# A GUIDE TO "DOCUMENTS FROM THE NEST OF SPIES"

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Occasional Paper #26

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#### INTRODUCTION

On November 4, 1979, a group of Iranian students entered the US Embassy compound in Tehran and held all the American staff as hostages. This episode marked a new, dramatic step toward the deterioration of relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America.

When the Iranian students occupied the Embassy, they also had the chance to seize all the documents existing in the buildings. So, unlike what happened in Saigon or in other capitals (including, probably, Tehran itself a few months earlier during the climax of the anti-Pahlavi revolution) where the Embassy staff had enough time to select and destroy all sensitive materials, the November 4th takeover was so unexpected that everything was left in the hands of the intruders.

The Iranian government soon decided to publish the documents found and began to edit a series of books called in Persian "Asnad-e lane-ye jasus," i.e., "Documents of the nest of spies." By 1983 some 33 of them were issued, mostly dealing with Iran and Iranian questions. But two of them, nos. 29 and 30  $^2$  (hereafter referred to as # 1 & # 2), were dedicated to Afghanistan.

As those two volumes are not easily found, I have been asked to prepare a synopsis and some comments. I shall indicate the distinctive features of the two volumes and how I have summarized them. First, however, it may be useful to introduce a few remarks about the documents themselves.

All of the documents are copies of telex messages sent to or from Kabul and also sent for information purposes to other US embassies, including Tehran where they were filed and then discovered by the Iranian students. Only a few documents originated from Tehran itself, such as a confidential telegram (#8 in our collection), or the draft of a letter sent by Charles W. Naas, charge d'affaires a.i., to the Iranian Deputy Prime Minister Amir Eltezam (#20, see also #21 and #22).

Documents #116-130 deserve special mention as they are reproduced in the volumes after all the little strips into which they had been cut had been put back together again [see pp. 21 & 28]. In spite of the careful reconstruction work, they remain hardly readable without comparing them with the Persian translation in the books.) These papers are worthy of notice because they all originated from CIA offices and refer to information collected through secret intelligence and to demonstrations of Afghans against the DRA government held in New Delhi on September 28, 1979, which "were funded by New Delhi Station (of the CIA) and organized at Station behest." 3

Apart from this special group, to which must be added #1 (a biography of Daud prepared by the Central Reference Service of the CIA in 1973), the general contents of the messages vary from normal intelligence (sometimes bordering on gossip harvesting) caught during official meetings or evening parties, to bureaucratic briefings regarding formal contacts and conversations by US officials with Afghan political leaders (both government and opposition) and with Soviet, East and West European, Indian, Chinese, etc., staff members, to news concerning the internal situation in the country, to biographies and evaluations of top DRA dignitaries.

The period covered runs from January 30, 1978 to November 2, 1979 (two days before the embassy occupation). Only the first one (the above-mentioned biography of Daud) was prepared before; only 11 documents were dated from 1978 (two could not be chronologically identified, i.e., #30b and #126).

I am not certain that all of the documents actually found by the students have been reproduced. Frankly, I think a choice has been made. For instance, no document (except for a few lines in #116) deals with the murder of Ambassador Dubs on February 14 or with the Herat uprising on March 12, 1979, two important events which occurred during the period covered. The latter deficiency, in particular, could be very meaningful as some have suggested that the Iranian Islamic Government was directly involved in the rebellion.

At any rate, through the Reference Telexes often mentioned in the documents, it appears without doubt that many other messages concerning Afghanistan must have reached Tehran. Unfortunately there is no trace of them in the volumes. In spite of this, however, the importance of the volumes remains two-fold: they contain new and (as far as I know) not yet exploited information about a crucial period of recent Afghan history, information deriving, moreover, from well-identified and acknowledged sources; and they allow us a close look into the international diplomatic world, into the activities, objectives, relationships, methods, etc., of Kabul, Washington, Tehran, Moscow, Peking and many other foreign affairs offices, both East and West, North and South.

Such a glance behind the curtain is rarely possible because diplomatic documents become accessible (and not always in their actual fullness) to the public only when a long period of time has elapsed from the time they were written. And when sometimes it happens that some secret or confidential news is disclosed on-the-spot to the mass media by "unidentified diplomatic sources," its real worth very often approaches zero, as the Afghanistan Forum readers know!

In the case of Asnad-e lane-ye jasus, however, we have the very feelings and proofs of how things happened behind the scene a few years ago, a very useful reminder in our troubled days when, once again, propaganda threatens to wipe out reality.

The two volumes on Afghanistan, #29 and 30 of the Asnad-e lane-ye jasus, were published by the Daneshjuyan-e mosalman-e peirov-e Khatt-e Emam. The books have no bibliographical data; there is only an indication (in Persian) of three places in Tehran where they can be purchased.

Vol. 1 has 232 numbered pages of English text and 247 numbered pages of Persian translation, plus a blank page in the middle and 4 unnumbered pages at the beginning of the Persian section containing the title, the addresses of the three bookshops, the basmala written as a tughra and a set of general explanations recalling to Iranian readers how all the documents in the series show the actions and deeds of the Sheitan-e bozorg, the Big Devil. Volume 2 has 163 numbered pages of English text and 229 of Persian plus two blank pages in the middle and again four pages at the beginning of the Persian section identical to Volume 1 but for the lack of the set of explanations. copies I have used, Volume 2 also has two unnumbered pages preceding the English section; the first one with the basmala in Arabic and in English, the second one with the following annotation: "Telegrams no. Tehran 452, Tehran 4791, Tehran 6160, and Tehran 0025 were the last copies of their original texts, and, thus, very dull in color. Therefore their printing and photographing in books were nor favorably possible. For this reason, the abovementioned documents were re-typed."

Pages 1-25 of the Persian text of the first volume (translated in pages 1-37 of the English part) offer a brief introduction prepared by the Moslem student followers of the Imam "in order to have a succinct information regarding Afghanistan and getting familiar with the events." It is divided into the following chapters: some geographical data; the ruling regimes of Afghanistan from Zaher Shah to Amin; the democratic republic; the Soviets and Afghanistan; overall interest of the Russians in Afghanistan; Soviet pepetration in Afghanistan; Democratic Republic of Afghanistan or Afghanistan Soviet Republic?; the way the United States approached the Afghanistan problem; the people of Afghanistan and the combating groups.

In total there are 130 documents (57 in Volume 1) which are not published in exact chronological order. I listed them without any reorganization so the reader must be very careful in their handling. Each telex begins with a group of letters and numbers referring evidently to usual technical codes. Then follows the date, the place of origin, the destination<sup>5</sup>, the other addressees (up to 20 US embassies or international organizations), the classification, the telex number and, when applicable, the numbers of telex messages referred to in the text.

After these technical points, there is a section called "Subject." It is this part that I have reproduced exactly to summarize the contents of the telexes. I chose to do so to keep, as far as possible, the wording used by US officials. When I added something, I put it into [brackets]. Other details needed to better understand the documents are added below the synopsis. The quotation marks used in a text inside brackets indicate that I am quoting again from the original (see, for instance, #4).

After the "Subject" in the telex there is sometimes a "Summary" of up to twenty lines or more and then the full text begins, subdivided into various numbered paragraphs. One or more paragraphs called "Comment," with the signature, are at the end.

Because of the lack of space for this synopsis, I was obliged to reproduce here only the original "Subject," except for #10, 18, 22 & 116 which are offered as illustrative of the material in an appendix. Please note that #116 was, as said before, cut into strips and reconstructed by the Iranian students so it is difficult to read. When I was unable to understand one or more words, I put three points between brackets ...; when the word is only guessed, I put it into brackets .

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# NOTES

- 1 For a detailed list see Abstracta Iranica (Paris) n. 5, 1982, p. 214 and n. 7, 1984, p. 208, and also Wolfgang H. Behn, The end of a revolution, A bibliographical postcript to the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Berlin, Adyok, 1984, p. 31.
- $^2$  W. Behn, <u>loc cit.</u>, is wrong when he writes: "volumes 31 and 32 deal with Afghanistan."
- $^3$  On pages 187-188 of the Persian section of vol.2 there is an explanation as to how this "limited group" (ta' dad-e ma'dudi) of CIA documents was found and on the meaning of the abbreviations used in them.
- I could not verify if any document or part of a document concerning Afghanistan had been published in other volumes of the series according to the main subject of the telex; see also on this question the comments of Yann Richard in Abstracta Iranica n. 5, 1982, p. 214.
- <sup>5</sup> Sometimes they are abbreviated, e.g., RUEHC/Secstate Washington, etc.; when possible, all the abbreviations have been explained, otherwise they have generally been omitted from the synopsis.

