS.

POSSIBLE RAMIFICATIONS

6. (S) THE POTENTIAL RAMIFICATIONS OF A MULLAH OMAR WHO IS DRIFTING TOWARD PAN-ISLAMISM ARE GRIM. FIRST AND FOREMOST, IT COULD MEAN THAT THE TALIBAN WOULD UNDER NO CONDITIONS EXPEL BIN LADIN BECAUSE THEY SEE HIS CAUSE AS THEIRS. [REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED] WHO MET WITH OMAR ON OCTOBER 14 IN KANDAHAR, FELT

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

SECRET

PTQ7467

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 07932 03 OF 03 221418Z
ACTION SCT-00

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	INLB-01	AID-00	A-00	ACQ-01
	CA-02	CCO-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	DS-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	TEDE-00
	INR-00	IO-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
	NEA-01	DCP-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-03	OIC-02	PM-00
	P-00	SP-00	SSO-00	TRSE-00	USSS-00	SA-01	ASDS-01
	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00
	NEAT-00	SAS-00	/028W				

-----78B1FA 221418Z /38

O 221417Z OCT 98
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1043
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY ASHGABAT
AMEMBASSY ALMATY
AMEMBASSY BISHKEK
AMEMBASSY TASHKENT
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RIYADH
DIA WASHINGTON DC
AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY BEIJING
USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ2/CCJ3/CCJ5/POLAD//

SECRET

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 07932 03 OF 03 221418Z

UNCLASSIFIED

AMCONSUL LAHORE

S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 007932

DEPT FOR SA/PAB AND EUR/CACEN; LONDON FOR POL/SUTPHIN; PARIS FOR POL/RAVELING; ABU DHABI PLEASE TO DUBAI

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/22/08

TAGS: PGOV, KISL, PINR, PTER, AF

SUBJ: AFGHANISTAN: TALIBAN LEADER MULLAH OMAR: INTIMATIONS OF RADICAL PAN-ISLAMIC THINKING?

SUCH AN INTIMATION, TELLING THE AMBASSADOR IN AN OCTOBER 16 MEETING THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE FIRMNESS OF OMAR'S COMMENTS ON BIN LADIN COULD MEAN THAT HE (OMAR) SYMPATHIZED WITH BIN LADIN. ANOTHER POSSIBLE RAMIFICATION COULD BE THAT MULLAH OMAR AND THE TALIBAN -- DESPITE REPEATED CLAIMS TO THE CONTRARY -- WOULD NOT HESITATE TO SEND THEIR TROOPS TO FIGHT IN OTHER THEATERS WHEN (AND IF) THE TALIBAN ARE ABLE TO CONSOLIDATE CONTROL OF AFGHANISTAN. THERE ARE ALREADY INDICATIONS THAT THE TALIBAN MIGHT REDIRECT THEIR ENERGIES TOWARD "LIBERATING" KASHMIR, AND THEY MIGHT EVEN TRY TO ASSIST THE TAJIK OPPOSITION OR OPPONENTS OF THE REGIMES IN UZBEKISTAN OR TURKMENISTAN. THE TALIBAN MIGHT EVEN TRY TO ASSIST UIGHUR SEPARATISTS IN CHINA. FINALLY, THE TALIBAN, MANY OF WHOM ARE FROM OR WERE TRAINED IN PAKISTAN, MIGHT ALSO JOIN WITH PAKISTANI EXTREMISTS TO TRY TO BRING ISLAMIC RULE TO PAKISTAN. PAKISTANI EXTREMISTS ARE ALREADY KNOWN TO BE ACTIVE INTERNATIONALLY, I.E., BOSNIA, CHECHNYA, ETC. IN LEAGUE WITH THE TALIBAN, WHO CONTROL A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY, PAKISTANI EXTREMISTS WOULD HAVE AN ADDED POTENCY. (NOTE: SHOULD OMAR TRY TO INFLUENCE HIS NEIGHBORS, HIS TITLE OF "COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL" PROVIDES HIM A READY-MADE HANDLE TO DO SO. IT IS INTERESTING THAT THE TALIBAN HAVE NEVER

SECRET

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 07932 03 OF 03 221418Z

DEFINED WHETHER THIS TITLE IS INTERNAL TO AFGHANISTAN OR WHETHER IT HAS A MORE INTERNATIONALIST MEANING.)

COMMENT

7. (S) AS NOTED, ALL WE HAVE ARE VAGUE INTIMATIONS ABOUT THE DIRECTION IN WHICH OMAR'S THINKING MAY BE LEADING HIM. HOWEVER, WHEN ONE REVIEWS SOME OF HIS KNOWN COMMENTS AND OTHERS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN MADE BY HIM, THEY SEEM SIMILAR TO THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN MADE BY BIN LADIN IN THE PAST. IN ADDITION, THE RECENT SAUDI/TALIBAN SPLIT IS OF CONCERN BECAUSE IT DELINKS THE TALIBAN FROM AN IMPORTANT MUSLIM STATE THAT COULD INFLUENCE IT IN A MORE MODERATE DIRECTION. ALTHOUGH IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO SAY WITH ANY

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CERTAINTY THAT MULLAH OMAR MAY BE TAKING A PAN-ISLAMIC TURN, THE U.S. SHOULD CONTINUE TO CAREFULLY MONITOR HIS COMMENTS AND SEARCH FOR THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF WHAT HE MAY BE SAYING.

MILAM

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

UNCLASSIFIED