

THE TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN



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Compiled by:
Vladimir ASHITKOV
Karen GEVORKYAN
Vladimir SVETOZAROV

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INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan is situated in South-West Asia. It occupies an area of 655,000 square kilometres, which is almost equal to the territories of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Denmark put together. A land-locked country, Afghanistan shares a border with the Soviet Union (2,384 kilometres long) in the north, with the People's Republic of China (75 kilometres) and India (120 kilometres) in the north-east, with Pakistan (2,180 kilometres) in the east and south and with Iran (820 kilometres) in the west.

Mountains occupy four-fifths of the country. Its proved reserves of natural gas, oil, iron ore, copper, tin, coal, and other minerals indicate that Afghanistan is rich in natural resources.

According to the 1979 Census, the country's population was 15.5 million. About 2.5 million lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life. Afghanistan is a multinational state. The Pushtuns account for about half of the total population, the rest being Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Chahar Aimaks, Nuristanis, Baluchis, and other ethnic groups. Over 98 per cent of the country's inhabitants profess Islam.

The majority of the population are engaged in farming, the most important sector of the economy, which accounts for approximately two-thirds of the national income. Agriculture in pre-revolutionary Afghanistan was backward, characterized by low technical level and predominant use of manual labour.

Industry is comparatively weak. Its leading sectors include the extraction of coal and gas, textile manufacture, food production and chemical, building materials, and metal-

working industries. Motor transport plays a crucial role in view of the country's economic backwardness and harsh natural conditions.

Afghanistan is a UN member since 1946 and takes an active part in the Non-Aligned Movement. It maintains diplomatic relations with more than 80 countries and has ties with over a hundred political parties and progressive organizations.

* * *

The territory of Afghanistan had been part of various state formations in Asia since ancient times, from the Achaemenian Empire to that of Nadir Shah. An independent Afghan state dominated by the Pushtun, first of all the Durrani tribes, emerged in the eastern part of Nadir Shah's Empire in the mid-18th century.

The Afghan state came into being as a result of the feudalization of Pushtun society. The decline of Iran and of the empire of the Great Moguls enabled Ahmad Shah, the founder of the Durrani dynasty, to capture vast areas including the left bank of the Amu Darya (Oxus River), Baluchistan, and Punjab.

However, the Durrani state collapsed in the early 19th century following feudal internecine strife and popular uprisings in the captured areas. Several feudal principalities at war with one another emerged on its ruins. The attempts of Kabul's ruler Amir Dost Mohammed to set up a unified Afghan state were resisted by feudal lords and tribal khans and by Britain, which sought to submit Afghanistan to its rule on the pretext of "defending" colonial domains in India.

Those days in fact marked the beginning of a long history of crude interference by colonial powers and the imperialist policy of aggression and dictation with regard to Afghanistan.

The British colonialists actively supported the opponents of the country's unity and invaded Afghanistan in 1833. That was the first Anglo-Afghan war. It resulted in the crushing defeat of the British invaders and their ousting from Afghanistan.

Britain was also defeated in the second Anglo-Afghan war (1878-1880) which it unleashed. In the face of stiff popular resistance, Britain was compelled to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. However, taking advantage of the internal

weakness of the regime of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, the ruler of Afghanistan, the British managed to impose some restrictions on its sovereignty.

In pursuance of its aggressive designs in Central Asia Britain seized a number of areas inhabited by Afghan tribes in the late 19th century. The Indo-Afghan border fixed by the colonialists in 1893 along the so-called Durand Line cut off several million Afghans from their homeland and fellow-countrymen.

After the 1917 Socialist Revolution in Russia Britain sought to turn Afghanistan into a centre of subversive activity against the Soviet state. In this connection the British colonialists pinned great hopes on Habibullah Khan, who, acting on London's instructions, actually opened the country's borders to allow White Guard emigres to enter Afghanistan from Turkestan. The emigres were used by Britain for carrying out subversive activities against the Soviet Union.

Shortly afterwards British troops, operating from occupied Iran, made an incursion into the Soviet Republic of Turkestan, capturing Kushka, a citadel situated on the border between Turkestan and Afghanistan. From there the British intended to launch an attack on Herat and Afghanistan's central provinces.

However, those schemes did not materialize. The defeat of the British colonialists by the Red Army on the Soviet Caspian front coincided with the ascension of Amanullah Khan to the Afghan throne in early 1919. Amanullah Khan proclaimed Afghanistan's full independence and sent a proposal to the Soviet government on establishing friendly relations between the two countries.

The rout of the British troops east of the Caspian Sea made it easier for the Afghan people to fight back in the third Anglo-Afghan War (May 3-June 3, 1919) unleashed by the British colonialists. Britain lost this war too and was compelled to sign a peace treaty with Afghanistan in which for the first time it recognized Afghanistan's independence.

Although in those years the Soviet Republic had to repulse the intervention of 14 foreign powers and wage a struggle against domestic counter-revolutionaries, it fulfilled its internationalist duty and did all it could to help other nations fighting for their freedom and independence, including the Afghan people.

Britain tried to put outright pressure on the Afghan

government to prevent the signing of a treaty of friendship between the Soviet Republic and Afghanistan which was being drafted in Moscow and Kabul. The British demanded the expulsion of Soviet diplomatic representatives from Kabul and a curtailment on Soviet-Afghan ties. Nevertheless, the treaty was signed on February 24, 1921.

Although the British failed in their schemes, they did not abandon hopes for recapturing lost ground in Afghanistan and using its territory for purposes hostile to the Soviet Union. The imperialist forces managed to get White Guard emigres in Afghanistan once again to carry out anti-Soviet activities. This applied first of all to the Basmachi, a counter-revolutionary movement of local feudal lords in Soviet Central Asia. The Basmachi received money and weapons from the British who promised them every possible support in their fight against Soviet rule in Central Asia. However, the Afghan government opposed those schemes. In response to a message from the Soviet government the Afghan authorities disarmed 1,000 Basmachi who had fled to Afghanistan with the former Emir of Bokhara.

The British intelligence service, seeing that its attempts to turn Afghanistan into a base of counter-revolutionary activities against the Soviet Union had failed, resorted to terrorist acts against Soviet representatives in Afghanistan. Several Soviet diplomatic couriers were murdered by hired assassins. Five Soviet Embassy officials were killed in Kabul in 1922. In Herat an attempt was made on the lives of the Consul-General and other Soviet consulate officials. The British special services spread slanderous and provocative rumours saying that the USSR allegedly intended to "establish Soviet rule in Afghanistan".

At the same time the British colonialists launched provocative military preparations along Afghanistan's eastern borders, amassing large numbers of troops there and building fortifications and several airfields where up to a hundred combat planes were based.

Displeased with Amanullah Khan's independent foreign policy the imperialist forces hatched plots against Afghanistan's legitimate government, resorting to such time-tested means as bribing tribal chiefs and clergymen and supplying various tribes with weapons and ammunition. Britain actively supported the extreme right-wing clergy opposed to Amanullah Khan. Those rightist forces included the family of Sebqatullah Mojadedi, whose members are at pre-

sent active ringleaders of counter-revolutionary forces. In the spring of 1924 British agents managed to spark off a big tribal uprising in Khost on the border with the British domains in India. The rebellion spread to several Afghan provinces. The rebels demanded the abrogation of progressive laws and reforms adopted by the Amanullah Khan government and insisted that Afghanistan should orient itself to Britain in its foreign policy. The Soviet Union came to the assistance of the Afghan people. A number of aircraft and other weapons were turned over to the government of Afghanistan free of charge. The pro-imperialist mutiny was put down thanks to the efforts of the Afghan army and timely Soviet assistance.

However, the British intelligence service, by resorting to bribes and deceit, succeeded in provoking a mutiny of several tribes in the east of Afghanistan in late 1928. The well-known British intelligence officer T. E. Lawrence arrived in India's North-Western Province to meet Afghan opposition leaders. In fact, he directed anti-government actions in Afghanistan.

British agents managed to create a second seat of mutiny in the northern areas of Afghanistan where their stooge Bacha-i-Saqao was operating. Shortly before his units began their assault on Kabul his representative had had a secret meeting with the British ambassador to Afghanistan Sir Francis Humphrys in order to coordinate details of the planned seizure of the Afghan capital.

In support of the rebels Britain staged a show of force, operating from bases in India close to the Afghan border. British warplanes made continuous incursions into the air space of Afghanistan. The Afghan ambassador to Turkey Jeylani Khan made this comment in an interview with a correspondent of the Turkish newspaper *Milliyet*: "British planes fly over our free country every day. The question is how long the British government is going to violate international law with impunity while proclaiming non-interference in our affairs."

In January 1929, Bacha-i-Saqao captured Kabul, overthrew the legitimate government and proclaimed himself Emir of Afghanistan. However, despite broad support from imperialist and domestic reactionary forces his rule was short-lived.

It was Nadir Shah who became the new Afghan ruler. He spoke highly of the Soviet Union's role in strengthening the independence and sovereignty of the newly-free countries and declared his government's intention to improve Soviet-

Afghan relations and work for closer cooperation between the two countries.

In the 1930s Afghanistan became an object of political and economic expansion launched by Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan. The axis powers tried to force Afghanistan to give up its policy of neutrality, draw it into their camp, and use the country for preparing and launching aggression against the Soviet Union. Afghanistan was assigned the role of an important strongpoint in Hitler's strategic plans of conquering India and South-East Asian countries.

Nazi agents came to Afghanistan under cover of giving "economic assistance" to the country and managed to infiltrate the state machinery as "advisers", "consultants" or "experts". They also gained a foothold in various sectors of the Afghan economy and were able to exert an influence on the tribes in the south of Afghanistan and in the north-western border zone. In preparing an uprising of Afghan tribes against the British authorities in India, the German government appealed to the Afghan leadership for help, promising to expand Afghanistan's territory at the expense of the British domains in India.

Nazi Germany seriously considered Afghan territory as a possible theatre of military operations against the USSR. The Chief of the German General Staff Franz Halder noted in his diary that Hitler had ordered that information be submitted to him for preparing military action in Asia, including Afghanistan.

Shortly after Nazi Germany had launched its treacherous attack on the USSR the Soviet government sent a note to Afghanistan (on October 11, 1941) proposing a series of measures to curb the activities of Nazi agents in that country. In November 1941 Afghanistan declared its intention to remain neutral, and an attack on the Soviet Union from its territory was prevented thanks to the measures taken by the Afghan side. On the other hand, the defeat of the German Nazi forces by the Soviet Army in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) saved the Afghan people from enslavement by Nazi Germany.

The end of the Second World War also sounded the death knell for British domination in Asia. However, a new, even more dangerous imperialist aggressor came on the scene—the United States. Afghanistan was assigned an important role in US foreign policy schemes. The United States sought to drag Afghanistan into the orbit of the military-political blocs

organized by the West and to set up military bases on its territory. The idea was to turn Afghanistan into a springboard for aggression against the Soviet Union. The Western press was quite frank in reporting on the sinister schemes hatched by US imperialism with regard to Afghanistan. As the *Current History* magazine observed in 1950, one of the reasons for the United States' interest in Afghanistan was the role that country might play in the future as a bridgehead for an attack on Russia.

The United States made deep inroads into Afghanistan's economy and foreign trade. In the late 1940s it made the Afghan government sign a contract with the US building firm, Morrison-Knudsen Company, Inc., for the construction of a number of projects in Afghanistan. To cover the building costs Afghanistan spent nearly all of its foreign currency reserves while the US firm unjustifiably delayed the construction of irrigation facilities, roads and other projects. Such an attitude on the part of the American side to its commitments was quite deliberate. For the ever growing financial difficulties faced by the Afghan government perfectly suited US schemes to tie Afghanistan to its policy by economic means and then to drag that country into its military-political camp.

The United States attached many political strings to its economic "aid" to Afghanistan. For instance, it demanded that Afghanistan sever its economic links with the Soviet Union and make a number of concessions which infringed on the national interests and sovereignty of that independent state. Several US politicians, including Charles Sawyer, then Secretary of Commerce, admitted that the USA resorted to outright blackmail and pressure in an attempt to influence the stand of Afghanistan's ruling circles.

Having established and consolidated its influence in Afghanistan by economic means, US imperialism launched extensive intelligence and anti-Soviet subversive activities in Afghanistan's northern regions, close to the Soviet Union's southern border. Quite a few professional agents were involved, including, for instance, Summerower. Although nominally he was a UN official, he was engaged in activities that had nothing to do with agricultural problems he was supposed to tackle. According to Western press reports, Summerower made topographic surveys along the Soviet-Afghan border and provided descriptions of the roads and mountain passes there.

In the 1950s US imperialism began to use Pakistan in implementing its policy of putting pressure on Afghanistan.

Imperialist pressure on Afghanistan reached a peak in 1955 when the aggressive Baghdad Pact or CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) was formed. The USA, Britain and other Western powers hoped to force Afghanistan to change its foreign policy and turn Pushtunistan into a strategic bridgehead for aggression against the USSR. To this end they fanned Afghan-Pakistani differences, practically inciting an armed confrontation between the two Asian countries. Spurred on by imperialist forces Pakistan denied Afghanistan transit rights for shipping commodities across its territory. In fact the West and Pakistani reactionary forces subjected Afghanistan to an economic blockade. The idea was to break the resistance of the Afghan people and draw their country into a military and political alliance with imperialism.

The Afghan press spoke out against the aggressive actions of the imperialist powers in Western Asia, including the US attempts to turn Afghanistan into a seat of constant tension and their stronghold in that region. It was pointed out that "if Pakistan strengthens its army with American help or allows the USA to have bases on its territory in exchange for arms, such actions will run counter to the efforts to consolidate peace and security in the Middle East" (*Anis*, December 29, 1953).

The West took a hostile attitude toward Afghanistan's policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment. It continued to resort to all possible ways and means in an attempt to impose a pro-imperialist policy on Afghanistan. As the Afghan Foreign Minister remarked in February 1960, "the United States extends its aid with political conditions. For instance, it links it to Afghanistan's entry into a military bloc. However, this condition does not suit us. The Afghan government pursues a policy of neutrality and is not going to join any blocs".

* * *

1978 marked a turning point in Afghanistan's history. The National-Democratic April Revolution brought to power progressive forces led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. The revolutionary government declared that in the field of domestic policy it would carry out a series of social, economic and cultural reforms with the aim of build-

ing a just, democratic society. In the foreign-policy field, the government said, it would pursue a consistent anti-imperialist line incorporating the principles of non-alignment and solidarity with peace-loving forces and progressive, revolutionary processes around the world.

However, such a turn of events did not suit the imperialists and world reactionary forces. The enemies of independent and democratic Afghanistan hastened to revise their approach to that country. The objective, however, remained the same, namely, to subjugate Afghanistan and deprive it of sovereignty and freedom. Only the tactics were changed. Backstage intrigues, bribes and blackmail were replaced by outright interference and acts of armed intervention. At the same time a malicious anti-Afghan campaign was launched to distort the class essence of the changes in Afghanistan, to give false reasons for the tension on its borders, and discredit the Soviet Union's assistance to its friendly neighbour in repulsing imperialist aggression.

It is the purpose of this book to dispel the false notions about revolutionary Afghanistan that are being spread in the West and to give a truthful picture of the events taking place both inside that country and around it. The reader, it is hoped, whatever his political convictions or orientation may be, will, after acquainting himself with the material presented here, much of which is of a documentary character, be able to form an objective view of what is happening in one of the tensest spots in the world today.

THE APRIL REVOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN

The 1978 April National-Democratic Revolution was a turning point in the life of this ancient Asian state, Afghanistan. The Revolution was accomplished in the interests of the mass of the working people. Its main objective was to take the country out of its age-old backwardness and put it on the road of modern development.

Afghanistan used to be one of the world's most backward countries. Tourists visiting the country had the impression of being taken back to the Dark Ages on a time machine. Per capita national income in 1975 was merely 160 dollars.

In the field of health protection the country held 119th place among the 129 states covered by UN statistics. As for education, it ranked 127th, for the vast majority of the population—more than 90 per cent—could neither read nor write. Agriculture accounted for 67 per cent of national income. The peasantry was under the oppression of the feudal lords, landowners and usurers, to whom most peasants were indebted all their lives. More than a third of arable land was not cultivated. Thirty-five per cent of the peasant households had no land of their own at all.

The development of the feudal society into a capitalist one was a slow process lasting several decades, and it led to the concentration of wealth in the hands of several thousand families of rich landowners, usurers and traders, on the one hand, and the impoverishment of millions of working people, on the other.

The anti-feudal democratic revolution was a logical outcome of the internal development of Afghan society which had become ripe for radical social and political changes. And

it was the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) that led the struggle for such changes. By that time the Party was the only organized force capable of taking over political power. The country was proclaimed a democratic republic on April 30, 1978. In accordance with the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan adopted in April 1980, which actually serve as the country's constitution, state power belongs to the working people in town and country. It rests on the broad-based National Fatherland Front which unites workers, peasants, artisans, nomads, members of the intelligentsia, women, youth, representatives of all nationalities and tribes, all progressive, democratic and patriotic forces and public and political organizations. Despite the bitter opposition of the external and internal reactionary forces, the PDPA is carrying out progressive social and economic changes in the interests of the vast majority of the population.

Of tremendous importance for the life of new Afghanistan was the Land and Water Reform since agriculture is the occupation of four-fifths of the country's able-bodied population. Under the reform more than 350,000 peasant families were provided with land. The new government cancelled all peasant debts to the usurers, which ran into a total of 700 million dollars. It also raised the purchase prices of cotton, sugar beet and wheat and reduced the prices of mineral fertilizer and farming implements.

The state is giving many-sided assistance, including easy-term credits, to the emergent peasant cooperatives. The credits are used for buying tractors, water pumps, chemical fertilizer, and high-grade seeds. Many cooperatives have received equipment for drilling artesian wells, hundreds of ploughs, and thousands of tons of fodder free of charge. The Agricultural Development Bank also helps peasants by granting them big loans. The problem of water supply to peasant households is also being resolved successfully. And this is a matter of special importance, considering the arid climate and low fertility of the soil.

The steps taken by the Afghan government in the farming sector are already bringing tangible results. More than two million hectares were sown to various crops in the 1984 spring sowing season, which meant that the planned targets were fulfilled. And the grain harvest that year was above 4.5 million tons, exceeding the pre-revolutionary yields.

As the Afghan leader Babrak Karmal has observed, the

results show that the policy of the Party and the revolutionary state has the full support of the peasants, among whom there is a growing political awareness and sense of patriotic responsibility for the future of the country's economic advancement.

Democratic Afghanistan has also made considerable headway in the field of industrial development. While prior to 1978 both the mining and processing industries accounted for just 3.3 per cent of the GNP, at present this figure already tops 10 per cent. Investments in industry in post-revolutionary years have exceeded 55,000 million Afghanis, or 80 per cent of all investments in the national economy over the twenty years preceding the Revolution. In 1984 investments in the public and mixed sectors increased by 50 per cent and approximately 100 factories were put into operation fully or partially in addition to the 267 industrial plants that were already functioning.

Among the largest projects built in recent years are the Jarkuduq gas-fields, the ferro-concrete supports factory in Pul-i-Khumri, the textile mill in Kandahar, the cement works in Herat, the heavy-duty lorry service centre in Kabul, the motor and railway bridge across the Amu Darya, etc.

The private sector is taking a more and more active part in the country's economic development. The government encourages private investments in the consumer goods industry, crafts, trade, and livestock and crop farming. For the first time Afghanistan has set up a Chamber of Commerce and Industry to protect local merchants and industrialists from foreign competition. The Chamber consists of private businessmen, and more than 20 traders' associations function within its framework.

The Soviet Union has helped Afghanistan considerably in setting up its public sector. Afghanistan has built about 100 industrial enterprises with Soviet assistance. About 90 others are now being designed. Those already put into operation account for more than 70 per cent of the country's total industrial output. Among them are the hydropower stations in Naglu and Pul-i-Khumri, the nitrogenous fertilizer plant in Mazar-i-Sharif, and the bakery and the house-building plant in Kabul.

Other socialist countries have also helped to build the Afghan economy. For instance, credits granted by Czechoslovakia have made it possible to lay a trolleybus line

in Kabul, supply equipment for coal mines, and build a cement works in Herat.

Bulgaria has helped Afghanistan to build a poultry farm and a sheep-breeding complex and to set up a number of silk farms. The two countries have signed several new agreements providing, among other things, for the construction of a major poultry farm complex, a dairy farm, a brick factory, a tannery, and two fish farms.

The German Democratic Republic is taking part in building an automatic telephone exchange in Kabul, laying communication lines, and expanding the power supply systems in several cities. Agreement has also been reached with Hungary on its participation in building a pharmaceutical plant.

Trade and other economic links between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and capitalist countries also continue to grow. Attempts by the USA and some of its allies to impose an economic blockade on Afghanistan have failed. Afghanistan's trade with Japan, for instance, has increased by one-third in recent years. And the setting up of a joint Afghan-Japanese trading firm has opened fresh opportunities for the development of bilateral relations.

The Federal Republic of Germany also figures prominently in Afghanistan's trade with capitalist countries. Afghanistan exports nearly half of its carpets and rugs to the Federal Republic of Germany. Afghan astrakhan is in high demand in the West and its sales have topped 42 million dollars at the London auctions alone.

Among the developing countries India holds a leading place in trade with Afghanistan. Trade turnover with India has increased by 50 per cent over the five post-revolutionary years.

While taking steps to build up the national economy, the Afghan leadership gives much attention to solving social problems. More and more trade unions, youth and women's organizations have come into being, and they are beginning to take an ever more active part in the social and political life of the country. The role of the working class is growing. Through trade unions workers conclude collective agreements with factory managers, which results in better pay and working conditions. Many workers have been nominated for leading posts in the government.

A short while ago the Afghan government endorsed a draft labour law and adopted a decision on the admission of workers from the public sector industries to specialized secon-

dary and higher schools. These measures guarantee equal rights of all workers regardless of their nationality, age, sex or other factors. The new labour law pays much attention to the constructive role of the growing working class in solving problems of production and of improving the efficiency of factories, offices and organizations, and in building a new society. The law protects the rights and interests of workers in clearly defined terms.

The decision on admission to specialized secondary and higher schools enables those who create the country's material wealth to get a specialized secondary or higher education. Through its enterprises the state bears the entire cost of workers' professional training.

The Afghan government has raised wages and salaries by 26 per cent on the average, with the lowest-paid getting a 40 to 50 per cent pay increase. The importance of such measures can hardly be overestimated. Thanks to government subsidies the prices of prime necessities such as petrol, diesel fuel, kerosene, and sugar remain unchanged and wheat, flour and firewood are distributed at fixed prices.

The educational reform is also well under way. It opens the door to knowledge for the broad sections of the population. The country is building more and more schools and opening more and more colleges. It has set up an Academy of Sciences and organized thousands of literacy courses. For the first time the ethnic minorities have schools where instruction is in their own languages.

Considerable headway has been made in health protection. The network of medical centres, including those in difficult-to-reach areas, is expanding. A decision has been taken to introduce free medical service. Free hospitals have already opened in Kabul and other cities. Drugs and medicines are sold at reduced prices. Many categories of factory workers and office employees as well as peasants and poor people can have them free of charge.

The authorities pay immense attention to religious affairs. In its address to the nation on April 28, 1978, the new leadership declared that the Revolution had been accomplished to protect the principles of Islam and democracy. The government proclaimed complete freedom of worship. A state fund has been set up to finance the construction and repair of mosques and more permits are being issued for pilgrims performing a Hadj to Mecca to visit Muslim shrines. All Muslim holidays are widely observed in the country. A

supplement to the Land Reform Act stipulates that the *waqf* lands belonging to Muslim religious shrines such as mosques and madrasahs cannot be confiscated and are to remain at the disposal of their trustees. Excessive lands owned by theologians, imams, khatibs as well as followers of other religions are also exempt from expropriation and remain in their ownership and use.

The National-Democratic Revolution was a turning point in Afghan history. It changed both the country's political make-up and the destiny of its people. The recent developments have shown beyond any doubt that those social, economic and political changes are irreversible.

* * *

The enemies of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are trying in every way to denigrate the positive changes that have been carried out in that country since the April Revolution. However, more and more foreign visitors to the republic tell their people the truth about life in Afghanistan.

For instance, *the British trade unionist Dick Foggie* says that Afghanistan is a wonderful country inhabited by wonderful people. The Afghans are trying to build a new society, he points out, and, naturally, this involves considerable difficulties. But nobody shuts their eyes to them. The Afghans, says Dick Foggie, have confidence in their new government and the programme of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

The well-known Indian journalist Girish Mathur says that contrary to the allegations by Western propaganda the Afghan people wholeheartedly support their government and are active in building a new life. Much progress has been achieved in the social and economic spheres in recent years, he points out. The Land Reform is well under way and big efforts are being made to end both illiteracy and poverty.

A veteran of Japan's Socialist movement, Toshio Tanaka, says that after a visit to several factories and rural areas in Afghanistan he is convinced that the Revolution there is developing successfully. Even in 1978 ninety-five per cent of the Afghans could neither read nor write, he points out. He notes that at the literacy classes conducted in cities and rural areas, inside buildings and in the open air, both teachers and students show great enthusiasm.

Shankar Dayal Sharma, a member of the Indian Parliament, notes that Afghanistan has made considerable progress since the Revolution. The situation in the country is returning to normal despite outside interference. More and more factories are being put into operation. The government's policy of encouraging private business also helps promote industrial growth. What impressed him most, however, is the Land Reform. It is not confined to a redistribution of land in favour of the poor peasant families. The cooperative movement is growing, he points out, and peasants are now freed from their debts to landowners and usurers. Sharma emphasizes the success of the campaign to eliminate illiteracy held under the slogan "Everybody at the school desk". The revolutionary government has put an end to discrimination against ethnic minorities in the field of culture and language and created conditions for the free development of all of them. The republic's leaders are carrying out reforms with full respect for the religious feelings, customs and traditions of the peoples of Afghanistan. The government is giving all possible support, including financial help, to the Muslim clergy.

Peter Bitzer, a correspondent of the West German magazine "Stern", points out that people in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have chosen the path of progress. During his recent stay there he saw that life in that country was following a normal course. Meetings with the country's leaders have convinced him that the road to the future is open to the Afghan people.

Appendix

From the Report by Babrak KARMAL, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Delivered at a Celebration Meeting in Kabul Held on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Formation of the PDPA

These days all genuine patriots of Afghanistan and our friends abroad are celebrating the 20th anniversary of the formation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. It is for the first time in the history of the Party that we officially celebrate its anniversary. During the years which have elapsed since its foundation our Party has gradually turned from scattered and numerically small groups and circles into a ruling revolutionary party of a new type which unites in its ranks thousands upon thousands of the best representatives of the working people.

Under the leadership of the PDPA the glorious April Revolution triumphed. It has opened a new chapter in the history of our country. The foundation of the PDPA is the logical result of the socio-political development. The establishment of the Party was preceded by the long struggle by progressive-minded representatives of Afghan society for the consolidation of national independence, democratization of the country and social progress.

In our country, as in many countries of the world, progressive social thought and the entire democratic movement received a powerful impetus thanks to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The national and progressive forces, which had taken root in Afghan society long time ago, were forming political trends and groupings which organized a new democratic opposition to royal absolutism, feudal lords, bureaucrats and the comprador bourgeoisie, to political, cultural and commercial penetration of imperialism. These forces were heterogeneous both from the class point of view and the point of view of

ideology. They were still divorced from the mass of the people. Yet, they promoted a new approach towards realities among the progressive intellectuals including army men and advanced workers. In this way they helped weaken the oppressive reactionary monarchical regime and furnished the prerequisite conditions for the future changes in Afghanistan's history.

January 1, 1965, became the birthday of a new Party, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. On this day, the First Congress of the PDPA was held in clandestine conditions in Kabul. At the congress, the general programme and organizational principles of the Party were approved and the Central Committee was elected.

Since its very foundation, the PDPA proved to be a Party of revolutionary thought and action. It was the only Party among all the political forces and groups of Afghanistan to realize that at the present historical stage only the national-democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution would open up real prospects for overthrowing feudal-bureaucratic rule and ensuring genuine national freedom and social progress. The first Programme of the Party, published in the *Khalq* newspaper, put it just like that. It laid down the following basic tasks: to overthrow the feudal anti-popular exploiter regime, take over political power and ensure transition to a non-capitalist path of development. As the final goal the PDPA Programme declared the building of socialism in Afghanistan.

The formation of the PDPA ushered in a new phase in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the country. Our Party, in becoming a leading party, took upon itself a great historical responsibility for the destiny of the Revolution, people and Homeland.

Presently the PDPA is growing steadily and turning into a truly mass party. At the time of the April Revolution its membership was 18,000. During the past six and a half years, despite all the difficulties and losses, the number of the members and candidate members has reached 120,000. The number of workers, peasants and craftsmen in the ranks of the Party is constantly growing. Today, they constitute 30 per cent of the Party membership and their number is continuing to grow. During the past two to three years more than 50 per cent of the new Party members in the majority of the provincial Party committees were either workers, peasants or craftsmen. Today our Party unites representatives of more

than 20 fraternal nationalities and tribes of the country. Rallied in the ranks of one Party they are fighting to fulfil their revolutionary tasks. Party organizations have been established and are functioning in all provinces, cities, most of the districts and sub-districts, in collectives of working people, military units and in many of the villages.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is celebrating the 20th anniversary of its formation in the conditions of an intense class and anti-imperialist struggle. To repulse the enemy and ensure victory in the undeclared war imposed on us is the most important task of the Party and all the people. Our Party is a militant party. Sixty per cent of its members are fighting in the ranks of the Armed Forces. The Party members constitute the nuclei of the detachments and groups of defenders of the Revolution and local self-defence groups; they not only work but stand guard over the security and order in their localities.

The path traversed by our Party during the past 20 years has been an arduous one. In the process of its formation and development, the Party was faced with a number of subjective and objective difficulties and obstacles. The general backwardness and the inadequate development of socio-economic relations, the low level of class and political awareness of the different strata of the working people, inadequate national and cultural maturity inevitably had an adverse effect on the Party. The social composition of the Party was limited mainly to intellectuals. The class political awareness of the Party members and their knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism were at a very low level.

The semi-legal position of the Party made it difficult to create an extensive organizational structure and expand the links of the Party with the masses. In the Party life the powerful impact of intellectual individualism, group, nationalistic and tribal interests, lack of unity and petty-bourgeois factionalism was strongly felt. It should be remembered that special imperialist services and the ruling monarchical circles also instill their agents in the Party ranks in order to undermine the unity and combat capability of the Party. Shortcomings and unrectified defects manifested themselves in the first phase of the Revolution as well. Many of the mistakes of our Party stemmed from this state of affairs.

Today, on this festive occasion, it might perhaps seem inappropriate to remember our difficulties and our mistakes or, as the saying goes, we should not sprinkle salt over the

wounds. But we speak frankly and openly about these bitter experiences because we want above everything else that such mistakes are never repeated by anyone.

Now the Party is more united than at any other time in the past. Now the Party has grown up and crosses beyond its twenties, entering the third decade of its life having reached a high degree of maturity. Ensuring the organic unity of the Party from the standpoint of ideology, policy and organization will remain a permanent task for us, as long as the classes and the class struggle exist in the national and international arenas. Yes, the struggle for the unity of the Party is not a lightening campaign, but a continuous and intensive work of all Party committees, organizations and all Party members.

The April Revolution was accomplished in order to make the life of the people better. However, the cause of our present difficulties lies neither in the heavy load of the multitude of problems inherited from the previous regimes nor in the mistakes we had made.

