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Westad and East European Center in London the following
05-17-1975

Telegram

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The National Defense and Afghanistan Institute, 1975
The National Defense and Afghanistan Institute

Afghanistan

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notes w/
Russian
archival
references.
could be added
to RADD
per O.A. Westad

afgh

78-05-17

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 1-2: T. asks for SU assistance in building the party. Puzanov affirmative. 3: Particularly imp. to build party groups in army. SU will send specialists in state security.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,
pp. 1-4

afgh

78-05-23

From Simonenko, Gankovskov, and Smirnov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. 7: A. "easier for SU to work with the people from Khalq, they are brought up in the spirit of "Sovietism". If the leaders of Khalq and Soviet comrades will disagree, the Khalqis will say without a moment's hesitation that the Soviet comrades are right. In such a situation the Parchamis will say that their leaders are right."

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,
pp. 5-7

afgh

78-05-23

From Hafizullah Amin to MO

On: Thoughts by member of the Politburo of the NDPA CC Hafizullah Amin on the renewal of the party's organizational structures, written personally, and delivered to a group from the Soviet party

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1182,
pp. 1-8

Afgh

78-05-31

From Aleksandr Puzanov (sovamb, Kabul) to MO

On: "Politpismo": "O vnutripoliticheskom poloshenii v DRA" [On the domestic political situation in the DRA]. 2-6: PDPA represent interests of "laboring masses", Daoud increasingly bourgeois, D planned to strike at PDPA. PDPA program positive. Warn ag. too radical initiatives. Coup badly prepared. 7: T: (April 29, to P.) "Afgh. (will) follow Marxism-Leninism (and) will embark on the road of building socialism and belong to the socialist camp." This policy must, however, be

pursued "with care", and the PDPA may "only later" tell the people its real purposes. 8: T: Nonaligned, but close cooperation with SU. 9: T: No given conflict with West, but with reactionary muslim countries. 10: T: Afgh. "will redirect its foreign economic ties mainly toward the SU and the socialist countries." 12: P: The broad masses approve of the PDPA taking power and most of its actions. At the same time the domestic reactionaries, "without resorting to overt actions", intensify their subversive activities (prop., setting up armed groups, all prepared in Pak.) 13: P on conflict Khalq-Parcham. 16: The Afgh. coup will "increase the sympathies of the govt. for the USSR" thus "further consolidating and strengthening our positions in Afgh." Sit. in country on the whole stable, govt got all provinces under its control, and are taking measures to stop the actions of the reactionaries. The single most important task for the new leadership will be the achievement of unity in the leadership in the party and in govt. Strong frictions, not yet eliminated. Embassy will, together with SUCP advisers, take steps to overcome the differences in the Afgh. leadership.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 75 d 1179,
pp. 2-17

afgh

78-06-11

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Nur Ahmad Nur (Min. of interior, DRA; member of Politburo and Secretariat, NDPA; Karmal's closest collaborator in Parcham). 10: Discusses factions in PDPA. 10-11: "The natural and unchallenged leader of the party, Taraki, has come under Amin's influence, and the members of the CC Politburo keep quiet since they all fear Amin. In reality Amin exaggerates the contradictions between the former Khalq and Parcham groups, and constantly calls for and prepares party purges." Plans to send Parchamis as ambassadors abroad. Necessary to save Karmal. 13: N: "There is one leading force in the country -- Hafizullah Amin."

