

# AFGHAN INTERNATIONAL UPDATE

## CONGRESS GROWS INTERESTED IN AFGHANISTAN COVERT ARMS OPERATION SCRUTINIZED

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In the past six months, congressional interest in the apparent ineffectiveness of American support for the Afghan resistance has begun to grow.

From August 24 to 28, 1983, six U.S. Representatives visited Pakistan, ostensibly to assess US/Pakistani relations. However, a congressional source revealed that one of the reasons for the visit was to evaluate the effectiveness of U.S. arms deliveries to the Afghan partisans.

Clarence Long (D-MD), Chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee which oversees most appropriations for U.S. covert aid programs, led the delegation. Two other members of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee accompanied Rep. Long: William Lehman (D-FL) and Charles Wilson (D-TX). Wilson has visited the Afghan resistance six times in the past. Marty Russo (D-IL), John Porter (R-IL), and Lawrence Coughlin (R-PA) completed the House contingent.

Afghan resistance leaders have since complained that they were prevented from meeting with the congressmen on more than a superficial basis to talk about arms; congressional sources have similarly stated that they did not have an opportunity to gain a complete picture of the situation.

Further concern about reports of ineffective arms deliveries to the resistance led to a State Department briefing on Afghanistan on 14 September 1983 which was open only to members of Congress. During the briefing, both Democrats and Republicans questioned Undersecretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger on reputed poor arms deliveries. According to a Congressman who was present, the Undersecretary stated to the 20 Congressmen that he had visited the refugee camps, had checked on the covert aid reaching the guerrillas with their leaders, and had been told that the aid was enough. Several Congressmen later rated Eagleburger's performance, saying "we've heard it all before."

Confusing and contradictory reports on Afghanistan have emanated from the Executive Branch for some time. For instance, Selig Harrison, an analyst with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, quoted a high-ranking intelligence official in the Washington Post as saying "Afghanistan is gone," while Newsweek had "officials in Washington" saying that "They seem to be doing very well with what they've got." [See quotes under U.S. GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN.]

In July 1982, vague and non-committal statements by Secretary of State-designate George Schultz on Afghanistan before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, coupled with initial reports of shortcomings in arms deliveries to the resistance, led Sen. Paul Tsongas (D-MA) to recognize the need for a legislative effort to support the Afghan guerrillas.

On 6 October 1983, Senator Paul Tsongas introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 74, the "effective material support" resolution. The resolution calls for "material assistance...to help [the Afghans] fight effectively" because "it would be indefensible to provide the freedom fighters with only enough to fight and die but not enough to advance their cause of freedom." The 61 co-sponsors of S. Con. Res. 74 include Ted Kennedy (D-MA), Gary Hart (D-CO), Thomas Eagleton (D-MO), Carl Levin (D-MI), Alan Cranston (D-CA), and Chris Dodd (D-CT).

Legislative interest in correcting the shortcomings in arms reaching the resistance received a boost the week of 5 November, during the six-day visit to Washington of Sibjhatullah Mojadedi, President of the moderate resistance alliance, the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen. His meetings on Capitol Hill, which he termed "the most successful ever," gained several important co-sponsors for the House version of the "effective material support" resolution. These co-sponsors include Jim Leach (R-IA), Chairman of the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus (an influential organization of 131 Liberal congressmen), Julian Dixon (D-CA), Chairman of the Black Caucus, and

Jim Moody (D-WI), an idealistic and influential member of the 1982 Freshman Democratic Class.

Strategy meetings between Mojadedi and congressional supporters included Tom Petri (R-WI), Bill Alexander (D-AR), Charles Wilson (D-TX), and Phil Crane (R-IL). In the Senate he met with Tsongas and Bill Bradley (D-NJ).

The resolution itself was introduced by Rep. Don Ritter (R-PA) as H. Con. Res. 237 on 18 November 1983. At that time, the 123 co-sponsors included 69 Democrats and 54 Republicans. They range from John Conyers (D-MI), an outspoken Black Caucus member who said "It's hypocritical to support one liberation movement and not the other," to Louis Stokes (D-OH), Norm Mineta (D-CA) and Wyche Fowler (D-GA) of the reform wing of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, to Tom Corcoran (R-IL), a populist conservative. Other congressmen such as William Gray (D-PA), the foreign affairs spokesman of the Black Caucus, have since joined the original sponsors.