# US DOCUMENTS ON AFGHANISTAN

No. 1 Pp 38-46 Date: 73 AUG 13

From: CIA Classif: Secret. No foreign dissem.

Ntelex: - Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj: Biographic report. Mohammad Daud, President of Afghanistan.

Note: "This report was prepared by the Central Reference Service and was coordinated within CIA as appropriate and with Dept. of State. Comments and questions may be directed to Michael Cappe, code 143, ext. 6756."

No. 2 Pp 47-50 Date: 78 JAN 30

Fr: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex Kabul 0820 Reftel: -

Sign: Eliot

Subj: Afghanistan in 1977: an external assessment.

No. 3 P 51 Date: [after JUL 78]

From: - Classif: - Ntelex: - Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj:[Some of the most important figures in the Afghan gov't after Taraki & Amin are: Shah Wali, Watanjar, Lt Col Mazdooryar, Misaq, Iqbal (1st Deputy Minister of Defense, Amin's man).]

Note: Probably part of another document, it is composed of biographies of the five persons mentioned.

No. 4 Pp 52-55 Date: [after 79 MAR 31]

From: - Classif: Secret

Ntelex: - Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj: The political and military situation in Afghanistan..

Note: "An appeal for Soviet combat units is conceivable within the next 12 months."

No. 5 Pp 56-59 Date: 78 MAY 03 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Kabul 3511 Reftel: Kabul 3423, 3372(Biog. of

Taraki), 3227 (Karmal), 3142 (murder of Khaibar), Kabul 3392 (biog of Laeq). Se

Sign: Eliot document 41 and others.

Subj: Biographical data on Afghan cabinet

Note: The biographies are of Taraki, Karmal, Amin, Watanjar, Qader, Nur, Keshtmand,

Mesaq, Zaray, Shahrayee, Shah Wali, Panjshiri, Shafii or Shafi'e, Laeq, Danesh,

Rai, Hashimi, Sumah, Ratebzad, Ghorbandi, Tahzib.

No. 6 Pp 60-63 Date: 78 MAY 06

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 3619 Reftel: -

Sign: Eliot

Subj: First conversation with new Afghan president.

No. 7 Pp 64-67 Date: 78 MAY 11

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 3805 Reftel: State 116319

Sign: Eliot

Subj: Future of US aid programs in Afghanistan

Pp 68-69 Date: 78 SEP 26 No. 8

From: American Embassy Tehran Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Tehran 09279 Reftel: State 240411

Sign: Sullivan

Subj: Iranian assessment of Afghan developments & US-Afghan relations.

Note: The "Summary" is: "Shah made it clear to US ambassador that he saw little gain from 'codling' new Afghan regime, but he would go along US gov't desires

in the matter."

Pp 70-72 Date: 78 OCT 23 No. 9

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Limited official use

Ntelex: Kabul 8517 (2 sections) Reftel: -

Sign: Dubs

Subj: New Afghan decree liberalizes marriage arrangements. Note: Section 1: text of the decree; section 2: comment

Date: 78 DEC 01 No. 10 Pp 73-75 From: Sec'y of State Washington
Ntelex: State 344356 (2 sections) Classif: Secret

Reftel: State 240411, Kabul 7370

Subj: Assessment of Afghan developments & US-Afghan relations.

No. 11 Pp 76-80 Date: 79 MAR 19

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 2052 (2 sections) Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: USAID Director's meeting with representatives of other bilateral donors in Afghanistan [i.e., H. Disdorn, Counselor, FRG; K.R.Krook, British Ambassador; E. Yendall, 1st Sec'y (Development) Canadian Embassy in Islamabad; S.K. Singh, Indian Ambassador].

Date: [after 79 MAR 25] No. 12 Pp 81-82 From: [American Embassy Tehran] Classif: Confidential

Reftel: -

Sign: Sullivan

Subj: Situation in Afghanistan

Note: As reported by Sultan Mahmud Ghazi, member of Afghan royal family, former Pres. of Afghan Civil Aviation & Tourism Authority, who visited on 3/25/79 US political counselor in Tehran for visa problems.

Date: 79 MAR 29 No. 13 P 83

From: Sec'y of State Washington Classif: Limited official use

Ntelex: State 077670 Reftel: -

Sign: Vance

Subj: House Committee cuts aid to Afghanistan

No. 14 Pp 84-86 Date: 79 APR 11

From: [Dept. of State] Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: -Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj: Memorandum of conversation on Afghanistan & US-Afghan relations; participants: V.K. Gorovoi, 1st Sec'y USSR Embassy [Washington] & R.D. Lorton, Country Officer for Afghanistan.

No. 15 Pp 87-90 Date: 79 APR 11

From: American Embassy Kabul Ntelex: Kabul 3557 (2 sections) Classif: Confidential

Reftel: Kabul 3278, Kabul 3166

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: The" big lie" becomes standard Khalqi tool.

Note: "Flat denials that any army mutiny occurred in Jalalabad, or that the regime tortures its prisoners indicate that the 'big lie' may have become the

regime's preferred public tactic for dealing with thorny issues."

No. 16 Pp 91-94 Date: 79 MAY 09

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 3626 Reftel: State 113474

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: The current Soviet role in Afghanistan

No. 17 Pp 95-98 Date: 79 MAY 12

From: Sec'y of State Washington Classif; Confidential Ntelex: State 120164 (2 sections) Reftel: Tehran 4716

Sign: Vance

Subj: Request for Information on Afghanistan & PDR Yemen.

No. 18 Pp 99 -101 Date: 79 MAY 14 From: American Embassy Islamabad Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Islamabad 5531 Reftel: Islamabad 4780

Sign: Constable

Subj: Gailani representative reports progress in unifying Afghan dissident groups.

No. 19 Pp 102-109 Date: [79 MAY 14]

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Limited official use

Ntelex: Airgram Kabul A-33 Reftel: 78 Kabul A-69

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Educational backgrounds of Ministers & Deputy Ministers in the Afghan gov't.

Note: Enclosures: 1 - Educational backgrounds of Cabinet Ministers & Deputy Ministers;

2 - Individual educational histories.

No. 20 P 110 Date: 79 MAY 16 Classif: Secret From [American Embassy Tehran]

Ntelex: Reftel: -

Sign: Naas Subj: -

Note: It is a letter from Ch. W. Naas, US charge d'affaires a.i. in Tehran, to Amir Entezam, Iranian Deputy Prime Minister, announcing that Naas is sending him a "separate paper" on Afghanistan containing "a status report from the time of the April 1978... & a section drawn upon US recent information." The "paper"

in question may be documents #30a & 30b.

No. 21 Pp 111-113 Date: 79 MAY 20 From: American Embassy Tehran Classif: Secret

Reftel: Islamabad 5531 Ntelex: Tehran 05208

Sign: Naas

Subj: Free-lance Afghan rebels call on Embassy.

Note: On the visit in Tehran by American citizen Zia Nassry

Date: 79 MAY 21 No. 22 Pp 114-115 From: American Embassy Tehran Classif: Secret Ntelex: Tehran 05246 Reftel: Tehran 520

Sign: Naas

Subj: Limited Iranian response to Afghan rebel appeal [Zia Nassry].

Date: 79 MAY 24 No. 23 Pp 116-121 From: American Embassy Moscow Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Moscow 13083 (3 sections) Reftel: Kabul 3626, Moscow 8384

Subj: Afghanistan: prospects for Soviet intervention

No. 24 Pp 122-123 Date: 79 MAY 25 From: American Embassy Moscow Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Moscow 13189 Reftel: -

Sign: Toon

Subj: Reported appointment of Soviet diplomatic adviser to DRA [V.S. Safronchuk].

No. 25 Pp 124-126 Date: 79 JUN 02 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 4236 (2 sections) Reftel: State 131866

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Senate amendment on aid to Afghanistan

No. 26 Pp 127-129 Date: 79 JUN 25 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 4888 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Meeting with Soviet diplomat. Part I of III: Observation on the internal Afghan political scene.

Note: One hour-long courtesy call with V.S. Safronchuk, identified by Amstutz as

"unquestionably the most interesting Soviet diplomat I have ever met."

No. 27 Pp 130-131 Date: 79 JUN 23

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 4889 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Meeting with Soviet diplomat. Part II of III: Soviet-Afghan relations.

No. 28 Pp 132-133 Date: 79 JUN 25 Classif: Confidential From: American Embassy Kabul Reftel: -Ntelex: Kabul 4890

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Meeting with Soviet diplomat. Part III of III: Human rights

No. 29 Pp 134-135 Date: 79 JUN 28 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 4981 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Afghan-US relations: a gesture that was botched.

Note: Two Afghan Ministers, Sooma of Higher Education & Jalili of Education, on the evening of June 27 came to US Embassy to attend American National Day, probably confusing July 4 with Saratan 4.