The main cause of these difficulties is the open and persistent unwillingness of international imperialism and reaction to reconcile themselves to the existence of an independent and progressive Afghanistan and their attempts to suppress our Revolution. Hundreds of millions of dollars, pounds and marks are being spent on organizing and training counter-revolutionary bands, equipping them with the most sophisticated weapons, including heavy weapons, conducting the unbridled and slanderous anti-Afghan propaganda campaign and deceiving the world public. Realizing the futility of their attempts to overthrow revolutionary power by means of arms, they try to disrupt the economic life of the country and doom the people to privations and hunger.

The world is still poorly informed about the scale of the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Here I will give only a few examples. Counter-revolutionaries have destroyed 1,814 schools, 31 hospitals, 11 health centres, 906 peasant cooperatives, hundreds of trucks, 14,000 kilometres of telephone lines and hundreds of electric poles. The total loss incurred as a result of the crimes of counter-revolutionaries exceeded 35,000 million Afghanis. But all the attempts of imperialism and reaction aimed at disrupting our economy and checking our progress along the chosen path are doomed to failure. The enemies have gained only one thing: they have completely exposed their anti-popular nature.

The successful implementation of the basic tasks in the current phase of the Revolution, including the struggle against counter-revolution, requires that we pay serious and close attention to the state of affairs at the economic front. Our achievements in the economic sphere are still very modest. However, we have the right to speak about them, for we have achieved these gains under very difficult conditions.

The measures taken by the Party and government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have made it possible to achieve a stable rate of rehabilitating industrial production. For example, during the last year the industrial production increased by 15 per cent.

Today we can proudly state that the decisions of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the PDPA have been successfully fulfilled. During the last year (by the Afghan calendar) industrial output reached the pre-revolutionary level. This means that a major task was accomplished not only economically but also politically. The plans for industrial production and construction in the current year are also being on the whole fulfilled.

The Party pays special attention to the growth of the public sector. The share of this sector in the national economy has increased by 20 per cent after the victory of the April Revolution. The public sector is the basic factor in ensuring stability of the country's economy.

The service of the PDPA lies in that, for the first time in Afghan history, the implementation of a democratic Land and Water Reform was made a primary goal. The great importance of this reform for peasants can hardly be overestimated. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has recently approved a number of legislative acts which more accurately regulate the land and water relations. It is very important from the political point of view that now the peasants themselves are taking more extensive and active part in the implementation of the Land and Water Reform through the peasant councils. All this has made it possible to overcome a certain stagnation in the process of the implementation of the Land and Water Reform.

We point out with satisfaction that the majority of the country's irrigation networks in the localities are in operation and new systems are also being built. This fact is of vital importance for the peasants and the economy of the country as a whole.

The Party and the government attach considerable im-

portance to the development of various forms of mutual economic assistance, i.e. to consumer, purchasing and marketing, and producers' cooperatives. A total of 308 agricultural cooperatives, 138 consumer and craftsmen cooperatives and 140 cooperative stores have been established. This is not much, but we are confident that this is only the beginning, although herein lie great prospects. While helping themselves, the mass of the people helps the Revolution as well. It is not so much the economic aspect that is important, but also the fact that the collective work and community of interests bring people closer together and promote their unity in the name of the common goal.

Now we come to social issues. The solution of these issues greatly depends on the economic situation.

For example, within the last five years, the salaries and wages of the workers and employees of the public sector were raised twice. The state is allocating large sums of money for maintaining stable prices of goods of prime necessity for workers and employees and for subsidizing public transport.

The purchasing prices of raw cotton and sugar beet were raised twice. The selling price of chemical fertilizer was reduced.

Extensive work has been done to eradicate illiteracy among the citizens. More than a million people have completed the literacy courses. The annual circulation of daily newspapers has increased by 180 per cent during the past five years while the volume of broadcasts and telecasts has gone up by 100 per cent within the same period. It must be pointed out that our mass media are publishing and broadcasting materials in many languages of different tribes and nationalities of Afghanistan. Considerable attention is being paid to the public health system. During the past five years, the number of hospital beds has increased by 84 per cent and the number of doctors by 45 per cent.

Now we are taking new steps for drawing the toiling masses on a greater scale into the management of state affairs, first of all in the localities. The law on the local bodies of state power and administration in the DRA has been approved. Under this law, the people's representatives to the provincial, district, sub-district and village councils (Jirgahs) will be elected in a democratic way, first of all as the nominees of the National Fatherland Front, which unites all the mass public organizations and all the national patriotic forces. The Jirgahs of the people's representatives and their executive

committees will be the new bodies of power and administration in the localities. Working in them will be patriots of all nations, nationalities and tribes of the country.

The mass public organizations are playing an increasingly greater part in the drawing of the working people, on a broader scale, into the participation in the life of the country. The trade unions, the union of agricultural cooperatives, the democratic youth organizations, the democratic organizations of Afghan women, the peace, solidarity and friendship organization, the unions of creative intellectuals, councils of ulemas and clergy, etc., have been established in the country and are developing successfully and steadily. The authority of these organizations and their impact on social life are constantly growing. All these organizations are a part of the National Fatherland Front, which is the embodiment of the unity of all the patriotic forces of Afghanistan.

However, what has been achieved cannot satisfy us. We still have unfulfilled basic tasks and today we must talk about them. First of all, armed counter-revolution must be crushed. We are not hiding our concern over the present situation and we do not want to reconcile ourselves to this situation. The unresolved issue here is that the military efforts must be linked with the natural striving of the people for a peaceful life and with their increasing resistance to counter-revolution.

The key to solving all the problems lies in further strengthening and developing the PDPA. The Party must have a more mass character and become a true example of organization and discipline. The general ideological and political level of Party members, their education in Marxism-Leninism and their political convictions and maturity must be enhanced. The Party must become more active than before in all political, economic and social spheres. Such are some of the basic tasks of the Party and revolutionary power.

In the Programme of our Party, published in 1966, the PDPA proclaimed the struggle for peace throughout the world, against a new world war and for peaceful coexistence the basic principle of its foreign policy.

After having become the ruling Party, our Party proved its loyalty to this principle. We have taken all the possible measures for the strengthening of peace and its defence. That is why the PDPA and the government of the DRA resolutely support the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aimed at strengthening peace and ensuring peoples' security throughout the world.

It is natural and logical that our stand coincides with that of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as regards the major international problems of the contemporary world. This fact can be explained by the history and essence of Afghan-Soviet relations. On behalf of the PDPA and the entire national and patriotic forces of Afghanistan, I declare that the relations between our country and the Soviet Union, the relations between our parties, governments and peoples are the relations of fraternity, deep understanding and cooperation.

To characterize the essence of these relations, it is necessary to stress the following:

First, the Soviet Union has always rendered assistance to Afghanistan in consolidating its national independence and territorial integrity in the most vital moments in the life of our people. This friendly assistance has been rendered constantly within the last 65 years. During all this time, the Soviet Union has never imposed any political terms on our country and has never demanded any political concessions from us.

Second, the Soviet Union has always helped solve our fundamental economic problems. Cooperation and assistance of the Soviet Union have always helped in the strengthening of our economic independence through radically changing the backward socio-economic structures and building up the material and technical base of its own, which would ensure our subsequent progress. About 60 per cent of the total industrial output of Afghanistan is produced at the projects built within the framework of Afghan-Soviet cooperation.

It is also extremely significant that in the course of Afghan-Soviet cooperation, the process of the formation in our country of the national working class engaged in technologically modern production has been accelerated. During the past thirty years, 75,000 skilled workers have been trained at the projects of Afghan-Soviet cooperation.

The Soviet Union helps our people eliminate the consequences of the damage being caused by armed counter-revolution.

Third, the Soviet Union has made a valuable contribution to the development of our culture, science, and education, and to the training of national intelligentsia.

The Kabul Polytechnical Institute, auto-mechanical specialized secondary school in Kabul and a specialized secondary school in Mazar-i-Sharif have been built and equipped with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union. The

Institute of Social Sciences under the PDPA Central Committee has won great prestige as a training centre for state and Party cadres.

Finally, it is with the feeling of deep gratitude and appreciation that we speak about the unprecedented internationalist assistance rendered by the Soviet Union in the most difficult days for our country. The heroic sons of the Soviet Union have come to help the Afghan people defend the independence and integrity of the country and safeguard the April Revolution.

We mention with gratitude and satisfaction the valuable contribution made by other socialist countries to the defence of, and support for, new Afghanistan and the April Revolution. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the government of the DRA and the people of Afghanistan attach tremendous importance to the further development of fraternal relations with the ruling parties, governments and peoples of these countries.

The serious deterioration of the present-day international situation, the responsibility for which rests, first of all, with the USA, has caused the profound anxiety and concern of our Party and government. The continuation by the US Administration of the policy of creating tensions, whipping up war hysteria, escalating the arms race aimed at forcing its will from the position of strength is in contradiction with the basic interests of the peoples and increases the threat of a nuclear war. The concentration of the US strategic and nuclear forces in Western Europe and the Middle East, in the Indian Ocean, in South-East Asia, the Far East, and in Central America are all links of a single chain.

The Party and the government of the DRA and all the people of Afghanistan cannot remain aloof from the struggle for peace and life on our planet. That is why we express our profound concern over the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in Western Europe and declare our solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of European countries for the restoration of detente in their continent.

We shall firmly support the struggle for the just and democratic settlement of the problems of the Middle East. A comprehensive and lasting settlement of these problems must be based on the restoration of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish a state of their own, on the complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all occupied Arab

territories, and on the ensurance of the legitimate rights and interests of all the states in the region.

Our approach to the problems of East and South-East Asia has always been and will remain immutable. We express our full solidarity with the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Kampuchea in their struggle for building a new society and against the interference of the forces of imperialism and hegemonism in their internal affairs. We consider the initiative of the three countries of Indochina on turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, goodneighbourliness and cooperation to be constructive. We support the efforts and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government of the DRA express their anxiety and concern over the deterioration of the situation in Central America. We condemn the intervention in Grenada, the support for the anti-popular and reactionary forces in El Salvador, the hostile actions against, and preparation for, intervention in Nicaragua, and the threats against Cuba.

We have declared on many occasions that the limited military contingent of the Soviet Union which has been brought into our country at the legitimate request of the DRA and in full accord with Article 4 of the Treaty of Friendship, Goodneighbourliness and Cooperation between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and Article 51 of the UN Charter, to ward off aggression and armed intervention from abroad, will not remain in Afghanistan permanently. This contingent will return to the Soviet Union upon agreement with the DRA, when armed intervention and acts of aggression from abroad are ceased and guarantees are provided that they would not be started again.

Almost every day fresh reports pour in on the delivery of new weapons to Pakistan by the Reagan Administration, the Peking leadership and a number of reactionary regimes. Against whom is this military might to be directed?

The answer is clear. Here, in the heart of Asia, imperialism and the reaction of the region seek to establish the centre of their influence and military power and to strangle our Revolution.

Under the present circumstances, we, naturally, take all the necessary measures to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of our country. Our goal is peace and goodneighbourliness in the region.

Our Party and the government of the DRA once again confirm our previous initiatives for the settlement of controversial and unresolved problems with Pakistan and Iran. We assess as positive the talks with Pakistan which are being held through the personal representative of the UN Secretary-General. The PDPA and the government of the DRA display a constructive approach to the question of the speediest political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

In this connection we emphatically stress that the conclusion of an agreement between the DRA and Pakistan and Iran on the normalization of relations and non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, which should be accompanied by reliable international guarantees, as well as the return of refugees to their homeland, will provide the necessary prerequisite conditions for the solution of the question of the further stay of the Soviet limited military contingent in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The strict observance by the sides of the agreements reached and their complete implementation by all the parties concerned would make it possible to achieve the genuine political solution of all the problems. The most important step towards this end could be direct talks between the DRA and Pakistan and Iran.

We declare once again that our people are prepared to continue to defend heroically the gains of their Revolution. Our people will never swerve from the path they have chosen and nobody should doubt their firm resolve to deal a crushing blow to any aggressor and not to submit to the pressure from abroad. Where Afghanistan is concerned, there are no problems which could not be solved in a just and democratic manner and through political settlements. If such a thing proves impossible today, we, together with our friends, will work persistently and with perseverance to achieve the solution of the problems tomorrow.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will continue actively to participate in the Non-Aligned Movement so as to make use of every opportunity for the consolidation of peace and security of peoples.

We are determined to facilitate in every possible way the peaceful and democratic solution of burning international issues within the framework of the United Nations, and will support all the efforts of the Organization in this regard.

Today, Afghanistan has been recognized by 80 countries. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan maintains

relations with 103 fraternal communist and workers' parties, progressive movements and organizations. We are grateful to all our foreign friends and supporters for their internationalist solidarity with our Party and Revolution, for their support of our anti-imperialist struggle and for the spreading of truth about revolutionary Afghanistan.

Kabul, January 10, 1985

Message to the Afghan People

Given below is the Message of the Participants in the Jubilee Meeting of the Central Committee of the PDPA, the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers of the DRA on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Formation of the PDPA, to All Members and Candidate Members of the PDPA and to the Afghan People.

Dear countrymen,

We, the participants in this gala meeting devoted to the 20th anniversary of the formation of the PDPA, prompted by the will, feelings and thoughts of all the patriots of the country, address ourselves on this historical day to our Party and the people, calling upon them to rally ever more closely around the Central Committee of the PDPA and the Revolutionary Council of the DRA in the name of high and humane ideals of the April Revolution.

The glorious PDPA actually unites in its ranks the best sons and daughters of our people. The service to our people and the ensuring of prosperous future for them are the basis and the substance of the Party activities. Our Party has struggled and will continue to struggle for the social and national progress of Afghanistan, for eliminating its economic and cultural backwardness, for ensuring just distribution of land and water and for drawing more people in solving the vital problems of the country.

New revolutionary power in the country is the power of workers, peasants, craftsmen and all working people and patriots. The leading force of new revolutionary power is the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Under the leadership of the PDPA, our country is going over from centuries-old backwardness to progress. New industrial enterprises, hydropower stations and irrigation systems are being built. New roads, bridges, schools, hospitals and mosques are under

construction. The buildings of public institutions which were ruined by counter-revolutionaries are being repaired and restored. All these measures are being taken to ensure happiness and welfare of the working people of the country.

The hopes that our people have been cherishing for long are being realized through the revolutionary efforts of our Party. The cause of the Party has become the common cause of the people.

The PDPA considers the extensive participation of the people in defending the gains of the April Revolution and in the development of the revolutionary process in the country as a reliable guarantee of the success of the Revolution.

The broad masses of the working people of the country, for the first time in the history of our country, have acquired the possibility of extensive participation in the solution of the problems of the society and the state through their representatives in the tribal Jirgahs (councils), the National Fatherland Front of the DRA and other public organizations of the country.

Likewise, the PDPA regards the promotion and deepening of the process of unity of the national and patriotic forces of the country as a guarantee of the triumph of the Revolution. Common ideal of the progress and prosperity of our united country, the observance of historical features and accepted traditions of various tribes and nationalities of our country and respect for the sacred religion of Islam constitute the firm foundation of this unity.

Harmony and prosperity of all tribes and nationalities, of every family and every individual in our country are possible only through the realization of the policy of our revolutionary Party and government.

Patriots of our country! Support the policy of our revolutionary state which respects the sacred religion of Islam and the religious beliefs and rites of the people!

Popularize the lofty ideals of the revolutionary power and expose those who seek to use Islam as a means of deceit in order to mislead the people and set them against our revolutionary state!

Elders of tribes, clans and nationalities and wise senior citizens of Afghanistan!

Our revolutionary Party and government openly proclaimed as their goal the ensuring of a better life for the people of our country and strive to realize this goal in practice. Our people's power expresses the interests of all

nationalities, tribes, and clans of our country which, through their elected representatives, obtain the possibility to participate in state activities.

Long live unity of all national patriotic forces of Afghanistan!

Long live the National Fatherland Front of the DRA!

Glorious youth of our country! In the struggle for making your country prosperous, be a reliable bulwark of the Party and worthy successors of the traditions and glory of your people!

Take an active part in the construction of the new society and in its defence!

Compatriots living far from our Homeland! On behalf of our single and common Homeland, the free and revolutionary Afghanistan, we call upon you to return to your country, to your home and hearth, your kith and kin and friends! Come and take part in the construction of a new life and in making Afghanistan a flourishing land!

True sons and daughters of the country!

A serious external danger is looming over our country. World imperialism and regional reaction have been persistently organizing a large-scale undeclared war against our country and Revolution. It is armed counter-revolution inspired and financed from abroad that is the real enemy of the Afghan people and of all peace-loving people of the world.

We have to defend our Revolution, freedom, independence and territorial integrity and the right of our people to live in peace. We are further strengthening our valiant and powerful armed forces and are organizing groups of defenders of the Revolution, self-defence groups, tribal regiments and militia.

We threaten nobody. Our aim is to stop the undeclared war against Afghanistan and create conditions for national reconciliation and mutual understanding.

The PDPA and the government of the DRA call upon the people to establish peace throughout the country and to create the possibilities for friendly and joint work in the name of the flourishing of the country and well-being of the people. It is only such a policy that can make it possible to find just and democratic solutions to the problems facing all the patriotic forces of Afghanistan.

Patriots of Afghanistan!

Support with your consistent struggle and constructive

work the policy of the PDPA and the revolutionary government of the DRA!

Mobilize all your energy for the cause of peace and tranquillity in your ancient land!

Rally around the PDPA and the government of the DRA!

Support the plans of the people's power for the development of industry, repair and reconstruction of institutions, schools, roads, hospitals and mosques ruined by counter-revolution!

Rally around the Party organizations and the bodies of people's power in your localities!

Join the ranks of the defenders of the Revolution and the self-defence groups!

Bring closer the final and decisive victory over counter-revolution by your creative work and relentless struggle!

Make the life hell for the Dushmans, these mercenaries of reaction and imperialism!

Let those who have stained their hands with the blood of the Afghan revolutionaries and patriots, meet their deserved fate!

Do not spare efforts in the struggle against armed counter-revolution!

We call upon all those who hold peace, the country, the family and the future of their children dear, to rise up in defence of the Revolution!

Every Afghan patriot should accomplish his great duty in the defence of his beloved Homeland, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan!

While celebrating the 20th anniversary of its founding the PDPA regards it as its urgent task to continue strengthening and expanding its links with the masses.

The might of the Party lies in its unity with the people!

The might of the people lies in their unity with the Party and in the wise leadership of the Party!

We call upon all patriots to be closer to the people, always work among them and convey the humane aspirations of the Party to them, so that they become aware of the truth of the Party policy and the people's power in the country and become convinced that the cause of the Party is a reflection of the reality of their own life.

No Party member should ever remain aloof from this important matter!

Dear compatriots!

Our people, the Party and the revolutionary government

have enjoyed and will continue to enjoy in their struggle for the perfection and defence of the gains of the Revolution the reliable, generous and disinterested support of our great friend, neighbour and ally, the Soviet Union, socialist countries and all the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world.

Internationalist solidarity with the April Revolution is a major and important prerequisite for the irreversibility of the Revolution and a reliable guarantee of its victory over the imperialist and reactionary forces.

We, too, are aware of our responsibility for the defence of the Revolution and are making our weighty contribution to the great cause of defence of peace and progress.

Let the Afghan-Soviet friendship and the internationalist solidarity of our nation with the world revolutionary movement live for ever for the centuries to come!

Forward towards the construction of a new, prosperous and flourishing Afghanistan, under the banner of the April Revolution!

Victory belongs to the people of Afghanistan!

Long live the PDPA, the April Revolution, our people and our Homeland Afghanistan!

Kabul, January 10, 1985

USSR-AFGHANISTAN: TRADITIONS OF FRIENDSHIP

The basis of Soviet-Afghan relations was laid in the first years following the 1917 Socialist Revolution in Russia. The Revolution made null and void the imperialist Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 on the division of the spheres of influence in the East, which seriously encroached on Afghanistan's national sovereignty. The first Soviet foreign-policy acts, in particular the Decree on Peace and the appeal "To All the Working Muslims of Russia and the East", were enthusiastically welcomed by Afghanistan's patriotic circles working for their country's complete independence from Britain.

Afghanistan achieved independence in early 1919. And the Soviet state became the first officially to recognize its southern neighbour's independence.

In early April 1919, Emir Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan sent a message of friendship to Moscow in which he addressed Vladimir Lenin and his associates as "friends of mankind who undertook the noble and honourable task of working for peace and the well-being of the people and who proclaimed the principle of freedom and equality of all countries and nations of the world".

Lenin's reply to the message was dated May 27, 1919, which became an official date marking the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship signed in 1921 became a milestone in the development of bilateral ties. What are the main features of that accord which has retained its importance to this day? To begin with, it was the first equal treaty concluded by the independent Afghan state with a great power. It helped strengthen Afghanistan's political

sovereignty and positions on the world scene. British imperialism had to reckon with the fact that the Afghan people were no longer alone. The British government had for a long time refused to recognize Afghanistan's national sovereignty. However, after the Soviet-Afghan Treaty had been signed Britain was forced to recognize officially the country's independence and sovereignty.

The Treaty enshrined in legal terms the principled policy of the world's first socialist state aimed at developing friendly, equitable and mutually beneficial relations with Afghanistan. Although the young Soviet state was itself in dire straits after the devastating world war and Civil War, in keeping with the Treaty it immediately gave both economic and military aid, which was quite considerable for those days, to its southern neighbour. Among other things, it supplied equipment for telegraph lines, sent technical specialists, built a gunpowder factory, and granted a loan of one million gold roubles. That marked the beginning of technical and economic assistance by the Soviet state to Afghanistan. This assistance steadily increased in subsequent years, especially over the past few decades.

The importance of the 1921 Treaty lies in the fact that for the first time in history an inter-state agreement affirmed principles reflecting a new type of international relationship: non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, and mutual respect. These principles were later embodied in the UN Charter and in the Helsinki Final Act. The same principles formed the basis of subsequent treaties and agreements signed between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan: the 1926 Paghman Pact of Neutrality and Non-Aggression and a similar treaty signed in 1931. Thanks to the latter treaty Afghanistan was able to stand up to Nazi Germany's attempts in the late 1930s and early 1940s to violate its neutrality status and drag it into the Second World War on its side.

Forty years have passed since the end of that war, the most devastating in human history. Afghanistan was not touched by its flames, but Afghan people are well aware that this became possible only thanks to the Soviet Union, the valour of its Armed Forces, and the staunchness of its people—20 million Soviet people lost their lives in the fight against the Nazi invaders. The Nazi hordes in their advance on the Middle East and Central Asia were halted on the

banks of the Volga and the mountains of the Caucasus at the price of incredible sacrifices made by the Soviet people.

The defeat of fascism, to which the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution, saved Afghanistan and other Asian countries and peoples from Nazi enslavement. It has also paved the way for the further all-round development of Soviet-Afghan friendly ties. In postwar years Soviet economic assistance to its southern neighbour has markedly increased. The scope of bilateral economic and technical cooperation has particularly widened since the mid-1950s. Several large projects in the food, power and metal-working industries, irrigation facilities and highways were built and put into operation in Afghanistan. Trade also grew at a rapid pace.

What is important is that the Soviet Union, while giving extensive economic assistance to Afghanistan, never demanded any privileges for itself, never attached any political strings to it, never sought any advantages at the expense of its southern neighbour's national interests. Equipment supplied by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan has always been of a high quality, and it is usually sold at prices below those on the world market. Soviet credits are provided on a long-term basis, with interest rates being favourable to the Afghan side.

Intensive development of economic ties with the USSR enabled Afghanistan in the 1970s to lay the groundwork for setting up a chemical, gas and power industry and several other industrial sectors of its own. The Soviet Union also helped the Afghans to train their own specialists and skilled workers.

In recent years much has been written in the West about Soviet policy towards Afghanistan, whose authors try to find some "selfish" motives in the policy, motives that encouraged the Soviet Union to develop all-round economic and other ties with Afghanistan in the 1920s and again in the 1950s and 1970s. But their efforts are in vain, for such motives simply do not exist. The fact is that the Soviet Union is moved by a genuine desire to establish good, friendly relations with a neighbouring state.

Political relations between the Soviet republic, the world's first socialist country, and Afghanistan, a semi-feudal monarchy, were characterized by the observance of generally accepted standards of international behaviour, including recognition of each other's sovereign rights. Moreover, the relations were developed in a way that helped protect both countries' national interests. Afghanistan had always found

understanding and support on the part of the Soviet Union in pursuing a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment, in repulsing the numerous attempts by imperialist circles to draw it into aggressive military-political blocs, and in defending its right to follow an independent policy both at home and on the international scene. The Soviet Union, for its part, appreciated Afghanistan's desire to develop good relations with its northern neighbour and its firm commitment to neutrality. Afghanistan could always rely and did rely on Soviet support in pursuing this policy. That was clearly seen in the mid-1950s when relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan became extremely tense. The imperialist circles headed by the USA tried to use the Pushtun crisis to put increasing pressure on Afghanistan and involve it in their anti-Soviet strategy in the Middle East. Significantly, already then Pakistan served as a tool of US subversive, anti-Afghan actions. To deny to Afghanistan the right of transit across Pakistani territory was tantamount to an economic blockade. Under those conditions the Soviet Union complied with the Afghan government's request on the transit of goods across Soviet territory, thus giving it effective help in breaking the economic blockade.

In assessing the development of Soviet-Afghan relations prior to the 1978 National-Democratic Revolution, one should bear in mind that even in the most complex international situations they provided an example of peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation between states with different social systems. It was an example of how relations should be shaped between neighbours, including those following different paths of social development. Those relations embodied Lenin's ideas of peaceful coexistence among states.

Some Western "historians" continue to indulge in pseudo-scientific speculations. The imperialist subversive services continue to engage in purely propagandistic exercises. They are trying to call into question the sincerity of the Soviet policy of non-interference, equality and friendship towards Afghanistan, a policy which the Soviet state has followed since the Socialist Revolution of 1917. A fitting answer to all such insinuations is a statement carried by the semi-official newspaper *Kabul Times* back in 1969. Commenting on the visit to Afghanistan by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Alexei Kosygin, the newspaper said that the visit not only pointed to the cordial relations that existed between the two neighbouring countries, but was also a reminder of

the 50 years of friendship between the two peoples, a friendship that has stood the test of time.

New prospects for the development of this friendship were opened after April 1978 when Afghanistan's national patriotic forces led by the People's Democratic Party overthrew Daoud's authoritarian regime. The patriotic forces declared that their objective was to build a new, just and democratic society and pursue a consistently anti-imperialist policy in international affairs.

It is necessary here to note two important circumstances. First, the April Revolution in Afghanistan was a logical outcome of the country's social development. By the mid-1970s Afghanistan found itself in the grip of acute social and economic contradictions, which were essentially a gap between the objective needs of social progress and the semi-feudal political system under which the ruling quarters, owing to its class nature, had no interest in carrying out any serious anti-feudal social reforms. Incidentally, prior to the 1978 Revolution Soviet and Western observers were practically unanimous in their opinion that neither the monarchy nor the Daoud regime later was capable of solving those problems. And they were right.

Now the West seems to have forgotten that. Bourgeois authors and the imperialist powers' propaganda services are trying to prove something that is not supported by facts; they allege that the National-Democratic Revolution was exported from outside (that is, from the north) and virtually imposed on the Afghan people by force. Indeed, it is hard to imagine anything more absurd, anything farther removed from reality. Those trying to find traces of USSR's "involvement" in the 1978 revolutionary events in Afghanistan utterly ignore the objectively favourable external conditions for the Afghan Revolution, conditions that arose from the overall correlation of forces on the world scene.

The Soviet Union is indeed "involved" in the changes in this correlation. It is "involved" as the first and leading socialist country; it is "involved" owing to the very fact of its existence, its international prestige, and its policy, the key factor in present-day international relations. It makes it possible for nations to fight successfully for social progress, for freedom and independence. But this has nothing to do with interference in other peoples' affairs or with "export of revolution", to which the Soviet Union has always been and remains opposed as a matter of principle. And the best proof

of it is the whole history of the Soviet Union's policy towards Afghanistan, from the first days of the 1917 Socialist Revolution to the present time.

Second, the Afghan Revolution could not but have a favourable effect on Soviet-Afghan relations. The leaders of the two countries signed in Moscow on December 5, 1978, a Treaty of Friendship, Goodneighbourliness and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The Treaty incorporates the best traditions in Soviet-Afghan relations. And yet it differs substantially from the 1921 Treaty, the 1926 Paghman Pact, and other previous agreements. For it reflects a higher level, a qualitatively different nature of Soviet-Afghan relations, which are now relations of fraternal friendship and revolutionary solidarity.

The 1978 Treaty is an extensive document covering all essential spheres of relations between the two neighbouring states including politics, economy, culture, defence and other fields. It is pointed out in the preamble that the aims of the sides are to strengthen friendship and all-round cooperation, protect each other's security and independence, and contribute to the consolidation of peace and security in Asia.

Subsequent events around Afghanistan showed that the Treaty was both timely and viable. First of all, they proved the importance of the part concerning mutual security. Thus, Article 4 says that the sides "will consult each other and, with the consent of both Parties, take appropriate measures aimed at ensuring the security, independence and territorial integrity of both countries".

The Soviet Union, on the basis of the 1978 Treaty, came to the assistance of its southern neighbour when the latter was faced with a mortal danger posed by the coordinated action of internal and external counter-revolutionaries which had already in 1979 assumed the character of a full-scale though undeclared war. It should be stressed that the domestic counter-revolutionaries alone did not pose a major threat to Afghanistan's democratic system. They chiefly expressed the narrow class interests of the feudal lords, comprador capitalists, and high-ranking officials removed from power by the Revolution, and so had never had firm support among the mass of the people.

The attempts by right-wing extremist Islamic groupings led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Burhanuddin Rabbani to win the backing of working people failed, for those groupings had compromised themselves by their anti-popular actions

under the Daoud regime. There is no doubt that the revolutionary government supported by the people would have crushed the domestic counter-revolutionaries without much difficulty and in a relatively short time. This did not happen because the imperialist forces headed by the USA began to launch large-scale interventionist actions against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from the territory of neighbouring countries, in particular, from Pakistan.

Mercenary gangs armed with modern weaponry were sent into Afghanistan on a mass scale. And it is no exaggeration to say that such actions have created a critical situation threatening Afghanistan's independent development and sovereignty. From mid-1979 the ruling quarters in Western capitals started counting how many months it would take to bring down the progressive government in Afghanistan and were already looking forward to the dividends they would get from turning the country into an imperialist domain. Clearly, under those circumstances, if the 1978 Treaty were not to remain just a scrap of paper, the Soviet Union must honour its commitments under the Treaty and give internationalist help to a friendly neighbour.

It should also be remembered that the USSR's southern borders stretch for two and a half thousand kilometres and their security was an important factor here. The USA and its NATO allies would most likely have used the reactionary puppet regime they would have installed in Kabul to step up military and political pressure on the Soviet Union. Their present schemes to deploy cruise missiles in Pakistan and target them at Soviet territory are a good indication of this.

Thus, the Soviet Union sent a limited contingent of its troops to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan at the request of its leadership (and such requests had come from Kabul on more than one occasion). The Soviet Union made it clear that the action it had been forced to take was only temporary, and that it was aimed not at interfering in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan but at helping the latter to repulse external aggression.