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,
pp. 10-14

afgh

78-06-17

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Sultan Ali Keshtmand, Minister of Planning, DRA; member of Politburo, NDPA; Parchami, removed August 78, tortured, prime minister under Karmal). 18: P: Learn from Soviet experience. 18: K. feels that "some persons in the leadership" are unflexible in their policies and views "the strengthening of ties with the USSR as a temporal policy, or as a tactical device." 19: Unity in the basic organizations of the party, but "in the leadership everything is not all right. Unfortunately some persons believe that the party organs are themselves and nobody else." 19: P lists Soviet advisers in ministries.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,
pp. 16-20

afgh

78-06-18

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. Discuss Karmal's position. 25-26: P tells T of Karmal's claims of being persecuted. 25: P. refers conv. with Karmal. K: "Because I am convinced that the party and state organs and the army under the leadership of Taraki and Amin are building socialism in Afgh. with great assistance of the SU, I feel that it is my duty toward the revolution not to create problems, so that neither friend nor enemy will make use of my situation." 27: T: "The party is united and its unity is being strengthened. We will go over those who oppose unity with a steam roller. Such actions will only strengthen the party." Karmal is safe.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,
pp. 22-27

afgh

78-07-01

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 31: P: Soviets worried over potential rising in Kabul.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,
pp. 29-33

afgh

78-07-18

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 36: Extend military cooperation. 39: T and P both fear US provocations.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,

pp. 36-40

afgh

78-08-03

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,

pp. 44-46

afgh

78-08-22

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. Discuss: The external military threat. China now very threatening, followed by US.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,

pp. 64-69

afgh

78-08-26

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 76: T explains crisis and the actions taken ag. Parchamis. 77: P: The day Karmal's posting to Prague was announced, K. and his family came late at night to the apartment of a Soviet diplomat. K. was extremely anxious, and demanded to see P. immediately. Soviets decided to turn him down, and next day informed Amin. Still need to press issue with T. "When there is a difficult situation in the country of our close friends, we have a time-honored practice of sending one of our leaders, a member of our Politburo, on an unofficial visit." Wants T's opinion.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,

pp. 75-79

afgh

78-08-31

From K.N. Brutents (Deputy Director, MO) to MO

On: Conversation with Raz Mohammad Pakteen (DRA amb.

Moscow). 54-58: P. informed on sit., criticized

Parcham's leaders, and stressed that the April

Revolution was forever linked with Great October. B.

stressed that SU support depended on unity.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,

pp. 54-58

afgh

78-10-22

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,

pp. 105-108

afgh

78-11-14

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. 125: A: "We understand that the SU cannot provide the full volume of support to Afgh., and (we) are seeking actively to attract the other socialist brother countries to wider cooperation, as well as other friendly states which will give us such support. But the Afghan leadership in such matters naturally counts primarily on the Soviet Union."

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,

pp. 123-129

afgh

78-11-27

From Iu.A. Sidelnikov (SU amb Yugoslavia) to MO

On: On Afghan citizens. On Parchamis attempts to be close to SU.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 0 75 d 1181,

pp. 132-133

afgh

78-12-17

From Aleksandr M. Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 3: T asks for SU supprt in training officers and border guards. 8: P sees

request as inflated, & wants T to bring them up in Moscow.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 1-4

afgh

78-12-17

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. 1-3: On technical experts and assistance.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 1-3

afgh

78-12-28

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. 5: Amin explains why he has asked for 20 mill. rubles in assistance for "special assignments": "To cover the expenses of the organs of security and intelligence services" abroad -- in Iran, Pakistan, and some Arab countries. Money are vital.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 4-6

afgh

78-12-30

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. P. complains that cooperation not effective. E.g. applications for ec. support sent in "with great delay" and "figures so confusing" that much time is lost. P: "One could feel that T did not understand these questions and (that he) cannot imagine how complex the decisionmaking is on the Soviet side:"

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 6-9

afgh

79-01-15

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. 13: On military cooperation. A: Afgh needs to be supported for strategic reasons. US started offensive ag. DRA.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 12-17

afgh

79-02-19

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. 23-24: P explains VN in Cambodia. Amin stresses importance of sit. in Iran.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 23-24

Afgh

79-02-27

From to

On: On Afghan youth organizations

In: TsKhSD, KSTsK (Kartoteka sekretariata TsK KPSS)-149th session, item 19,
pp.