If Congress passes the "effective material support" resolution, it will set a historic precedent as the first time the Legislative Branch has taken action on its own by officially advocating support of a guerrilla liberation movement. As Senator Tsongas told President Mojadedi during their meeting on 10 November 1983, "The whole situation is crazy. I mean, where do we draw the line? If we can't aid you, then who can we help?"

M.D.E.



Congressmen Charles Rangel (D-NY) and Don Ritter (R-PA) shake hands in support of the bi-partisan effort to provide "effective material assistance" to the Afghan resistance at a benefit for the Federation for American Afghan Action 1 August 1983, to kick off the legislative drive.

-Photo by John Gunter

# WHY TSONGAS LEADS

Senator Charles Percy (R-IL), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, calls him "the champion of the Afghan cause," and Afghan resistance leaders have said he is their most effective ally in the U.S. government. The record of Senator Paul Tsongas (D-MA) supports these assertions: he has persevered for nearly two years to pressure the Executive Branch to provide effective material support to the Afghan resistance, introducing the Afghan support resolution twice (S. Con. Res. 126 in 1982 and S. Con. Res. 74 in 1983) to help the Afghans stem their genocide and regain their country.

Tsongas's inspiration to aid the Afghan people in their struggle for freedom comes in part from his experiences as a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia from 1962 to 1964; his book, The Road From Here (Vintage Books, New York, 1982) describes the American experiences and his values that have shaped his intimate involvement in the Afghan cause.

"In my second year at Yale (law school), I began to wander into the library stacks to read about guerrilla fighting in Indochina during World War II. I read every first hand account written by a guerrilla leader about the struggle against the Japanese. And I was drawn to it. By the end of that year (1966) I had decided to leave law school and join the Special Forces....

"In an era of tension around the world, the United States should stake out the moral high ground. We must continue to fly the banner of human rights.

"Human rights is a rising force throughout the world. How can those who operated the Gulag Archipelago even attempt to identify themselves with freedom-seeking peoples? The Soviets have learned to cloak themselves in American principles overseas, and to position themselves as the friend of the oppressed, while we ignore our principles and end up cast as the ally of the oppressors. This is more than just ironic since it is our belief in human rights that distinguishes us from the Soviets.

"For example, every third world leader in Africa who fought for his freedom did so in spite of, not because of, Western interests. In the struggle for independence, the Soviets were always at the ready with ideology and weaponry. They harvested well.

"Given the Soviets' atrocious record on domestic human rights, the world needs a credible exponent of these basic values. They are rooted in our culture and history, and we should champion them. Third World people need to have us honor this principle because if we don't, no one effectively will. And ultimately it is the moral and economic strength of America that will count, not just our military might.

"We began a revolution that emanated from one all-powerful idea--that man had certain 'inalienable rights,' among them 'Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.' The willingness of our forefathers to rise up against an oppressive government is too often celebrated by rote rather than by understanding. For a nation that was conceived in insurgency, we are strangely uneasy with it. Americans once were prepared to die for these ideals--and many did. Americans are still ready to die for them. Why, then, do we assume that people of the Third World feel differently about such ideals?

"These values make us what we are, and are the stuff of our civilization. They make us the 'last, best hope of earth.' To be really true to these hallowed principles, we must apply them overseas as well as at home.

"Conservatives tend to focus on the outrageous actions of leftist governments while ignoring those in countries like Argentina, the Philippines, Chile, South Korea, and Iran under the Shah. Liberals are eloquent about the horrors of rightist governments while overlooking those of Afghanistan, Libya, Ethiopia, and Cuba. Human Rights are human rights; they should be consistently defended.

"The reality of the Third World dictates a particular American policy in order to be effective--and that policy happens to coincide with the best of our moral principles, rather than having to choose between expediency and principle, the reality is that we can either choose both or we choose neither.