As is known, Afghan-Pakistani talks are now under way through the good offices of Diego Cordóvez, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations. And there are many speculations in the West about how long the limited Soviet military contingent will stay in Afghanistan, which is allegedly the "key issue" of a possible settlement. But this is turning things upside down, taking the effect for the cause. We should

like once again to remind those who play this dirty, deceitful game and those who are inclined to believe it that the Soviet Union is prepared to fix the time for the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan on one important condition: anti-Afghan aggression must be stopped and there must be guarantees that it will never be resumed. In other words, it is necessary to remove the cause for the temporary stationing of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

Soviet military assistance to the Afghan people in no way encroaches on the interests of either Afghanistan or any other country in that region. Time has shown that the slanderous tales about a Soviet "threat" to Pakistan and Iran coming from Afghanistan and about the USSR's alleged desire to secure "an outlet" to the warm southern seas simply do not hold water. Where is the concrete evidence of a "Soviet threat" to Afghanistan's neighbours following the dispatch of a limited Soviet military contingent to that country? Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq, who is fond of holding forth about a "Soviet threat", has been unable to give a coherent answer to this question. For there is no evidence whatever of even the slightest infringement on the rights and interests of the nations in that region in connection with the stay of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

What should be stressed here is that the Soviet Union's internationalist assistance to Afghanistan is in the interest of strengthening peace and security in South-West Asia. There are two reasons for this. First, it forms a barrier to expansionist imperialist designs in the heart of that area. Consequently, the danger of Afghanistan being used for Western subversive and aggressive actions against other developing countries in West Asia, for instance, Iran, has been averted. Second, the possibility of the establishment of a reactionary military coalition there under US auspices for the purpose of strangling national liberation movements and carrying out anti-Soviet activities, a coalition in which Afghanistan would have been given an important role, has been eliminated.

Several years have passed since the limited Soviet military contingent was brought into Afghanistan. It is now clear to many that the Soviet Union's internationalist action alone has enabled Afghanistan to uphold its sovereignty, conduct a peaceful foreign policy, and remain a member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The USSR seeks no unilateral advantages for itself in Afghanistan. It is far from intending to perpetuate its military

presence there. It does not want this. If the West, in particular the United States and some of the regimes in that region, had shown good will not only in word but also in deed and proved their desire for a comprehensive settlement of the Afghan question, the Soviet soldiers would have been back home already. So it is up to those who bear full responsibility for the emergence of a seat of tension near the Soviet Union's southern borders to make the next move. ¶

It is only natural that the Soviet people should want to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours, including Afghanistan. This has been the aim of Soviet policy since the first years of Soviet-Afghan relations. And this is also one of the cornerstones of the Soviet Union's policy toward Afghanistan today.

Appendix

To the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan

Dear comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee congratulates members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of its formation.

For many years the People's Democratic Party has, in difficult conditions, fought for the interests of the working people, against all forms of feudal and national oppression, for the happiness and prosperity of the country. The propaganda and organizational activities of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan have shown to the masses the anti-human essence of the exploiter regimes, and rally them for the struggle for Afghanistan's revolutionary renovation. During that period it has grown from a small illegal party into the ruling Party with more than 100,000 members.

The April National-Democratic Revolution, having overthrown the feudal bureaucratic regime, paved the way for the implementation of radical changes that would eliminate the country's backwardness and put it on the path of social progress.

Soviet Communists realize the difficulties which faced you on this path. From the very beginning, reaction, together with the most aggressive circles of imperialist powers, created a tense military and political situation in and around Afghanistan. They are waging an undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan, terrorizing the population and hindering the implementation of social and economic reforms.

Under these difficult conditions, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is exerting efforts to consolidate its ranks, achieve genuine unity in the struggle against counter-

revolutionary forces, and enhance the Party's leading role in the state. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the courageous Afghan people are not alone in their just struggle against the forces of reaction and imperialism. They have the sympathy and support of all forces of peace and progress. Guided by the noble principles of international solidarity, the Soviet people are extending all-round assistance to the freedom-loving Afghan people in the struggle against counter-revolution and in the building of a new society.

We wish the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and all the Afghan people success in the struggle for a stable and lasting civil peace in the country, which would make it possible for all the citizens of your Homeland to live in tranquillity and work for the benefit of independent and prosperous Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Long live the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan!
May the friendship between the CPSU and the PDPA, between the Soviet and Afghan people develop and grow stronger!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Pravda, January 10, 1985

From the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the CPSU

Imperialism launched a real undeclared war against the Afghan Revolution. This also created a direct threat to the security of our southern frontier. In the circumstances, we were compelled to render the military aid asked by that friendly country.

The plans of Afghanistan's enemies have collapsed. The well-considered policy of the People's Democratic Party and the government of Afghanistan headed by Comrade Babrak Karmal, which is in keeping with the national interests, has strengthened people's power.

As for the Soviet military contingent, we will be prepared to withdraw it with the agreement of the Afghan government. This must be secured in accords between Afghanistan and its neighbours. Dependable guarantees are required that there will be no new intervention. Such is the fundamental position of the Soviet Union, and we adhere to it firmly.

From the Message of the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Council of Ministers of the USSR to Comrade Babrak KARMAL, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and Comrade Sultan Ali KESHTMAND, President of the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, on the Occasion of the 65th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the USSR and Afghanistan

Soviet-Afghan relations have from the very outset been built on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect. The basis for these relations was laid by Vladimir Lenin, founder of the world's first socialist state, in the years when the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed in our country and when the Afghan people, after waging a prolonged heroic struggle, succeeded in restoring the country's independence.

After the April Revolution, carried out by the Afghan people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, new vistas for the development of traditionally friendly and goodneighbourly Soviet-Afghan relations have opened up. These relations have been greatly enriched and are now characterized by large-scale cooperation in various fields.

The Soviet Union fully supports the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its struggle against aggression perpetrated by international reaction and imperialism, and its efforts to develop its national economy and culture and to ensure peaceful conditions for this development. We consider the realistic and detailed programme for a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan put forward by the government of the DRA to be highly important. The Afghan people can be confident that they have a loyal friend in the Soviet Union.

We believe that the relations of staunch friendship be-

tween the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will continue to develop and deepen in the interests of both countries and in the interests of international peace and security.

Pravda, May 27, 1984

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**From the Speech by Andrei GROMYKO,
Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU
Central Committee, First Vice-Chairman of
the USSR Council of Ministers, Minister of
Foreign Affairs of the USSR, at the 39th
Session of the United Nations General
Assembly**

Provocative intrigues are still being carried out against sovereign and non-aligned Afghanistan. The enemies of the Afghan people have not given up hope of plunging the country back into medieval darkness. To this end, military incursions from outside are being organized. Is it possible to solve the foreign policy aspect of the problem? Yes, it is. The way to do this is to stop forming, arming and smuggling into Afghanistan from outside anti-government gangs of bandits and saboteurs and not to interfere in the country's internal affairs. There is no doubt that Afghanistan has followed and will continue to follow the road it has taken—the road of independence, freedom, social progress, peace and non-alignment.

Pravda, January 28, 1984

**Message from the Chairman of the All-Russia
Central Executive Committee Mikhail
KALININ and the Chairman of the Council
of People's Commissars Vladimir LENIN to
the Emir of Afghanistan Amanullah KHAN**

May 27, 1919

After receiving from the free and independent Afghan nation the first message of greetings to the Russian people

and news of Your Excellency's accession to the throne, we, on behalf of the workers' and peasants' government and all Russian people, hasten to send greetings to the independent Afghan people who are heroically defending their freedom from foreign enslavers. We extend our congratulations to Your Excellency on your accession to the throne on February 21, 1919.

Indeed, the workers' and peasants' government has granted equality and freedom to all peoples that make up the Russian republic and has, as you have said, endorsed internationalist principles by declaring the unity of all working people against the exploiters.

In welcoming Your Excellency's intention to establish close relations with the Russian people, we request that you appoint your official representative to Moscow, and for our part we propose to send a representative of the workers' and peasants' government to Kabul. We ask Your Excellency to instruct all authorities to let him through immediately. The establishment of permanent diplomatic relations between our two great peoples will open up broad opportunities for mutual help against any encroachment by foreign predators on the freedom and wealth of others.

As we send these first greetings to the peoples of Afghanistan, we feel extremely glad and ask Your Excellency to accept our friendly compliments, compliments from friends of your people.

*Drawn up in Moscow on
May 27, 1919*

Chairman of the Council of People's
Commissars of the Russian Socialist
Federative Soviet Republic

LENIN

Chairman of the All-Russia Central
Executive Committee of the Soviets of
Workers', Peasants', Cossacks' and Red
Armymen's Deputies

KALININ

**From a Message
from the Chairman of the Council of People's
Commissars of the RSFSR Vladimir LENIN
to the Emir of Afghanistan Amanullah
KHAN**

Between April 20 and early May 1921

The government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic expresses its gratitude to you for your personal letters and sincere and friendly lofty thoughts about relations between our two great states—Afghanistan and Russia.

I am happy to notify you that the Treaty of Friendship between our states was signed in Moscow on February 28, 1921, by the authorized representatives of both states and endorsed by the supreme body of the Russian Soviet Republic—the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Armymen's Deputies.

The Russia's Soviet government and the High Afghan State have common interests in the East; both states value their independence and want to see each other and all peoples of the East independent and free. The two states are drawn together not only by the above circumstances but especially owing to the fact that there are no disputes between Afghanistan and Russia that could give rise to contradictions and cast aspersions on Russo-Afghan friendship. The old imperialist Russia has disappeared forever and the northern neighbour of the High Afghan State is a new Soviet Russia, which has extended a hand of friendship and brotherhood to all peoples of the East, the Afghan people in the first place.

The High Afghan State was one of the first states whose representatives we joyfully met in Moscow, and we are happy to note that the first Treaty of Friendship concluded by the Afghan people is a treaty with Russia.

We are confident that our sincerest wish will become a reality and that Russia will forever remain the best friend of the High Afghan State for the benefit of both peoples.

Being convinced that the bonds of friendship between Russia and Afghanistan will further strengthen, I should like to convey my sympathy to you and my confidence that no

one will encroach on the independence of the High Afghan State either by force or by cunning.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars
V. ULYANOV (LENIN)

**From an Instruction of the People's
Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the
Plenipotentiary Representative of the RSFSR
in Afghanistan**

June 3, 1921

Our policy in the East is not aggressive, it is a policy of peace and friendship. You should systematically stress this major point in your work, and in Kabul, in particular, set as the main goal of your activities the development of our friendship with Afghanistan. Friendship presupposes mutual assistance, and proceeding from our desire to facilitate as best as we can the development and prosperity of the friendly Afghan state, we are ready to give it every possible assistance in this peaceful endeavour.

**From the Treaty of Friendship,
Goodneighbourliness and Cooperation
between the Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics and the Democratic Republic of
Afghanistan**

December 5, 1978

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan,

Reaffirming their commitment to the goals and principles of the Soviet-Afghan treaties of 1921 and 1931, which have laid the foundations for friendly and goodneighbourly relations between the Soviet and Afghan peoples and which are in their vital national interests,

Wishing in every way to promote the friendship and all-round cooperation between the two countries,

Determined to develop the social and economic achievements of the Soviet and Afghan peoples, safeguard their security and independence, resolutely work for the unity of all forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress,

Voicing their firm determination to promote the consolidation of peace and security in Asia and all over the world, contribute to the development of relations between states and to the strengthening of fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation in Asia, attaching great importance to a further strengthening of the contractual and legal basis of their mutual relations,

Reaffirming their loyalty to the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter,

Have resolved to conclude the present Treaty of Friendship, Goodneighbourliness and Cooperation and have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare their determination to strengthen and deepen the unbreakable friendship between the two countries and develop all-round cooperation on the basis of equality, respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Article 2

The High Contracting Parties will undertake efforts to strengthen and expand mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technical cooperation between them. Towards these ends they will develop and deepen cooperation in the field of industry, transport and communications, agriculture, the use of natural resources, the development of the power industry and in other sectors of the economy, and provide assistance in training national personnel and in planning economic development. The Parties will expand trade on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and most-favoured-nation treatment.

Article 3

The High Contracting Parties will facilitate the development of cooperation and exchange of experience in the field of science, culture, art, literature, education, health care, the press, radio, television, the cinema, tourism, sports and other fields.

The Parties will promote cooperation between the bodies of state authority and public organizations, enterprises, cultural and scientific institutions for the purpose of acquiring a better knowledge of the life, work, experience and achievements of the peoples of both countries.

Article 4

The High Contracting Parties, acting in the spirit of the traditions of friendship and goodneighbourliness, and also of the United Nations Charter, will consult each other and, with the consent of both Parties, take appropriate measures aimed at ensuring the security, independence and territorial integrity of both countries.

In the interests of improving the defences of the High Contracting Parties, they will continue to develop cooperation in the military field on the basis of corresponding agreements concluded between them.

Article 5

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics respects the policy of non-alignment pursued by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which constitutes an important factor in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan respects the policy of peace pursued by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aimed at strengthening friendship and cooperation with all countries and peoples.

Article 6

Each High Contracting Party solemnly declares that it will not join military or other alliances or participate in any

groupings of states, and also in actions or events, directed against the other High Contracting Party.

Article 7

The High Contracting Parties will continue to make every effort to uphold international peace and security, to deepen the process of easing international tension and extend it to all parts of the world, including Asia, to translate it into specific forms of mutually advantageous cooperation between states, and to bring about the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

Both Parties will actively promote general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, under effective international control.

Article 8

The High Contracting Parties will facilitate the development of cooperation and the establishment of relations of peace, goodneighbourliness and mutual trust among Asian states, and the setting up of an effective system of security in Asia on the basis of joint efforts by all states of the continent.

Article 9

The High Contracting Parties will continue their consistent struggle against the schemes of forces of aggression, for the final abolition of colonialism and racism in all their forms and manifestations.

The Parties will cooperate with each other and with other peace-loving states in supporting the just struggle of peoples for their freedom, independence, sovereignty and social progress.

THE UNDECLARED WAR

The anti-feudal national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan enabled the people to free themselves from the imperialist yoke. The reactionaries outside the country responded with unconcealed hatred. With the intention of strangling the popular revolution and preventing the birth of another free progressive state the imperialists and other international reactionaries engaged in large-scale acts of subversion against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. And it is the United States that is setting the tune in the anti-Afghan campaign waged by the Western powers and their allies. Washington, which responds irritably to progressive changes in any part of the world, is particularly sensitive to such processes in countries bordering on the Soviet Union.

When the anti-popular dictatorship of Mohammad Daoud was overthrown, Washington started to plan the removal of the democratic government to instal in Kabul a pro-American puppet regime and to restore the positions of imperialism in the country. *The New York Times* wrote that as early as June 1978 a NATO Command Symposium was held at Annapolis, Maryland, on the initiative of the United States to discuss the situation in Afghanistan. The Central Intelligence Agency immediately renewed its contacts with the Afghan counter-revolutionaries who had entrenched themselves outside the country, mainly in Pakistan. The CIA urgently dispatched to Islamabad a special group which included L. Robinson, R. Brook and D. David, experts in engineering coups and acts of sabotage. R. Lessard, a ruthless CIA operator, was entrusted with the coordination of all anti-Afghan activities. He had been expelled from Afghanistan in

1974 for espionage. Lessard has a long record of subversive activities in the Middle East. For nearly a decade he acted as "coach" for the Shah's secret police in Iran and since July 1977 he has been residing in Pakistan.

It was no accident that the international reactionaries chose Pakistan as their main base for carrying out acts of subversion against Afghanistan. From the outset the ruling clique in Pakistan adopted a hostile attitude towards the Afghan Revolution. Soon after the April Revolution triumphed Zia ul-Haq, President of Pakistan, toured the provinces bordering on Afghanistan to make inciting speeches. He claimed that "infidels" had seized power there. It was then, in an atmosphere of outright hostility towards democratic Afghanistan, that the military council of Pakistan held a special meeting. The ruling clique proposed immediately to invade the neighbouring sovereign state. In May 1978, i.e. a month after the overthrow of the Mohammad Daoud regime, the Pakistani authorities decided to open a camp for training Afghan counter-revolutionaries. With the active support of the Central Intelligence Agency they established such a camp in the village of Warsak, where a group of Afghan officers, supporters of the former regime, were provided with the necessary facilities. This was the first of many training camps which sprung up like mushrooms, within a matter of a few weeks, in Parachinar, Miranshah, Bajaur, Azakhel, Spinwam, Chitral and a few other places in the North-West Frontier Province and Pakistani Baluchistan. At present Pakistan has about 120 camps for training Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

The first groups of hired assassins and terrorists, or "fighters for the faith", as Western propaganda preferred to call them, were sent to Afghanistan in July 1978, after a training course held by US instructors in Pakistan. By the spring of 1979 over 10,000 saboteurs had been trained in Pakistani camps and sent to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. On March 7, 1979, Warren Christopher, then Deputy Secretary of State, said there were discontented tribal groups and other oppositionist elements in Afghanistan and pointed to the possibility of changes in the country favourable to the West. A political observer of *Afrique-Asie* stated that the anti-revolutionary forces were being given assurances of US support.

Peshawar, capital of the North-West Frontier Province in Pakistan, has become the main base for acts of subversion against Afghanistan. The counter-revolutionaries have es-

established their headquarters here. The hotels in Peshawar, which had been practically empty, were now full, all the rooms having been taken by guests from the West, including "businessmen", "tourists", and "Orientologists". Weapons for the anti-Afghan gangs to be sent to Afghanistan were being delivered through secret channels with the cooperation of the Pakistani army. The USA, its allies and Saudi Arabia have allocated tens of millions of dollars to finance acts of subversion against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

On October 10, 1979, *The Washington Post* carried an article by Zalmay Khalilzad, a US "professor" of Afghan origin with close links with the CIA, in which the author frankly revealed the aims the USA was pursuing by rendering aid to Afghan counter-revolutionaries. He stressed in particular that in exchange for this aid the USA expected to receive the right to set up American ground stations "for monitoring Soviet activities". Having suffered defeat as a result of the anti-Shah revolution in Iran Washington hoped that Afghanistan would make up for the loss of the Iranian base it had used for military preparations against the USSR. It was precisely after the victorious revolution in Iran that Washington sharply increased the number of acts of subversion against Afghanistan.

In a comment it carried in its issue of July 3, 1979, *Le Figaro* wrote:

"There is no reason to assume that, after suffering defeat in Iran, the USA will abandon actions in this region... The USA wants to take advantage of the developments in Afghanistan to get the states and parties to join the camp which is hostile to the Soviet Union. This is its aim. To achieve it the USA will, no doubt, render all possible aid to the rebellion. To this end it is necessary to reach agreement with Pakistan. The conditions for this are now favourable."

The mounting armed aggression against the Afghan people has turned into an undeclared war. Further to coordinate the war effort, the CIA's regional headquarters has been moved from Iran to Pakistan. The military pressure the USA and its allies have exerted on Afghanistan has steadily increased. Between June and November 1979 several dozen military training camps and bases set up in Pakistan trained some 30,000 mercenaries from among the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. Weapons for their use were airlifted to Karachi or delivered by sea. From there they were loaded onto Pakistani army trucks and transported to areas border-

ing on Afghanistan. For example, in June 1979 the *Al-Kasum*, a Pakistani merchant vessel, shipped from the USA to Karachi 2,000 tons of arms and other military hardware for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. At the same time another Pakistani vessel—the *Rustam*—arrived from China. According to the Indian weekly *Link*, it had 8,000 tons of Chinese weapons in its holds. The entire cargo was then delivered to Peshawar to be distributed among counter-revolutionary gangs from Afghanistan. There is ample evidence that Pakistani officers and men have directly participated in gangster raids on Afghan territory. *Afrique-Asie*, which is published in Paris, testifies that in April 1979 many Pakistani officers actually crossed the Afghan border as members of bandit formations. Afghan counter-revolutionary groups are reinforced with Pakistani elements of “self-defence forces”. *Afrique-Asie* states that the leader of a bandit detachment that invaded Afghan territory was Deputy Inspector-General of the North-West Frontier Province.

Both the UN Charter and international law explicitly ban the training and arming of groups and gangs within the territory of one state, and the sending of such groups and gangs to another sovereign state to commit acts of subversion or terrorism. In keeping with all norms of international law, including the definition given by the United Nations, such activities are acts of aggression, and states who are the victims of aggression have every right to request a friendly country to grant them aid.

Though the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan repeatedly asked the Soviet government to send Soviet troops into Afghanistan, they did not comply with this request in the hope that common sense would prevail and foreign interference in Afghanistan’s internal affairs would be discontinued. However, late in December 1979 it became obvious that military aggression had assumed dangerous proportions and that the interventionists intended to dismember Afghanistan to obtain access to the USSR’s southern frontier. It was only after that that the USSR was compelled to meet the request of its friendly neighbour and send there a limited contingent of troops. Their only purpose is to assist the Afghan people and the Afghan armed forces in repulsing military aggression and in saving the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan.

In aiding the Afghan people the Soviet Union proceeded not only from the commitments it undertook under the terms

of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty, but also from Article 51 of the UN Charter which has affirmed the right of states to collective and individual self-defence.

Soviet aid came in time to thwart the plans of the imperialists and their underlings to strangle the Afghan Revolution. Their schemes for turning Afghanistan into a military base on the USSR's southern frontier were also foiled.

International reaction responded with a malicious and slanderous anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet campaign. The US militarists used these failures as a formal excuse for undermining détente and stepping up the arms race. The Western press and politicians have gone to great lengths to distort the actual state of affairs.

The entire course of developments around Afghanistan has not taken shape as a result of the entry of a Soviet military contingent into Afghanistan. It has been created by the forces which are unwilling to accept the Afghan Revolution. They have dangerously aggravated the entire situation. The request by the Afghan government for Soviet troops to enter Afghanistan was a logical response to these activities.

Addressing a news conference after the Seventh Summit Conference of non-aligned countries Mme Indira Gandhi, the late Prime Minister of India, said that if a country felt endangered and turned to another state for military aid, this was the exclusive concern of that country. Then she went on to say that many countries which were now so "anxious" about Afghanistan had made no mention whatever about the aggression against Viet-Nam. The hullabaloo that was being raised in connection with Afghanistan did not in any way help to settle the situation in South-West Asia.

Long before December 1979, both the Afghan and Soviet leaders called on the other countries to stop their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. As early as June 1979 the Soviet leader said:

"We resolutely condemn the subversive actions against the Afghan Revolution and shall not leave in need our friends, the Afghan people, who have the right to build their life the way they wish."

After making a tour of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan Mafizul Islam, Vice-President of the Bangladesh National League Party and member of the Parliament, published a book in 1981, entitled *Afghanistan—Facts and Fiction*,

in which he gave his personal impressions of the country. He writes:

"I felt no reason to be in doubt that the real aggressors against Afghanistan were not the Soviet Union but the USA, China and Pakistan because they did not like the revolutionary change having taken place there, that the timely Soviet military help extended to the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan having thwarted that aggression perpetrated since 1978, the real aggressors raised a hue and cry all over the world for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan so that they may realize their dream of enslaving Afghanistan again and that the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is indispensable as long as the USA-Chinese-Pakistani aggression against Afghanistan continues."

In his article *Truth About Afghanistan Crisis* which several US papers carried in 1980 and which various publications in other countries (including *Mainstream* of India) later reprinted, John Somerville, an eminent American journalist, proved that Soviet military aid to Afghanistan was of a legitimate nature. He wrote:

"Let us call things by their right names..."

"Let's begin with a few facts about Afghanistan."

"(1) Afghanistan and the USSR share an almost 2,000-mile border... (2) Since December 1978 there has existed a treaty of friendship and cooperation between them, relating to economic, political and military affairs. (3) Under this treaty some 5,000 Soviet civilian and military advisers were openly in Afghanistan long before Soviet troops arrived. (4) The UN delegate (Ambassador) from Afghanistan under President Amin, who continued to serve under President Karmal, officially confirmed to the UN that the Afghanistan Government had requested the troops... The rebel forces were increasingly aided... from across the border with Pakistan..."

"The same Revolutionary Council that had installed and removed Amin, installed Karmal, who, with... Taraki, had been a leader in the... revolution of April 1978..."

"But no one can deny that it is the legal right of all sovereign states to choose their own allies and make treaties involving military aid..."

"Anyone who repeats the term 'invasion' in this context is clearly denying that Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have the same legal rights as other members of the United Nations."

According to the US press, after the Second World War the United States used armed force on more than 260 occasions to secure its foreign policy goals. The undeclared war against Afghanistan can be listed as a major military operation of US imperialism.

In July 1984 *The Washington Post* remarked that, in the opinion of US Congress staff, the operation in Afghanistan was, perhaps, the most sizable of all CIA operations, followed by financial backing of the Contras fighting the leftist Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

The US periodical *New Republic* (July 18, 1981) stated that planning for the intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was personally ordered by President Carter and carried out under direct supervision of his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and his CIA director Stansfield Turner.

On January 9, 1980, the magazine pointed out, the CIA outlined plans for the operation to the Senate Intelligence Oversight Committee. In particular, they covered the provision of arms to the counter-revolutionaries, which would be effective against the gunships. This meant not only anti-aircraft guns and heat-seeking missiles, but also anti-tank grenade launchers, submachine-guns, machine-guns and other weapons.

It is interesting to note that Soviet-made arms were designated for priority shipment. *The New Republic* made it clear that Egypt was to serve as the major source of arms. It had earlier received large quantities of combat equipment, weapons and ammunition for war against the Israelis. The CIA believed this would help conceal the true source of the supply of weapons which could be palmed off as "captured equipment".

And although the plan for supplying the counter-revolutionary gangs with weapons was kept secret, it soon leaked out. In an interview granted to the US NBC TV company in September 1981, the late President of Egypt Muhammad Anwar Sadat frankly admitted that he had sold Soviet-made weapons to the United States so that the United States could then in turn send them to the Afghan Mujahiddin on US air planes. Whatever amount of weapons the United States might want to send to the Afghan Mujahiddin, he was prepared to put them at its disposal.

An NBC report stated that, according to Sadat, weapons

were being delivered over a period of nearly two years and more would be sent.

Commenting on this statement by Sadat, NBC pointed out that this was the first official confirmation of the fact that the USA had been arming Afghan terrorists from the very outset.

After the interview in Cairo NBC turned to the Department of State for an explanation. However, the department in charge of US foreign policy refused to confirm or deny Sadat's disclosures. However, NBC remarked, former officials of the Carter Administration indirectly confirmed the facts Sadat had given. An NBC correspondent said that his "source in the Pentagon" also confirmed that the USA was supplying arms to Afghan rebels.

When the Reagan Administration assumed office, Washington no longer took the trouble to camouflage its military aid to Afghan gangs of bandits. The undeclared war against Afghanistan became undisguised interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. In March 1981, when Ronald Reagan had been just over a month in office, he openly declared that the USA would make American arms available to Afghan counter-revolutionaries. Later, he repeatedly confirmed Washington's intention to give them more military aid. A large number of anti-Afghan groups enjoying the protection of the official authorities are active in the USA. A "Committee of Solidarity with the People of Afghanistan" has been set up there to coordinate the activities of Afghan counter-revolutionaries in all countries, and the supply of arms and ammunition to the rebel gangs. The ringleaders of Afghan terrorists have been received by the President himself. High-ranking officials in the Washington Administration have been taking part in all sorts of "conferences" and "forums" on Afghanistan the participants of which have discussed ways for stepping up subversive activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

A gathering of this kind, held at the US Department of State in the autumn of 1983, was conducted by Lawrence Eagleburger, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. It discussed considerable increases in the delivery of modern weapons, in particular the 20-mm gun which is used by the Swiss and Italian armies. It also toyed with the idea of setting up an "Afghan government-in-exile" to coordinate sabotage against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan together with the US Administration and its allies. Lawrence

Eagleburger made it absolutely clear that "aid" to Afghan terrorist gangs would be stepped up even further.

According to the Western press, the US Administration admitted that in the period from 1980 to 1982 the Afghan counter-revolutionaries received more than two hundred million dollars' worth of arms.

The figures on US funds for war against the legitimate government of Afghanistan, which leak out into the world press from time to time, vary widely. But even these figures, which by no means give a complete picture, reveal the unprecedented scope of the armed aggression waged by US imperialism and Afghan mercenaries. The huge sums spent on arms for Afghan gangs are provided from the so-called Afghan refugee funds. According to *Le Monde diplomatique* (September 1984), the Afghan refugees receive about 600 million dollars a year in aid. But this sum is only the tip of the iceberg. The CIA and Pentagon are using many other channels for rendering "aid" to rebel gangs.

On December 21, 1982, the *International Herald Tribune* carried an article by Aernout van Lynden who wrote:

"The increase in the amount and sophistication of weapons at the disposal of the guerrillas has probably been the most important factor in ensuring both the survival of the resistance movement and the escalation of the war over the past three years."

He spent several months with the ringleaders of the Basmachi gangs close to the Pakistan-Afghan border and eyewitnessed the transfer of weapons to the terrorists.

Aernout van Lynden wrote the following:

"The supply line to the Afghan rebels could be seen in action recently at the tiny frontier hamlet of Teri Mangal just inside Pakistan... There, scores of Islamic insurgents, who call themselves Mujahiddin, crossed the border day after day carrying new Kalashnikovs with markings in Chinese or Arabic, or modified 303-caliber rifles made in Canada or the United States.

"The Mujahiddin picked up their arms at a small office in Parachinar set up by the parties as a sort of distribution center.

"Supplies of this kind reportedly have doubled or tripled since last year.

"Inside Afghanistan, rocket-propelled grenade launchers, recoilless rifles and mortars were much more in evidence than a year ago."