afgh

79-02-28

From I. V. Arkhipov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 18: A reminds T that Afgh just taken the step from feudalism. 20-23: Outlines plans for major increase in SU support to Afgh. 26-27: T. wants to suspend dev. plans in order to use the assigned sums for defence; also wants to delay paying interest on credit and more loans directly to the Ministry of Defense.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 17-27

Afgh

79-03-13

From to

On: On communication with Kabul (radio links)

In: TsKhSD, KSTsK, 150th session, item 10,
pp.

afgh

79-03-19

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 36-37: P brings with him SU officers to inform T of how bad the situation is in the countryside. 37: P "tactfully" advises T to take urgent steps "with the same energy as the conduct of the armed struggle" to develop education and

propaganda, in order to attract the population to their side."

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 36-38

Afgh
79-03-20

From to

On: On cooperation with NDPA

In: TsKhSD, KSTsK, 151th session, item 25,
pp.

afgh
79-03-22

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 29: T informs P about his telephone conferences with Brezhnev, Kosygin, Ustinov, Gromyko, and Ponomarev. The Soviet leaders "agreed to give the DRA political and military support in case of aggression from Iran or Pakistan, to speed up the air deliveries of weapons, to postpone all payments on loans, to supply DRA with 100 000 tons of wheat, increase the price (paid for) Afghan oil". T very satisfied with response.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 29-30

afgh
79-03-25

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 40: P talks of SU initiatives vs. Khomeini to prevent an Iranian-Afgh. conflict. 41: P "tactfully" stressed the need to improve the army's knowledge of the arms the SU is supplying, and to stop the flow of arms to the enemy.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 39-42

afgh
79-04-10

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 43: P stresses the need to seek an arrangement with Pak, & give details of Kosygin's meeting with Yakub Khan, who brought a message from Zia. 45-46: After having learnt of

massive Afgh plans for operations inside Pak., P
"tactfully" urges T to take steps to improve Afgh-Pak
rels.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 43-46

afgh

79-06-09

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Taraki. 48: P presents plan to
get Pak to agree to outlaw political activities among
Afgh refugees, to stop islamist prop. among tribes, and
to stop supplying armed groups for operations in Afgh.
Afgh. then should support entry of Pak into Non-aligned
movement.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 47-51

afgh

79-06-10

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. 54-56: A got SU to protest
to Pakistan over inv. in Afgh. -- SU got A to send an
invitation to Zia to visit Afgh. Discuss: Soviet
advisers in army, gen ass. from SU, anti-Pak propaganda
in border areas.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 54-56

afgh

79-06-18

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 64-67

Afgh

79-06-22

From to

On: Translation of books to pushtu and dari

In: TsKhSD, KSTsK, 162th session, item 73,
pp.

Afgh

79-06-22

From to
On: On travel for DRA experts to Moscow
In: TsKhSD, KSTsK, 164th session, item 63,
pp.

Afgh
79-06-28
From to
On: On sending advisers on administration of the
economy and finances to the Afghan prime minister
In: TsKhSD, KSTsK, 165th session, item 8,
pp.

afgh
79-07-10
From Puzanov to MO
On: Conversation with Taraki. 74: SU fear developments
in Iran, imp of no Afgh conflict with Iran. 74: P:
"The Afghan side should under any circumstance show
reasonable restraint; if Pakistan wants to break the
dialogue, then make sure that the full blame falls on
them."
In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 73-75

afgh
79-07-21
From Puzanov to MO
On: Conversation with Amin. 94: A complains that he is
not empowered to lead military affairs, and that T is
increasingly concentrating leadership in his own hands.
T can not control the execution of orders. P: Plan for
excluding T from military leadership & set up emergency
group lead by A. Save the authority of T, but improve
the direction of operations. 95-97: A grateful for
helicopters. Discussion of Ponomarev's forthcoming
visit.
In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 94-97

afgh
79-08-06
From Puzanov to MO
On: Conversation with Taraki. P warns against
executing Kadir, Keshtmand and Rafi. These men were