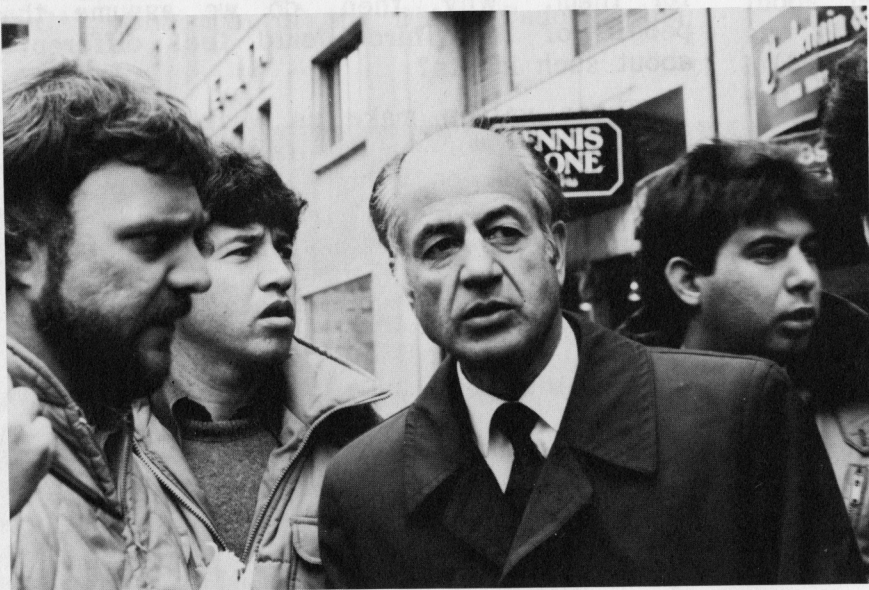
"The truth is that basic human values are far more powerful than some of us think. These values are as basic to all people as they are to us; because they are determinative in America, I believe they will be determinative in the Third World. They are strong because they control the 'hearts and minds' of people. And we have learned in Vietnam, as the Soviets have learned in Afghanistan, that people's minds are the most critical objective. It's time we gave our values our full confidence. We should be willing to allow them to compete head-to-head with Marxism-Leninism, for they will win."

Compiled by A.L.E.



Afghan demonstrators burning a Soviet flag near the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. on 27 December 1983, the fourth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

-Photo by M.D.E.



The sole official representative of the Afghan resistance in the United States, M. Nabi Salehi, of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen, speaking to a reporter in Washington, D.C., during a demonstration protesting the continued occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union.

-Photo by M.D.E.

[Ed. note: What follows is the text of S. Con. Res. 74, as introduced 6 October 1983; H. Con. Res. 237, introduced 18 November 1983, is identical.]

### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Calling upon the United States Government to support the people of Afghanistan with material assistance in their struggle to be free from foreign domination.

Whereas the freedom fighters of Afghanistan have withstood the might of the Soviet Army for over four years and gained the admiration of free men and women the world over with their courageous sacrifice, bravery, and determination;

Whereas the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the first Soviet seizure of independent territory since the 1940's and represents a dangerous and unacceptable development in Soviet foreign policy;

Whereas the struggle for liberation in Afghanistan can succeed if those of us who believe in freedom come to its support;

Whereas the European Parliament, the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations, the Conference of Islamic Nations, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the United States Congress have all condemned the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan;

Whereas the Soviet airbases in southwest Afghanistan present an unacceptable threat to the Hormuz oil passage lanes which are so vital to the free world's economies;

Whereas many individuals and private organizations all over the world have already sent substantial aid to the Afghan freedom fighters; and

Whereas it would be indefensible to provide the freedom fighters with only enough aid to fight and die but not enough to advance their cause of freedom: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it should be the policy of the United States--

(1) to encourage and support the people of

Afghanistan in their struggle to be free from foreign domination;

(2) to provide the people of Afghanistan, if they so request, with material assistance, as the United States considers appropriate, to help them fight effectively for their freedom; and

(3) to pursue a negotiated settlement of the war in Afghanistan, based on the total withdrawal of Soviet troops and the recognition of the inalienable right of the Afghan people to choose their own destiny free from outside interference or coercion, so that the four million Afghan refugees can return to their country in safety and honor.