Kabul, capital of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The national flag flies over the Presidential Palace

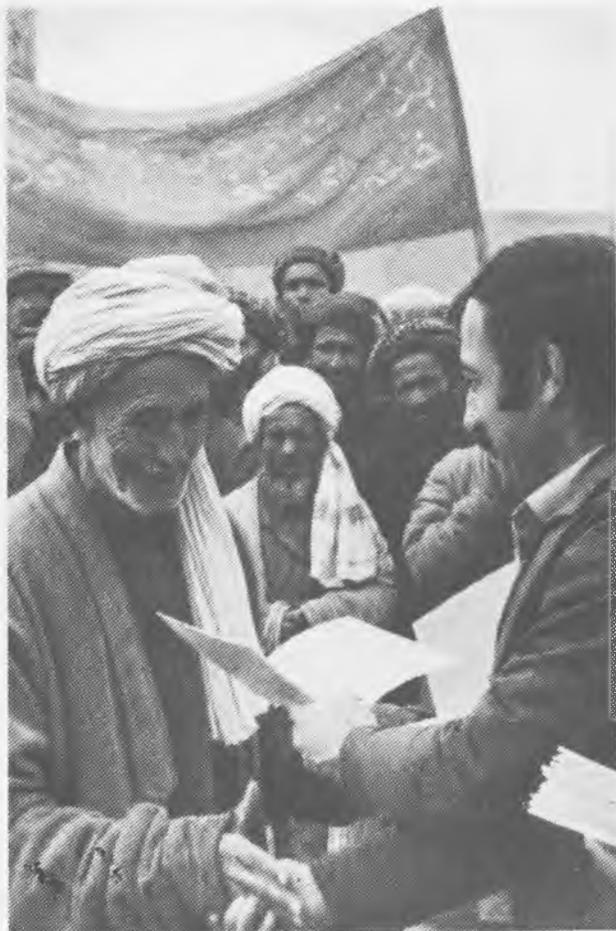


Afghans welcoming the victory of the April Revolution





Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and President of the Revolutionary Council, at a meeting with former leaders of counter-revolutionary groups that came over to the side of the people's government



Peasants receiving land ownership documents under a new government land reform law



Farm machines come to the fields of Afghanistan



A new housing estate
being built in Kabul



A new consignment of
Soviet combine harvesters



Literacy courses are conducted throughout the country

At the Kabul Polytechnical Institute





At a child-care centre



Getting ready for a meeting
at the Palace of Young
Pioneers



◀ Peaceful life in the DRA was disrupted by the actions of domestic and external counter-revolution. Photo: Bandits who surrendered to the Afghan authorities



Weapons and ammunition captured from terrorists



Children are often among the victims of acts of terrorism



Counter-revolutionaries
find shelter in neighbour-
ing Pakistan



Civilians killed in raids by
counter-revolutionaries





Afghan soldiers stand guard over revolutionary gains



The city of Kandahar. A protest demonstration against armed foreign interference which is escalating into an "undeclared war" against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan

Muhammad Sabir, a member of a revolution defence group





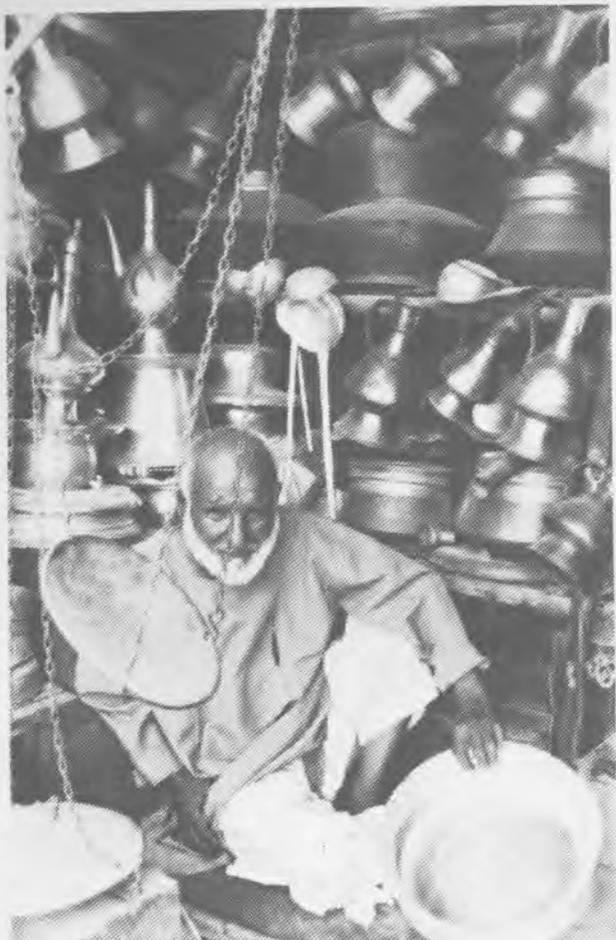
Contrary to Western propaganda, life in Kabul is calm and peaceful. A street fruit vendor



The DRA government gives much attention to the restoration of old mosques and the building of new ones

A new underground pass in central Kabul





A chaser's shop in Mazar-i-Sharif

The day of the April Revolution is a national holiday



Quoting statements made by officials of the Washington Administration *The New York Times* wrote in May 1983 that since late 1982 the Central Intelligence Agency had been ordered to increase the supply of bazookas, mortars, grenade launchers, mines, recoilless rifles and shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles. The arms were brought to Pakistan by ship and aircraft and then trucked to the border areas.

It should be added that the USA has been supplying chemical weapons to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. US-made CS-type chemical grenades have been captured from rebels arrested at Herat.

That the Central Intelligence Agency supplies vast quantities of arms to terrorist groups, which is nothing less than outright state terrorism, is evidenced by an article which appeared in the *Time* magazine on June 11, 1984. Entitled *Caravans on Moonless Nights* the article read in part:

“So the existence of a CIA pipeline to the Mujahiddin has long been an open secret. President Carter’s National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, publicly took credit for setting up the arms flow to the Afghan rebels in 1979...

“During a visit to Pakistan last year, Secretary of State George Shultz went so far as to tell several thousand Afghan refugees, ‘I want you to know that you do not fight alone. I can assure you that the United States has, does and will continue to stand with you’.”

The magazine gave a detailed account of how the system for rendering “aid” to the Afghan terrorists functioned. It writes:

“The CIA spends around \$75 million a year supplying the rebels with grenades, RPG-7 rocket launchers and portable surface-to-air missiles, as well as with radio equipment and medicines...

“The CIA sends ammunition for AK-47s, together with machine-guns and sophisticated snipers’ rifles. Shipments of these goods arrive every few days, sometimes in the arms of messengers, but most often on caravans that travel on moonless nights to evade the powerful searchlights of low-flying helicopters.

“The CIA pipeline to the guerrillas... was stepped up by Casey soon after President Reagan’s election. The new director wasted no time in ordering his station chiefs in Europe to look for Afghan exiles who might make good recruits. The CIA men began by poring over lists of students and teachers, compiling dossiers on likely candidates and placing them

under surveillance. Those who seemed thoroughly reliable... received casual invitations to lunch from a visiting American professor, or a priest, perhaps, or even a Saudi businessman. All were undercover CIA agents. While the CIA was recruiting some 50 such Afghans in Europe, it was also, with help from the FBI, gathering a similar group in the US. Though most of the recruits were students, one was a Manhattan taxi driver, another a mill-worker from Ohio, a third a judo instructor from the Southwest.

"For nine months, the 100 Afghans underwent training at CIA schools around the US... At last, in the spring of 1982, Casey sent his fresh graduates into the field, armed with code names, passports and generous subsidies.

"Some 30 Afghan agents took up positions in Saudi Arabia, working for small companies that handled the shipment of cargo to Asia. There they were put in charge of sending out electronic equipment, sewing machines and fertilizers, as well as religious materials going to far-flung Muslims in Malaysia, Indonesia and, of course, Pakistan. To these regular shipments, the Afghans would sometimes add a few cases of arms, specially coded for quick detection by their colleagues.

"Meanwhile, the majority of the Afghan recruits went to Pakistan, where the CIA has for three decades run a topnotch network of agents and safe houses. 'The CIA archives on Pakistan are perhaps the best in the world,' a Western diplomat notes. 'When the CIA pipeline first moved in, there wasn't a patch into or out of Afghanistan that they didn't have mapped down to every physical detail. Better yet, nearly half of the almost 5,000 ships that unloaded goods in the Pakistani port of Karachi last year were carrying cargo from the Persian Gulf.'"

In particular, the *Time* magazine points out that the CIA has made extensive use, for the shipment of arms, of an arrangement under which all goods for so-called Afghan refugees do not go through normal customs procedures in Pakistani ports.

Time goes on to say:

"The transportation of the land mines was a textbook example of the pipeline in operation... As soon as Massoud (leader of an Afghan rebel gang—*Ed.*) requested the mines, US Army ordnance depots in the US and West Germany collected the matériel, erased all the US markings, then sent it to a CIA installation near Stuttgart. There the mines were

wrapped in special shock-absorbent material and packed in lightweight, waterproof, steel shipping boxes. The crates were stuffed with telephone wires and batteries: their contents were described as telephone equipment for a religious organization. Next the shipment was loaded onto a cargo plane, which a CIA crew flew to a secret landing strip in the Persian Gulf sultanate of Oman.

"From there the mines were transported by ship to Pakistan's Makran coast. The CIA Afghans met the arms there and drove them to a rendezvous with the Mujahiddin in a desolate area near the Afghan border."

According to the *Time* magazine, the United States' intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is not limited to deliveries of arms to counter-revolutionary gangs. The CIA directly controls and coordinates armed raids of these terrorists in Afghanistan. The magazine points out that the most sophisticated equipment, including spy satellites, are used for the purpose. Afghan gangs have recently been provided with 40 radio transmitters not only for the exchange of information, but also for transmission of data to Langley, headquarters of the US espionage department.

The magazine concludes that the USA intends, as in the past, to step up its interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This is evidenced also by the fact that in May 1984 the US House of Representatives endorsed a bill providing for a further increase in the number of US military advisers in Pakistan.

On August 20, 1984, *The Times of India* carried an article entitled *Operation Afghanistan*. Commenting on the information the Western press had been publishing on the United States' subversive activities against revolutionary Afghanistan it wrote:

"It (interference—*Ed.*) has been as open, in fact as brazen, as it could not possibly have been..."

"Even more interesting is the disclosure that the CIA funding in Afghanistan began in mid-1979 under President Carter."

Pakistan has become the most important base for the preparation and implementation of imperialist intervention against Afghanistan. It is in Pakistan that the centres of various terrorist groups of Afghan counter-revolutionaries have found refuge and are openly carrying out their work. These groups are provided with everything they need to carry out acts of subversion against the Democratic Republic of

Afghanistan, including the use of radio stations in Peshawar and Quetta. The basic channels through which Afghan counter-revolutionaries are provided with arms converge in Pakistan.

In its July 18, 1981 issue *The New Republic* quoted the most curious facts. It wrote:

"Pakistan, the country most essential to the operation's success, allows the weapons to be moved across its 1,400-mile border with Afghanistan...

"Even today, Pakistani diplomats, who were deliberately excluded from a role in the operation's planning, continue to insist that Pakistan is not officially cooperating in any venture to arm the resistance. But all the major features of the operation, according to American officials, have been personally approved by Pakistani president Mohammed Zia... The Pakistanis imposed three conditions of their own: first, the countries supplying weapons to Afghanistan would not publicly acknowledge their role; second, arms arriving in Pakistan would have to move immediately across the border, without any storage or warehousing; and third, the quantity of weapons moving through Pakistan would be limited to the equivalent of about two planeloads a week."

This detailed plan has not remained merely on paper. The magazine also had this to say:

"The weapons arrive as air cargo in Pakistan, in planes whose markings are constantly changed. There, under the supervision of the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate, the arms are transferred to the *Mujahiddin*, who carry them across the border on the backs of men and mules, then up into the mountain passes where the weapons are distributed to bands of tribesmen in their camps...

"Pakistan, impressed with the administration's pledge of three billion dollars in long-term military credits, has eased some of its restrictions on the quantity of arms crossing the border."

The *Time* magazine (whose version of secret CIA operations for the delivery of arms to Afghan terrorists has been given above) remarks that, politically the CIA's main challenge has been to avoid linking its operation to the government headed by Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq... The latter has also repeatedly denied charges that his country has been supplying the Afghan rebels in any way. "We're going to keep Zia's hands clean," CIA Director William Casey told a top aide early on.

But even such a powerful secret service as the Central Intelligence Agency cannot "keep clean" the hands of those who are engaged in "dirty deals" against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The assurances coming from official Islamabad that it is not being involved in the training, arming and sending of Afghan bandits to Afghanistan and that it is unable to control the activities of Afghan counter-revolutionaries appear naive, to say the least. It is common knowledge that, when it suits the Pakistani authorities, they can ban the activity of any organization and do not hesitate to choose whatever means they consider necessary. This particular case is totally different. The Pakistani military regime has no intention of imposing restrictions on the counter-revolutionary exiles. On the contrary, it has been aiding them in every possible way. Groups of bandits are often being trained and formed at Pakistani army stations, air force helicopters and army trucks are frequently delivering large consignments of arms across the border. The India Press Agency bulletin on May 25, 1984, wrote that Washington was actively employing Pakistani military instructors to train anti-Afghan armed contingents and to teach Dushmans methods of sabotage on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The India Press Agency points out that cooperation between Pakistani army units and anti-Afghan formations has recently become closer. In particular, Pakistani army personnel provide cover to groups of saboteurs when they infiltrate into Afghan territory by firing at and attacking frontier posts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Pakistani officers not only plan and coordinate terrorist acts in Afghanistan, but often take part in them as well. According to information provided by the Afghan government, in June 1980 the Pakistani regime decided to pay compensation of 500 rupees each to the families of Pakistani servicemen who had "volunteered" to join the mercenary gangs and were killed in Afghanistan.

When the Reagan Administration assumed office, the measures to turn Pakistan into a base for aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan were implemented on a far wider scale. Addressing a Congressional Committee Caspar Weinberger, US Secretary of Defense, said that without a Pakistan "confident of its strength" resistance (of counter-revolutionary bandits financed by the interventionists—*Ed.*) would drop to zero.

That is why, in assigning to Pakistan the role of henchman with regard to interference in Afghanistan, the US has decided to grant it military and economic aid to the tune of 3,200 million dollars. When this deal was made in the summer of 1981, it was stipulated that Islamabad would maintain a "tough" stand towards Afghanistan.

The Indian periodical *Mainstream* writes that, in keeping with the Pentagon's scenario, the Pakistani army is to act as the vanguard of the US interventionist Rapid Deployment Force. In pursuit of these plans Pakistan has already formed a special division of 20,000 officers and men. It has been trained and equipped on the model of the Rapid Deployment Force. Pakistan has agreed to allow the United States to set up its Central Command (CENTCOM) headquarters at Karachi so that it can control military operations in the region. It is a fact that the Central Command's zone covers the territories of 19 Asian and African countries, including Afghanistan. There is hardly any need to mention that the countries were arbitrarily included in the zone without their consent.

The compliant attitude of the Pakistani military regime is naturally a source of satisfaction for the Pentagon strategists. In 1984 the International Strategic Association, whose headquarters is in Washington, awarded General Zia ul-Haq, President of Pakistan, as a sign of favour, a special prize "for a weighty contribution to ensuring the US strategic interests".

Washington has recently been displaying an increasingly dangerous tendency towards urging the Pakistani regime to engage in direct armed intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan. Islamabad has become a favourite place of pilgrimage for US politicians, both active and retired, such as Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Out of the US politicians currently in office, Pakistan has been visited by Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and US Vice-President George Bush. They not only held animated talks with Zia ul-Haq, but also considered it their duty to visit camps located on the Pakistani-Afghan border, where anti-Afghan saboteurs and terrorists were being trained. These visits forcefully demonstrate the United States' intention to continue the undeclared war against Afghanistan and to get Islamabad more and more deeply involved.

It is hardly necessary to explain how dangerous this is, particularly for Pakistan. Broad public and political circles of the country have been increasingly persistent in expressing

their support for a radical change of policy course, an end to the aggression against Afghanistan, and the promotion of friendship with all neighbouring countries.

According to Afghan press reports, Peking, like the USA and its Western allies, has been actively supporting Afghan counter-revolutionaries. A number of special camps and bases have been set up in the Chinese province of Xinjiang-Uyghur (which is close to the border with Afghanistan) and in Pakistan. In these camps and bases Chinese instructors train members of various Afghan counter-revolutionary groups in methods of terrorism and sabotage. The trainees are then sent to Afghanistan. The bandits are well armed with various Chinese-made weapons, including submachine-guns, anti-aircraft missiles and mortars. Many of these weapons are delivered by the highland Karakoram Highway which was built with Chinese aid close to the Afghan border.

According to Bakhtar News Agency, Peking has turned the highlands along the 74-kilometre Afghan-Chinese border to the north-east of the Afghan province of Badakhshan into a source of constant tension, into a military-strategic base for sending armed gangs into Afghanistan.

Afghan press reports stated that during the visit in 1984 to the People's Republic of China of Yakub Khan, the Pakistani Minister for Foreign Affairs, an agreement was reached to transfer to China from Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province four military camps engaged in training Afghan terrorists. Commenting on this the foreign press remarked that the Karakoram Highway, which connected Pakistan with China, was being used not only to transport Chinese arms to Pakistan, but also to move, in the opposite direction, some of the anti-Afghan gangs to newly established military camps. Indian press reports stated in September 1984 that each group of bandits arriving at Chinese sabotage centres was accompanied by Pakistani officers. These officers then took part in the training of the bandits together with US and Chinese instructors.

China has recently been increasing to a noticeable degree its deliveries of Chinese-made weapons and ammunition to Afghan counter-revolutionaries. The Bakhtar News Agency has reported that when mercenary gangs are repulsed in various parts of Afghanistan, the Afghan armed forces invariably capture large quantities of Chinese-made weapons, such as submachine-guns, light and heavy machine-guns,

mortars, grenade launchers and missiles, as well as small arms, ammunition, grenades and mines.

In stepping up its military and other material aid to the bandits Peking is particularly careful to brainwash them. Afghan newspapers have pointed out that in 1984 Mu Qing, Director-General of the Xinhua News Agency, visited Pakistan and addressed some so-called Afghan refugees in one of the camps. In his speech he called on the counter-revolutionaries to carry on the struggle and threw slander at the Afghan people and their government. It has been reported that China has provided equipment and specialists to expand the propaganda facilities of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. By maintaining regular contacts with the leaders of the major counter-revolutionary organizations Peking has sought to exercise an ideological influence on them, to use the pro-Peking groups to hammer together a so-called "united national front of Afghanistan".

According to the US press, while the Carter Administration was in office, the United States and China reached an agreement in which US aircraft carrying weapons for Afghan bandits would be permitted to fly over Chinese territory. The Chinese were also willing to supply SAM-7 missiles and anti-tank hand grenades. In 1980 London's *Daily Telegraph* wrote that the Chinese authorities were not only supplying Afghan rebels with a wide range of Chinese-made weapons, but were also sending US and Egyptian arms across the Chinese-Afghan frontier. Later, when Alexander Haig, the former US Secretary of State, visited China, it was again confirmed that Chinese territory would be used as a transfer base for the delivery of US arms to Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

The Bakhtar News Agency has reported that Peking and Washington have been cooperating more closely in stepping up aid to Afghan terrorists. When Zhao-Ziyang, the Chinese Prime Minister, visited the United States in January 1984 and held talks there, it was noted that both parties were now coordinating their efforts more closely on the Afghan issue. Officials of the US Administration have admitted that the USA and China have been taking "parallel action" against the Afghan people. During his visit to China in 1984 Ronald Reagan again mentioned to his hosts that Washington and Peking were maintaining a "joint stand" on the Afghan question. He expressed his support for even broader cooperation in anti-Afghan activities.

INEVITABLE DEFEAT

What Are the Aims of the Undeclared War Against Afghanistan?

The April 1978 Revolution in Afghanistan marked a radical change in the development of the country. Pursuing anti-feudal, national-democratic and anti-imperialist aims, it brought about major changes in the home and foreign policies of Afghanistan. And it was these changes that the imperialist circles and other reactionary forces in the region resented. Afghanistan became the object of a conspiracy designed to do away with the achievements of the April Revolution and the positive changes that were taking place in the country. It was also spearheaded against Soviet-Afghan relations.

Of late the forces opposing Afghanistan have stepped up their intrigues against that country. The Western, particularly the US, press has been showing an increasing interest, not in the country itself or the needs of its people, but in what is called the "Afghan problem" in the West. This interest reflects the overt and covert intrigues around Afghanistan, in which certain official circles of the USA and some other countries have been involved.

These are serious matters indeed. Referring to well-informed sources *The Washington Post* has recently pointed out that the CIA's covert aid to Afghan rebels has developed into the USA's biggest secret operation after the war in Vietnam. US Congress has sharply increased appropriations for it, which amounted to approximately 250 million dollars in 1985. In addition, three unnamed countries of the Middle East and Asia have pledged to allocate for these purposes 200 million dollars in the form of cash, arms and other equipment. According to the same sources, discussion is currently under way on providing possibly 600 million dollars to the rebels in the forthcoming fiscal year.

The British journal *Jane's Defence Review* has made it clear which countries are meant. They are Saudi Arabia, Israel and China. This information is being confirmed by reports from Kabul. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan has lodged a protest with the Chinese Embassy. It says that in the last few months the Afghan armed forces and security bodies have captured large quantities of Chinese-made weapons from defeated counter-revolutionary gangs near Kabul and in various provinces. The captured weapons

included ground-to-air missiles and launchers for such missiles, rocket shells, and also mortar shells, submachine-guns, large calibre anti-aircraft machine-guns, ammunition, and other military hardware.

Afghan counter-revolutionaries have been getting aid from several imperialist countries as well. To involve them Washington has been using a variety of methods. According to an article published in *Tribune de Genève* of Switzerland (in late January), the USA has ordered nine Oerlikon-Bührle anti-aircraft guns for the Afghan rebels there. The paper, it was said in the article, is prepared to confirm that Swiss anti-aircraft guns will be used in Afghanistan as this is established by an investigation conducted in Switzerland and in the United States itself.

The list of similar facts can be extended. But what has been noted above will enable the reader to get an idea of the scale and character of the undeclared war that has been waged against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for more than six years now. It also shows the degree in which the imperialist powers are involved in that war.

Whenever Afghanistan is mentioned, many Western officials, particularly US officials, express themselves in favour of "freedom" and "independence" of the Afghans. In reality these hypocritical statements result in untold suffering and privations for the Afghan people. According to official data published in Kabul, the counter-revolutionaries have destroyed 1,814 schools, 31 hospitals, 906 peasant cooperatives, 14,000 kilometres of telephone lines and many bridges, causing damage amounting to more than 35,000 million Afghanis (approximately 800 million dollars). When they attack villages and towns the bandits spare neither children, women nor old people. They would destroy wells and poison the cattle.

Such crimes and acts of vandalism are being committed by bands of gangsters. Their training centres and weapons supply bases are located mainly in Pakistan, Iran and China. At present there are scores of active Afghan counter-revolutionary groups which claim to be political parties, but are, in actual fact, gangs of adventurers and plotters. Some of them have proclaimed themselves fighters for an "Islamic Republic" in Afghanistan. Others talk about "defending Islam from the infidels". Still others want to restore the system that had existed under the monarchy, before the proclamation of the republic in 1973, not to mention the April Revolution in 1978. There are constant squabbles, even

armed clashes between them. Sometimes they plant mines in one another's headquarters. However, all these groups share a desire to get as much money, arms and other handouts from abroad as possible, and of course they all hate the present social system in Afghanistan which has deprived them of their property and privileges. As *Political Affairs*, a progressive US journal, has put it, they mostly resemble professional gangsters.

In some Western capitals, in Washington above all, these bandits are called "freedom fighters" and "fighters for the liberation of their country". With every passing year they get more and more funds, more and more arms and ammunition. Certain quarters provide them with radio stations and printing presses. The purpose here is obvious. It is all part of imperialism's anti-Soviet strategy. Should the imperialists manage to strangle the Afghan Revolution and to overthrow people's power in Kabul, the United States, aided by the ringleaders of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, would entrench itself in Afghanistan and set up bases there. It would thus have an opportunity to re-establish the electronic intelligence centres it had lost in Iran. The Soviet-Afghan frontier, it may be recalled, is nearly 2,400 kilometres long. Three Soviet Central Asian Republics—Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan—border on Afghanistan. Kazakhstan is not far off either. It is a fact that the CIA and the Pentagon have long wanted to "watch" these regions more closely.

So a limited contingent of Soviet troops is in Afghanistan in order to safeguard the Soviet frontiers from hostile imperialist and pro-imperialist forces and at the same time to render internationalist aid to the Afghan national-democratic regime. It should be mentioned that the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly asked the Soviet Union for help in its fight against foreign intervention. In keeping with the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, Goodneighbourliness and Cooperation and with Article 51 of the UN Charter, the Soviet Union has sent a limited contingent of troops to Afghanistan. Its mission is to protect, together with the Afghan army, the frontiers of Afghanistan from being penetrated by interventionist forces through Pakistan and Iran and thus to help consolidate the new government in Afghanistan.

There is every reason for saying that in its actions Washington is guided by anti-Soviet military-strategic plans, and not by friendly feelings for the Afghan rebels.

As the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union points out, "Imperialism launched a real undeclared war against the Afghan Revolution. This also created a direct threat to the security of our southern frontier. In the circumstances, we were compelled to render the military aid asked for by that friendly country.

"The plans of Afghanistan's enemies have collapsed. The well-considered policy of the People's Democratic Party and the government of Afghanistan headed by Comrade Babrak Karmal, which is in keeping with the national interests, has strengthened people's power.

"As for the Soviet military contingent, we will be prepared to withdraw it with the agreement of the Afghan government. Before this is done, the infiltration of counter-revolutionary gangs into Afghanistan must be completely stopped. This must be secured in accords between Afghanistan and its neighbours. Dependable guarantees are required that there will be no new intervention."

The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has called on its neighbours to normalize their relations, first in May 1980 and again in August 1981.

The proposals pointed out that any agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan, between Afghanistan and Iran should include the generally accepted principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, readiness to promote relations on the basis of goodneighbourliness and non-interference in internal affairs, and the obligation to ban armed and all other hostile activity from the respective territories of the parties concerned.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has stated that it would guarantee complete freedom and immunity from punishment on their return home to Afghans temporarily residing for some reasons in Pakistan and other neighbouring countries. A political settlement must provide for reliable international guarantees of any agreements reached. In the years 1982-1984 three rounds of Afghan-Pakistani talks (Iran had refused to accept Afghanistan's proposal to hold talks) were conducted in Geneva through the personal representative of the UN Secretary-General, Diego Cordóvez. However, no agreements were reached.

Moreover, during this period anti-Afghan subversive activities from Pakistani territory were stepped up. As in the

past Pakistan readily makes its territory available for the setting of arms depots and of camps and schools run by Western and Chinese special services for training saboteurs.

In this way Pakistan pays for the US military aid. President Reagan has requested 655 million dollars for these purposes for 1986. After Israel, Pakistan is the biggest recipient of US arms in Asia, which are made available through military aid programmes. Pakistan is actually losing its national sovereignty and becoming an obedient executor of the will of other countries. Its stand on the Afghan events proves this. Taking advantage of Pakistan's dependent position the USA urges it to pursue anti-Afghan, anti-Soviet and anti-Indian policies. And Pakistan readily carries out Washington's instructions even though it would have been in its national interests to establish good political and economic relations with its neighbours. If Pakistan were to make a sober-minded, realistic reappraisal of its policy, this would help achieve a settlement in connection with Afghanistan and improve the political climate in South Asia.

It should be clear to all that subversive operations against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, regardless of the country from which they are launched and regardless of the state that provides the financial backing, are doomed to failure. The rebels and their patrons do not stand a chance here.

The course of events has shown that despite outside interference the government in Kabul has become stronger. The economy is developing and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and other public organizations are winning new supporters. The Land and Water Reform is being gradually implemented, and more and more people see the advantages offered by new government. Its growing strength makes it possible to carry out the main task more quickly, which is to achieve victory over the counter-revolutionaries. As Babrak Karmal, the Afghan leader, has put it, this "will enable us to fulfill the plans, and the whole of the people, every family in fact, will be able to work under normal conditions and to live happily".

A realistic assessment of the situation shows that it is impossible to force an alien will on the Afghan people who enjoy the support of the Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community and all progressive forces of the world. Questions relating to Afghanistan can be resolved only by political means. There is no other way.

“PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE” AGAINST THE DRA

“Psychological warfare” involving the use of various dirty tricks and crude methods, blatant lies and a deliberate distortion of facts has become of late an integral part of the US aggressive global strategy. With regard to virtually all the most important spheres of world politics and all pressing problems of international relations, Washington’s ruling circles and propaganda agencies are waging large-scale campaigns to deceive and mislead the public, breaking all records in the dissemination of falsehoods, inventions and rumours about the Soviet Union, its allies and friends.

The so-called “Afghan question” figures prominently in various absurd conjectures about Soviet policies, conjectures that are being tirelessly spread by the Reagan Administration. Almost every week US spokesmen and the media of the United States and of several other Western countries resort to slanderous allegations in connection with the Afghan events.

The Soviet Union is being accused of “aggressiveness”, “hegemonism”, “expansionism” and other evils... Resurrecting an all but forgotten theory, the West is saying once again that ever since the time of the tsars Russia has been “seeking access to warm southern seas”.

But time and available facts have shown that those vicious allegations are totally groundless. This is something which even several bourgeois authors and newspapers have had to admit though they can hardly be suspected of being sympathetic towards the world’s first socialist country. For instance, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, a weekly traditionally reflecting the views and inclinations of Western business circles, says that in the period that has elapsed since the

dispatch of a limited Soviet contingent to Afghanistan none of the most terrifying scenarios drawn up by the West regarding Russian intentions in South-West Asia has materialized. "Soviet troops," the weekly goes on to say, "have not moved into Pakistan or Iran in an inexorable drive towards the warm waters of the Gulf. Neither are the Soviets known to have attempted to destabilize Pakistan's border regions."

To the great disappointment of those who manipulate the "Soviet threat" bogey, reference to the so-called "political testament" of Peter I, which allegedly outlined a plan for "establishing Russia's world domination" and called for "moving" the country's southern border in the direction of India, has also proved to be of little use. Curiously enough, this crude forgery first appeared in France in 1812 and was apparently conceived by its author or authors as a means of justifying Napoleon's campaign in the East, which was said to be a protective move to thwart "Russia's claims to world domination". Subsequently, that falsehood reappeared in the West each time it attempted to generate among the public animosity towards Russia, for instance, during the Crimean War and the First World War. And of course it was used by Goebbels who in November 1941, when the Battle of Moscow was at its peak, ordered the Nazi press to reprint one of the versions of the forged "testament" of Peter I. In recent years it has briefly reappeared in a number of Western slanderous propaganda publications.

Available facts point to the absurdity of any attempt to manipulate the Afghan events and to depict Soviet internationalist assistance to Afghanistan as the "root cause" of a recent rise in international tensions. The "dual track" decision calling for the deployment of US medium-range missiles in West European countries was adopted by NATO prior to the dispatch of a limited Soviet military contingent to Afghanistan, as were the decisions to set up an interventionist Rapid Deployment Force, to begin an intensified buildup of US military presence in the Persian Gulf and to carry out several other US and NATO measures which marked a further departure from détente. Therefore, all talk to the effect that the "Soviet action in Afghanistan" has allegedly led to a worsening of the world political climate is in fact nothing but cheap bluffing.

While continuing to raise a hue and cry about alleged "Soviet expansionism", organizers of the anti-Soviet cam-

campaign deliberately distort the actual situation in Afghanistan and around it. In their slanderous attacks, they resort to some of the crudest tricks with the aim of painting a biased and totally distorted picture of the situation in Afghanistan, of the policy pursued by the Afghan government and of the nature of the internationalist assistance the Soviet Union extended to its friendly neighbour. The assembly line turning out lies and inventions uses a rather simple, if not primitive, technology and operates round the clock. First, propaganda agencies of the United States and of several other countries invented all manner of slanderous tales about alleged Soviet "crimes". Then these tales are fed to emigre circles and Afghan counter-revolutionaries, after which these dubious "sources" give out false reports which Western information agencies help spread throughout the world.

The US embassies in Kabul and Islamabad have become centres of subversive anti-Soviet and anti-Afghan propaganda. CIA agent J. Talebi, arrested by the Afghan security service, testified that US Embassy officials in Kabul were personally involved in drawing up false reports which were subsequently sent to Pakistan and India for dissemination by the capitalist media. An Afghan press agency has been set up to act as a front organization. Formally working for Afghan counter-revolutionary emigres, it is actually financed by the CIA which lavishly supplies it with printing paper, printing equipment, radio communication systems, etc.

Absurd and false accounts of the situation in Afghanistan are written on the basis of propagandistic cliches. Together those accounts would make up a heavy volume in which an informed reader would hardly find a single word of truth. Instead, one would find there conjectures about alleged hunger in the country, inventions about "destroyed towns and villages", reports about "victories" won by the so-called "Mujahiddin", vulgar gossip about Afghanistan's leadership and many other fabrications which can only come from the demented minds of people filled with a blind hatred for the Afghan people and their revolutionary gains.

The slanderous tales invented by the enemies of Afghanistan have been repeatedly exposed on the basis of concrete facts by Afghanistan's spokesmen and by the Afghan press. For lack of space, we shall confine ourselves to citing just a few examples showing the disgrace in which the organizers of the misinformation campaign have found themselves.

In the summer of 1983 the US Department of State issued a report saying that "large-scale hostilities" had taken place in Herat, which allegedly caused heavy casualties and damage to the city. Naturally enough, the report cited "convincing" evidence obtained from "reliable sources", in other words, from emigre counter-revolutionary groups. It so happened that the reported hostilities coincided with a visit of a group of Afghan and foreign journalists to Herat. They saw no sign of "barbaric bombing raids" or "thousands of victims". Instead, they saw people engaged in peaceful creative work which was disrupted from time to time by Dushmans' bandit-like attacks.