No. 30a Pp 136-138 Date: [After 79 MAR 19]

From: -Classif: Secret Ntelex: -Reftel: -

Subj: Section one- Soviet activities in Afghanistan

Note: Probably first part of the paper mentioned in doc. #20.

No. 30b Pp 139-140 Date: -

From: -Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 5146

Sign: -

Subj: Section two - The current Soviet role in Afghanistan.

Note: Probably second part of the paper mentioned in doc. #20. Note that 30a is

classified "Secret" while 30b is only "Confidential."

No. 31 P 141 Date: 78 JUL 02

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 5308 Reftel: Tehran 6250

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: New Afghan ambassador to Iran is another high ranking Parchami.

Note: Also contains biographical information on Dr. Najib.

No. 32 P 142 Date: 79 JUL 05

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 5146 Reftel: -

Sign: Flatin

Subj: Communist diplomats in Kabul [East German Ambassador H. Schweisau & Soviet Minister Counselor V.S. Safronchuk] continue to hint a possibility of "National Front" alternative to Khalqi regime.

No. 33 Pp 143-144 Date: 79 JUL 05

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 5147 Reftel: -

Sign: Flatin

Subj: Afghan regime makes display of good will on American Independence Day. Note: Prof. M. Sooma, Minister of Higher Education & Member of PDPA Politburo, Dr. A.R. Jalili, Minister of Education & Eng. M.I. Danesh, Minister of Mines & Industries attended July 4 reception in US Embassy. On the same day the Kabul

Times "carried a friendly editorial about the United States."

No. 34 P 145 Date: 79 JUL 05 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret Ntelex: Kabul 5148 Reftel: State 172400

Sign: Flatin

Subj: Demarche of Soviet Ambassador in Kabul [A.M. Puzanov] on Soviet media allegations of US interference in Afghanistan.

Date: 79 JUL 09 No. 35 Pp 146-147

From: American Embassy Kabul Ntelex: Kabul 5243 (2 sections) Classif: Confidential

Reftel: -

Sign: Flatin

Subj: Dr. Abdul Hakim Tabibi appointed Minister-counselor of Afghanistan's UN mission.

Date: 79 JUL 10 No. 36 Pp 148-152

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 5243 (2 sections) Reftel: -

Sign: Flatin

Subj: Kabul University: trouble on campus.

Date: 79 JUL 10 No. 37 Pp: 153-158

Classif: Confidential Reftel: Kabul 4325 From: American Embassy Kabul Ntelex: Kabul 5244 (3 sections)

Sign: Flatin

Subj: Current status of the insurgency in Afghanistan.

Date: 79 JUL 11 No. 38 Pp 159-161

Classif: Confidential From: USDAO Kabul

Reftel: -Ntelex: -

Subj: This is IR 6 800 0046 79.

Title: Soviet intentions in Afghanistan/Pakistan. Note: Probably a document originating from the CIA. No. 39 Pp 162-166 Date: 79 JUL 11

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 5246 (2 sections) Reftel: Kabul 5146

Sign: Flatin

Subj: Puzzlement of the East German Ambassador (Dr. Hermann Schwiesau) over

"contradictions" of the Khalqi regime.

No. 40 Pp 167-169 Date: 79 JUL 16

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 5360 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Afghan underground propaganda calls for the ouster of PM Amin.

No. 41 Pp 170-177 Date: 79 JUL 18

From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 5433 (3 sections)

Sign: American Embassy Kabul

Sig 5146, Kabul 5288, Kabul 5360, Kabul 4695 Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Soviet efforts to urge DRA to find a political See Document #5.

resolution of domestic conflict may be underway.

No. 42 P 178 Date: 79 JUL 18

From: American Embassy Kabul Ntelex: Kabul 5448 Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 5448 Reftel: Kabul 5433

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Soviets repeatedly have included former minister Abdul Samad Hamed [once Mini-

ster of Planning under King Zahir] in "national front" talks.

No. 43 Pp 179-184 Date: 79 JUL 18 From: American Embassy Kabul Ntelex: Kabul 5459 (2 sections) Classif: Secret Reftel: Kabul 5433

Sign: -

Subj: GDR Ambassador reports that Soviets hope to replace PM Amin with a broader

based government.

No. 44 Pp 185-187 Date: 79 JUL 19 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Kabul 5459 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Further comments by East German Ambassador about Soviet efforts to alter

Afghan regime.

No. 45 Pp 188-190 Date: 79 JUL 19

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 5463 Reftel: State 184996

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Reports of "united front" not supported by information here.

No. 46 P 191 Date: 79 JUL 20

From: American Embassy Moscow Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Moscow 18789 Reftel: Kabul 5463, State 184996,

Sign: Garrison Kabul 5433

Subj: Pravda commentary on Afghan nat'l organization for the defense of the revolution.

No. 47 Pp 192-194 Date: 79 JUL 22

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 5493 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Taraki & Amin hint publicly that they may be aware of behind-the-scene

maneuvering against the regime.

No. 48 Pp 195-199 Date: 79 JUL 25

From: American Embassy Kabul

Classif: Confidential Reftel: State 191371, State 190958, Ntelex: Kabul 5609

Sign: Amstutz Kabul 5544

Subj: Afghan Gov't complains about evacuation of American dependents from Afghanistan.

Date: 79 JUL 25 Classif: Secret Reftel: -No. 49 Pp 200-204 From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 5627 (2 sections)

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Possible motivations behind Soviet decision to publicize its efforts to

"negotiate" settlement of DRA domestic conflict.

No. 50 Pp 205-212 Date: 79 JUL 26 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret
Ntelex: Kabul 5648 (3 sections) Reftel: Moscow 18979, State 189714

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Demarche to Soviet Ambassador in Kabul about evacuation of American dependents.

No. 51 Pp 213-214 Date: 79 JUL 28 From: American Embassy Kabul Ntelex: Kabul 5683 Classif: Secret Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Amin given more direct role in prosecuting counter insurgency.

No. 52 P 215 Date: 79 JUL 29 From: American Embassy Tripoli Ntelex: Tripoli Classif: Secret

Reftel: -

Sign: Quinlan

Subj: Libyan support for Afghan revolutionaries (Mujahideen).

No. 53 Pp 216-218 Date: 79 JUL 29

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 5736 Reftel: Kabul 5683

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Further data on nat'l organization for the defense of the Revolution.

Note: The same document is repeated on pp 219-221.

No. 54 Pp 222-224 Date: 79 JUL 30 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 5736 Reftel: Kabul 5683

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Cabinet reshuffle unlikely to defuse growing opposition.

No. 55 Pp 225-226 Date: 79 AUG 01

From: American Embassy Islamabad Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Islamabad 8629 Reftel:-

Sign: Hummel

Subj: Zia Nassery returns with new project.

No. 56 Pp 227 Date: 79 AUG 06 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret Sign: Amstutz Reftel: Tripoli 1185

Subj: Libyan support for Afghan insurgents

Date: 79 AUG 06 No. 57 Pp 228-232 From: American Embassy Kabul Ntelex: Kabul 5967 (2 sections) Classif: Secret Reftel: Kabul 5942

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: An initial evaluation of the Bala Hissar mutiny.

No. 58 Pp II/1-4

Date: 79 AUG 12 Classif: Confidential From: American Embassy Kabul Ntelex: Kabul 6016 (2 sections) Reftel: State 201375

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: My meeting with the new Afghan Foreign Minister Dr. Shah Wali.

No. 59 Pp II/5-15 Date: 79 AUG 08 From: Sec'y of State Washington . Classif: Secret

Ntelex: USNATO 05615 (6 sections) Reftel: State 202431, State 204724

Sign: Glitman

Subi: Polads discussion on Afghanistan

Note: The Political Committee of NATO met on Aug. 7; UK, FRG, Canada & Turkey

submitted written contributions on Afghanistan, see #71.

Date: 79 AUG 08 No. 60 P II/16 Classif: Confidential From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 6023 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: High-level Soviet visitor reportedly visited Kabul last October.

Note: According to DRG Ambassador Schwiesau, this was "the fourth ranking man in the Soviet Politburo," & according to an unnamed South Asian ambassador who referred the news to Amstutz, he "might have been...Kirilenko."

No. 61 P II/17 Date: 79 AUG 08

From: American Embassy Ankara Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Ankara 5866 Reftel: -

Sign: Spiers

Subj: Turkish views on Afghanistan.

No. 62 Pp II/18-19 Date: 79 AUG 09

Classif: Confidential From: American Consulate Peshawar

Ntelex: Peshawar 0195 Reftel: Islamabad 8629, Islamabad

Sign: Archard 8780, State 203803

Subj: Afghan dissidents! radio transmitters.