[Ed. note: What follows is a record of the progress of H. Con. Res. 237 in picking up support in 1983. "Dear Colleague" signers are those who signed a letter to all House members asking for their support on the legislation.]

#### Dear Colleague Signers:

<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Ritter (CA)	Lantos (CA)
Pritchard (WA)	Rangel (NY)
Petri (WI)	Alexander (AR)

#### Cosponsors as of 21 September:

<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Coughlin (PA)	Frank (MA)
D. Crane (IL)	Roe (NJ)
Lagomarsino (CA)	Barnes (MD)
Daub (NE)	Conyers (MI)
Corcoran (IL)	Ackerman (NY)
Kindness (OH)	Wilson (TX)
Coats (IN)	Levine (CA)
DeWine (OH)	Simon (IL)
Courter (NJ)	Wise (WV)
Bilirakis (FL)	

Cosponsors as of 7 October:

<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Porter (IL)	Kogovsek (CO)
McCain (AZ)	Martinez (CA)
Morrison (WA)	Ferraro (NY)
	Sikorski (MN)
Total: 16	Total: 16

Cosponsors as of 17 October:

<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
McKinney (CN)	Yatron (PA)
Gregg (NH)	Neal (NC)
Schaefer (CO)	Boxer (CA)
Craig (ID)	Bedell (IA)
Wortley (NY)	Stratton (NY)
Bliley (VA)	
Total: 22	Total: 21

Cosponsors as of 21 October:

<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Green (NY)	Markey (MA)
Horton (NY)	Walgren (PA)
Kasich (OH)	Solarz (NY)
Fish (NY)	Beilenson (CA)
Livingston (LA)	Mrazek (NY)
Frenzel (MN)	Hance (TX)
Hyde (IL)	Feighan (OH)
G. Hansen (ID)	
Total: 30	Total: 28

Cosponsors as of 1 November:

<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
McDade (PA)	Bryant (TX)
Hiler (IN)	Chappell (FL)
Wolf (VA)	Stokes (OH)
C. Smith (NJ)	S. Hall (TX)
Moore (LA)	Won Pat (Guam)
McGrath (NY)	Matsui (CA)
Skeen (NM)	Kaptur (OH)
Siljander (MI)	Vandergriff (TX)
Bereuter (NE)	Mavroules (MA)
J. Hansen (UT)	Mollohan (WV)
Johnson (CN)	Richardson (NM)
P. Crane (IL)	L. Smith (FL)
	Glickman (KS)
	Bevill (AL)
	Pease (OH)
	Nelson (FL)
	Mikulski (MD)
	Boucher (VA)
	Weiss (NY)
	Fazio (CA)
Total: 42	Total: 48

Cosponsors as of 15 November:

<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
McEwen (OH)	Moody (WI)
Gekas (PA)	Hughes (NJ)
	Edgar (PA)
	Guarini (NJ)
	Mineta (CA)
	Coelho (CA)
	Patterson (CA)
	Fowler (GA)
Total: 44	Total: 56

Cosponsors as of 18 November:

<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Solomon (NY)	Dixon (CA)
Fiedler (CA)	Dorgan (ND)
Jeffords (VT)	Ireland (FL)
Zschau (CA)	Torricelli (NJ)
Bateman (VA)	Morrison (CN)
Martin (IL)	Donnelly (MA)
Duncan (TN)	Reid (NY)
McCullum (FL)	Levitas (GA)
Badham (CA)	Waxman (CA)
Leach (IA)	Thomas (GA)
	Vento (MN)
	Berman (CA)
	Ottinger (NY)
Total: 54	Total: 69

Cosponsors as of 31 January:

<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
	Gray (PA)
	Stenholm (TX)
Total: 54	Total: 71

[Ed. note: What follows is a record of the progress of S. Con. Res. 74 in picking up support in 1983. "Dear Colleague" signers are those who signed a letter to be circulated to all Senators asking for their support of the legislation.]