"prominent leaders of the revolution, members of the PDPA and of the Afghan leadership. The Soviet leaders draw T's attention to the necessity of caution in carrying out repressions, in particular against leaders of the party." Advise against haste.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1044,
pp. 81-84

afgh

79-08-16

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. Discuss: Money from SU to pay Afgh officers and soldiers.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 109-111

Afgh

79-09-04

From to

On: On training of NDPA cadres

In: TsKhSD, KSTsK, 174th session, item 10,
pp.

Afgh

79-09-27

From to

On: On visit to Kabul by delegation from USSR Supreme Soviet

In: TsKhSD, KSTsK, 178th session, item 25,
pp.

afgh

79-10-10

From KGB to MO

On: Report: "Rukovodstvo Irana o vneshnei bezopasnosti strani [The Iranian Leadership on the Country's Foreign Security]". 18: The Iranian leaders think that "the SU will not give up the ideological struggle and its attempts set up a a leftist government in Iran." Plan to weaken the Afghan regime, exert influence on the Moslem republics in SU, and prevent spread of communism in region.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1355,
pp. 17-20

afgh

79-10-27

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. 112: Cold tone betw. P & A. Implies SU withholding ass.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 112-116

afgh

79-10-28

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Kheyal Mohammad Katewazi (Minister of Information and Culture, DRA). K criticise Taraki, cooperated with Pakistan and US, did not admire SU or use the experiences of Great October.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 130-133

afgh

79-11-03

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. P: SU leaders ready to receive A in Moscow. Moscow satisfied with the measures taken by Afgh. leadership in building party & state. P: Send more Soviet specialists.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 121-124

afgh

79-11-05

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Abdul Karim Misaq (Minister of Finance, DRA). P: SU leaders worry over cost of support.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 125-126

afgh

79-11-05

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Mahmoud Soma (Minister of Higher Education; Khalq). 127-129: P. emph. that more than 3000 Afghans sent this year for training in SU.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 127-129

afgh

79-11-10

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Mohammad Siddiq Alemyar (Minister of Planning, DRA). P stresses need to learn from SU experience.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 134-136

afgh

79-11-12

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Faqir Mohammad Faqir (Minister of Interior, DRA). P: Need to cooperate with SU. F: Amin in control.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 137-139

afgh

79-11-13

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Major Yaqub (Head of General Staff, DRA). P promises that SU will consider more direct assistance to officers, training abroad etc.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 140-143

afgh

79-11-13

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Shah Wali (Minister of Foreign Affairs, DRA). P careful to stress that SU still wanted to cooperate closely with DRA. Introduces new amb.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 147-151

afgh

79-11-19

From Puzanov to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. 145: A: How much has been achieved in cooperation with SU. Implies A imp. to SU.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 144-146

Afgh

79-11-28

From Secretariat to CC departments, ministries,
friendship organizations

On: On transport of marxist-leninist literature to
Kabul

In: TsKhSD, KSTsK ,
pp.

afgh

79-12-06

From Fikrat A. Tabeev (SU amb in Kabul after 22
November 79; member of the CPSU CC & Supreme Soviet,
ethnic tatar, left for Moscow 12-10) to MO

On: Conversation with Amin. (First & possibly last
conv.) A: Need to go to Moscow. Discuss long-term
cooperation between PDPA and SUCP.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1045,
pp. 152-153

Afgh

79-fall

From V.P. Kapitanov (chief military adviser to the area
commander of the DRA 12th army division in Paktia) to
MO

On: On military situation in Afghanistan fall 1979.
Opposition militarily on offensive. DRA officers
brutal to civilians. Misuse of Soviet military
equipment.

In: TsKhSD, f 5 o 76 d 1337,
pp. 5-7