Date: 78 AUG 12\* No. 63 Pp II/20-22 From: Sec'y of State Washington Classif: Secret

Ntelex: State 194166 (2 sections) Reftel: -

Sign: Vance

Subj: Under Sec'y Newsom's trip to Southern Asia

Date: 79 AUG 14 No. 64 P II/23

From: American Embassy Moscow Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Moscow 23252 Reftel: Kabul 6023

Sign: Garrison

Subj: High level Soviet Politburo member visited AmEmb Kabul last October.

Note: Prof. Yuri Gankovskij of the Oriental Inst. in Moscow said to a US Embassy staff: "I can assure you that no Politburo member of the USSR has been in Kabul

since the April 1978 revolution." Text very dim; read in transl. om p. 28 of Persian

No. 65 Pp II/24-31

Date: 79 AUG 16 Classif: Confidential From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 6251 (4 sections) Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Nature of Afghan opposition.

<sup>\*</sup> The document is correctly dated even though it is inserted here.

No. 66 P II/32

From: American Embassy Moscow

Ntelex: Moscow 20485

Sign: Garrison

Subj: Soviet views on Afghanistan.

No. 67 Pp II/33-34

From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 6269

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Soviet official [diplomat A.V. Morozov] expresses confidence that Moscow

will protect its citizens here.

No. 68 Pp II/35-36

From: American Consulate Peshawar

Ntelex: Peshawar 0199

Sign: Archard

Subj: Rebels deny "shadow cabinet" rumors.

No. 69 P II/37

From: Sec'y of State Washington

Ntelex: State 217276

Sign: Christopher

Subj: Report of high level Soviet visitor to Afghanistan last October.

Note: US Dept. of State "has no repeat no information to confirm report."

No. 70 P II/38

From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 6309

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: East German Ambassador [H. Schwiesau] departs Kabul scene [because he broke

operating on his own - or more probably at Soviet direction - he kept his Western

tion to the Afghan insurrection."

No. 71 P II/39-40

From: Sec'y of State Washington Ntelex: State 218144 (2 sections)

Subj: Polads discussion of Afghanistan.

Note: US comments on some of the points raised orally & in allied papers at Aug.

7 Polads discussion of Afghanistan, see #59.

No. 72 P II/41

From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 6385

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Contrary to DRA propaganda, "massive marches" not taking place in Kabul.

No. 73 Pp II/42-47

From: USMISSION USNATO

Ntelex: USNATO 05863 (3 sections)

Sign: Glitman

Subj: Polads discussions of Afghanistan & Iran.

Note: The Political Committee of NATO met again on Aug. 21. UK & Dutch circu-

lated additional written contributions on Afghanistan.

Date: 79 AUG 16

Classif: Confidential

Reftel: -

Date: 79 AUG 18

Classif: Confidential

Reftel: -

Date: 79 AUG 16

Classif: Confidential

Reftel: Kabul 6003, Peshawar [?]

Date: 79 AUG 19

Classif: Confidential

Reftel: Kabul 6028 [but more exactly

6023: see #6.

Date: 79 AUG 20

Classif: Secret

Reftel: -

his leg]. Note: "Comment: Schwiesau will be missed in Kabul diplomatic community. Either

world colleagues 'informed' about Soviet attempts to arrange a political solu-

Date: 79 AUG 20 Classif: Secret

Reftel: USNATO 5615

Date: 79 AUG 22

Classif: Confidential

Reftel: -

Date: 79 AUG 23

Classif: Confidential

Reftel: State 218144, USNATO 5615

No. 74 Pp II/48-49

From: Sec'y of State Washington

Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: State 221826 Reftel: Islamabad 8335, Geneva 13234

Date: 79 AUG 23

Sign: Christopher

Subj: Afghan refugee situation in Pakistan.

No. 75 P II/50 Date: 79 AUG 25

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 6400 Reftel: State 221826

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Afghan refugee situation in Pakistan.

Note: Answer to #74.

No. 76 P II/51 Date: 79 SEP 02 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Kabul 6604 Reftel: State 228642

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Pavlovskiy [Commander of Soviet Ground Forces] mission to Kabul.

No. 77 Pp II/52-57 Date: 79 SEP 06 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Kabul 6672 (3 sections) Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: An assessment of Soviet influence & involvement in Afghanistan.

No. 78 P II/58 Date: 79 SEP 11

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 6789 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: PM Amin reiterates that he wants "friendly relations with the US."

No. 79 P II/59 Date: 79 SEP 11

Classif: Confidential From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 6788 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Biographical tidbits on PM Amin.

Date: 79 SEP 20 No. 80 Pp II/60-63 Classif: Confidential From: Dept. of State

Ntelex: -Reftel: -

Sign: [Griffin]

Subj: Memorandum of conversation between Nanguy Tarzi, Afghan exile, former officer of AfEmb in Washington & of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, & George Griffin

on 9/12/79 at Griffin home in Washington.

No. 81 P II/64 Date: 79 SEP 13

From: American Embassy Moscow Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Moscow 21696 Reftel: FBIS WASHDC 1823037, Moscow

Sign: [?] 14964

Subj: Taraki visit to Moscow.

Subj: Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

No. 82 Pp II/65-66 Date: 79 SEP 13

From: Sec'y of State Washington Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: State 240680 Reftel: Islamabad 9794, Kabul 6564,

Sign: Vance Geneva 14638, Islamabad 10263 No. 83 P II/67

Date: 79 SEP 14 From: Sec'y of State Washington Classif: Secret

Ntelex: State 241748

Sign: Vance

Subj: Dialogue on Afghanistan with PGOI [Provisional Gov't of Iran?]

No. 84 Pp II/68-71

Date: 79 SEP 15 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 6874 (2 sections) Reftel: Kabul 6864

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Khalqi regime maintains tight security alert in Kabul.

No. 85 Pp II/72-75

Date: 79 SEP 17 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 6936 (2 sections) Reftel: Kabul 6914

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Tensions lessen in Kabul as President Amin digests his recent political gains.

Reftel: -

No. 86 P II/76

Date: 79 SEP 18 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 6978 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Some reflections on the Afghan political crisis.

No. 87 Pp II/77-78 Date: 79 SEP 19

From: American Embassy Islamabad Classif: (
Ntelex: Memorandum of conversation Reftel: -Classif: Confidential

Sign: [Sherman]

Subj: Hazara dissident activities

Note: Colloquium between Wali Beg, Pres., Alliance of Muslim Freedom Fighters for

Afghanistan & Rick Sherman, acting political counselor.

No. 88 Pp II/79-80 Date: 79 SEP 20

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 7025 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Comments by two Eastern Europeans [Klaus Maser, GDR charge & Edward

Baradziej, Polish Ambassador] on Afghan political situation.

No. 89 P II/81 Date: 79 SEP 20

From: American Embassy Islamabad Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Islamabad 10745 Reftel: Kabul 7009, Kabul 6978

Sign: Hummel

Subj: Japanese assessment of Taraki fall.

No. 90 P II/82 Date: 79 SEP 22 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Kabul 7093 Reftel: Tehran 10224

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Iranian interest in possible Cuban involvement in Afghanistan.

Date: 79 SEP 22 No. 91 P II/83

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 7062 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Khalq possibly waving olive branch toward Washington?

No. 92 Pp II/84-85 Date: 79 SEP 22

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 7063 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Local Soviet views [V. Safronchuk] about the new Amin regime.

No. 93 P II/86 Date: 79 SEP 22 From: Sec'y of State Washington Classif: Secret

Ntelex: State 250373 Reftel: Islamabad 10702

Sign: [Vance]

Subj: Gov't of Pakistan analysis of Afghan situation.

No. 94 Pp II/87-88 Date: 79 SEP 27 From: American Embassy New Delhi Classif: Secret

Ntelex: New Delhi 17718 Reftel: State 250400, New Delhi 16994

Sign: Goheen

Subj: Soviet intentions in Afghanistan

No. 95 Pp II/89-91 Date: 79 SEP 27

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 7218 (2 sections) Reftel: State 250412, State 250278

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Charge's call on Pres. Amin.

No. 96 P II/92 Date: 79 SEP 27

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 7208 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Call on Min. of Information & Culture Katawazi.

No. 97 P II/93 Date: 79 SEP 28

From: American Embassy Belgrade Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Belgrade 7328 Reftel: State 250400

Sign: Eagleburger

Subj: Soviet intentions in Afghanistan

No. 98 Pp II/94-97 Date: 79 SEP 29

From: Sec'y of State Washington Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: State 256809 (2 sections) Reftel: -

Sign: Vance

Subj: Newsom [US Under Sec'y of State] meeting with Afghan Foreign Minister.