Dear Colleague Signers:

<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Tsongas (MA)	Lugar (IN)
Pell (RI)	Grassley (IA)
Bradley (NJ)	Boschwitz (MN)

Cosponsors as of 27 June:

Democrats

Bentsen (TX)  
Proxmire (WI)  
Pryor (AR)  
Ford (KY)  
Bumpers (AR)  
Bingaman (NM)  
Moynihan (NY)  
Randolph (WV)  
Sarbanes (MD)  
Dixon (IL)  
Riegle (MI)  
Glenn (OH)  
Melcher (MT)  
Kennedy (MA)  
Byrd (WV)  
Zorinsky (NE)  
Sasser (TN)

Total: 20

Republicans

Nickles (OK)  
Dole (KS)  
Pressler (SD)  
Simpson (WY)  
Andrews (ND)  
Rudman (NH)  
D'Amato (NY)  
Cohen (ME)  
Durenberger (MN)  
Heinz (PA)  
Armstrong (CO)

Total: 14

Cosponsors as of 10 September

Democrats

Hart (CO)  
Levin (MI)  
DeConcini (AZ)  
Eagleton (MO)  
Exon (NE)  
Huddleston (KY)  
Stennis (MS)  
Chiles (FL)

Total: 28

Republicans

Kassebaum (KS)  
Quayle (IN)  
Cochran (MS)  
Mattingly (GA)  
Warner (VA)  
Garn (UT)  
Laxalt (NV)  
Abdnor (SD)  
Wilson (CA)  
Spector (PA)  
Murkowski (AK)  
Hatch (UT)

Total: 26

Cosponsors as of 14 November:

Democrats

Hollings (SC)  
Cranston (CA)  
Heflin (AL)

Total: 31

Republicans

Jepsen (IA)  
Percy (IL)  
Denton (AL)

Total: 29

Cosponsors as of 31 January:

Democrats

Dodd (CT)

Total: 32

Republicans

Total: 29



"...But the New York Times says we've whipped you!"

Bill Mauldin / Chicago Sun-Times

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# AFGHANISTAN IN THE MEDIA

## U.S. MATERIAL AID:

Stuart Auerbach, Washington Post, 13 December 1983, p. A9: "Zbigniew Brzezinski said yesterday that the U.S. should increase its support for Afghan resistance fighters by supplying them with more sophisticated Western weapons instead of the Soviet-style guns they now receive....[T]heir continued reliance on Soviet-style weapons is causing them 'operational and logistical problems.'"

Drew Middleton, New York Times, 4 December 1983, p. A24: "Mr. Mojadedi said that the rebels had been promised \$25 million in Western arms but received only \$6 million worth and still needed surface to air weapons such as the American-made Redeye missile."

Newsweek Periscope, 28 November 1983: "One guerrilla chieftain reports that of 20 Soviet-made mortar rounds he received, 11 failed to detonate and one fell short, wounding his own men: none reached the Soviet target. Other rebel leaders say their Soviet-made SAM-7 anti-aircraft missiles are inaccurate...."

## U.S. GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN:

Newsweek Periscope, 26 December 1983: "Still, officials in Washington do not intend to increase U.S. covert aid significantly. 'They seem to be doing very well with what they've got,' says one."

Selig Harrison, Washington Post, 29 December 1983: "'Afghanistan is gone,' a high American intelligence official told me recently, 'but we will make the Russians pay' by encouraging the Afghan resistance indefinitely."

Jack Anderson, Diplomatic Digest, 12 October 1983: "Some members of Congress are dissatisfied with the quality of covert American aid going to the anti-Soviet guerrillas in Afghanistan. And a recent secret session with Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger did little to cheer up House critics of the undercover aid program. Insiders say there may soon be a move on Capitol Hill to make aid to the rebels open and aboveboard--and more effective."

## U.N. INDIRECT NEGOTIATIONS:

Richard Bernstein, New York Times, 24 November 1983, p. A24: [The General Assembly voted 116 to 20 with 17 abstentions on 23 November for a resolution calling for the Soviets to withdraw their forces from Afghanistan. Ed.] "Even as the Afghan debate took place, however, diplomats here were saying that the chances of a diplomatic success through the world body were deteriorating."