Those in the West who spread falsehoods about Afghanistan often raise the problem of "hunger" allegedly ravaging the country. In reality, however, there is no hunger in Afghanistan. In 1984 it harvested 3,000,000 tons of wheat, and the harvest for 1985 is expected to be equally good.

To say that the Afghan economy has "collapsed" is to engage in wishful thinking. One can easily understand the surprise of visiting Western correspondents at seeing lively business activity and busy trading in staples and other goods at Afghanistan's countless bazaars and shops. The contrast between life as it really is in Afghanistan and the way it is portrayed by the bourgeois press is striking indeed.

It should be pointed out that democratic Afghanistan's economic gains would have been much more impressive were it not for the damages inflicted by mercenary gangs infiltrated from abroad, who destroyed irrigation ditches, looted villages, burned crops, smashed trucks and blew up schools and hospitals. In financial terms, those damages equal the total amount of capital investment made in Afghanistan over the 15-year period preceding the April Revolution. The Western capitalist press which boasts so much about its alleged "freedom" is strangely silent about this.

Without enumerating all the instances in which those who directed and carried out the anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet campaign were caught at lying, we shall call attention to one question—the groundless accusations against the Soviet Union of being involved in the "use of chemical weapons" in Afghanistan. Over the past few years those accusations have figured prominently in official statements made by the leaders of several leading Western countries, primarily by the US President, and have been tirelessly repeated in various government documents issued in the West.

Politicians in Washington launched a large-scale smear campaign concerning the alleged use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan and tried to involve several international organizations, including the United Nations, in the campaign in an attempt to secure the support of world public opinion. Funds were set up for the purpose of bribing scientists in various countries of the world, the powerful US propaganda apparatus made every effort to influence public opinion, and CIA agents were infiltrated into Afghanistan to collect evidence or, to be more precise, to prepare false testimonies and recruit eyewitnesses willing to perjure themselves. Top US officials, including the US President himself, joined in that noisy anti-Soviet campaign.

But despite the enormous sums of money invested in the campaign, the result proved to be totally different from what the organizers of the provocation had expected. They were greatly disappointed when they learned about the conclusions reached by a group of UN experts, set up on US insistence to look into the problem. The tremendous pressure US special services brought to bear on the experts proved to be of little use. The final report, circulated in the United Nations, does not contain a single fact supporting Washington's charges. The West German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* noted in this connection that no evidence had been uncovered to back up US charges and that neither the hospital personnel in Peshawar, nor representatives of counter-revolutionary organizations, nor Pakistani government officials had been able to come up with any proof to substantiate those charges. Jean-Michel Monod, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross, was even more blunt in his comments, describing the reports about the use of poisonous substances as "irresponsible talk". Professor Matthew S. Meselson of Harvard University, an expert in biological and chemical weapons, said that the Reagan Administration had no convincing proof concerning the use by the Soviet Union of chemical weapons, pointing out that the so-called "yellow rain" which some people tried to present as a mysterious type of chemical weapons was of natural origin and basically consisted of products discharged in the process of bee life-cycle activity. And the Afghan government has made public several letters seized from counter-revolutionary chieftains which show that Dushman gangs are instructed to forge evidence concerning the use of chemical weapons by the Soviet Union.

Their attempts to mislead the public having ended in a fiasco, Washington's myth-makers have of late backed down somewhat and started to make all sorts of ingenious reservations. For instance, they now say that chemical weapons are being used against the so-called Afghan rebels only in remote areas, and hence the difficulties of obtaining "documentary evidence".

One lie inevitably leads to another. After its failure in Afghanistan and South-East Asia, US propaganda, encouraged by the Reagan Administration, began to search for "evidence" of the use of Soviet chemical weapons in the Persian Gulf—the scene of a senseless war between Iraq and Iran, now in its fifth year.

The persistence with which Washington tries to ascribe such monstrous crimes to the Soviet Union has a logic of its own. It is the logic of unrestrained militarism, the logic of the military-industrial complex which in fact is shaping the domestic and foreign policies of the United States today.

Immediately after it came to power the Reagan Administration began feverishly to press Congress for additional appropriations for the manufacture of binary ammunition—a new type of chemical weapons. But since the United States had already stockpiled 150,000 tons of poisonous substances and 3,000,000 chemical projectiles, mines and air bombs, or enough to exterminate all living things on our planet, it decided to resort to the bogey of the "Soviet chemical threat".

Facts concerning the barbaric use by the United States of chemical weapons against peaceful civilians in Indochina during the US military intervention in the region are known throughout the world. It has now been established that Afghan counter-revolutionaries used US-made chemical weapons against students of the Kabul lyceum.

Although anti-Sovietism is the basic aim of the campaign of slander organized by imperialists around the events in Afghanistan, they do not confine themselves to it alone. Afghanistan and its people have become the target of psychological terror. Hostile radio stations, some of which are subversive stations run by some neighbouring countries and counter-revolutionary emigres, broadcast for 90 hours a day, pouring lies on Afghanistan and its people.

Top US government officials, including the US President himself, are taking part in the anti-Afghan campaign. Suffice it to mention the so-called Afghanistan Days, marked each

year at the prompting of the White House, with Reagan uttering hypocritical messages and statements.

The intensity of the psychological warfare against Afghanistan leaves no doubt as to the kind of goals its organizers are pursuing. They are obviously trying to alienate Afghan workers from the Revolution, to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, to deprive democratic Afghanistan of broad international support and to justify an armed intervention or other forms of interference by outside reactionary elements in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Those plans, however, are doomed to failure.

The revolutionary process in Afghanistan is gaining momentum. People in Afghanistan, previously deceived by imperialist propaganda, are increasingly rallying behind the Revolution, taking part in the process of building a new life.

The anti-Soviet and anti-Afghan myths are gradually losing their credibility even in the eyes of the Western capitalist newspapers. More and more often they carry articles containing a fairly sober assessment of events in Afghanistan and a reasonably objective description of life in the country.

For instance, in an article published in *The Washington Post*, Selig Harrison, who visited Afghanistan in the spring of 1984, writes that what he has seen in Afghanistan is in many respects a surprise to him. Instead of an "oppressively tense mood" frequently mentioned by Western propaganda, he has found the security measures taken by the authorities to be quite normal and unobtrusive. He reports that even those Afghans who have little sympathy for the April Revolution think that life has improved and that they would rather see the current government in power than any other regime associated with counter-revolutionary chieftains now living in exile in neighbouring Pakistan. The Karmal government, Harrison notes, is giving material assistance to the Muslim clergy. He also writes about the thriving bazaars and the absence of any signs of intimidation or restrictions imposed on the country's economic life.

Mention may also be made of William Pfaff's report published in the *International Herald Tribune* (February 10, 1984). The author calls attention to certain things which are usually ignored in the Western bourgeois press. For instance, he points out that the reforms under way in Afghanistan will on the whole resolve some of the problems of Afghan society whose solution has been long overdue. Essentially, says the author, the aim is to modernize the country and overcome the

vestiges of feudalism, a goal previous Afghan governments in the recent past had sought to achieve. Land reform, reform in education and other spheres are fully in accord with the ideas of progress even from the Western point of view. Not without some sarcasm the author notes that the West readily applauds the so-called Mujahiddin while totally overlooking the fact that the latter oppose even the most modest modernization programmes and reject the same type of development projects the West is offering to all other Asian countries. Therefore, Pfaff concludes, the alliance between the United States and Afghan counter-revolutionaries is a geopolitical rather than a moral one. A perceptive comment indeed, which is in sharp contrast with Washington's hypocritical pronouncements about alleged Western moral obligations before Afghan counter-revolutionary elements.

The Indian newspaper *National Herald* has pointed out some time ago that in relation to Afghanistan the West has become a prisoner of its own myths, and as a result is reluctant to admit its inability to direct events in that country along a course it prefers.

We need only add that the West or, to be more precise, the ruling circles of imperialist powers, have become prisoners of their own myths not against their will but because of it and because of their evil designs. There is little likelihood that those who have been spawning and exploiting those myths in pursuance of their dubious political objectives will suddenly "see the light".

Appendix

Note of the Government of the USSR to the Government of the United States of America

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considers it necessary to state the following to the Government of the United States of America.

For some time now US government agencies have been conducting a smear campaign designed to implicate the USSR in the use of chemical weapons which supposedly took place in Laos, Kampuchea and Afghanistan. In an attempt to pass off deception as truth, to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union's consistent peaceful policy and further to poison the international atmosphere, the US Department of State has recently issued a "report" containing a series of conjectures which serve only to prove that the US Administration has no evidence to support its charges, nor indeed can it have any such evidence.

The Soviet Union has strictly abided by its international obligations. In conformity with the 1925 Geneva Protocol, the Soviet Union has never resorted to the use of chemical weapons anywhere or transferred such weapons to other countries. The Soviet Union has in fact been urging the United States and other countries to reach agreement on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of poisonous substances and on the destruction of their stockpiles under effective control.

With the help of inventions about the use of Soviet-made chemical weapons in Laos and Kampuchea, the United States apparently seeks to cover up traces of the monstrous crimes it committed against the peoples of Indochina during its military intervention in that region. But the peoples will never forget those crimes or the fact that hundreds of thousands of

people have been crippled or maimed owing to the impact of poisonous substances that had been widely used by US troops in Viet-Nam, Laos and Kampuchea; nor will they ever forget the irreparable damage caused by the use of those substances to people, the economy and the environment. None of those facts can ever be refuted.

It is also a fact that armed gangs sent into Afghanistan are using US-made chemical weapons. This has been confirmed by material evidence which has been made public.

It is likewise obvious that the propaganda show put on in Washington has been designed to divert attention from the plans announced by the US Administration for large-scale production of new types of lethal chemical substances, in other words, for war preparations involving the use of these barbaric means of mass annihilation.

The United States has been making these slanderous accusations also in order to conceal its reluctance to hold talks on the conclusion of an agreement to prohibit development and production of chemical weapons and to destroy their stockpiles, as urged by the United Nations and by the world public. Furthermore, the United States is working to undermine the existing arms limitation agreements and is blocking new, vitally important agreements.

Washington should clearly realize the heavy responsibility it is taking upon itself in this connection.

The Government of the USSR lodges a strong protest with the Government of the United States of America over the dissemination of slanderous accusations against the Soviet Union. Such behaviour is inadmissible and reprehensible in relations between states.

Pravda, April 6, 1982

More Fabrications

The so-called "reports" of the US Department of State, implicating the Soviet Union in the use of chemical weapons, could easily be a classical example of the basest and most vulgar slander. Each of these reports has been strongly criticized by foreign scientists, experts, politicians, public figures and columnists. However, the US Department of State, which has set itself the unseemly goal of mass-producing anti-Soviet falsehoods, stubbornly continues to try

the patience of the public. US Secretaries of State come and go but the lie-producing assembly line continues to churn out one fabrication after another.

A few days ago, another forged "report" burst like an air bubble at Foggy Bottom (as the Washington district housing the Department of State complex is called). It contained the same old slanderous accusations about the alleged use by the Soviet Union and its "allies" of chemical weapons in Laos, Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

The report was preceded by a strong attack Washington made on the United Nations. It may be recalled that over the past few years the US Administration has announced publicly on several occasions that a UN group of experts have all but finished its report containing findings which would support Washington's assertions. The group, formed in 1980, had made several trips to the Afghan-Pakistani border area and to South-East Asia where it compared US assertions with factual evidence.

In the course of their investigation the UN experts found no proof to substantiate the US claims despite prodding and pressure by US special services. Thus, Washington's hopes of creating an international sensation were dashed.

But this has not dampened Washington's zeal. Several days later, the above-mentioned report, drafted by the Department of State and US special services, was made public. It contained no facts, material evidence or proof of any kind. Instead, it was filled with hearsay and rumours, allegedly provided by certain anonymous eyewitnesses. In short, the kind of "evidence" it contained could have easily been obtained elsewhere and in unlimited quantity. Still, it proves nothing.

The authors of such "reports" and those who endorse them are perfectly aware that they do not contain a word of truth. Therefore, we are clearly dealing here with a case of deliberate misrepresentation of facts, which must be regarded as highly reprehensible behaviour indeed.

The question as to who has actually been using chemical weapons could have been cleared up if at the Department of State conference at which the above-mentioned "report" was made public there were also shown US-made chemical grenades used by mercenary gangs in Afghanistan, US-made chemical bombs dropped by the Salvadoran junta's air force on guerrilla positions or poisonous gas containers the United

States had used in its aggression against Viet-Nam killing and maiming 1.6 million people.

The question as to who is making large-scale preparations for chemical warfare would be cleared up if it were disclosed that the Pentagon has in its arsenals 90 types of chemical ammunition, or a total of 5,000,000 chemical weapons, and plans to produce new binary weapons at the Pine Bluff (Arkansas) plant, still under construction.

The real situation concerning the matter would have become clear if we recalled that it was the United States which unilaterally suspended the negotiations on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

In the interest of truth, it would have been helpful if the US Secretary of State had explained in the accompanying letter attached to the "report" he sent to UN members why the United States was the only country which recently voted against a draft resolution on the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, submitted to the First Committee of the UN General Assembly.

But Washington's strategists would find it painful to acknowledge the truth of the matter. That is why they resort to anti-Soviet fabrications in an effort to conceal truth. The persistence with which the United States is spreading lies about the Soviet Union indicates that the United States has set itself the task of diverting the attention of the world public from its large-scale chemical weapons buildup programmes and securing additional thousands of millions of dollars to finance its plans involving the use of mass destruction weapons, including chemical weapons. And this task is being carried out with the help of all kinds of lies.

The manufacture of lies by Washington about the Soviet Union has become a recession-free industry of sorts. But all US attempts to cast aspersions on various aspects of the Soviet Union's foreign policy are doomed to failure. Whatever slanderous accusations the United States may resort to, they would not be able to detract from the prestige of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, which spares no effort to curb the arms race and to ban weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons.

This latest invention is not likely to bring either laurels or dividends to its authors. All it does is to make the world public follow with still greater apprehension US militaristic moves which are inimical to peace and which the United

States is trying in vain to conceal under heaps of anti-Soviet insinuations and fabrications.

Pravda, December 2, 1982

Excerpts from Babrak KARMAL's Statement

Made at the AAPSO Conference held to consider a New International Information Order and attended by the representatives of 40 countries and several international organizations

Immediately after the April Revolution, international imperialism headed by the United States, acting in collusion with Pakistan's military circles and with its Chinese allies, began to oppose the Afghan Revolution. As a result, an undeclared war was launched against Afghanistan.

Washington's anti-Afghan operation is the largest ever it has launched in recent years against peace, security, freedom, independence and socio-economic progress. The United States and its NATO allies have invested more than 1,000 million dollars to attain their anti-Afghan objectives.

In Pakistan, there are some 110 camps for training counter-revolutionaries. They serve as a staging area for aggression against the DRA and as the main outpost for the conduct of US policy in the region. Anti-Afghan mercenaries are being trained by US, Pakistani and Chinese instructors. There are also military camps for training counter-revolutionaries in Iran and in China's Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region. Every year more than 40,000 counter-revolutionaries complete their training course in those camps, and with arms and money supplied to them are infiltrated into our country.

The material damage inflicted on Afghanistan's economy as a result of counter-revolutionary criminal activities, which are backed by reactionary forces, imperialism and hegemonism, amounts to 34,000 million Afghanis.

Taking advantage of the situation around Afghanistan, which in fact it has created and aggravated, the United States continues to wage an undeclared war against the DRA as part of its policy of blatant interference in the internal affairs of

sovereign, independent and non-aligned states. At present, US imperialism is implementing its chauvinistic and militaristic plans with the help of its ally—Pakistan's military regime. The White House seeks to turn Pakistan into the region's policeman and to continue its interference in the internal affairs of our country, of peace-loving India and of the region's national liberation movements. One of the main components of Washington's anti-Afghan activities is psychological warfare whose aim is to intimidate our people. Essentially, it involves the spreading of lies, slanderous accusations and distorted facts about Afghanistan. The flow of misinformation about Afghanistan is part of the psychological warfare directed by the imperialist propaganda machine against the peoples, against all those who have embarked on the path of development and progress. Millions of dollars are being allocated to finance psychological warfare against Afghanistan which includes more than 110 hours of subversive radio programme broadcast every week in the national languages of the country. The US Central Intelligence Agency has set up several special groups to disseminate slanderous anti-Afghan propaganda materials.

At present, the DRA maintains diplomatic relations with 80 countries. As one of the founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement, it has been playing an active role in consolidating the Movement's anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist positions, strengthening its unity, raising its prestige and promoting peace and friendship among peoples. Revolutionary Afghanistan will remain a non-aligned country. As for the uneasy situation around Afghanistan which has developed as a result of aggression, imperialist interference and the actions taken by the region's reactionary forces and Chinese hegemonists, it must be pointed out that the DRA has always acted from a position of goodwill, common sense and a desire for peace and goodneighbourliness, and has put forward principled, constructive, flexible, practical and generally acceptable proposals. The positions of the DRA and the Soviet Union concerning the presence of a limited Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan are quite clear. Both sides have repeatedly stated that as soon as an end is put to outside armed interference and appropriate international guarantees of its non-resumption are given the contingent, which has been invited to the country to rebuff foreign aggression launched against the DRA, would be withdrawn. Afghan-Soviet friendship is not and will never be

directed against third countries. It will continue to be of fundamental importance for strengthening peace, freedom and independence of the countries of the region, for strengthening friendship among nations. The road to a political solution remains open, but the organizers of an undeclared war against Afghanistan stand in the way of a political settlement. The hostile attitude of the United States is the main obstacle. But the DRA hopes that the neighbouring countries will display common sense and political wisdom and will undertake steps leading towards a peaceful settlement in the region.

After the victory of the April Revolution, the national press, radio and television have been placed at the service of the working people and are entrusted with the task of disseminating throughout the country the genuine culture of Afghanistan's ethnic groups and tribes. In the post-revolutionary years much has been done to improve the work of the mass media and the quality of information provided to the people. At present 36 newspapers and 48 magazines are published in the country with a total circulation of 40,000,000 copies. The Bakhtar News Agency transmits on average 35,000 words for domestic consumption and 2,000 words for foreign readers. It maintains contacts with 17 international news agencies and supplies information to 34 international press agencies. Radio broadcasting capacity has increased twofold. Television has become one of the country's leading mass media channels; book publishing has made tremendous progress and in 1983 four hundred titles were published with a total printing of six million volumes. The country's libraries now stock hundreds of thousands of volumes in various national languages.

The establishment of a New International Information Order can be achieved only if an end is put to information dependence. We are convinced that the field of information must be speedily cleansed of the horrible impact of psychological warfare. The mass media should play an important role in defending peace and the security of the peoples and in solving the pressing problems of our time such as averting the danger of nuclear catastrophe, halting the arms race and improving the world political climate.

*Bakhtar News Agency, Kabul,
November-December 1984*

Who Is Using Chemical Weapons in Afghanistan?

(Excerpts from a report on a press conference held for Afghan and foreign journalists at the DRA Ministry of Foreign Affairs on February 27, 1984)

As has been announced at the press conference held on February 27, 1984, the DRA Armed Forces have seized two letters in the course of an operation carried out against counter-revolutionary gangs. One of them was sent by the Jamiat-i-Islami central office, located in Peshawar (Pakistan), to a counter-revolutionary group conducting subversive operations inside Afghanistan.

The other was sent by the so-called High Command of another counter-revolutionary organization, Hizbi-i-Islami, to a certain military committee (no address is given but the committee is apparently based in Pakistan).

We consider it appropriate to make public the texts of the two letters. The first one reads as follows:

“My brother Aziz,

“Captain Faizullah is being sent with a caravan to hand over to you the following arms and ammunition:

- “1. 20 anti-tank missiles
- “2. 22 machine-guns
- “3. 5,000 rounds of machine-gun ammunition
- “4. 18 anti-personnel mines
- “5. 22 anti-tank mines
- “6. 40 mortar shells.

“Confirm receipt of the above-mentioned arms and ammunition at the earliest opportunity. We shall deliver the remaining arms and ammunition to you in the nearest future.

“Brother Aziz,

“In your last letter you complain about the difficulties you have encountered. But you are back home together with your family whereas we live in a foreign land, among enemies. Our life here is extremely difficult. We are made to operate under the direct supervision of US advisers.

“Some days ago the American advisers made up a list of questions concerning the use of poisonous substances by the Russians against the Mujahiddin in Afghanistan and of recommended replies.

“The above-mentioned poisonous chemical substances have been manufactured here for subsequent use in

Afghanistan in order to convince the world public that it is the Russians who are using them.

“You will understand, of course, that we are totally powerless here and do everything the American advisers tell us to do.

“We must endure all hardships for the sake of our sacred goal.

“With best wishes,
(Signature)

November 16, 1983”

The second letter reads as follows:

“Hizbi-i-Islami Afghanistan
“December 2, 1983, c/o Military Committee,

“By the grace of Allah we have safely received a caravan of arms and ammunition you sent to the Kabul Province High Command together with the questionnaire containing recommended replies to the questions listed therein.

“We think that all means should be used against the enemy but it must be pointed out that here it is extremely difficult to get poisonous substances. Frankly speaking, they are not available at all. But we highly appreciate what our friends (the Americans—*Ed.*) are doing. Tell us in advance when the whole thing is due to begin, so we can pass the word around.

“We would also like to get from you confirmation of receipt of the money we had previously sent. If it did not reach you we would undertake a most thorough investigation into what might have gone wrong.

“With best wishes,
“High Command of the Kabul Province
(Seal, signature)”

These two letters provide convincing evidence which can hardly be refuted.

A Bakhtar News Agency statement, made public at the press conference, says that the two letters are a clear indi-

cation that it is the United States which is behind an undeclared war against Afghanistan, while Afghan counter-revolutionary elements are at the beck and call of US advisers.

They show that all attempts by CIA experts to prove that the DRA Armed Forces and the limited Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan are using poisonous substances in that country are futile.

While the Reagan Administration is trying to resurrect the myth about the use of Agent Orange in Afghanistan and to deceive world public opinion, US imperialism has on several occasions employed chemical weapons against the Afghan people in violation of all existing international conventions. Below are some of the facts cited at the press conference.

Three years ago, grenades containing CDS 517 poisonous substances were captured from counter-revolutionaries in Herat Province. At the beginning of last year US-made RKT 83-mm chemical shells and M-12 tear gas containers were captured from gangs operating in Ghazni Province. Two years ago the bandits put poisonous chemical substances, delivered from abroad, into a water tank at a girls' school.

*Bakhtar News Agency, February
27, 1984*

THE AFGHAN COUNTER- REVOLUTION

What kind of an organization is the Afghan counter-revolution? Who are those who attack peaceful Afghan villages, burn down schools and hospitals, blow up bridges and kill women, children and old people?

The Japanese reporter Gena Anami, writing in the magazine *Shakaicho*, says that the bourgeois press calls those people anti-government "guerrillas". But inside Afghanistan, he points out, no one calls them that. To the Afghans they are nothing but bandits and cut-throats. The *Daily Mail* correspondent B. Norris who visited several Afghan provinces and saw the traces left behind by marauding "guerrillas" also notes that only pillage could have been the motive for their action... "The bandits (rebels) achieved nothing but the hatred of the local people." The West German journalist Uwe Engelbrecht who visited the DRA in the spring of 1982 in one of his reports, published in the Austrian newspaper *Die Presse*, says that the so-called rebels are invariably referred to by Afghans as "terrorists, bandits and mercenaries". "Such a mixed, hastily formed group, such a politically heterogeneous band of rebels," writes Engelbrecht, "has no chance of succeeding in their fight against a government which is implementing its policies with exceptional determination and with full energy... According to different sources only a small number of 'rebels' are fanatic religious fighters. The majority are young, illiterate and politically ignorant peasants who have been deceived and are made to attack defenceless villages. Then there are bands of professional bandits who are carrying out their deeds on political pretexts."

Politically, the Afghan counter-revolution is a motley

assembly of organizations ranging from ultra-right, pro-monarchy to ultra-left, pro-Maoist groups. In a dispatch published in *The New York Times* (March 3, 1980) its correspondent James P. Sterba wrote: "Depending on whom you ask, there are between 40 and 100 different armed insurgent groups operating throughout Afghanistan. If they are temporarily refraining from shooting at one another, it is because they have more inviting and hapless targets..."

James P. Sterba thinks that a majority of the rebel groups want to turn Afghanistan into an orthodox Islamic state. The largest and the most conservative among them is the Hizbi-i-Islami, or the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA), headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a former student in the Engineering Department of Kabul University. The party was founded in 1976 on the basis of several extremist groups belonging to the ultra-right wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, an international reactionary organization, and of its Muslim Youth faction. The party's executive committee is located in Peshawar (Pakistan), the seat of the Afghan counter-revolution and of the central offices of all major anti-Afghan organizations.

Gulbuddin Hekmatyar was born in 1944 into a wealthy landowner's family. While attending Kabul University he became an active member of the Afghan branch of the Muslim Brotherhood and was subsequently one of its leaders. In 1971, together with his confederates he organized a series of assassinations of progressive public figures for which he was brought to trial and was jailed. He spent less than two years in prison and was then released following intercession by his powerful mentors who maintained close links with the CIA. Hekmatyar is a fanatical proponent of the idea of "Islamic revival". He is against education for women and calls for the obligatory wearing of the chador. As a Muslim Brotherhood member, he took an active part in subversive actions in the years 1973-1978 against President Mohammad Daoud whom, as Selig S. Harrison reported in *The New York Times* (January 13, 1980), he considered to be "dangerously leftist" (as he did also the Shah of Iran and US "experts").

The IPA's goal is the overthrow of people's power and the establishment of an "Islamic state" in Afghanistan. But Hekmatyar's ambitions extend beyond Afghanistan's borders. According to the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, the IPA leader says that his party's aim is not only to seize power in Afghanistan but also to liberate brothers in faith living on

the other bank of the Amu Darya (that is, in the Soviet Central Asian republics).

Judging from the luxury in which Hekmatyar lives, it would appear that all his bills are paid by his Saudi and American friends. The American Afghan Relief Committee has deposited in his bank account in a Basel bank 300,000 dollars' worth of "donations". His own business is also thriving. In Peshawar alone his taxi firm of 150 motorized rickshaws brings him quite a profit. He is not averse to accepting petty handouts, like a car he received as a publicity gift from Toyota.

It is Gulbuddin Hekmatyar who has invented a new system of "head count" pay for counter-revolutionary bands that make raids on Afghan territory. According to his former confederates, Abdul Gaffar and Nazrullah, IPA bandits receive 5,000 to 7,000 Afghanis for killing one Afghan soldier, 10,000 to 15,000 Afghanis—for one Party activist and 30,000 Afghanis for one army officer, which are considerable sums of money judging by local prices.

Another leading counter-revolutionary organization is the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, or Jamiat-i-Islami, which was founded in 1976 in Pakistan by supporters of the deposed king Zahir Shah. At that time it openly called for an "armed struggle" against the country's former President Daoud who was regarded as being too Red by reactionary mullahs, wealthy landowners and government officials making up the backbone of the organization.

The Islamic Society of Afghanistan is headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani (b. 1940). He holds a bachelor's degree in philosophy and in sharia law. Because he lectured for some time at Kabul University he is invariably referred to as "professor" in the Western press. Like Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, he took an active part in founding the Muslim Brotherhood's Afghan branch and the Muslim Youth wing and also maintained close contacts with the CIA. As a member of a wealthy landowner's family, he had extensive landholdings in Kabul and Badakhshan Provinces. A successful merchant, he was one of the leading suppliers of the famous Afghan carpets to Western Europe. In Pakistan, where he has found refuge after fleeing his country, he has become involved in drug trafficking besides attending to his main business which is the organization of acts of terrorism and subversion inside the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Islamic Society bands, headed by B. Rabbani,

are also engaged in illegal mining of lapis lazuli and emeralds in the Panjshir and Badakhshan valleys.

Compared to Rabbani and Hekmatyar, who dream of turning Afghanistan into an orthodox Islamic state which would have made the European Inquisition look like an age of enlightenment, Sayed Ahmad Gailani, leader of the reactionary National Front of Islamic Revolution, or Jabhe-e-melli-e-inqilab-e-Afghanistan, seems somewhat more acceptable to the West. This may be explained by the fact that he makes no secret of his links with the West, primarily with the United States. The National Front's central office is staffed with graduates of the US International Police Academy and of the Texas school for saboteurs. Therefore, Gailani has to take into account what his masters tell him and to maintain at least the appearance of a man with "progressive views". He is not opposed to education for women and would not insist on their wearing the chador.

Gailani considers himself to be a descendent of the Prophet Mohammad and holds the ecclesiastical title of "peer". Gailani's family is an influential member of the Order of Sufi or the Quaddriya sect of Islam, and originally hailed from Iran. He has large landholdings in Afghanistan and was closely associated with the royal family. His aristocratic background and ecclesiastical title have not prevented him from engaging in such mundane pursuits as selling cars—in Kabul he owns a shop that sells Peugeot cars.

Still another anti-Afghan party—the National Liberation Front of Afghanistan, or Jabhe-e-melli-e-nedjat-e-Afghanistan, unites various emigre groups which were set up in Pakistan back in the early 1970s and which promptly began an active campaign against even the minimum reforms carried out in Afghanistan under the King and subsequently under Daoud. The Front's leader Sebqatullah Mojadedi, graduate of a theological seminary, was one of Muslim Brotherhood's leaders. In the period preceding the April Revolution he spent more than five years in prison for anti-state activities. Released in 1978, he fled to Pakistan where he joined terrorist groups conducting subversive activities against revolutionary Afghanistan.

Among relatively large counter-revolutionary groups there is a band headed by Mohammad Yunus, alias Khalis (the word "khalis" meaning "believer"), which split from the IPA because it was unwilling to join forces with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar who wanted to bring under his control all

counter-revolutionary groups. Another such group, the Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan, or *Harakat-i-Inqilab-i-Islami*, headed by Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, is made up of representatives of the ultra-right reactionary Muslim clergy and the middle classes. It has won a name for itself by its cruelty and acts of looting, and has even been condemned by some of the other counter-revolutionary Islamic groups for committing acts "contrary to the Islamic faith".

It is this ragtag of political provocateurs, assassins, terrorists and outright criminals that the Western propaganda is trying to present as "fighters for the faith". Who were those people before the April Revolution? At least three of the currently most influential counter-revolutionary chieftains, each laying claims to leadership in the "Afghan liberation movement", had been carrying out subversive activities long before the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan came to power and a limited Soviet military contingent was brought into Afghanistan. In the past they were "unknown" opponents of the regime and no one was concerned about them, except the representatives of that regime. Now that the new Afghan government has firmly embarked on the road of socio-economic reforms and is pursuing an independent foreign policy aimed at strengthening peace and the security in the region, at combatting interference of imperialism and reactionary forces and at developing friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, these former criminals and assassins have all of a sudden become "freedom fighters".

In making use of the various counter-revolutionary groups in their undeclared war against Afghanistan, US special services have encountered several problems, above all the problem of uniting these groups into a single political and military force. From time to time the Western press solemnly announces the formation of yet another "alliance of fighters for the faith" or of a "united freedom front" only to report subsequently in a few lines that this new "alliance" has also disintegrated. It is virtually impossible to bring together the counter-revolutionary chieftains whose interests consist in grabbing as much power and money as possible. They have no common ideological platform that could unite them.