No. 99 Pp II/98-99 Date: 79 SEP 30

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Kabul 7232 Reftel: Kabul 7208

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Min. of Foreign Affairs Chief (Asadullah Matin, Dir. of the Information Div.)

inquires about chance of better relations with US Gov't.

No. 100 Pp II/100-101 Date: 79 OCT 01

From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 7258 (2 sections) Reftel: Kabul 7208, Kabul 7232

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Indications that DRA seeks better relations with US Gov't: a commentary.

No. 101 Pp II/102-104 Date: 79 OCT 01
From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret
Ntelex: Kabul 7252 Reftel: Kabul 6772

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Reports of Soviet combat troops in Afghanistan.

No. 102 Pp II/105-106 Date: 79 OCT 01

From: American Embassy Ankara Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Ankara 7248 Reftel: State 250373, State 250400,

Sign: Spiers Ankara 7201

Subj: Turkish views on USSR- Afghanistan: follow up.

No. 103 Pp II/107-110 Date: 79 OCT 02 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 7281 (2 sections) Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: The Amin coup: local Yugoslav [Amb. Bogdan Malbasic] & Soviet [Amb. M.

Puzanov] views.

No. 104 P II/113 Date: 79 OCT 03
From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Kabul 7318 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Soviet official [Counselor Vilior G. Osadchiy] comments on the status of

Taraki & the purged military officer cabinet ministers.

No. 105 Pp II/111-112 Date: 79 OCT 03 From: American Embassy Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Kabul 7319 Reftel: -

Sign: Amstutz

Subj: Soviet combat troops in Afghanistan.

No. 106 P II/114 Date: 79 OCT 06

From: American Embassy Jidda Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Jidda 7548 Reftel: Kabul 7350. State 273949

Sign: Placke

Subj: Dialogue on Afghanistan [between US political officer & Saudi Ministry of

Foreign Affairs Arab Affairs Director I. Al-Shural.

No. 107 P II/115 Date: 79 OCT 10 From: USMISSION USNATO Classif: Secret

Ntelex: USNATO 06927 Reftel: State 261991, USNATO 6783,

Sign: Glitman US NATO 5582

Subj: Soviet intentions in Afghanistan.

No. 108 P II/116 Date: 79 OCT 11

From: American Embassy Moscow Classif: Confidential

Ntelex: Moscow 23627 Reftel: -

Sign: Toon

Subj: Soviet media report Taraki's death.

No. 109 P II/117 Date: 79 OCT 14

From: American Embassy Islamabad Classif: Confidential Ntelex: Islamabad 11647 Reftel: Islamabad 11449

Sign: [Kinge]

Subj: Mufti Mahmud [Chief of Pakistan Nat'l Alliance] concerned with the assis-

tance to Afghan exiles/refugees.

No. 110 P II/118

From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 7537

Sign: Blood Subj: -

Note: Bakhtar News Agency on Oct. 11 announcement of USAID reimbursement & grant for

Date: 79 OCT 18

Date: 79 OCT 19

Classif: Secret

Date: 79 OCT 25

Date: 79 OCT 25

Classif: Confidential

Classif: Confidential Reftel: Kabul 6309

Reftel: State 273949, Ankara 7248, Kabul 7352, State 260343, Kabul 6936

Reftel: -

Reftel: -

Classif: Confidential

Afghan rural sector may be intended "to illustrate to the Afghan population"

that ... Amin's new gov't is receiving support from the US Gov't.

No. 111 Pp II/119-120

From: Sec'y of State Washington

Ntelex: State 273949 (2 sections)

Subj: Dialogue on Afghanistan.

Note: Talking points prepared by Sec'y of State Washington on Soviet-Afghan relations & Soviet involvement in Afghanistan. Section 2 seems to be missing.

No. 112 Pp II/121-123

From: American Embassy Ankara

Ntelex: Ankara 07966 (2 sections)

Sign: Spiers

Subj: Turkish information on Afghan situation.

No. 113 Pp II/124-125

From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 7706

Sign: Blood

Subj: New East German Ambassador [Kraft Bumbel] to replace central figure in last

summer's reported attempt to broaden regime's political base.

Note: [Kraft Bumbel: "Afghan Foreign Ministry sources insist that is the correct

spelling.]

No. 114 Pp II/126-128

From: American Embassy Kabul

Ntelex: Kabul 7784 (2 sections)

Sign: Blood

Subj: Turkish information on situation in Afghanistan.

No. 115 Pp II/129-130

From: American Embassy Islamabad

Ntelex: Islamabad 12425

Sign: Hummel

Date: 79 OCT 31

Date: 79 OCT 30

Classif: Confidential

Classif: Confidential

Reftel: Ankara 7966

Reftel: State 278279, State 282436,

Kabul 7726, State 283008

Subj: Ambassador's discussion with Additional Foreign Sec'y Piracha on Afghan matters.

No. 116 Pp II/131-134

From: [CIA] Los Angeles

Ntelex: Los Angeles 20781

Sign: -

Subj: -

Date: 79 AUG 31 Classif: Secret

Reftel: Director 504525, Islamabad

40289, Kabul 24591, Kabul 24580, Rome

77486

Note: Various information gathered by an Afghan identified only as L/l; intelligence regarding Ambassador Dubs' assassination: "L/1 was not sure how the

timing of these events took place, but apparently everything went off on schedule... L/L believes Lal Mohammad (Kabul Police Chief) [to be identified with Mohammad Taroon, G.V.] killed the Ambassador but can not give any reason or proof for

this belief... L/1 hates Lal Mohammad & believes him to be a butcher & capable

of anything.

No. 117 Pp II/135-137
From: [CIA] New Delhi

Ntelex: New Delhi 51273 Reftel: New Delhi 51235, Director

Date: 79 SEP 28

Classif: Secret

Sign: - 508019

Subj: -

Note: The message is a report on a "noisy demonstration" mounted on Sept. 28 by "Islamic Assoc. of Patriotic Afghan Studient in India" (=IAPASI): "This demonstration was funded by New Delhi Station [of CIA] & organized at Station behest by unilateral asset GCarrion/1(G/1), IAPASI officer."

No. 118 P II/139 Date: 79 OCT 21 From: [CIA] Copenhagen Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Copenhagen 28075 Reftel: New Delhi 51273

Sign: Subi: -

Note: - No information on demonstration held in Copenhagen by IAPASI as requested in telex from New Delhi, see #117. The same answer from Tehran is recorded in a piece of a telex reproduced on p. 138.

No. 119 Pp II/140-141 Date: 79 OCT 23
From: [CIA] New Delhi 51298 Classif: Secret

Ntelex: State 266505 (2 sections) Reftel: -

Sign:-Subj:-

Note: Information on Indian press coverage regarding the demonstration of

Sept. 28 cited in #117.

No. 120 Pp II/142-145 Date: 79 OCT 12 From: Sec'y of State Washington Classif: Secret

Ntelex: State 266505 (2 sections) Reftel: -

Subj: Intelligence summary 914, Oct. 11, 1979.

Note: Information regarding various countries of the Near East, including the

relations of Saudi Arabia with Afghanistan & her help to the rebels.

No. 121 Pp II/146-147 Date: [79 OCT 15]
From: [CIA] Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Field report: NHK 4092 Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj: Afghanistan: situation report #7 as of 1530 hours (local time) 10/15/79.

No. 122 Pp II/148-149 Date: 79 OCT 30 From: [CIA] Islamabad Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Field: NPR 2117 Reftel:-

Sign: -

Subj: Discussion on Afghan situation during the visit of a Chinese military

delegation to Pakistan (20-29 October 1979).

Source: A generally reliable Pakistani field grade officer [Brigadier Mian Moh'd Afzal, Director of military operations] whose past reporting has been generally substantiated.

No. 123 P II/150 Date: [79 NOV 02]
From: [CIA] Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Field report . NHK 4134 Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj: Departure of Soviet military delegation from Afghanistan (22 OCT. 1979). Source: A middle-level Afghan officer whose reports have been generally substantiated.

No. 124 Pp II/151-153 Date: 79 OCT 31 From: [CIA] Islamabad Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Field report # NHK 4133 Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj:: 1) Concern of Afghan dissidents over the major DRA offensive [?] in Paktia Province; 2) Approval by the Government of Pakistan to provide a

limited supply of [ammunition] to Afghan insurgents.

No. 125 Pp II/154-156 Date: 79 OCT 30
From [CIA] Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Field report # NHK 4132 Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj: Afghanistan USSR: Increase in Soviet military presence in Kabul. Source: A middle level Afghan gov't employee who is a new & untested source. He acquired paragraphs 1-4 from an Afghan military officer & paragraphs 5 & 6 from personal observations.