Neue Zuericher Zeitung, 29 January 1983: "The Soviet government views Afghanistan as a country already irrevocably integrated into the system of socialist states...and that drilling activities would be expanded 'from 1982 to 1990.'" [Information taken from official internal papers of the Central Asia Director for the Soviet Ministry of Geology, Okhrimiyuk, a close friend of Brezhnev's who was captured by the mujahideen in 1981 and then shot after the Soviets refused to exchange prisoners for his release. Ed.]

Senator Paul Tsongas, Congressional Record, 6 October 1983: [From his speech introducing the "effective material support" resolution for the Afghan resistance. Ed.] "The Soviets have not yet been persuaded that they should withdraw their forces from Afghanistan."

## AFGHAN UNIFICATION:

Jacques Buob, L'Express, 23 December 1983: "In the Panjshir, Massoud; in the north, Zabiullah; in the east, Djalaledin; in the center, Djaglan; in the west, Ismael. The five commanders of the interior are going to unite their forces."

UPI, 20 January 1984: "The summit (Islamic summit, Casablanca, Morocco) also was addressed by Rauf Denktash...and Mojahideen leader Burhanuddin Rabbani. The two men attended as observers." [Rabbani, leader of Jamiat-i-Islami has generally stayed between the ideological differences separating the fundamentalist and moderate resistance alliances, and was chosen by Pakistan President Zia ul-Huq as the resistance representative. Ed.]

28 December 1983: Newspapers worldwide



carried articles on demonstrations the day before protesting the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. In Washington, D.C., 1200 demonstrators listened to speeches by Farouk Azam, political advisor of the moderate Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen, Mahlavi Fazli, Refugee Director for Harakat-i-Enqilabi Islami, and Massoud Khalili, political advisor of Jamiat-i-Islami.

IN BRIEF:

Paris Domestic Service, 28 December 1983 and Reuters, 25 December 1983: "Radio Free Kabul resumed broadcasts to Afghanistan from an undisclosed location north of Kabul."

Cord Meyer, Field Newspapers, 2 September 1983: "Most frustrating for Soviet commanders has been the improved capability of the guerrillas to avoid pitched battles or heavy casualties....[T]he guerrillas learn in advance about Russian search and destroy missions and quietly fade into the mountains only to emerge to strike selectively at isolated camps and outposts." [Analyzing a shift in Soviet military tactics. Ed.]

Washington Post 18 January 1984, p. A22: "Afghan guerrillas recently captured 18 Soviet soldiers, 12 in Mazari Sharif and 6 in Kabul." [Resistance sources note that the number of live Soviet POWs has increased to over 150 from 9 since 1981. Ed.]

Reuters, 15 January 1984: "The Salang road tunnel on the one major route between the Soviet Union and Kabul is used only during the day for fear of Afghan guerrilla attacks, the Soviet Army newspaper Krasnaya Zvezda (Red Star) reported today."

On behalf of American Aid for Afghans, Don Weidenweber will personally deliver 2000 pairs of boots to Ahmad Shah Massoud in the Panjshir Valley this February. In raising the funds necessary to purchase the boots, Weidenweber was assisted by Sayed J. Hussein of the Federation for American Afghan Action, who matched all donations.

# AFGHANISTAN MEDIA

carried articles on demonstrations the day before protesting the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. In Washington, D.C., 1200 demonstrators gathered for a demonstration at the National Academy of Sciences and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Mujibdeen, Mahavi Farid, Refugee Director for Harkat-i-Islami, and Massoud Farid, political advisor of Jamiat-i-Islami, were in the audience. IN BRIEF: The article was published in the 18 December 1980 issue of the magazine. It was at the time of the magazine's first issue, but the magazine did not appear until the issue of March 1981. The article was published in the magazine in the issue of March 1981. The article was published in the magazine in the issue of March 1981. The article was published in the magazine in the issue of March 1981. The article was published in the magazine in the issue of March 1981.

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