All those joining Hekmatyar's organization have to take an "oath" which says that IPA members recognize no other organization except the Islamic Party of Afghanistan. The

rival group headed by Rabbani claims that it, the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, is the only Afghan counter-revolutionary organization which is "fighting for Islam in the political, economic and social spheres, for the Koran and for a just government". The Bakhtar News Agency has made public excerpts from two letters captured by the Afghan Security Force. One of the letters was written by Hekmatyar and the other by Rabbani, and each orders members of his group to kill the other by all available means.

A BBC report says that a bomb went off near the Afghan Mujahiddin central office in Peshawar, in which, according to Peshawar's Lieutenant-Governor, three people were killed instantly, one man was injured and later died in hospital and twelve other persons were wounded, of whom six died. The bomb exploded at the entrance to the IPA headquarters. The BBC report points out that at present there are several thousand Afghans living in Peshawar who belong to different warring groups, and the city's streets are often the scene of clashes between them. There has already been several armed battles resulting in the loss of life.

"It is obviously more dangerous for some rebels," writes Philip Bonosky in the *Political Affairs* (May 1984), "to meet other fellow-rebels there on the street in Peshawar than it was to meet Afghan Army forces in the mountains, who at least did not kill you if you surrendered."

The leaders of the Afghan counter-revolution have also taken to making public accusations at each other. For instance, Mohammad Yunus calls his former boss Hekmatyar a "dictator and usurper of power", while the latter has branded Mohammad Nabi as "defiler of Islam". Rabbani's followers are accusing Hekmatyar of bribe-taking, embezzlement of public funds, etc. Rival gangs are at war not only with the Afghan Revolution but also with each other. According to Afghan press reports, hundreds of bandits have been killed as a result of clashes between Hekmatyar's and Nabi's supporters.

In January 1984 the Bakhtar News Agency made public a document entitled *Memorandum About the Situation in Afghanistan* which was seized by the Afghan Security Force. The document, drafted in September 1983 by the CIA, lists the aims and objectives of US policy in connection with events in Afghanistan and defines Washington's role in the implementation of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries' plans.

The Memorandum says among other things that in the

period following the introduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan the United States and its allies have carried out an extensive programme of political, propagandistic, economic, military and other measures in order to take advantage of the situation existing in South-West Asia, to inflict the greatest possible political and economic damage on the Soviet Union, to destabilize Karmal's regime and to isolate it in the international arena. At the same time, the Memorandum notes that "Karmal's regime is getting stronger with every passing day" and admits that it would be impossible to change the current regime in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, it calls for more support for the Afghan counter-revolution.

The cynicism of the US Administration which has placed its bets on the Afghan counter-revolution can be seen in a *Washington Post* article *Are We Fighting to the Last Afghan?*, written by Selig S. Harrison, a leading US expert on Afghanistan and a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Here is what he says: "‘Afghanistan is gone,’ a high American intelligence official told me recently, but ‘we will make the Russians pay’ by encouraging the Afghan resistance indefinitely. The United States ‘obviously’ could not accept the ‘flaky’ settlement now being negotiated by the United Nations, he explained, even if it would lead to withdrawal of Soviet combat forces..."

"When I objected that this amounted to a policy of ‘fighting to the last Afghan’, he shrugged, saying ‘the Afghans love to fight’."

The last thing Washington is concerned about while pursuing its expansionist plans and treating the Afghan counter-revolution as a pawn in its political gamble is the destiny of the Afghan people, judging from the above-mentioned *Memorandum About the Situation in Afghanistan*.

The document devotes much space to describing "the political structure of the Afghan resistance movement", the relationship between its various "parties" and the disputes between their leaders and their "militant organizations". The conclusion it makes is as follows:

For the successful attainment of US strategic goals in the region involving the use of the "problem of Afghanistan" it is necessary to see that the following two tasks are carried out:

1. Preservation of the *status-quo* in the rebel movement in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, which would enable the United States to exert effective influence on the political

developments in the region and be a constant lever for putting pressure on the Soviet Union.

2. Formation of an Afghan coalition government in exile so that certain political steps can be taken in the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and other international organizations, and also so that the rebel movement will acquire a measure of legitimacy and assistance can be provided to it by the "free world".

While calling for the formation of a "coalition government", for unity of counter-revolutionary groups and the coordination of their moves, the Memorandum says that such unity is good for the United States only to a limited extent since the United States has no interest in linking the prospects of the rebel movement in Afghanistan exclusively to the possibility of forming a single organization.

At present, the Memorandum goes on to say, the rebel movement and the existence of warring groups open up favourable possibilities for the attainment of the objectives the United States has set for the movement.

The Memorandum recommends that although all groups should be given equal treatment in the process of their unification, attention should be concentrated on Gailani's and Rabbani's groups.

The authors of the Memorandum speak highly of Pakistan's role in increasing the flow of modern weapons, including Soviet-made weapons, to bands and armed groups operating inside Afghanistan.

The Memorandum notes the increased combat skills of mercenaries following an improvement of the system of training rebel commanders at camps in Pakistan. At the same time, the authors of the Memorandum are concerned about information leaks including eyewitness accounts given by former bandits who have decided to join the Revolution, and reports about American advisers encouraging the rebels "to destabilize Karmal's regime in various spheres". This means in fact that the American advisers have singled out economic targets for attacks by rebel groups, including factories, farms, schools and hospitals, and are telling the mercenaries that they should kill Party activists, government employees and representatives of various strata of the Afghan society that support the country's legitimate government and that they should also carry out open terrorist acts against the civilian population so as to intimidate people and undermine their confidence in the authorities.

Below is a record of terrorist acts perpetrated by US-trained Afghan rebels in August 1984 alone.

Baghlan Province: On August 2, in broad daylight, a group of bandits brutally murdered 13 children only because they were members of a Young Pioneers' organization.

Kunduz Province: On August 6, a group of bandits raided the village of Baswa where a women's organization had been active and where the first meeting of the local farm cooperative was held. In the raid 12 villagers were killed, including four children, and seven people were wounded.

Nangarhar Province: On August 17, a mine planted by bandits blew up a bus killing 25 passengers.

Parwan Province: On August 27, the Bakhor hotel was burned down in the Paghman District; on August 31, a secondary school teacher was killed by bandits in the village of Baba-Koomkar-Nasbock in the Mirbachakot District.

On the same day, terrorists committed an outrageous criminal act in Kabul Airport. They set off a powerful explosive device, killing 27 people and wounding some 200. A week or so later, a group of bandits fired a ground-to-air missile which hit an Ariana passenger liner's fuel tank. The crew miraculously made a safe landing and no one was hurt.

It is pointed out in the book *Undeclared War*, published in Kabul in 1984, that by the beginning of 1984 Afghan counter-revolutionary groups had destroyed more than one half of the country's schools, over a hundred hospitals and about 50 per cent of all state-owned trucks, causing 35,000 million Afghans' worth of damage.

While in their undeclared war against Afghanistan the United States and its allies are pursuing specific political objectives, regarding Afghanistan as one of the battlefronts in their Crusade against the countries of socialism and the national liberation movement, the war the counter-revolutionaries are waging in Afghanistan is increasingly becoming a lucrative business. It is not merely that acts of terrorism and subversion are well paid for by the West but also that "highway" robbery and looting have become a profitable, if dangerous, business.

Afghan "freedom fighters" also make a lot of money out of drug trafficking. According to the Bakhtar News Agency, huge amounts of drug base are converted into expensive and easily transportable heroin, mostly in Peshawar suburbs, where numerous "white death" factories are operating under the cover of "Afghan refugee" camps. The Pakistani press

says that up to 200 tons of opium are processed in one season.

Islamabad's military regime and Pakistani generals, the Bakhtar News Agency reports, get their share of profits by allowing Afghan counter-revolutionaries openly to engage in the production and distribution of drugs in between terrorist attacks on Afghan territory.

Congressman Charles B. Rangel, who visited Pakistan as head of a US congressional delegation, had to admit Afghan counter-revolutionaries were involved in drug trafficking. The purpose of the visit was to conduct an on-the-spot study of the possibilities of combatting drug production in the area of the "golden triangle" where the borders of Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan meet.

The US Drug Enforcement Administration, which is in charge of combatting heroin production in Pakistan, has been increasingly used in recent years as a cover for operations by CIA agents and "guerrilla warfare" experts. It was not accidental therefore that a wave of opium fever swept South-West Asia just at a time when American "advisers" overseeing the training of terrorist bands and their subsequent infiltration into Afghanistan appeared en masse in the Afghan-Pakistani border area.

It is clear that the opium-producing centres in Pakistan cannot be closed down without the simultaneous dismantling of Afghan counter-revolutionary bases and camps. But Washington would rather risk the lives of millions of people both in the United States and in Western Europe than discourage drug trafficking by Afghan bandits, who make up the main force in the anti-Afghan campaign.

Among the ranks of the Afghan counter-revolution there are only a handful of ideological enemies of the April Revolution. To a considerably greater number of people counter-revolutionary activities offer an easy way of making money. Many of the so-called freedom fighters have been deceived by propaganda or have been made to join counter-revolutionary ranks under threats. In Samangan Province a farmer was told by a group of bandits that his two elder sons had to follow them into the mountains. When the eldest son refused he was killed on the spot and the younger son was threatened with the same fate. The farmer then had to beg his younger son to join the bandits. Many members of rebel groups are recruited from among Afghan refugees. In the maelstrom of revolution not everyone understands the complex nature of events taking place in the country, and this is

especially true of a country like Afghanistan where there was almost total illiteracy and where farmers were completely dependent on their landlords and in many respects on the mullahs. Hundreds of thousands of Afghans fled, mostly to Pakistan. The problem of refugees in Pakistan was aggravated by the fact that most of the nomadic Pushtuns who since time immemorial had freely crossed the border following their herds into Pakistan every winter were also included among the refugees. The Pakistani authorities and Afghan counter-revolution chieftains did their best to prevent them from returning to summer pastures. According to different sources, the number of Afghan nomads varies from one to two million.

Deprived of virtually all means of earning a livelihood, Afghan refugees have found themselves in an extremely difficult situation. They receive less than 20 per cent of the amount of foreign aid supposedly channeled to them. The remainder is appropriated by Pakistani officials and counter-revolutionary chieftains running various refugee camps.

It is widely known that embezzlement of money takes place in refugee camps in Pishin, Muslim, Surkhab, Mohammadgul, Kohat and other localities. A lively trade in clothing, medicines and foodstuffs is going on at the markets in Islamabad, Peshawar and Quetta.

Illegal trading has become so widespread as to cause concern among some donor countries. UN relief agency officials in charge of providing aid to Afghan refugees are making more inspection trips to Pakistan. An inquiry into the work of a local aid distribution committee resulted in its dissolution on the spot and in criminal charges being brought against its members.

Forced to lead a miserable life, many of the refugee camp residents have taken to begging, robbery and drug smuggling. The camps themselves have frequently become the scene of bloody fights and murders. For some, joining counter-revolutionary ranks offers an easy way out. Those who decide to return to Afghanistan find it rather hard to do so, as they risk being killed by various counter-revolutionary militants who are ruthless in dealing with anyone wishing to go home.

But under the repeated blows of the Afghan army, the people's militia and self-defence units, the Afghan counter-revolution is crumbling. More and more former bandits are joining the Revolution. Neither coercion nor demagoguery can induce people to stay for whom life has become hell. "We are

tired of seeing all the violence around us”—this is what those who have decided to surrender usually say. But it takes courage to make that step. For on the one hand, Dushman propaganda tries to intimidate people with stories about the kind of punishment that will supposedly be meted out to them by the revolutionary authorities once they have returned; and on the other hand, Dushman chieftains threaten them with vengeance. And indeed they hunt down their former confederates with particular zeal and subject them to the most inhuman torture if they are captured.

But the more violent the campaign of terror waged by Afghan counter-revolutionaries in their thirst for vengeance, the greater the desire of people who have been deceived and misled to return to Afghanistan. Following an amnesty decree, adopted by the Afghan government, many thousands of people who took part in counter-revolutionary activities have joined the Revolution.

An Afghan newspaper has published the story of a counter-revolutionary chieftain who came over to the side of the revolutionary authorities together with his unit numbering 500 men. His name is Abdul Karim. He is the chief of a Pushtun tribe and lives in the Adraskand District of Herat Province. After graduating from a Herat college at the head of his class, he was sent to study at the Kabul Polytechnical Institute. Upon graduation, he worked as a geologist at a Herat mine. During Hafizullah Amin's harsh rule, the tribe elected Abdul Karim its chief and he took his people to Pakistan to escape repressions at home. Upon returning to Afghanistan Abdul Karim's tribe joined the struggle against the enemies of the April Revolution. It has formed a self-defence battalion which patrols a 30-kilometre stretch along the border with Iran.

Here is Abdul Karim's story:

“People often ask me if it was difficult to part with the counter-revolution. My former ‘friends’ denounce me, saying that I have betrayed the ‘sacred banner of Islam’. But my conscience is clear. Life itself has led me to the decision I’d taken. It didn’t come all of a sudden. While in Pakistan I’d learned a great deal about the so-called freedom fighters. Counter-revolutionary central offices are rampant with corruption and violence. While considering themselves rulers of the destinies of the Afghan people, the heads of various counter-revolutionary organizations are in fact nothing but ordinary crooks and petty criminals who would readily betray

both the 'sacred cause of Islam' and their own people for dollar handouts. Poverty and disease are ravaging refugee camps where women, children and the old suffer from malnutrition. Those wishing to return home are in mortal danger because they can be murdered.

"At training camps American, West German and Chinese instructors train the counter-revolutionaries in the use of mortars, grenade launchers and rockets. Much attention is devoted to the handling of mines, various explosive devices and delayed-action mines. Other top priority subjects include the organization of terrorist acts and methods of killing civilians. Foreign advisers treat us like second-class people, good only for carrying out their commands. It didn't take me very long to become convinced that the last thing they are concerned about is the future of our country. They are perfectly cold-blooded when planning operations involving the killing of civilians.

"I felt I could no longer be on the side of those who have betrayed the interests of my country or carry out the orders of foreigners who are waging a war against my people, while pursuing their own selfish objectives.

"Although our tribe was a highly cohesive combat unit, at the meeting of elders which took a decision that we should return home it was also decided that the strictest possible security measures should be taken to ensure our safe return."

THE ONLY VIABLE ALTERNATIVE

Millions of people throughout the world would like to see an early, just settlement of the problems involving Afghanistan. How can this be brought about?

The peace proposals the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan put forward on May 14, 1980, and on August 24, 1981, offer a sound basis for such a settlement. Taking into account the interests of all the parties concerned, they constitute a broad, constructive programme of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, whose main aim is the total cessation and guaranteed non-resumption of armed intervention and other forms of imperialist interference in the country's internal affairs.

Kabul is taking a flexible attitude concerning ways of normalizing the situation. While expressing preference for separate talks with each of the parties concerned, it has also said that it is ready to hold tripartite talks with Pakistan and Iran, and has no objection to the participation of the UN Secretary-General or his representative in the talks.

Afghanistan has agreed to holding multilateral consultations aimed at working out international guarantees, concurrently with, and parallel to, bilateral or tripartite talks between Afghanistan and its neighbours. But it has stated that the consultations should under no circumstances deal with questions concerning Afghanistan's internal development problems.

Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have repeatedly pointed out that a political settlement, including the elaboration of international guarantees, would make it possible for the Afghan and the Soviet sides to work out the forms and a

timetable for the withdrawal of a limited Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union has said on more than one occasion that it has no intention of stationing its troops in Afghanistan indefinitely. But for Soviet troops to be withdrawn, foreign military interference in Afghan affairs must be discontinued once and for all.

Replying to a question put to him by a *Newsweek* correspondent about the conditions that should be met before the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan, Shah Mohammad Dost, Afghanistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that this would happen "when the reason for which they were invited no longer exists, namely the interference and intervention from abroad—mainly from Pakistan. When that ceases completely and international guarantee is given to that effect, there will be no reason for the Soviets to stay. We will ask the Soviet Union, and they will definitely withdraw."

The Afghan government's peace proposals are clear evidence that the country's foreign policy rests on the principles of peace, peaceful coexistence, relaxation of international tensions, non-alignment, friendship and cooperation among all states. Afghanistan has consistently stood for peace and security for South-West Asia. Any unbiased person cannot fail to note Kabul's tireless efforts aimed at building friendly ties and reciprocal trust with Afghanistan's neighbours.

But Kabul's policy is encountering resistance on the part of the United States and its allies which seek to exacerbate tensions in the region and to aggravate relations between Asian states in order to extend their military and political influence in that part of the world.

Washington has always regarded Afghanistan, both before and after the April Revolution, primarily as a country it could make use of in carrying out its plans spearheaded against the Soviet Union and a number of countries in South-West and South Asia. As the *Current History* magazine observed in 1950, one of the reasons for the United States' interest in Afghanistan was its possible importance as a bridgehead for a future attack on Russia. The newspaper *Daily News* noted in 1959 that by drawing Afghanistan into the Western camp it would be possible to extend still further the chain of bases the "free world" had set up along the Soviet Union's southern border.

Throughout the 1960s and the 1970s the United States actively tried to make Afghanistan join one of its aggressive military blocs. Although Kabul invariably rejected the US

offers, Washington did not relax its pressure in an attempt to make Afghanistan abandon its policy of non-alignment and goodneighbourly relations with the Soviet Union and to install in Afghanistan a reactionary regime which would faithfully serve US interests. In short, the United States sought to turn Afghanistan into another Iran as it was under the Shah who had acted as a loyal policeman of US imperialism in the region.

But things have turned out differently. Washington not only failed in its anti-Afghan campaign but also lost its seemingly unassailable positions in Iran. That double defeat had led the United States to launch a particularly vicious undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which was formed as a result of the April Revolution.

Flouting internationally recognized norms of behaviour and the principles of the UN Charter, the United States has embarked on a road of aggression and of gross interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. It refuses to recognize the sovereign right of the Afghan people independently to build its own future. Washington's ultimate objective remains the same—to impose on Afghanistan a reactionary regime which would toe the US line.

Therefore, Washington and its allies are doing their utmost to undermine Kabul's peace initiatives aimed at normalizing the situation around Afghanistan. The United States is putting constant pressure on Pakistani leadership so as to rule out any possibility of even a slight improvement in Afghan-Pakistani relations. It is not by chance that Pakistan is currently receiving an uninterrupted flow of the most advanced US-made weapons. In return, Pakistan is expected to fall in line without any reservation with the US aggressive course spearheaded against Afghanistan, India and other independent states in the region.

The anti-Afghan policy of Pakistan's leadership is meeting with growing protest on the part of broad sections of the country's population. Many Pakistani politicians have been calling on their government to recognize the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan headed by Babrak Karmal, and to seek a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The Secretary-General of the National Democratic Party of Pakistan said at a press conference that the government of Pakistan should recognize the DRA government and enter into direct negotiations with it. He also urged the country's leadership to recognize the changes taking place in Afghanistan.

In an attempt to cover up its gross interference in the internal affairs of democratic Afghanistan and to justify its flat refusal to seek a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem, Washington has in the past few years managed to put the so-called Afghan question on the United Nations' agenda, usually after active backstage manoeuvring to get other delegations to support the US position. In its anti-Afghan campaign in the United Nations, the United States resorts to a variety of tricks designed to distort completely the actual situation in Afghanistan and around it.

Truth, however, will out. Politicians and public figures from several Western countries, including Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and the United States itself, who have visited Afghanistan, have had to admit that an overwhelming majority of the Afghan people support the revolutionary authorities, their socio-economic reforms, the country's peaceful foreign policy and its peace initiatives.

For instance, Abe Feinglass, a US labour leader, said at the conclusion of his visit to Afghanistan: "I am convinced that if the United States gave up its attempts to alter the existing system with the help of counter-revolutionary forces, Soviet troops would immediately leave Afghanistan. I reject intervention, but what the Soviet Union did was not intervention; it was a security measure necessitated by a threat to its borders, as well as a fulfilment of bilateral agreements between sovereign states." The only reasonable solution of the problem, A. Feinglass said, would be a political settlement of the conflict. The United States must leave Afghanistan alone.

More and more sober-minded people throughout the world are coming to the conclusion that a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan can be achieved only if imperialist intervention stops completely, negotiations are held between Afghanistan and its neighbour and appropriate international guarantees are provided.

There is no other way.

Appendix

Statement of the DRA Government

May 14, 1980

The Bakhtar News Agency has made public the following statement of the DRA Government concerning ways of normalizing relations with Iran and Pakistan:

The Afghan people, having accomplished in April 1978 the national-democratic revolution, made a final choice and embarked on the path of the building in the country of a new society based on the principles of equality and justice, a society ruling out the exploitation of man by man.

New Afghan society is based on profound respect for, and observance of, the national, historical, cultural and religious traditions of the people along with firm observance of the principles of Islam as the sacred religion and with freedom of religious rites guaranteed for Muslims by law.

The Afghan people would like to build a new life in the conditions of peace, while developing relations of friendship and cooperation with their neighbours, with Muslim countries and with all other states. However, they have come out against crude interference, by imperialist and reactionary forces, including armed interference, in the internal affairs of their country.

The people of Afghanistan are determined to defend the freedom and independence of their country and their right to decide for themselves the social and economic system within the framework of which they want to live.

Reaffirming that in accordance with the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan the foreign policy of the DRA is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and active and positive non-alignment, the Government of the DRA declares that it is determined to

search for a political settlement to ensure the complete termination of acts of aggression and subversion against Afghanistan and of all other forms of interference from outside in its internal affairs, to eliminate tension in the area and overcome differences by peaceful means and by negotiations.

The programme of a political settlement could be based on the following clauses:

1. The Government of the DRA proposes to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to hold Afghan-Iranian negotiations to work out an appropriate agreement so as to promote the development of friendly relations and all-round mutually beneficial cooperation between our two countries.

The Government of the DRA also proposes to the Government of Pakistan to hold Afghan-Pakistani negotiations with a view to working out bilateral agreements on the normalization of relations. The agreements should contain such generally acceptable principles as mutual respect for sovereignty and a readiness to develop relations on the basis of principles of goodneighbourliness and non-interference in the internal affairs, as well as concrete obligations on the non-admissibility of armed or any other hostile activity from the territory of one state against the other.

2. The Government of the DRA once again calls on the Afghans temporarily staying for various reasons on the territory of Pakistan and other neighbouring countries to return to their homeland and confirms that in accordance with the General Amnesty announced in the Government Statement on January 1, 1980, and subsequent statements to this effect they will be respected and full freedom and immunity will be guaranteed to them; they will be able to choose freely their domicile and employment, and necessary facilities would be provided for them. The Government of the DRA calls upon the Pakistani authorities and the authorities of other neighbouring countries to facilitate the free return of such persons to Afghanistan. Nevertheless, if some of the Afghans would not want to return, then questions connected with this should be discussed in the course of bilateral negotiations with a view to achieving relevant accords.

3. Upon reaching mutually acceptable solutions on the points one and two above and having normalized on this basis the relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours, the Government of the DRA would be ready to consider

other questions of bilateral relations including those which for a long time have caused differences.

4. Proposing to hold bilateral negotiations with neighbouring countries without any prerequisites, the Government of the DRA firmly proceeds from the belief that these negotiations would not be accompanied by the continuation of hostile activities against Afghanistan. Accordingly, from the very beginning of the process of the political settlement practical measures should be taken testifying beyond any doubt to the termination of armed and any other interference in the affairs of Afghanistan by all states involved in such interference.

5. The Government of the DRA is of the opinion that apart from a package of bilateral accords between Afghanistan and Pakistan and Afghanistan and Iran, appropriate political guarantees on the part of some states which should be acceptable to Afghanistan as well as to other parties to bilateral accords should become an integral part of a political settlement. Among them, in the opinion of the DRA, may be the Soviet Union and the United States. The essence of the guarantees should be that the guarantor countries would themselves respect and by their authority support bilateral accords between Afghanistan and Pakistan and Afghanistan and Iran. As far as guarantees on behalf of the USA are concerned, they should comprise a clearly expressed obligation not to wage any subversive activities against Afghanistan, including from the territory of a third country.

6. The Government of the DRA declares that within the context of a political settlement the question of the withdrawal of the Soviet limited military contingent from Afghanistan should be resolved. The cessation and guaranteed non-recurrence of military invasions or any other form of interference in internal affairs of Afghanistan would eliminate the reasons which prompted Afghanistan to request the USSR to send the above-mentioned contingent to its territory. In concrete terms the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will depend on the solution of the question of effective guarantees with respect to bilateral accords between Afghanistan and Pakistan and Afghanistan and Iran.

7. The Government of the DRA considers it necessary in the process of political settlement to take into account the military-political activity in the region of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf on the part of states not belonging to

this region. Sharing the concern of other states over the buildup of the US military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, the Government of the DRA supports the proposals on turning this area into a zone of peace, on the elimination there of military bases and on taking other measures to lessen tension and strengthen security.

Putting forward these proposals on a political settlement, the Government of the DRA once again declares that questions pertaining to the interests of Afghanistan cannot be discussed and resolved without the participation of the Government of Afghanistan or bypassing it. Simultaneously the Afghan Government regards as useful the efforts of other states aimed at facilitating the start of negotiations. In this connection it welcomes and supports the initiative of the Republic of Cuba in its capacity as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement in offering its good services.

The Government of the DRA hopes that the concrete programme of a political settlement suggested by it will meet with due understanding and a favourable response from the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Government of the DRA expects that its proposals for the normalization of relations with Pakistan will be constructively and positively received by the Government of Pakistan which will make it possible to begin in practice the settlement of the above-mentioned issues through negotiations.

Kabul, May 14, 1980

Statement of the DRA Government

August 24, 1981

The Bakhtar News Agency has made public the following statement of the DRA Government:

The securing of complete and reliable cessation of armed or any other intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the creation of conditions precluding the recurrence of such interference in the future must be the main aim and basic content of the political settlement.

Taking into account that the armed intervention in Afghanistan, as well as other subversive activities against it are now being carried out, first of all, from Pakistani ter-

ritory, the DRA Government has repeatedly proposed and once again proposes to the Government of Pakistan that representatives of the two countries meet to discuss questions pertaining to the commencement of negotiations with the aim of reaching an agreement to normalize relations.

In the course of such negotiations the Government of the DRA will be ready to consider other problems which might arise between Afghanistan and Pakistan so as to normalize Afghan-Pakistani relations and ensure stability and tranquillity.

The Government of the DRA also reaffirms its proposal to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to hold negotiations with the aim of working out an agreement on the development of friendly relations and multifarious, mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries, including the questions of trade, economic cooperation, transit and cultural ties.

Agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan and between Afghanistan and Iran must contain universally acknowledged provisions concerning mutual respect, sovereignty, readiness to develop relations on the basis of the principles of goodneighbourliness and non-interference in internal affairs as well as concrete commitments of the parties to prevent armed and other hostile activities from their own territory against each other.

Considering the negotiations both with Pakistan and Iran on a bilateral basis to be preferable and most promising, the Government of the DRA, at the same time, is ready to hold tripartite negotiations if Pakistan and Iran express such a desire.

However, lack of desire to start negotiations by one of the mentioned countries shall not impede the commencement of a dialogue between Afghanistan and the other country and the achievement of relevant agreements between them, and it should also not be an obstacle to their subsequent implementation.

It follows that the country refraining from negotiations in the beginning may join them or start independent negotiations with the DRA later.

The Government of the DRA does not object to the negotiations with the Governments of Pakistan and Iran, whether bilateral or tripartite, being attended by the UN Secretary-General or his representative.

As it was defined by the Decree of the Presidium of the

Revolutionary Council of June 18, 1981, as well as by other official documents on general amnesty, the Government of the DRA will guarantee full freedom and immunity to all Afghans who are temporarily living for certain reasons in the territory of Pakistan and other neighbouring countries when they return home. The Government of the DRA guarantees them security, freedom of choice of the domicile and equal participation in the solution of the land question on the basis of the agrarian reform. They will be provided with the necessary conditions for living, fruitful labour and social activities for the welfare of the homeland.

The nomads, tribes and cattle-breeders will be provided, not only with the right to use pastures on a just basis, but also with the right for free movement within the country. It is also understood that the traditional seasonal migration of the nomads from Afghanistan to Pakistan and vice versa shall be allowed without hindrance.

The states on the territory of which Afghan citizens are temporarily staying should refrain from using them for purposes hostile to Afghanistan and should respect their right to return to their homeland without hindrance.

The Government of the DRA expresses its agreement to discuss the practical aspects of the problem with its neighbours. However if some Afghans do not want to return to their homeland, questions pertaining to their further stay shall also be discussed in the course of negotiations so as to achieve necessary agreements.

Reliable international guarantees of agreements being reached with regard to the cessation and the non-recurrence of armed and other forms of interference in Afghan affairs must be an integral part of a political settlement.

The states providing guarantees shall themselves strictly refrain from such interference and use their authority to consolidate the agreements reached. With this aim in view the countries which provide guarantees might adopt a relevant document by which they would commit themselves to respect and observe the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and its non-aligned status. On its own behalf, the DRA would reaffirm its loyalty to the policy of peace and non-alignment, its desire to develop friendly ties with all countries, first of all, with its neighbours.

Although the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan does not determine in advance the nomination of the guarantor countries, it believes, as before, that the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics and the United States of America, as well as some other countries which may be acceptable to Afghanistan and its negotiating neighbours, ought to be among the guarantor countries.

The working out of international guarantees, as well as the solution of all other questions involving Afghanistan's interests, must be conducted with the participation of the DRA Government. At the same time it does not object to the discussion of questions pertaining to the working out of international guarantees being started simultaneously and conducted in parallel with bilateral or tripartite negotiations between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. At the first stage such a discussion might be conducted in the form of informal multilateral consultations and later, at a relevant international forum.

In case armed intervention and any other form of interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan is stopped and its non-recurrence guaranteed, the reasons which caused Afghanistan to appeal to the USSR urging it to send a limited Soviet military contingent into its territory will cease to exist. The achievement of a political settlement, including the working out of international guarantees, will provide an opportunity to determine by an accord between the Afghan and Soviet sides the order and terms, in other words, the timetable of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The withdrawal of troops would be carried out to the extent of the implementation of the achieved agreements. That is why the speedier are the achievement and implementation of the agreements, precluding interference into Afghanistan's affairs, the earlier will be the beginning and completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

It is a deep conviction of the DRA Government that the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which can be worked out and implemented step by step, would not only meet the interests of the Afghan people and the peoples of the neighbouring countries, but would also lead to the elimination of tension in the region as a whole.

In this connection, the DRA Government does not object to the discussion of the international aspects of the problem around Afghanistan together with the questions of strengthening peace and security in the Persian Gulf region, if such an opinion prevails among the possible participants in the discussion of both these problems. But the lack of accord on the question of such a joint discussion should not be a

pretext to delay the beginning of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

No matter what form the negotiations will take—bilateral, tripartite or multilateral—in that part of them which pertains to guarantees, the questions concerning the present regime in Afghanistan, the composition of its government as well as other internal affairs shall not be discussed. These questions are being solved and will be solved in the future only by the Afghan people and not by anybody else.

Kabul, August 25, 1981

FOREIGN JOURNALISTS REPORTING ON AFGHANISTAN

“An Afghan Journey”

An Afghan Journey is the title under which *The Times of India* (October 31, November 1, 2, 3 and 4, 1984) published a series of articles by Nikhil Chakravartty. Below is an abridged version of N. Chakravartty's report.

“Once a busy tourist centre, Afghanistan today is placed under Cold War quarantine by the West. It is precisely to have a peep into what's happening inside a country kept in such political excommunication that I took my busman's holiday. And it was rewarding indeed... I could meet Mr. Babrak Karmal, Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand, Foreign Minister Shah Mohammad Dost... and a host of other VIPs...