 No. 126
 P II/157
 Date: 

 From [CIA]
 Classif: 

 Ntelex: Reftel:

Sign: Subj:-

Note: The text, very short - about 20 lines - is quite unreadable & the Persian translation, too, is full of blank spaces. It is possible only to decipher some Afghan names & in the last lines to catch the words "additional arrests have also been made" & "arrest of pro-Taraki supporters in the army."

No. 127 Pp II/158-159 Date: 79 NOV 02
From [CIA] Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Field report # NHK 4138 Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj: Afghanistan: 1) Apparent attempt to assassinate Pres. Hafizullah Amin; 2) Ambush on buses in outskirts of Kabul in Oct. 79.

Source: A middle level Afghan military officer whose reporting has been generally substantiated. He acquired this information from an Afghan army intelligence officer.

No. 128 P II/160 Date: 79 OCT 31
From: [CIA] Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Field report # NHK 4133 Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj: Ammunition flights from the Soviet Union to the Kabul area in Oct. 1979. Source: A middle level Afghan air force officer whose past reporting has been generally substantiated. He obtained the information in the course of his normal duties.

No. 129 P II/161 Date: 79 NOV 02 From: [CIA] Kabul Classif: Secret

Ntelex: Field report # NHK 4136 Reftel: -

Sign: -

Subj: Soviet control of Shindand air force base.

Source: A middle level Afghan officer whose reporting has been generally substantiated. He got the information from an Afghan army intelligence officer.

 No. 130
 Pp II/162-163
 Date: 79 SEP 19

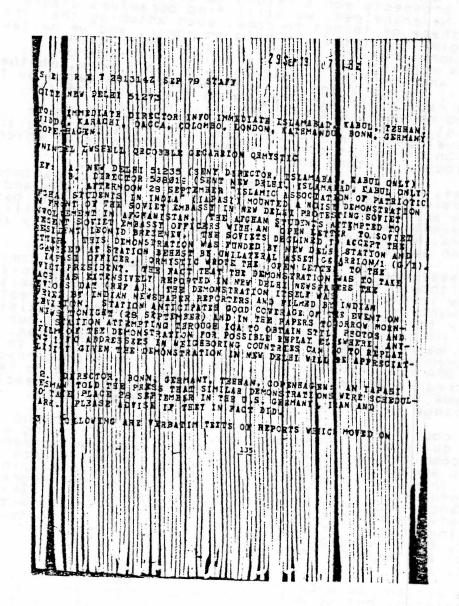
 From: [CIA] Director
 Classif: Secret

 Ntelex: Director 516886
 Reftel: Tehran 54242

Subj: "To begin intelligence relationship with the Bazargan gov't, we would charge Laingen to provide selected intelligence orally rpt orally on Afghanistan to Yazdi or Bazargan."

Note: The summary of the selected intelligence is as follows: "On 17 August a senior Soviet military delegation, led by a four star general, arrived in Kabul."

# Document 112 - 1st page



#### APPENDIX I

#### US DOCUMENTS ON AFGHANISTAN

#### DOCUMENT N. 10

Subject: Assessment of Afghan developments and U.S.-Afghan relations.

- 1. We agree with the broad outlines of your assessment of the general direction of developments in Afghanistan and the uncertains prospects for a return to close U.S.-Afghan relations. Nevertheless, we still find ourselves unsure about the shape of things to come, even assuming that the present regime maintains its hold on power, and we believe we should work from the premise that a constructive U.S.-Afghan working relationship could still emerge. We wonder, if and when the situation gels a bit more, whether the DRA will become a docile camp-follower dominated by the USSR, or a radical-leftist regime on the fringe of the non-aligned movement but with peculiar Afghan characteristics and a degree of indipendence. The most adverse development in terms of our interests would be the introduction of Soviet combat troops in Afghanistan which would seriously disturb the entire region.
- 2. We see, as you do, our regional interests as paramount in our consideration of a proper approach to the DRA and would view an irredentist Afghanistan, especially one backed by the Soviets, as a serious threat to peace and stability in the area. We believe this is a real fear espenially (sic) in Pakistan and also in Iran.
- 3. The assessments of Afghanistan's neighbors are similar to ours although Pakistan and Iran contend that Afghanistan is already irrevocably "lost" to the Soviet Union. Pakistan seems to want us to share their assessment of the threat, presumably to obtain a greater U.S. commitment to Pakistan's security. At no time have the Pakistanis questioned our policy of maintaining the U.S. presence in Afghanistan. The Indians seem somewhat more sanguine about being able to deal with the DRA but, nonetheless, are very deeply concerned about increased Soviet influence in Kabul. We need to keep these views in mind when judging possible regional reactions to any change in our own policies toward Afghanistan.
- 4. The countries of the region are in fact following policies quite similar to our own. Iran is continuing aid already committed although holding back from new agreements. India has apparently offered to step up its assistance programs in Afghanistan and has in our view been playing a very helpful role in attempting to encourage some degree of indipendence and non-alignement by the new regime. Pakistan is actively pursuing a policy of friendly relations with DRA (expediting transit of Afghan trade, 0438\$3,5-'s September 10 visit, down-playing of Afghan refugees, restrained rethoric) and appears to see such a policy as in its interest.
- 5. One option would be for us to phase out our activities in Afghanistan, but we believe this would be very unsettling to Afghanistan's neighbors and incompatible with their policies. The DRA has not asked us to pack our bags and leave but on the contrary has accepted our policy of maintaining our interests and presence. Closing out our efforts in Afghanistan would likely be seen as an abdication of our responsability and would accomplish for the Soviets one of their primary objectives, namely to reduce further U.S. and Western influence in Afghanistan (Moscow 23479) and

the region. It would not be in our interest to give such a blank check signal to Moscow.

- 6. Consequently, we believe the general approach advocated in State 211102 remains valid as a framework for U.S. policy. We should not press our aid on the Afghans but we should seek opportunities to maintain contact with the DRA and try to establish mutually compatible objectives for our assistance program, and identify projects which satisfy our aid mandate, our human rights policy and their concerns. We fully recognize that the Afghans themselves seem to be moving to reduce our presence; a much smaller Peace Corps program; no military training for Afghans in the U.S. for the moment, and restrictions on the DAO <?> Office; a more limited cultural exchange program; and a resistance to proposed USAID projects incorporating large amounts of technical assistance. For our part, we will also have to balance our humanitarian concern in helping the people of one of the world's poorest countries with our concern about the new regime's questionable human rights performance. The Afghans should be kept fully aware of these concerns in discussions with the leadership.
- 7. We regard the situation in Afghanistan as an evolving one-which requires our continuing attention as well as a continuing dialogue with other states in the region. We encourage Embassies Tehran, Islamabad and New Delhi in particular to continue exchanging views with host governments on the nhanging (sic; =changing) Afghan scene, keeping in mind that our influence in Kabul is severely limited and that we look to Afghanistan's neighbors to take the lead in developing a network of cooperative relations which will contribute to peace and stability in the region. Vance

# DOCUMENT N. 18

SUBJECT: (C) Gailani representative reports progress in unifying Afghan dissident groups.

# (C) Entire text

- 2. Summary:: Humayun Asefi, Afghan attorney from Paris who accompanied Syed Gailani to Embassy on April 23 (Reftel), called on Emboff May 13 with up-date on progress in forging unity among Peshawar-based groups. Asefi also advised on successes in fighting between dissident forces and DRA troops. He left with us parts he alleged were taken from MIG-21 aircraft downed by dissident forces in late April. End summary.
- 3. Asefi, who has been traveling throughout Pakistan since previous visit to Embassy in attempt to establish unity of dissident movements, says "meaningful association" of three groups (ANLF, Gailani group, and Mian Gul Jan Group) is now 90 percent assured and should be announced by May 18. The agreement will be signed by leaders of three organisations in Peshawar and will be announced to press "throughout the world", Asefi says. The association will include command coordination in field operations and cooperations at top levels in Peshawar.