“While only one single aspect of present-day Afganistan has had a virtual monopoly of attention, namely the presence of Soviet troops, hardly any notice has been taken outside about what is otherwise happening in that country. No doubt the Soviet armed forces are in Afghanistan ... though all the figures about them are guesstimates made according to each one's pronounced bias. But I did not see them sporting superior airs in the streets and bazaars of Kabul as the British Tommy and the American GI used to do in our country during the war days. They stay mostly in their own camps and restricted areas; only an occasional armoured carrier would confirm their presence in the city...

“Beyond Shibarghan, we drove in a jeep through a country road for about 15 kilometres and reached a Turkmen village, Kokgunbad, where in a mud hut lighted by a Petromax I saw wrinkled faces of the old by the side of rosy-

checked youngsters attending a literacy class, all with guns resting against the bench. Further on, Mr. Rasul Palwan, a tall handsome young man, took me to his newly-built home, where he had shifted only this year. Before the land distribution, he was a sharecropper under the landlord, getting only one-seventh of the crop, and living in a corner of the cattleshed.

“After the land distribution he now owns eight jiribs of land; only one-sixth of its produce is needed for his own family and the rest he sells to the government; and out of the sale he gets sufficient cash to live a comfortable life. I noticed a wristwatch on his hand; he shyly said he bought it this year. Why? ‘The landlord had a watch on his hand, and so I always dreamt I must get one. The moment I had money enough after building this house, I bought this watch.’ Where is the landlord now? He had run away at the beginning but now he has come back. What’s he doing now? He has also got some land and he is cultivating it.

“Next morning I went to another village... Misrabat is the centre of 20 villages in a cooperative, growing wheat, cotton and barley. The village has an active unit of the defenders of revolution brigade, a paramilitary rural militia which the villagers run themselves mainly to guard the cluster of villages against insurgents. They took me to the hall of the local Fatherland Front, a coalition of all active organizations. It is built by the peasants themselves: on the wall hangs a portrait of Babrak Karmal...

“At the last village I went to, Yakabagh, a meeting of villagers was being held to distribute land gift deeds to the landless; a local official had come and also the party chief of the area. The function started with a recital from the Koran by a village elder and the entire congregation joined in a brief prayer. And then, as the names were called out one by one, each peasant would come forward with a bounce, would kiss the official on both his cheeks and then take the parchment with a broad smile. For him it was like a dream of many generations really coming true—a plot of land of his own...

“As the villagers explained, the question of who should get how much land is decided by the entire village community through the Jirgah. It is not just an administrative mechanism: the Jirgah of the entire village surveys how much land was available and then decides the priority list as to who should get first and how much. Because this exercise has the sanction of the entire village, I am told, the scope for

nepotism is minimal. Tractors are available through cooperatives, which secure them for use from the government tractor stations.

“An important feature of the agrarian policy is that it attaches as much importance to land distribution as to ensuring the availability of water: the stress is on Land and Water Reforms—an understandable anxiety in a country largely arid. While in the government’s long-term objective an extensive programme for large-scale irrigation figures prominently, in the short haul, it is mainly confined to small irrigation schemes. The stress in the development plan today, I am told, is on road building, communications and exploitation of mineral wealth...

“Afghanistan never had an organized administration throughout the country. The writ of the central authority in Kabul, whether under the monarchy or under Daoud’s presidential regime... did not run in the provinces: the tribal chiefs ran the country in most places, some of them enforcing their own set of laws and exercising power over life and death. Under the present regime, a very important change is being introduced. The recently enacted law of local organs of state power and administration envisages active participation of the local people through the Jirgahs which are to be invested with legislative authority in the locality.

“Mr. Karmal himself emphasized that ‘the executive, legislative and administrative powers in the localities will be in the hands of the elected representatives of the people’. The Jirgahs will take the decisions and the executive committees and representatives of the people in Jirgahs would organize the implementation of these decisions through mass participation, and thereby enforcing socio-economic reforms as also cultural targets like illiteracy removal. When one looks at this programme, ... one gets the outline of a well-knit state structure in the future—a perspective which Afghanistan never realized in the near or the distant past.

“As far as I could make out, what is being attempted in Afghanistan today is to go in for a set-up which will be modern in content but traditional in form. There is emphasis on the Jirgah functioning everywhere, since this organ is understood and accepted by the people at large... This new administrative machinery is expected to be set up... in a phased manner...

“Not only in government circles, but outside the establishment as well, Pakistan’s martial law regime is looked down

upon with a touch of disdain. An Afghan diplomat who had served under the old regime sharply reacted when I referred to the Pakistan government not being ready to recognize the Karmal regime: 'We are not seeking their recognition; they could not get recognized by their own people over whom they rule by means of the gun, and that gun also was not their own but gifted from masters abroad—even the large number of refugees who have crossed over to Pakistan are not necessarily admirers of the Zia regime. I could perceive this in Peshawar and Quetta in 1981...'

"There is another aspect... which I could not help noticing. At Mazar-i-Sharif, when I went to see the famous blue mosque, which is at the very heart of the city, I noticed scaffoldings along its gorgeously decorated walls, inlaid with bluestone. I enquired from the clergy as to who was paying for the repairs. Promptly came the reply that all the repairs and maintenance charges are borne by the government's Islamic Affairs Department which also provides for salaries for the clergy and the seminary priests. On their own, they volunteered that ... under Mr. Karmal due respect is shown to Islam.

"When I met Mr. Karmal and asked him if his repeated reference to Islam was only a tactical move, he said: 'Our people have their own traditions, customs and characteristics handed down through history. We respect and defend them... We not only observe and respect the basic principles and values of Islam, but also guarantee it both in law and in our day-to-day practice.'

"I noticed that not only old mosques were repaired but some new ones were built in the new phase. And when I was in Kabul, I heard about the government arranging and subsidizing the Hadj pilgrimage.

"There is no question but that it will take time for the situation to stabilize. The careful approach and calculated moderation exercised by the Karmal government in dealing with sensitive aspects of tribal life will pay dividends in the long run... What can be said with some amount of certainty is that given the prevailing balance of forces within Afghanistan the present regime has crossed the hump so far as the future of the Afghan set-up is concerned. In other words, the rebel forces are not in a position to overpower it.

"I noticed the Prime Minister, Mr. Keshtmand, making a distinction between the refugee and the rebel. While the rebels, recruited and trained mostly in Pakistan with arms

from abroad, are to be fought and overpowered, the refugees are to be persuaded to return...

"The basic weaknesses of the rebels—styling themselves as Mujahiddin and called 'counter-revolutionaries' by the present authorities—need to be probed carefully and dispassionately.

"The Afghan Mujahiddin fall broadly under two categories: the religious fanatics and the pro-monarchists. There is a small group of Maoist insurgents but these are of no consequence. The religious fanatics, nowadays known by the respectable appellation of fundamentalists—a term, incidentally, coined by Western ideologues—are committed to the setting up of a theocratic Islamic state which will be guided by bigotry and obscurantism. The pro-monarchists, by and large, do not take a fanatical posture and are inclined to go back to the *status-quo* as it prevailed before Daoud destroyed the monarchy in 1973...

"The so-called fundamentalist groups... are known by the names of their leaders: Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Rasoul Sayaf, Yunus Khalis and Rabbani, among others. The moderates or monarchists are composed of groups led, among others, by Gailani, Mohammadi and Mojadedi.

"There is no unity, not even coordination, between these two categories. This has created a serious problem for their patrons—Pakistan, US, China, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as I was told by observers in Kabul.

"Zahir Shah, the former King, took time off from his royal retirement in Europe to go all the way to Saudi Arabia last September to preside over a meeting of the rebel groups. Only Gailani, Mohammadi and Mojadedi turned up while the fundamentalists boycotted his call and instead held a conclave of their own at Peshawar and another at Quetta. At these conclaves, which were understood to have been attended by men from the US and British missions in Islamabad, some sort of coordination was sought to be hammered out among the fundamentalists.

"The powerful backers of the rebels wanted them not only to unite but to carve out a 'liberated zone' inside Afghanistan within which the construction of an airfield could have ensured them direct supply of heavy arms with which they could have pushed forward towards power, after having set up a government-in-exile.

"But the rebels failed in carving out a 'liberated zone'; they tried this desperately at a number of places, notably at

Urgun near Ghazni and again further south at Kandahar, both in the proximity of Pakistan. But these attempts failed...

"The rebels' inability to set up a stable base within Afghanistan has to be added to their failure to cut the Salang Highway, the vital supply line connecting Kabul with Khyraton, where the bridge across Amu Darya (Oxus) physically connects the Soviet Union with Afghanistan. The persistent military operations along the gorge of the Panjshir River just at the southern foothill of the majestic Hindu Kush had the objective of protecting the highway. Last year, an Afghan army operation cleared Panjshir of the rebels who however returned after the winter-snows. This year, there was... military operation on a massive scale which combed the Panjshir valley of rebels who fell back to Chitral in Pakistan. Unlike last year, this time the military operations were followed by the setting up of garrison posts to guard against recrudescence of rebel activities...

"Even if one is disinclined to accept the Karmal regime's inventory of the damage in the wake of the rebels' depredations—estimated at 35 billion Afghanis—there is no denying the fact that the fanatical intolerance of the fundamentalists led them to make a special target of schools and hospitals, half of which were destroyed—a drive which would hardly endear the rebels to the peace-loving Afghan villager. I was shocked to learn that the rare antiquities of the Kushan period preserved in a museum at Hadda, near Jalalabad, were destroyed as the rebels not only set the museum on fire but took out the precious sculpture pieces and smashed them up, because in their eyes these represented the culture of the infidel and hence anti-Islamic. The destruction of the Hadda collection should have received the attention of UNESCO since it represented some of the precious heritage of history. While at Mazar-i-Sharif, I heard also about the destruction of the centuries-old library of Maulana Khasta, in which 5,000 rare volumes perished, of which 213 were rare editions of the Koran.

"All this has not come in the way of the rebels getting support and sophisticated arms from their patrons. From non-Afghan sources in Kabul I came to learn that the rebel groups have been supplied of late with anti-aircraft Red Eye missile from the United States, while SAM-7 have come from China and Egypt. In fact, China has set up a training camp in South Xinjiang where rebel recruits are trained in the use of

SAM-7. The Afghan authorities say there are 110 training camps for rebels in Pakistan...

“In the latest round, the rebels, after having failed in their attempts at setting up a base, have taken to pure terrorist activity, whose frequency has increased along with the increasing supply of sophisticated weapons...

“On August 31, within a few weeks of the Madras airport bomb outrage a similar gruesome drama was enacted at the Kabul airport. An unclaimed piece of baggage exploded at the peak traffic hour in the morning, in which over 30 people were killed and hundreds wounded. The Kabul power supply was sabotaged by some disgruntled elements who fled to Peshawar; many high-tension pylons for power transmission were destroyed.

“What then is the perspective for Afghanistan?... This question can hardly be avoided by any careful observer of the Afghan scene. I put this question to those whom I met during my journey, both official and non-official. Premier Keshtmand was categorical: if the rebels cease getting the sophisticated arms from the powers backing them, then peace and stability will come within a year. Over and over again, the Afghan side made references to the commitment it made in its statement of August 24, 1981, wherein ‘the cessation and guaranteed non-recurrence of armed intervention and any other form of interference’ is demanded to enable the Soviet troops pullout; ‘the speedier the achievement and realization of the agreements,’ it is stressed, ‘the earlier would be the beginning and completion of the pullout of Soviet troops.’

“At the same time, it is clear that if the Afghan has to choose military aid from any country, history shows that he opts for the Russians. In 1921, two years after independence, King Amanullah was faced with a British warning against opening diplomatic relations with Moscow. He called the grand council of tribal chiefs or Loya Jirgah which backed Amanullah in rejecting the British threat and going ahead with establishing relations with Moscow.

“The second Loya Jirgah was called in 1955 by King Zahir Shah when Pakistan threatened to close all land routes from Afghanistan unless it agreed to join the RCD—the joint economic plan for Pakistan, Iran and Turkey under Western aegis. The Loya Jirgah replied by deciding to open new routes... and take up the five-year plan programme with Soviet assistance. The third Loya Jirgah, called in 1964,

reaffirmed all previous decisions working for closer ties with the Soviet Union...

“Apart from history, it is evident that Afghanistan has always had the maximum contact with the outside world through the Soviet Union...

“In the quiet-flowing Amu Darya, I saw a steamer which had been presented to King Amanullah by the Soviet government, still preserved as the Friendship Boat, standing near the newly-built Friendship Bridge across the mighty river...

“In this background, the role of India is regarded as crucial by every Afghan I met. The Indian presence could be seen in the running of a Children’s Hospital in Kabul, very popular but overcrowded, as also in the establishment of an industrial estate. The newly-started Indian Music Centre is extremely popular with a long queue for admission. There is quite a sizable Punjabi population engaged in trade, most of whom are Afghani nationals having settled there for a century...

“Whether in the setting up of the administrative machinery or in exploitation of mineral wealth or in science teaching or community health programme, Indian assistance is much sought after.”

Afghan Realities

In 1984 Selig S. Harrison of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace made his eighth trip to Afghanistan. *The Washington Post* in its May 13, 1984 issue printed Selig Harrison’s account of that trip, which we quote in part below.

“In the prevailing Western image of the war in Afghanistan, Moscow is engaged in a hopeless effort to consolidate the Babrak Karmal regime. Karmal himself is a nonentity who merely fronts for Soviet commissars, and freedom fighters control most of the Afghan countryside. But after eight days in Kabul, tramping through the bazaars and talking with a variety of Afghans and others, including three hours with Karmal, I am convinced that this is wishful thinking...

“I did not know quite what to expect when I stepped off the plane from Moscow. True, I had been to Afghanistan

seven times before over 30 years, most recently in August 1978... I had interviewed Pakistan-based resistance leaders frequently... Even though I had questioned some of the more hyped-up accounts coming out of Pakistan-based resistance groups, I expected to feel palpable tension and wondered whether the streets would be safe...

"To my surprise, I found the same atmosphere of lazy confusion that I remembered from earlier decades. Security precautions seemed casual or non-existent. At the Soviet embassy and government ministries, several bored Afghan Army soldiers were standing around, less than half a dozen policemen generally patrolled major intersections...

"The curfew hours from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. were quiet, almost ghostlike, except for one night when an exchange of artillery fire could be heard for several hours in the distant mountains...

"I was not prevented from setting up my own independent schedule, and I was able to meet on my own with a variety of English-speaking sources, among them Afghan friends from earlier years not working directly for the government and Soviet, Western and other diplomats, including the military attaches of several Third World embassies who have close contact with the Afghan armed forces."

Selig Harrison gives a detailed account of his meeting with Babrak Karmal. "He is a short, wiry, hearty man who smiles engagingly..." According to Harrison Karmal said describing government policy in establishing local authority organs, "We will take the human approach, the democratic approach... Our party will guide and lead, but we will not interfere. We know that the party and the state cannot do anything without the help of the elders of the country."

"As an added incentive for tribal participation in the new institutions," Harrison writes, "Kabul plans to pay salaries to tribal leaders and to turn over central government development outlays to the tribal-dominated local bodies.

"Karmal said that the new tribal based local government units would be formed 'soon' and would in turn select representatives 'within a year' to a national Loya Jirgah, or tribal assembly... 'We could do it within a month,' he said, 'but it would be artificial. We wish to treat this national institution with the greatest respect...'"

Harrison reminds the reader that Karmal, son of a former general in the royal Army, was elected to the Afghan parliament from Kabul twice in the '60s.

“... several non-communists told me with conviction,” he goes on to say, “that life is better than it was under Amin and that they would rather have a man like Karmal, dedicated to modernizing the country, than some of the Islamic fundamentalist leaders based in Pakistan, whom they identify with a rigidly theocratic approach to social and economic issues.

“To counter propaganda that it opposes Islam, the Karmal regime pays stipends to religious figures at all levels, including functionaries of mosques, and a special government department keeps mosques in good repair. Land belonging to religious dignitaries is exempt from land reforms. In contrast to the harsh land redistribution measures of the Amin period, peasants are now free to own up to 15 acres.

“There is not much Marxism in the thriving Kabul bazaars... Japanese goods are everywhere. Trade with Pakistan has also been largely unaffected by the war, though truckers complain that they now have to make bigger payoffs to the border tribes to get safe passage.

“Karmal objected vehemently when I commented that most of those fighting in the resistance were motivated by patriotic feelings... ‘They are tools of foreign powers, they destroy mosques and schools, killing their own people,’ he replied, ‘so how can you talk of patriotism?’

“...Describing the... Soviet troops here as a ‘reserve force, a deterrent’, he said that ‘the issue in 1979 was our territorial integrity. We needed Soviet help to prevent the dismemberment of the country. Pakistan wanted to annex the Pushtun areas and China was attempting to take the northeast. To be or not to be was the question for Afghanistan.’”

Selig Harrison concludes his article with an account of his meeting with Afghanistan’s Commerce Minister M. K. Jalakar. According to Harrison he is “a suave, 49-year-old non-communist carryover from earlier regimes who has two sons living in New York”. The minister stressed that one of the first things Karmal did was to issue a decree guaranteeing private property. “Businessmen,” he explained, “can get tax holidays up to six years for new investments, together with customs-free imports of machinery. Afghanistan has had many difficult periods. This difficult time will also pass. People are tired of fighting...”

Kings, Dukes and Humbugs—the Afghan Counter-Revolution

Philip BONOSKY
Political Affairs, May 1984
(abridged)

Nothing about the war was simple to define for the counter-revolutionaries, including what to call themselves. It was clear that the war itself was defining them. But meanwhile, the question remained: Who were these men coming out of Pakistan in the dark of night to fall on a peaceful Afghan village, which they then put to fire, and to kill (after torture) those villagers who resisted?

Chided image-conscious President Reagan, addressing some newsmen: "You've used the term 'Afghan rebels' and sometimes I think the Soviet Union has been successful in their propaganda with getting us to use terms that essentially are incorrect." Having gotten the attention of the newsmen by this not so subtle hint that they had been duped by "Soviet propaganda", Reagan went on to elucidate: "Those are freedom fighters. Those are people fighting for their own country..."

Still the idea was clear: Mr. Reagan, a champion of "packaging" the truth (as he would later make equally clear) is also a purist in political "semantics". Freedom fighters, *not* rebels, and certainly not counter-revolutionaries. Not even "guerrillas". And "bandits"!

The term the counter-revolutionaries gave themselves might have somewhat discomfited President Reagan also—"holy warriors", *Mujahiddin*...

Peshawar, Pakistan, would be the center of counter-revolutionary politics: All the groups had their headquarters or representatives there. In fact, what happened in Peshawar was to prove more important to their futures than what happened in the mountain valleys of Afghanistan. Born in fierce inter-group rivalry, their mutual hostility reached its peak soon after December 1979, and the attempts (begun in January 1979) to weld together the disparate elements of the counter-revolution into one effective political and military force (a "Committee of Struggle") then and afterwards inevitably foundered on the rock of personal ambition, tribal rivalry and naked lust for power. Though the generally agreed upon goal was to establish an Islamic republic in Afghanistan, the means to achieve it proved to be extremely brittle.

Exactly how to characterize these and other combatants puzzled correspondents like Tyler Marshall of the *Los Angeles Times* who had been looking into the various counter-revolutionary groupings that came into existence like summer midges, particularly after the December 1979 events (though some had already been functioning since April 1978). Looking closely at these various groupings, Marshall would find himself at odds with his typewriter. Though his ideological "sympathies" pointed west, his facts went east. ...

Bandits? It seemed to fit some of them at least. Barbarians? One can imagine the teacher "who was a Communist" might have thought so as he watched strips of skin flayed off his back before the final blackout.

But the problem of just what to call whom was solved, according to Sayed Ahmad Gailani, the leader of the National Front of Islamic Revolution, the day the Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. That event instantly transformed "bandits" into "holy warriors", and in Washington to "freedom fighters"...

So who they were and what they were remained a problem. Their motives were different, and often opposed to each other, and their aims were different. But the entry of the Soviets into Afghanistan did confront the disparate "holy warriors" with not only a more serious military problem but an even more serious political one.

They would be fighting now not just "Afghans and Muslims", who were actually illiterate peasants armed by the government to protect their land. Some of these they managed to terrorize and confuse. But they would now face an organized body of soldiers, and though the Soviets would serve mainly as a backup to the reorganized Afghan troops, a "reserve", as [President Babrak] Karmal characterized them, still their presence was a solid fact that had to be taken into serious consideration.

Secondary matters of tribal loyalty, regional attachments and inter-group rivalry and jealousy now hampered matters more than ever. Over and over the various leaders of the armed groups were urged by their Washington advisers to set all differences aside and unite into one disciplined army. But how were these groups of "warriors", suspicious of one another, milling around Peshawar, attacking each other not only with words but on more and more occasions with guns—how were they going to unite?

Still, they tried: "Afghan rebel leaders have held private

meetings here this week with much talk about unity, but the goal of a common political and military front for the rebels appears as elusive as ever." (Marvin Howe, *New York Times*, May 30, 1980, from Peshawar.)

It would seem that with the "enemy" invading the country it should not have been difficult to convince like-minded patriots to set aside their differences and rise as one man to throw back the oppressor. But it became increasingly clear, as time wore on, that the various groups could not agree on who would get how much of the spoils after victory. It is interesting to note that they spoke most often of the defense of Islam against the infidel, and not the defense of country. For it was the *devil* they were fighting, and as is often the case when one is fighting the invisible devil, one tends to find him everywhere, even among one's friends and allies, even in oneself.

As for the country, they saw it not as their homeland, but only as the intangible framework within which their great estates had once existed and had been expropriated by the devil. They wanted a social system reclaimed, not a country. "Country" as a modern concept did not exist for them.

This much, however, they grasped. ... they could no longer depend on slipping into hamlets asleep at night and slicing the throats of the peasants' leaders who had helped distribute the land—and then out again into the hills. Terror was now not enough.

So, from holy warriors they transformed themselves—after January 1980—into holy salesmen, and began to visit friendly capitals of the world where they presented themselves as being able to sell a better war than their competitors.

This same Sayed Ahmad Gailani would hotfoot it to Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) early in January with that aim very much in view:

"We hope the Muslim world as well as the Free World [he didn't explain the difference] will realize we are fighting a just cause. Many nations... are convinced they should now support us *materially* too." (*Ibid.* My italics—P.B.)

A year later, in February 1981, this same Sayed Ahmad Gailani would turn up... in Washington, where he had come to discuss getting arms—specifically, ground-to-air missiles—for his Islamic Revolutionary Front Warriors. And though the White House issued no statements commemorating the visit, Gailani himself had no qualms about telling the press that he had had a "very useful exchange of views on all aspects of the Afghan situation" with "high-ranking State

Department officials". His language was already diplomatically circumspect, but clearly hinted at entry into potent quarters where his views were respectfully listened to...

One... recently-captured counter-revolutionary, Mohsen Rezai by name, had something to say to the press on August 17, 1980 in Kabul...

He had set out to fight the Zionists in Palestine and had wound up fighting the Afghans in Afghanistan! "It became clear to me," he said, "that the struggle inside Afghanistan which was imposed by the imperialists is directed at restoring the old order in the country. The heads of the anti-government groupings are planning to return to rich people everything the people's power had taken away from them."

It is not unusual for an ordinary citizen of an Islamic country to speak familiarly of "imperialism", nor does he need to attend advanced classes in Marxism to acquire that language. To most of the world "imperialism" is a living reality, and in ex-colonial countries the distinction between the rich and poor is sharply drawn. What may sound like "propaganda" to an American ear (lulled by tales of American benevolence abroad) is breakfast language to an aware peasant whose heritage is the bitter one of poverty and suffering.

Meanwhile, Tyler Marshall of the *Los Angeles Times* came away with a number of conclusions: "While rebel leaders are reluctant to discuss the results of the renewed plea for help, there are indications that at least in certain Muslim countries the idea of aiding the rebels materially is being discussed more seriously than at any time in the past." (*Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 2, 1980.)

But there was always that one major obstacle—the different organizations could not get together. The divisions appear to be mainly personality clashes couched in vague ideological terms. Sometimes poor relations between groups are ascribed simply to differences in tactics. "‘The leader of every rebel group wants to be king of Afghanistan,’ said Azia Ulfat, the cultural committee chief of a breakaway faction of the Peshawar-based Hezbi-Islamic Afghanistan... In the field this lack of cooperation often has been disastrous. There are numerous accounts of rebels from one organization standing by rather than aiding guerrillas from another group under attack." (*Ibid.*)

"The Russians are trying to annihilate us," said Maulvi Mohammad Yunus Khalis, leader of one of six insurgent

groups in the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan.

So said Yunus, always quotable. But should his naked word be believed? Well:

...one night when a tribal chieftain who had come to a village was told by some local people that if he wanted arms he should contact the forces of Yunus Khalis, a leader of a guerrilla faction. The local chieftain, a white-bearded patriarch of about 70, scorned the advice. "Does anyone know who the father of this Yunus Khalis even was?" he asked in contempt. (*New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1981.)

Well, the "father" of Yunus Khalis, as well as of the others, was the CIA, though the paternity, as is usual in such cases, is not too willingly acknowledged.

Nevertheless, there were others who knew him only too well: Wali Mohammad, for instance. Captured by the Afghan government forces, he revealed:

"I spent a year in an area called Saddar Bazaar in Peshawar. Lectures on the ways and means of killing were given four times a week by military advisers from the United States, China and the Federal Republic of Germany.

"We belonged to a group headed by Mohammad Yunus Khalis. He and his cohorts taught me only one thing—terrorism, murder and the creation of an atmosphere of fear and anxiety in Afghanistan.

"There we received practical training in the burning of schools and hospitals and in the demolition of bridges and buildings. I participated in burning the Khwaja Mussafir and Qala Wajid schools. We had weapons and explosives supplied by Khalis." (From *The True Face of Afghan Counter-Revolution*, published by *Haqiqat Engalab Suar*, edited by Mahmoud Baryalai, 1982.)...

A *New York Times* reporter, writing from Peshawar, noted in March 1980.

Depending on whom you ask, there are between 40 and 100 different armed insurgent groups operating throughout Afghanistan. If they are temporarily refraining from shooting at one another, it is because they have more inviting and hapless targets... (James P. Sterba, Mar. 3, 1980.)

...But to go on:

Most of the groups want to turn Afghanistan into an orthodox Islamic state. The largest and most fundamentalist of them is Hezbe Islami, the Islamic Party of Afghanistan. It is headed by a former engineering student at Kabul

University named Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, whose piety is manifested in a facial expression that foreigners have never seen creased in a smile...

Whether piety is to be detected in an unsmiling face... it should be noted that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar at least had further recommendations, which he expressed in other, perhaps more smiling ways. Openly identified as an agent of Pakistan's secret service he considered his own grouping (Hezbe Islami) to be a part of the Jamiat-i-Islami (Islamic Society), on which General Zia ul-Haq leans so heavily for support...

According to Fred Halliday (*New York Times*, May 18, 1979), Hekmatyar's party makes no bones about the fact that it "calls in its program for the reinforcement of purdah restrictions", which would mean that the thousands of women who have cast off their veils would have to put them on again and return to their ghettos.

Not incidentally, it was the Hezbe Islami that passed out photos to newsmen showing the Mujahiddin shooting "Communist high-school teachers" near Farah in southern Afghanistan (*New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1980). Other photos showing "Communist high-school teachers" with their feet tied to the bumpers of trucks being dragged to their deaths were not published in the West, in order to spare the squeamish stomachs of readers.

One of the rare instances on record of what the counter-revolution will do if it regains power over the country was reported by UPI (Feb. 14, 1980). A spokesman for Hekmatyar's Hezbe Islami claimed that it had retaken the town of Share Jadid in Baghian province, and, says UPI: "The spokesman said the new government was returning the land nationalized in land reform campaigns... The rebels seized the cotton-processing Springer Company and 'put to fire' all 'Communist' workers and officers, the spokesman said." The workers and officers, whose "Communism" was presumably easily readable in their faces, were burned together with the plant.

It is also to Hekmatyar that we owe precise information on the dollar value placed on lives of peasants who opposed him... by local standards they [the rates] were munificent indeed.

According to two of Hekmatyar's former supporters—Abdul Gaffar and Nazrullah—Hekmatyar was ready to pay any "holy warrior" who could prove his claims, the following:

● For every Afghan army soldier killed—5,000 to 7,000 Afghans. (How did one prove he had killed a soldier? He brought in an ear—anybody's ear—man, woman or child—as they had done in Viet Nam to prove a “Cong” had been killed.)

● For every Party activist (a more important bag): 10,000 to 15,000 Afghans.

● For every Army officer (still more important): 30,000 Afghans. ...

The paymaster for these “ears” was, among others, the American Afghan Relief Committee, with its bank (American Express Bank) in Basle, Switzerland, where \$150,000 of a donation of \$300,000 was deposited to Hekmatyar's account...

In Iran, counter-revolutionary bases had also been organized after April 1978. Soon some 14 major ones had been set up where 1,200 men could be trained at any one period. The Iranian newspaper, *Iranian Republic*, a supporter of Khomeini, revealed (June 30, 1980) that “these US-backed counter-revolutionary groups comprise the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, headed by Yunus Khalis, the National Liberation Front, Jamiat-i-Islami, the Islamic Revolutionary Movement, National Unity and Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan... All these groups are treacherous and mercenary ... serving the US”. (Quoted by *KAP International*, No. 6, Oct. 1981.)

But these “holy warriors” also dealt in drugs and in the arms traffic, and sometimes ended up in prison or even at the wrong end of a firing squad, as was reported in November 1980 by the Iranian newspaper *Meshhed*, announcing the arrest and death sentences of nine persons, including two Afghans, for drug trafficking. But found on their persons were cards identifying them as Islamic fighters... Reports of opium smuggling by such “revolutionaries” were a daily occurrence in Iran, but such allies in no way embarrassed the Americans.

Ever since the various groups, with their anarchic, wild and disordered leadership and irregular, not to say eccentric, forms of organization and leadership, made their appearance on the scene, it has been the main assignment of Robert Lessard, America's CIA man in South-East Asia, to knock them together into some kind of united, organized front that would come to heel when they heard him whistle. But it was like caging the wind. He always failed.

Kabul: Changes in the Balance of Forces

Under this heading the French newspaper *l'Humanite* published on February 28, 1985, a report by its correspondent Serge Leyrac who had just completed a three-week tour of Afghanistan. Below is the text of the report, slightly abridged.

As soon as I arrived in Kabul, I set out for the old bazaar. It's easy to get lost in the maze of its enclosed yards, or the "serais", and the merchants' lanes with their primitive stalls displaying wares from all parts of the world. I went there not in search of the exotic, although there was no lack of it in the big motley crowd. It would be interesting to try to guess who among the customers were Pushtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Hazaras or Nuristanis. But I wasn't looking for the exotic. I was interested in the way people looked at me.

Never in my life had I studied the eyes and faces of people around me so avidly. Back in France I had read—was it the *Paris-Match*?—that Afghans as good as "shot" Europeans with their eyes, taking them for Shurawi, or Russians. As for the so-called "rebel fighters", they would surely have fired their guns at me in a crowded alley.

I was in Afghanistan for three weeks, beginning from the end of January. In my free time I walked about alone or in the company of my interpreter, Farid. At first he was surprised by my persistent desire to mix with the crowd, then thought it amusing, and finally grew tired of it. So I hung about the bazaars and merchants' lanes in Kabul, in Mazar-i-Sharif and Balkh in the north, Jalalabad in the east, and Lashkargah in the Helmand province in the south.