- 4. Asefi has also arranged for expatriate Afghan businessmen to sponsor a radio station which will be purchased in Europe and set up in Waziristan under direction of unified groups committe. Asefi reportedly told his cousin, GOP Fonsec (=Government of Pakistan Foreing Office Secretary?) Shahnawaz, of his intentions and asked permission to import radio equipement. Asefi did not report Fonsec approval; rather, Shahnawaz "did not tell me to stop the process", Asefi said.
- 5. Asefi says major tribal groups of Afghanistan have recently become more active in supporting rebel activities. Wazirs have actively joing (sic) fight as of May 11 and Mengals, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Afridis have all agreed in principle to do so but lack organisation to coordinate their people's efforts. Another factor causing some hesitation on part of those ethnic/tribal groups is lack of any leader of "national" stature with whom they can identify. Asefi has letter allegedly signed by all these groups adressed to King Zaher Shah appealing for his return, or that of Abdul Wali, to represent rallying point for dissident activities. Letter makes clear to King, according to Asefi, that re-establishment of monarchy not, rpt not, intent of the groups. Royal personage would be figurehead rather that ruling monarch.
- 5.(sic) Asefi said he has asked Fonsec Shahnawaz about possibility of Zaher Shah's or Abdul Wali's being permitted to establish a base in Pakistan. Shahnawaz' response was "perhaps a little later, but not now". Shahnawaz allegedly told Asefi that Soviets have made demarch at MFA (=Ministry of Foreign Affairs) opposing GOP's permitting Afghan royal family to take up residence here.
- 6. When asked about foreign support for dissident groups Asefi said the PRC (=Popular Republic of China) UAE (=United Arab Emirates) and Saudis have all promised assistance but have yet to deliver. As soon as communique of association of groups is issued, Asefi plans to visit UAE and Saudi Arabia to follow-up promises. He then plans to return to Paris via Rome to deliver appeals to Zaher Shah and Abdul Wali. There is possibility he may be able also to arrange stop in Iran, as Hazara community in Pakistan has offered put him in touch with Ayatollah Khomeini to elicit assistance from that quarter.
- 7. Asefi says groups in Peshawar tend to doubt Soviets would, in any circumstances, occupy Afghanistan to save Khalqi government. He says first move after unifying major groups will be to contact Soviets in some neutral "turf" and establish relationship based on realities of the situation, i.e. that no regime in Kabul can exist without good relations with the Soviet Union. These intentions cannot be mentioned at this time, Asefi contends, or the super-religious would misunderstand and unity will be impossible.
- 8. Purportedly reflecting views of Syed Ahmed Gailani and other leaders in Peshawar area, Asefi warned Emboff that Amcit (=American citizen) Zia Nassery is "probably a double agent". Asefi claims Zia Nassery met with Hafizullah Amin at the UN last year shortly thereafter visited Kabul. He then appeared in Peshawar and allied himself with Gailani after being repulsed ANFL leader, Mojededi. Gailani now regrets befriending Zia Nassery and wants it understood there is no

relationship between him and the American, according to Asefi.

9. Asefi reported that dissident forces have not (sic!) shot down three DRA MIG aircraft. The first at Woza in the Zadran area of Paktia on April 25; the secondo near Pachar Ogan (sic -this 'sic' in the telex itself) village Paktia; and the latest, on May 9 near Khowst in Paktia. He did not specify how aircraft had been shot down but left with Emboff --on loan-- several remnants of the aircraft, including five markings plates torn off the first MIG, as well as photos of the aircraft. Copies being pounched to longeteig c/o INR/RNA/SOA (?) for interested Washington consumers. Constable

# DOCUMENT N. 22

SUBJECT: Limited Iranian response to Afghan rebel appeal.

- (S Entire text)
- 2. Summary: Afghan found raiser Nassry reported some assistance from Iranians, talk of "humanitarian assistance". Report 30-35,000 Afghan refugees in Iran. End summary.
- 3. Amoit Afghan Zia Nassry called Poloff <=Political Officer? May 21 to report results of his talk with Iranian authorities. He states that he did travel to Qom and met with Ayatollah Khomeini. He said their talk was friendly, but not productive. He was asking for arms assistance, and the Ayatollah spoke instead of "humanitarian assistance". He spoke again with Ayatollah Khalkhali, who said that this "could be a beginning". He did not meet with Fonmin <=Foreign Affairs Minister? Yazdi, but instead met with Mr. Taghavi, chief of the MFA section dealing with Afghanistan, and has a second meeting scheduled with him in approximately ten days.
- 4. Yesteday, in a press conference, Ayatollah Rohani, a major religious figure and close relative of Khomeini, called on "the Afghan people to revolt against their government as the Iranian did here". He urged the Iranian government to "intervene in Afghanistan" to assist Muslims. Such statements by unofficial, second-level figures, carry little weight until they are confirmed either by Khomeini or by the Government.
- 5. Nassry states that the PGOI (=Provisional Government of Iran) did assist him in contacting Afghan refugees in Iran. He travelled to Mashad, where the Afghan have a small office, and was escorted to the refugee camps. He states there are approximately 30-35,000 Afghans located in an area stretching twenty miles along the border from the town of "Tybad" (sic: Tayyebad), south of Mashad. Most are shepherd families, with their flocks, and because of lack of fodder, many have already returned to Afghanistan. Included in the number, however, are over one hundred Afghan military officers ground forces, artillery, and air forces. These are attempting to train a guerrilla force (most male refugees have personally—owned rifles) and, Nassry says, are conducting some operations inside Afghanistan. Nassry hopes that the Iranians will at least take the burden of the

actual refugees off the hands of the officers, freeing them from more training and operations.

6. Nassry intends to travel tomorrow to Pakistan, and will plan to return to Iran after approximately one week there. Naas

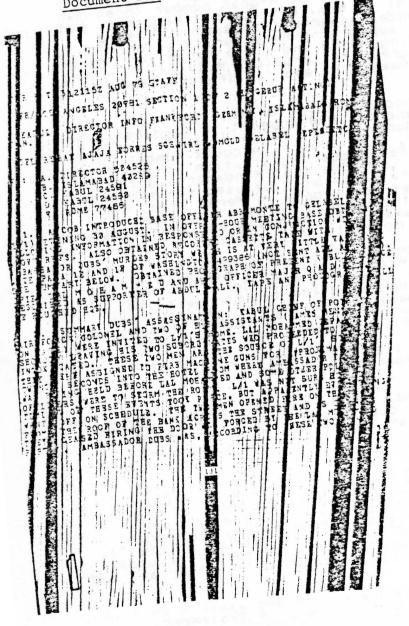
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- 1. A/cob introduced Base officer Abbamonte to Gelabel (according to the Persian explanation at p. 188, all the abbreviations refer to C.I.A. officers and Afghan spies) (L/1) evening 30 August. In over (1)-hour meeting Base obtained following information in response to or in conjunction with (over) refs. Also obtained recorded cassette (tape) with Ambassador Dubs's murder story which is at very little (...) with para 1E and 1F of Washington 499386 (not sent all (...)). See summary below. Obtained photographs of present Kabul (Police) Chief Lal Mohammed and Army officer Major Qader described as supporter of Abdul Wali. Tape and photographs will be (pouched) Hqs.
- 2. Summary. Dubs' assassination: Kabul Chief of Police , Air Force Colonel and two of his assistants ((names mentioned) on tape) were invited to L/1's home. Lal Mohammed (departed) shortly leaving his two subordinates who proceeded to (become) intoxicated. These two men are the source of L/1's (story). They were assigned to fire machine guns for approximately twenty seconds into the Hotel room where Ambassador (Dubs) was being held before Lal Mohammed and some other (Police) officers were to storm the room. L/1 was not sure how (the) timing of these events took place, but apparently everything went off on schedule. The two men opened fire on th(e room) from the roof of the bank across the street and as (soon as) they ceased firing the door was forced by the Lal (Mohammed party). Ambassador Dubs was, according to these two (...) (..)ting in a chair covered with blood, and (...the...) already (dead) or very near death when the Lal Mohammed party entered the room. L/1 believes Lal Mohammed personally killed the Ambassador but cannot give any reason or proof for this (belief). The information provided by the two drunken (Police) officers does not support L/1's views. L/1 says that Lal Mohammed personally told him that he had (killed) over (2,000) Afghans. L/1 hates Lal Mohammed and (believes) him to be a (butcher) and capable of anything.
- 3. L/1 stated that recent (fighting) in Kandahar is being organized and led by Qudus (Khan), an Afghan army major named Ismat and a Mullah named Abdu (...). Qudus, as chief, has had one son killed by the present Government and another imprisoned and possibly also dead. Qudus is a former member of the Afghan Senate. This groups (...) L/1 supports Wali.
- 4. Sardar Wali has not been able to obtain a Pakistani visa. This information obtained directly from Sardar Wali during telephone conversation with L/1 on (29) August.
- 5. Fellow students in L/1 group are discussing rumors that Soviets have talked with King in Rome but (these) only rumors. Same goes for release of Nur Ahmed (Etemadi), who also rumored to have been taken to Moscow for talks. L/1

- believes if Etemadi had <...> released someone would seen him and reported such.
- 6. L/1 plans take vacation sometime during middle of November after completion (Douglas) training and busy Haj season. He agrees with training in Washington during the period and will work out details with Kabul station.
- 7. L/1 would like have (copies) of cassette tape given Frankfurt in order distribute tapes to Afghans (contacts) Tapes he previously distributed had a message from (Shal?) Mohsini Kandahari reputed to be an Afghan number three man under Ayatollah Khomeini in Qom. L/1 not met Kandahari but has (sent) him money under assumed (Sarbaaz). L/1 said Khomeini is (actively) supporting Kandahari's efforts in Afghanistan, by providing money and (...) haven for Afghans in Iran. He has also agreed to (provide) military training for those Afghans who (want) it and to (return) them to Afghanistan.
- 8. L/1 requests and hopes Washington will send any (sum) of money between \$ 50 and \$ 1,000 support to Kandahari who (...) besides in Qom. Money should be send to (Central) Bank of Iran, (Bank-e Melli), City Branch, Account number 70.9. Account name is Afghan Religious Organization ((Harakat)-e Islami-ye Afghanistan). L/1 adds that Kandahari is 100 percent (...) and all the money will be used for medicine and humanitarian supplies for people in Herat area. Money should be (donated) in the name of Sarbaaz and receipt returned to L/1. L/1 (says) that he has given approximately \$ (50,000) of his (own) money to this cause.
- 9. L/1 would like to briefly visit Dr. (Bashir), a Sardar Wali man and founder of Afghan National Liberation Front (ANLF). Bashir's mailing adress is P.O. Box (...) Norwood, New Jersey 07684. Wali suggested the two men meet and L/1 is determined to do so and would like Washington (pay) for trip. L/1 plans travel between 12-20 September when he hopes to have some free time. Please comment on this travel (...).
- 10. L/1 would also like copies of family photographs <...>
  his retention. These photographs included in film <...>
  Frankfurt.
- 11. Dr. Yarmohd Mohhammed, <...> Hospital, Schenectady, New York 11238, is L/1 wife's cousin and reputed to be strong supporter of current Afghan regime Soviet <?>. Yarmohd is also reputed to be very active in printing pro-Soviet materials in the U.S.
- 12. L/1 will provide Base with list of current Afghan students at Douglas course and names of several Afghans in Los Angeles area who (entertain) these students on regular (basis). Classes are held twice yearly. L/1 will pass (student list) to Kabul station approximately two month before (...) for passagge FR/LA (= Frankurt/Los Angeles?). L/1 expects to return to (Douglas) (...) yearly for update training and this already (contracted) (between) Ariana and Douglas.
- 13. Base made contact telephone with Geplastic 1 on <..>
  Agust and plans hold meeting with him on 4 September.
- 14. Base has talked with Los Angeles-based SGSWIRL  $\ensuremath{\langle} ? \ensuremath{\rangle}$  officer to discuss L/1's reporting on Dubs' assassination.  $\ensuremath{\langle} Though \ensuremath{\rangle}$  prepared to comply with earlier requests  $\ensuremath{\langle} \dots \ensuremath{\rangle}$  L/1,

SGSWIRL on his Dubs reporting, base is not certain
 this is essential given limited detail L/1 provided. Hqs
 this is essential given limited detail L/1 provided. Hqs
 this is essential given limited detail L/1 provided. Hqs
 this is essential given this necessary (permission) he
 might wish reconsider whether this necessary (permission) he
 might wish reconsider whether this necessary (permission) he
 given SGSWIRL some 8 to 9 month previously in New York.

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# APPENDIX II

LISTING OF THE DOCUMENTS BY DATE

Date: - Date: - Date: 73 Aug 13	No.: 30b No.: 126 No.: 1
Date: 78 Jan 30 Date: 78 May 08 Date: 78 May 06 Date: 78 May 11 Date: 78 Jul 02 Date: 6after 78 Jul Date: 78 Aug 12 Date: 78 Sep 26 Date: 78 Oct 03 Date: 78 Oct 23 Date: 78 Dec 01	No.: 2 No.: 5 No.: 6 No.: 7 No.: 31 No.: 3 No.: 63 No.: 63 No.: 8 No.: 105 No.: 9 No.: 10
Date: 79 Mar 19 Date: <after 79="" l<br="">Date: <after 79="" l<br="">Date: 79 Mar 29</after></after>	Mar Lui

Date: 79 May 16	No.: 20	Date: 79 Aug 31	No.: 116
Date: 79 May 20	No.: 21	Date: 79 Sep 02	No.: 76
Date: 79 May 21	No.: 22	Date: 79 Sep 06	No.: 77
Date: 79 May 24	No.: 23	Date: 79 Sep 11	No.: 78
Date: 79 May 25	No.: 24	Date: 79 Sep 11	No.: 79
Date: 79 Jun 02	No.: 25	Date: 79 Sep 13	No.: 81
Date: 79 Jun 25	No.: 26	Date: 79 Sep 13	No.: 82
Date: 79 Jun 25	No.: 27	Date: 79 Sep 14	No.: 83
Date: 79 Jun 25	No.: 28	Date: 79 Sep 15	No.: 84
Date: 79 Jun 28	No.: 29	Date: 79 Sep 17	No.: 85
Date: 79 Jul 05	No.: 32	Date: 79 Sep 18	No.: 86
Date: 79 Jul 05	No.: 33	Date: 79 Sep 19	No.: 87
Date: 79 Jul 05	No.: 34	Date: 79 Sep 19	No.: 130
Date: 79 Jul 09	No.: 35	Date: 79 Sep 20	No.: 80
Date: 79 Jul 10	No.: 36	Date: 79 Sep 20	No.: 88
Date: 79 Jul 10	No.: 37	Date: 79 Sep 20	No.: 89
Date: 79 Jul 11	No.: 38	Date: 79 Sep 20	No.: 90
Date: 79 Jul 11	No.: 39	Date: 79 Sep 22	No.: 91
Date: 79 Jul 16	No.: 40	Date: 79 Sep 22	No.: 92
Date: 79 Jul 18	No.: 41	Date: 79 Sep 22	No.: 93
Date: 79 Jul 18	No.: 42	Date: 79 Sep 27	No.: 94
Date: 79 Jul 18	No.: 43	Date: 79 Sep 27	No.: 95
Date: 79 Jul 19	No.: 44	Date: 79 Sep 27	No.: 96
Date: 79 Jul 19	No.: 45	Date: 79 Sep 28	No.: 97
Date: 79 Jul 20	No.: 46	Date: 79 Sep 28	No.: 117
Date: 79 Jul 22	No.: 47	Date: 79 Sep 29	No.: 98
Date: 79 Jul 25´	No.: 48	Date: 79 Sep 30	No.: 99
Date: 79 Jul 25	No.: 49	Date: 79 Oct 01	No.: 100
Date: 79 Jul 26	No.: 50	Date: 79 Oct 01	No.: 101
Date: 79 Jul 28	No.: 51	Date: 79 Oct 01	No.: 102
Date: 79 Jul 29	No.: 52	Date: 79 Oct 02	No.: 103
Date: 79 Jul 29	No.: 53	Date: 79 Oct 03	No.: 104
Date: 79 Jul 30	No.: 54	Date: 79 Oct 06	No.: 106
Date: 79 Aug 01	No.: 55	Date: 79 Oct 10	No.: 107
Date: 79 Aug 06	No.: 56	Date: 79 Oct 11	No.: 108
Date: 79 Aug 06	No.: 57	Date: 79 Oct 12	No.: 120
Date: 79 Aug 08	No.: 59	Date: 79 Oct 14	No.: 109
Date: 79 Aug 08	No.: 60	Date: <15 Oct 79>	No.: 121
Date: 79 Aug 08	No.: 61	Date: 79 Oct 18	No.: 110
Date: 79 Aug 09	No.: 62	Date: 79 Oct 19	No.: 111
Date: 79 Aug 12	No.: 58	Date: 79 Oct 21	No.: 118
Date: 79 Aug 14	No.: 64	Date: 79 Oct 23	No.: 119
Date: 79 Aug 16	No.: 65	Date: 79 Oct 25	No.: 112
Date: 79 Aug 16	No.: 66	Date: 79 Oct 25	No.: 113
Date: 79 Aug 16	No.: 68	Date: 79 Oct 30	No.: 114
Date: 79 Aug 18	No.: 67	Date: 79 Oct 30	No.: 122
Date: 79 Aug 19	No.: 69	Date: 79 Oct 30	No.: 125
Date: 79 Aug 20	No.: 70	Date: 79 Oct 31	No.: 115
Date: 79 Aug 20	No.: 71	Date: 79 Oct 31	No.: 124
Date: 79 Aug 22	No.: 72	Date: 79 Oct 31	No.: 128
Date: 79 Aug 23	No.: 73	Date: 79 Nov 02	No.: 129
Date: 79 Aug 23	No.: 74	Date: 79 Nov 02	No.: 127
Date: 79 Aug 25	No.: 75	Date: <79 Nov 02>	No.: 123