At all bazaars I was accosted by polite or wily vendors, among whom were both adults and children. My camera always caused problems. As soon as I started taking pictures there was no end of passers-by and merchants, old people and children, wishing to be photographed. The problem was that each of them "struck a pose" and stood petrified in front of the camera.

I would not have described my walks in the Afghan towns I had visited if my return to Paris had not coincided with the publication of an interview in *Le Monde*, covering one-third of a page, with one of the "rebel leaders". The headline read: "We've Expanded Our Operations in Kabul".

The "leader" added another lie to the long and tedious list of falsehoods so eagerly picked up by our media. When I told

Afghan leaders about this they just shrugged their shoulders. At the Afghan Bakhtar News Agency I was shown many examples of this kind of news, most of it broadcast over the radio. That brought me little consolation: I hate to think that the French are being subjected to large-scale misinformation.

The Undeclared War

Although life in Kabul is normal, the undeclared war, as it is officially called there, is going on. Regular troops and people's guards armed with Soviet submachine-guns guard public buildings. Army patrols can be seen in the city. These are all Afghans.

The enemies of the Afghan Revolution have sustained a series of crushing blows, especially during the past year. This reflects the achievements of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the Afghan government in the political, economic, social and military fields.

The overthrow of the Daoud dictatorship in April 1978 was welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the population, for none of the promises Daoud had made in 1973 when he deposed the "faceless" King Zahir Shah had been fulfilled. There was the same dire poverty of peasants and working people in the towns, the same ostentatious display of wealth by a few big feudal landowners and top government officials, the same corruption among the underpaid civil servants, and the same ethnic and tribal divisions. Nothing had changed. In fact, the situation had become even more unbearable.

And what made things worse was that Daoud felt he was losing ground and began to resort to repressions. He abandoned the policy of neutrality and traditional goodneighbourliness towards the Soviet Union and sought the support of the United States, of the Shah of Iran and Saudi Arabia. The dictator's fall was met with relief and satisfaction by some Afghans, and with indifference by others.

Young revolutions are susceptible to a dangerous disease—impatience. They tend to make haste, overestimate their possibilities and engage in wishful thinking. This happened to the Afghan Revolution in its first phase which lasted from April 1978 to December 1979.

The land reform, which was carried out with haste, left the water problem unresolved. Peasants received land, but the

former landlords still owned the water. And land without water is barren.

Islam has struck deep roots in the hearts and minds of the Afghans. The Revolution tried to combat it. Boys and girls began to study in mixed classes, and this in a country where women, young and old, are kept hidden from the eyes of strangers. Instead of carefully undoing the knot of old, backward, but revered, traditions, the Revolution tried to cut it off at one stroke. In the meantime, feudal landlords and other big property owners were rubbing their hands in glee.

The United States had by then lost its key positions in Iran which it needed to protect its strategic interests in the region. As the situation in Iran grew worse the United States showed more interest in Afghanistan which shares a border with the Soviet Union. Soon, with the help of Pakistan, the United States began to supply arms to the enemies of the Afghan Revolution and to train them. Having lost Iran the United States came to regard Afghanistan as a potential substitute.

In Kabul a bitter struggle was going on within the ruling People's Democratic Party between those who were "driving" the Revolution and those who realized the terrible, if not suicidal, consequences of this policy. Most of the officials I met in Kabul told me that under Amin they were soon forced to go underground again or else were arrested. What happened next is well known. Babrak Karmal took charge of the Revolutionary Council and the PDPA. In accordance with the treaty of friendship between the USSR and Afghanistan, the new leadership asked the Soviet armed forces for help.

A New Phase

One can quickly lose the trust of the people. And it is quite a task to win it back. Many people must have been confused in 1980 when the new leadership headed by Babrak Karmal launched a new stage of the revolution. It was necessary to convince the nation that radical social and economic reforms would be carried out in full compliance with the principles of Islam. But first of all it was necessary to destroy the counter-revolution, which was sowing death, terror and anarchy. It was the striking force of the imperialist West, which was trying to gain another springboard against the Soviet Union.

In Afghanistan I realized that the correlation of forces, including the military balance, had now changed in favour of

the revolutionary government. Contrary to Western claims, the Afghan army is a reality.

The Weapon: Terrorism

“In general, the situation in the country is fairly calm,” said General Shafi Azimi, Deputy Minister of Defence. Wersat in his study in the former King’s Palace sipping traditional Afghan tea with almonds and raisins. “Every day we hit the bands that try to cross our border. Certainly, that doesn’t mean that we succeed in stopping all of them from getting in or that inside the country there are no underground groups. But we have hit them so hard that now these groups have no more than 30 or 40 men each. They are incapable of conducting large-scale operations. But they can carry out assassinations and other acts of terrorism and stage ambushes. They are trying to destroy economic facilities. They are also attacking schools and hospitals and killing teachers, doctors and mullahs, not to mention activists of the PDPA, members of youth organizations, and people responsible for the Land and Water Reform.”

The worst are terroristic acts that are carried out “blindly”, such as setting off bombs at cinemas, mosques or in buses. On February 21 the Bakhtar News Agency reported a blast at a mosque in Herat, in the west of the country. It killed four people and injured many more. Hundreds were killed or wounded in an explosion at Kabul International Airport. In France, the ubiquitous police have failed to prevent a bomb explosion at the Marks et Spencer store in Paris. You can imagine the situation in Kabul. Still, the terrorists were seized one month after the explosion at Kabul Airport, tried in public and punished.

The counter-revolutionaries can still do harm, especially to road transport (there are no railways in the country), and slow down economic development. But they are unable to push the country off its chosen path.

The Afghan army constitutes a decisive force, both in strength and in effectiveness. Concerning its numerical strength, it has proved large enough for the term of service to be reduced from four or three years to two. “When I read reports in the Western press that the Afghan army does not exceed twenty or thirty thousand men, I can’t help smiling,” said General Azimi. “This is much less than our officers’

corps." The Afghan army is receiving up-to-date weapons from the Soviet Union and handles them with increasing efficiency. In this respect the Air Force is particularly strong.

For fresh recruits the army is a real school. Besides military training they have an opportunity to learn to read and write, continue their education, and acquire rudimentary political knowledge. I could see this at the training centre of the 15th Division based in Kandahar. For most of these boys from rural areas the army is like a window on the world at large.

The Soviet Contingent

According to General Azimi, the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan is mostly engaged in military training and studies. Soviet troops accompany some of the truck convoys and guard key installations, including airports, factories and architectural monuments. They can hardly ever be seen because they seldom go outside areas where their units are stationed. There are a few Soviet patrols in the streets of the capital checking the documents of Soviet servicemen. Much more often one meets in Kabul civilian Soviet advisers, teachers, engineers and doctors. Anyway, according to General Azimi, the Soviet contingent is not taking part in operations. Its mission is to support the Afghan army. How long will this last? As long as raids from across the border continue.

The Afghan army is supported by large forces of people's guards, revolutionary defence groups and self-defence groups whose number is growing in villages and at factories. There are also more and more people's battalions consisting of former counter-revolutionaries who have come over to the government's side.

Many Western analysts and armchair strategists dealing with Afghan problems are confused by this course of events. They fail to consider the crucial factor: the military efforts of the Revolution would hardly have yielded any results if they were not based on social and economic reforms which are supported by the population. There is a real revolution in Afghanistan—this is a secret we are happy to share with them.

Appendix

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN

The Revolution of Saur 7, 1357 (April 27, 1978), which on Jādi 6, 1358 (December 27, 1979) entered a new stage of its development in the glorious history of the peoples of Afghanistan, marked the beginning of a national-democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. The Saur Revolution led to the creation of a new type of state—the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan—which expresses the centuries-old interests and aspirations of the working people and the entire nation. The noble and hard-working people of Afghanistan have embarked on the road of revolutionary social reforms, national unity and the successful development of the national-democratic revolution, on the road of building a new society based on the principles of peace and freedom, progress and justice, brotherhood and equality.

Afghanistan's development from backwardness to social, economic and cultural progress is carried out under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the vanguard of the working class and all working people of the country, in conformity with the will of the broad masses of people and on the basis of deep respect for, and strict observance of, the people's historical, cultural and religious traditions, unswerving adherence to the principles of the sacred religion of Islam, respect for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with all peoples in the region and throughout the world.

The DRA sets itself the task of defending its national independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, further strengthening the gains of the Saur Revolution and

achieving its ideals and objectives, consolidating and further developing the democratic system in the DRA, ensuring large-scale and vigorous participation of working people and of all democratic, progressive and patriotic forces in the anti-feudal, national-democratic and anti-imperialist reforms conducted by the PDPA and the Revolutionary Council, and defending the country and the Saur Revolution.

To attain these goals, the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, as the highest body of state authority in the country, expressing the genuine and free will of all the peoples of Afghanistan, has resolved to approve and enforce the following Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan until the Loya Jirgah (National Assembly) adopts a Constitution of the DRA.

Chapter I

The Foundations of the Social, Political and Economic System

Article 1. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a sovereign and democratic state of all working Muslim people of Afghanistan—workers, peasants, artisans, nomads, the intelligentsia and other working people, of all the democratic and patriotic forces, and of all the nationalities and tribes of the country.

Article 2. The state works for the well-being and happiness of the people; it ensures their peaceful life, security and tranquility, their all-round development, the protection of their rights, property and dignity, and the protection of national customs and traditions. In the DRA state power is vested in the working people of towns and country who exercise it through democratically formed national and local bodies.

Article 3. The power of the working people in the DRA relies on the broad National Fatherland Front which unites workers, peasants, artisans, nomads, the intelligentsia, women, young people, representatives of all nationalities and tribes, all progressive, democratic and patriotic forces, and public and political organizations of the country under the leadership of the PDPA on the common platform of the building of a new, progressive, free and democratic society.

The National Fatherland Front shall rally all popular forces for joint action to accomplish the tasks of the country's national-democratic development and promote the patriotic education of the people and broad involvement of citizens in managing the affairs of the state and society.

Article 4. The PDPA is the vanguard of the working class and all working people of the country. It is the leading and guiding force of society and the state. It reflects the will and interests of the workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, of all working people and national-democratic forces, and is a staunch defender of the people's genuine interests.

Expressing the will of the people of Afghanistan and guided by the principles of the national-democratic revolution in its domestic and foreign policies, the PDPA decides the priority of tasks and goals of the Saur Revolution and leads the struggle of all the peoples of Afghanistan to build a new and just society free from exploitation of man by man.

Article 5. In the DRA the sacred religion of Islam is ensured respect and protection; all Muslims are guaranteed full freedom to perform the religious rites of Islam.

Persons professing other faiths enjoy full freedom in performing their religious rites provided they do not pose a threat to public order or national security.

The state shall promote and assist in the patriotic activities of the clergy and ulemas in performing their duties and obligations.

Nobody has the right to use religion for conducting anti-national or anti-democratic propaganda or for committing other actions detrimental to the interests of the DRA and the people of Afghanistan.

Article 6. In the DRA support and encouragement are given to the activities of trade unions, women's and youth organizations, scientific, cultural, artistic and other mass democratic public organizations of working people that unite workers, peasants, artisans, members of the intelligentsia and other groups of the population for purposes of improving their organization and promoting their public and professional activities, of drawing them into efforts aimed at carrying out the tasks and attaining the goals of the Saur Revolution, and of meeting their specific interests.

Article 7. The DRA pursues a policy of equality, fraternal friendship and all-round development of all the peoples and tribes, big and small, living in Afghanistan. It promotes the unity of working people of all nationalities and tribes in the

struggle for the goals of the Saur Revolution, and guarantees and ensures their legitimate rights.

The aim of the DRA is to eliminate inequality in the levels of economic, social and cultural development of all the regions of the country.

The DRA protects and develops all the best and most valuable in the cultural heritage and traditions of all the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes of the country.

Article 8. The Armed Forces and the Tsarandoy of the DRA defend the gains of the Saur Revolution and the national independence, unity, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the country.

The state shall take the necessary measures to build up the Armed Forces and the Tsarandoy, educate their personnel in a lofty spirit of patriotism and love of the homeland, loyalty to the goals and ideals of the Saur Revolution and solidarity with the working people of other countries, ensure the participation of servicemen in public and political life, and improve the material well-being of their families.

Article 9. The state promotes the patriotic role of the chieftains, elders and all members of the tribes in the effort to secure peace, brotherhood and tranquility and to protect the borders of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the areas they inhabit, and shall facilitate the effective carrying out of these noble activities.

Article 10. The foreign policy of the DRA is aimed at strengthening universal peace, developing broad international cooperation and defending the country's state interests. The foreign policy of the DRA is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and positive and active non-alignment.

Article 11. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall expand and strengthen friendship and traditional all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union as well as cooperation and all-round friendly relations with other countries of the socialist community on the basis of the principle of international solidarity.

Article 12. As a peace-loving country, the DRA shall strive to maintain and strengthen friendly relations with other countries, especially neighbouring countries and all Muslim states and peoples, on the basis of mutual respect for one another's independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in one another's internal affairs; it shall help to unite the efforts of Muslims and other peoples

in their common striving for peace, freedom, progress and cooperation.

Article 13. The DRA favours a just and peaceful solution, on the basis of goodwill and the principles of peaceful coexistence, of all unresolved problems which exist between the states that are neighbours in the region.

Article 14. The DRA supports the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation, for democracy and progress, and against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism, racism, fascism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

Article 15. The DRA stands for general disarmament and the ending of the arms race, the prevention of nuclear proliferation, the dismantling of aggressive military bases on foreign territories, the development and deepening of the process of easing international tension, and the establishment of a just International Economic Order.

In the DRA war propaganda is prohibited.

Article 16. The DRA supports and observes the United Nations Charter and the generally recognized principles and rules of international law, and supports the United Nations' activities to strengthen peace and promote international cooperation.

Article 17. In the DRA there are the following forms of property: state property (the common property of all the people), cooperative property, private property and personal property.

The state protects and defends all forms of lawful property.

The mineral wealth and other natural resources, sources of energy, banks and insurance companies, the main means of production in heavy industry, and the means of communications, radio and television are the exclusive property of the state. The common property of all the people enjoys special protection.

The state supports, encourages and supervises the activities of business companies in which it takes part.

Article 18. The state directs national economic development with the aim of eliminating the country's economic backwardness, raising the standard of living of all the nationalities and tribes of Afghanistan, abolishing all forms of exploitation, and building a new society in conformity with the ideals of the Saur Revolution. Toward these ends the state shall draft scientifically substantiated plans of social and economic development and shall rely on the creative activity

of the people. The state encourages, supports and supervises private initiative and makes use of material and moral incentives.

Article 19. The state recognizes and guarantees the landed property of peasants and other landowners in conformity with the law.

The state takes measures for carrying through democratic reforms in agriculture in the interests of the broad masses of peasants and with their active participation; gives peasants the necessary assistance by providing them with bank credits; helps them to acquire farm machinery, selected seeds and chemical fertilizers and to market farm produce and raw materials; and supports and encourages the development of producers', consumers' and other kinds of cooperatives in the farming sector.

Article 20. The state guarantees nomads, tribes and cattle-breeders gratuitous use of pastures on a fair basis, and the nomads—also the right to move freely over the country's territory; they shall be given the necessary assistance through state subsidies and bank credits on favourable terms, and other assistance in developing animal husbandry and marketing their produce, raising their material well-being and cultural level, and improving the conditions of their everyday life.

Article 21. The DRA supports and encourages the work of artisans and stimulates their voluntary association in cooperatives for purposes of promoting more effective organization of production, raw material supplies and product marketing.

The state supports national entrepreneurs and encourages them to take part in the development of industry, the services, transport and agriculture, and guarantees, in conformity with the law, the inviolability of private investments directed towards the development of the national economy.

The state encourages and supervises the development of domestic and foreign trade in the national interests of all the peoples of Afghanistan. Towards these ends it permits free retail and wholesale trade, regulates prices, provides every assistance to companies and national traders in conducting their commercial activities in exporting and importing goods, encourages greater output and improvement of quality of export items, and helps protect them from competition of imperialist monopolies.

Article 22. The state protects and defends private property. Private property may not be used against the interests of the people and the country. The state guarantees the personal property of citizens acquired by honest work: the right to inherit private and personal property is defined and guaranteed by law.

The owner may not be deprived of his property except as envisaged by law, in which case he is paid fair compensation.

Article 23. In accordance with the law and the principles of justice, the state defines the kind and size of taxes depending on citizens' incomes.

Article 24. In the field of social and cultural development, the state shall pursue a policy aimed at strengthening the alliance and unity of the workers, peasants, nomads, intelligentsia, artisans, traders, clergymen, patriotic ulemas, all the democratic and patriotic forces of the country, and all the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes of Afghanistan; at eliminating the vestiges of feudal relations, backwardness, unemployment, illiteracy, poverty and disease; and at raising the material well-being and cultural level of every family. For these purposes programmes shall be consistently carried out for the complete elimination of illiteracy and for the extensive development of public education, health care and social security, science and engineering, culture and the arts, physical education and sports, and the communal services.

Article 25. The state regards it as one of its main goals to provide working people with comfortable housing.

Article 26. The family, maternity and childhood enjoy special protection of the state. The state shows particular care for the health of mothers and children and takes measures to create broad opportunities for women to receive education, professional training and jobs. State bodies, public organizations and schools should help families in the upbringing of children.

The state shows concern for young people and ensures them access to education and various professions. It will take the necessary measures to provide young people with jobs and to create the necessary conditions for their ideological, moral and physical education and for their broad and creative participation in the building of a new society.

Chapter 2

The Basic Rights and Duties of Citizens

Article 27. The state of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is common and equal to all citizens of the DRA.

The acquiring or forfeiting of DRA citizenship is defined by law.

When abroad, citizens of Afghanistan enjoy the protection and assistance of the DRA.

No DRA citizens may be extradited to a foreign state.

Article 28. All citizens of Afghanistan are equal before the law. They enjoy equal rights and have the same duties and obligations, irrespective of race, nationality, tribe, language, sex, place of residence, nomadic or settled way of life, religion, education, origin, and property or social status.

The equality of citizens is guaranteed in all spheres of economic, political, social and cultural life.

No one may use democratic rights and freedoms to the detriment of the interests of the DRA or the rights of other citizens.

Article 29. Citizens of the DRA are guaranteed the following democratic rights and freedoms:

- 1) inviolability of the person and protection of life;
- 2) full freedom in performing the religious rites of Islam, and also in professing other religions in conformity with laws;
- 3) the right to work. The state shall take measures to ensure the right of all people to socially useful work, exercise control over working conditions, and elaborate and enact progressive labour legislation;
- 4) the right to health protection and social security. The state shall take measures to develop a network of state-run health-care institutions and extend free medical services as far as possible, and to improve social security in the event of disability, old age and the loss of the breadwinner;
- 5) the right to education. The state shall take measures to develop a national and progressive system of education, abolish illiteracy, provide instruction in the native languages, and expand free secondary, higher and vocational education;
- 6) freedom of scientific, technical, cultural and artistic work in conformity with the goals of the Saur Revolution;
- 7) the right to free and public expression of one's views, to

peaceful assemblies and demonstrations, and also the right to unite, on a patriotic basis, in progressive democratic public organizations. The law regulates the exercise of these rights within a framework that does not violate public order and quiet or the country's security;

8) inviolability of the home and privacy of correspondence, telephone conversations and telegraphic and other communications, except in cases envisaged by law;

9) the right to lodge complaints, petitions and requests with appropriate state bodies.

Article 30. No one may be adjudged guilty of a crime except in conformity with the law. No one may be detained or arrested except in conformity with the law. No one may be punished except by the sentence of a court which functioned at the time when the crime was committed.

A defendant is presumed innocent unless proven guilty in conformity with the law. A defendant is entitled to defence.

A crime is of an individual nature and punishment for it may not be extended to another person. It is forbidden to resort to torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 31. Citizens of the DRA are obliged to respect and observe the laws and the norms of social and human behaviour, fulfill their obligations and civic duty in good faith, respect the legitimate interests of other persons, and hold high and with dignity the name of a citizen of the DRA.

Article 32. Socially useful, conscientious and patriotic work is the paramount duty and a matter of honour of all able-bodied citizens.

Article 33. The defence of the Homeland and of the gains of the Saur Revolution, loyalty to its ideals and goals, and service to the nation are the supreme duty and sacred obligation of every citizen. Service in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the DRA is the most honourable and a highly patriotic duty of citizens of the DRA.

Article 34. The DRA shall create all the necessary conditions for the effective exercise by citizens of their rights and democratic freedoms.

Chapter 3

Loya Jirgah (National Assembly of the DRA)

Article 35. The highest body of state authority in the DRA is the Loya Jirgah, or the National Assembly of the DRA.

The law defines the composition of the Loya Jirgah, the democratic procedure of electing representatives of the peoples of Afghanistan, and also the organization, competence and procedure for its activities.

Elections of people's representatives to the Loya Jirgah shall be free and based on direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot. At its first session the Loya Jirgah will adopt a Constitution of the DRA.

Chapter 4

Revolutionary Council of the DRA

Article 36. Until the necessary conditions are created for the free election of the Loya Jirgah (the National Assembly), the Revolutionary Council shall be the highest body of state authority in the DRA.

The number, election and appointment of new members of the Revolutionary Council, representing all the democratic and national-progressive forces of the country, shall be determined and the election and appointment conducted by the Revolutionary Council on the recommendation of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council.

Article 37. The Revolutionary Council of the DRA shall:

- 1) issue laws and decrees;
- 2) approve state plans for the economic and social development of the DRA and reports on their implementation;
- 3) approve the state budget of the DRA and reports on their execution;
- 4) form the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, the Council of Ministers (government) of the DRA, elect the Supreme Court of the DRA, and appoint the Procurator-General of the DRA;
- 5) form and abolish ministries, and appoint, transfer or dismiss members of the Council of Ministers;

6) endorse guidelines for domestic and foreign policies of the DRA and adopt programmes of work for the government;

7) call a referendum (nationwide vote);

8) declare war in the event of aggression against the DRA and conclude peace;

9) permit the issue of money;

10) form commissions, when necessary. Requests of commissions for information or documents they may need must be complied with;

11) decide other matters which the Revolutionary Council is faced with.

Article 38. The Revolutionary Council shall meet twice a year. The first session shall be held in the month of Sunbula (August 21-September 21) and the second, in the month of Hut (February 21-March 21).

Special sessions of the Revolutionary Council shall be convened on the initiative of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council or on the proposal of not less than one-third of the members of the Revolutionary Council.

The Revolutionary Council shall elect, from among its members, a President of the Revolutionary Council and one or several Vice-Presidents.

Article 39. The Revolutionary Council shall hold sessions if no less than two-thirds of the Revolutionary Council members are present.

Sessions of the Revolutionary Council shall be open unless state interests demand the holding of a closed session.

Article 40. Bills, decrees and other decisions of the Revolutionary Council shall be considered adopted if a majority of the Revolutionary Council members present at the session voted for them.

Laws and decrees shall come into force after being published in the Official Gazette, unless otherwise indicated in the given law or decree.

Laws and decrees enacted by the Revolutionary Council shall be published in the Pushtu and Dari languages; they may also be published in other languages of the peoples of Afghanistan.

Article 41. The Revolutionary Council of the DRA shall establish procedural rules for the work of the Revolutionary Council and its Presidium.

Article 42. The Revolutionary Council shall form a Presidium of the Revolutionary Council from among its

members. The Presidium shall consist of a Chairman of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council, one or several Deputy Chairmen of the Presidium, a Secretary and members.

The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA is the permanent body of the Revolutionary Council.

Article 43. The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council shall:

- 1) name the dates of the convening of regular or special sessions of the Revolutionary Council;
- 2) interpret the laws, initiate legislation and, when necessary, conduct nationwide discussion of bills;
- 3) supervise the observance of laws and ordinances;
- 4) form, alter and rename provinces, cities, *woleswali* (regions), and *alakadari* (areas);
- 5) institute orders and medals and award them in conformity with the law;
- 6) grant amnesty and commute punishment;
- 7) appoint and approve the appointment of, transfer, relieve, retire and accept the resignation of judges, army officers and executives in conformity with the law;
- 8) institute military and diplomatic ranks and confer them in conformity with the law;
- 9) appoint and approve the appointment of, transfer and recall diplomatic and other permanent missions of the DRA in other states and at international organizations; approve accreditation of diplomatic representatives of foreign states;
- 10) ratify and denounce international treaties of the DRA in conformity with the law;
- 11) proclaim martial law or state of emergency; declare mobilization;
- 12) rule on matters of citizenship and grant asylum to foreigners in conformity with the law;
- 13) perform other duties envisaged in the laws of the DRA.

Article 44. Between sessions of the Revolutionary Council its functions shall be performed by the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council.

Article 45. The President of the Revolutionary Council shall simultaneously be Prime Minister of the DRA.

The President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister is empowered:

- 1) to guide the work of the Revolutionary Council, its Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the DRA;
- 2) to exercise supreme leadership of the Armed Forces;

3) to receive the letters of credence of the heads of diplomatic missions of foreign states;

4) to sign laws, decrees, decisions and other acts of the Revolutionary Council, its Presidium and the Council of Ministers;

5) to perform other duties stipulated by laws.

Chapter 5

The Council of Ministers of the DRA

Article 46. The Council of Ministers (government) of the DRA is the highest executive body of state authority and shall consist of a Prime Minister, one or several Deputy Prime Ministers, and Ministers.

The Council of Ministers shall be responsible for its work to the Revolutionary Council and, between its sessions, to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council.

Article 47. The Council of Ministers is empowered:

1) to conduct domestic and foreign policies;

2) to submit bills to the Revolutionary Council and, between its sessions, to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council for consideration and adoption;

3) to adopt statutes and regulations;

4) to organize work in developing the national economy, draft state plans for economic and social development and state budgets and submit them and reports on their execution to the Revolutionary Council and, between its sessions, to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council for approval;

5) to direct and supervise the work of ministries;

6) to direct and supervise the work of local executive bodies;

7) to adopt measures to ensure the country's security, public order and tranquility, and to safeguard citizens' rights and freedoms;

8) to exercise leadership in the field of national defence and the organization of the Armed Forces;

9) to exercise leadership in the field of the external relations of the DRA, conduct negotiations and conclude international treaties within its competence;

10) to assist the Council of Muslim Ulemas in performing its functions;

11) to perform other duties envisaged by law.

Article 48. Decisions and other acts of the Council of Ministers shall be binding on all bodies, organizations and citizens throughout the territory of the DRA.

Article 49. The structure, competence and procedure of central and local bodies of authority shall be defined by law.

Article 50. Ministers shall head the Ministries of the DRA and carry out their activities within the powers vested in them by law. They shall be personally responsible for the work of their Ministries and the development of the sectors of administration under their jurisdiction.

Chapter 6

Local Bodies of Authority and Administration

Article 51. In provinces, cities, *woleswali*, *alakadari* and *kariya* (villages) local Jirgahs (local Councils) shall be formed, empowered to deal with all matters of local significance. The democratic procedure of electing people's representatives to local Jirgahs and other matters concerning their organization, competence, activities and responsibilities shall be defined by law.

Article 52. Appropriate local executive bodies shall be formed having the function of executive bodies of state authority in provinces, cities, *woleswali* and *alakadari*. The Chairman and members of a local executive committee shall be appointed according to procedures established by law.

Local executive committees shall:

- 1) ensure observance of laws, decrees, ordinances and other acts and decisions of superior bodies;
- 2) safeguard public order and security and protect citizens' rights and freedoms;
- 3) implement state plans for economic and social development;
- 4) guide and coordinate the work of subordinate bodies;
- 5) adopt decisions within their competence.

Article 53. Local bodies of authority and administration shall be guided by the principles of unity, initiative, broad involvement of the population, legality and justice.

Chapter 7

The Judicial System and the Work of Courts

Article 54. Justice in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is administered only by the courts, on democratic principles. Justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the DRA, provincial (city) courts, courts in *woleswali*, and military courts of the Armed Forces. In conformity with the law, special courts may be formed to consider specific cases.

The organization, competence, the procedure of forming courts and the procedure of their work are defined by law.

Article 55. The Supreme Court is the country's highest judicial body and consists of a Chairman, his Deputies and Members of the Court. In conformity with the law, the Supreme Court shall supervise the judicial work of the courts and ensure uniform enforcement of laws by the courts.

The Supreme Court shall report on its work to the Revolutionary Council and, between its sessions, to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.

The judges of all the courts, except the Supreme Court, shall be appointed by the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council.

Article 56. The courts shall have jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases.

In considering cases judges are independent and subject only to the law. The courts consider cases and make rulings on the basis of the principles of citizens' equality before the law and the court.

In considering cases the courts shall apply the laws of the DRA. If the laws contain no provision on the basis of which a given case can be decided, the court shall decide the case in conformity with the general provisions of the Sharia and the principles of democratic legality and justice.

All courts shall hear cases in open session. The law provides for instances where hearings may be conducted in closed session.

In all instances the rulings shall be announced in public.

Article 57. The courts shall hear and decide cases in the Dari and Pushtu languages, or in the language spoken by the majority of people in the given locality. Persons involved in a lawsuit who do not know the language in which the proceedings are being conducted shall be ensured the right to become

acquainted with the materials of the case through an interpreter, and the right to speak in court in their native language.

Article 58. A court ruling is made in the name of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. A court ruling must be well founded.

Court rulings that have come into legal force shall be executed without fail.

A death sentence is carried out following its endorsement by the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.

Chapter 8

The Procurator's Office

Article 59. The Procurator-General of the DRA shall direct the work of all agencies of the Procurator's Office in the country. The Procurator's Office is a unified, centralized system comprising the Office of the Procurator-General and the offices of procurators of provinces (cities), *woleswali* and *alakadari*.

In conformity with the law, special procurator's offices may be formed.

The agencies of the Procurator's Office conduct their work independently of local bodies of authority and are subordinate solely to the Procurator-General.

Article 60. The Procurator-General and procurators shall supervise the execution and observance of laws by all central and local bodies of state administration, by public, mixed and private enterprises, by public organizations, and by officials and all other citizens.

Article 61. The Procurator-General is responsible to the Revolutionary Council and, between its sessions, to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council. He shall regularly report to the Revolutionary Council and its President on his work and the state of legality in the country.

Article 62. Before a Procurator-General is appointed, his powers shall be exercised and his duties performed by the Minister of Justice of the DRA.

The organization, competence and procedure of the agencies of the Procurator's Office and the procedure of appointing procurators are defined by law.

Chapter 9

The Emblem, Flag and Capital

Article 63. The state emblem of the DRA is a red star in the rays of the rising sun, a *mihrab* and *mimbar* against a green background and an open book framed by ears of wheat and a pinion entwined with a black, red and green ribbon.

Article 64. The state flag of the DRA is a rectangular cloth with three horizontal stripes of a black, red and green colour of equal width.

The state emblem of the DRA is depicted in the upper left corner of the cloth and at a quarter of the length of the flag from the staff.

The ratio of the width of the flag to its length is 1:2.

Article 65. The capital of the DRA is the city of Kabul.

Chapter 10

Concluding Provisions

Article 66. The present Fundamental Principles of the DRA may be amended on the recommendation of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council by two-thirds of all members of the Revolutionary Council.

Article 67. Prior to the formation of new state bodies envisaged in this law, all central and local state bodies shall function on the basis of the provisions of the present Fundamental Principles of the DRA and appropriate legislative acts based on them.

Article 68. The present Fundamental Principles of the DRA shall come into force on the day of their publication. They shall remain in force until a Constitution of the DRA is adopted.

Laws, decrees and other legal acts promulgated prior to the enforcement of the present Fundamental Principles of the DRA shall be considered valid if they are not at variance with the provisions of these Principles.

Kabul, April 14, 1980

