

ELIZABETH G. WEYMOUTH

4 APR 1986

Dear Mr. Lauder,  
Thank you for your help  
with my recent trip. I  
wanted you to see the  
results. (over)

Please thank Mr. Tuller for  
his time and his wisdom.  
I had a fascinating trip and  
met almost everyone in  
Pakistan.

See you soon, I hope - Bill Wymore

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Mrs. Elizabeth Graham Weymouth

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# OPINION

Los Angeles Times

Sunday, April 6, 1986

art V

## The Afghan Resisters in a Holy War

### Testimonies of Battle, Torture

By Lally Weymouth

ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN

**P**ir Syed Gailani used to be a religious leader in Afghanistan. That was before the Soviets invaded his country in 1979 to impose a regime led by Babrak Karmal. Now Gailani is a leader of one of seven Afghan resistance groups that have been fighting the Soviets for the last six years. Although President Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan recently told me that he believes the Soviets may be genuinely interested in reaching a political solution to the war in Afghanistan and withdrawing their troops, Gailani doesn't believe the Soviets have such benign intentions.

He explained: "We consider the rumors of Soviet interest in troop withdrawal from Afghanistan a game to attract U.S. attention, so the U.S. might say, 'OK, why all this assistance, if the Soviets will pull out?'"

Gailani met me in Islamabad, wearing a blue Western suit, his son Hamad sat at his side and helped with translation. His real base is the Pakistani town of Peshawar, where *mujahedeen* resistance leaders and fighters gather when they are not inside Afghanistan.

Gailani fled to Pakistan before the war, when the pro-Soviet forces began their campaign in advance of the 1979 Soviet invasion. At that point, he took up what he calls the "holy jihad"—the war to oust the Soviets from Afghanistan. "My religious duty," he said, "is to save the nation from the yoke of communism. They are anti-Islam, and we are anti-communists."

The only hope for Afghanistan, according to Gailani, is for the West to increase aid to the *mujahedeen*. "If military pressure were imposed on a broader scale against the Soviets," Gailani argued, "then they might seriously consider withdrawing. We see signs they are tired. By increasing the aid, the time to a withdrawal might be shortened."

Although Zia has argued against such escalation, some U.S. analysts agree with Gailani. Sen. Gordon J. Humphrey (R-N.H.) is a leading advocate of increased assistance to Afghan resistance.

The main military problem for them, Gailani said, is the Soviet mastery of the skies, allowing them to use their air force with devastating effect, killing *mujahedeen* and bombing near the Pakistan

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border to prevent supplies from reaching Afghanistan. "Their supremacy is in the air," he said, and to counter it, "the West must increase the number of sophisticated weapons it gives to the *mujahedeen*—anti-aircraft and anti-tank weapons."

Gailani doesn't believe Soviet-inspired propaganda claiming that the United States and the Soviet Union will strike a deal on Afghanistan over the heads of the *mujahedeen*. "We don't believe the Administration would exclude the freedom fighters or isolate them in a regional agreement with the U.S.S.R.," he said.

"If you isolate the *mujahedeen* today, you compromise Afghanistan. Tomorrow, the Soviets will step in somewhere else like Pakistan or Iran. We are not their final destination. Afghanistan is just a bridge for their achievements," he warned.

"It is our faith and our strong belief that have kept us fighting," Gailani said. He pointed out that the Soviets have used every means to break the will of the resistance—mines, chemical weapons, everything except the atomic bomb. He told of Afghans being buried alive with bulldozers brought in to cover them with dirt. He told of torture, of small children having their intestines torn out.

What political solution would satisfy the resistance? "We won't compromise," the Afghan leader said. "We won't be a second Finland. We were and will remain a nonaligned country. A Soviet-controlled country will not satisfy us."

Gailani's perception is that while the Soviets are talking more softly, they are fighting more brutally and effectively. His view is shared by other *mujahedeen* leaders, including Dr. Shah Rukh Gran who met me in Peshawar.

Peshawar is the last stop on the way from Pakistan to Afghanistan—the gateway for both men and supplies. It's also the arrival point for Afghan refugees fleeing Soviet terror. Peshawar is the Beirut of the Afghan war—but the war is

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Lally Weymouth is a contributing editor to Opinion.

# Afghans: Resisters in a Holy War

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being fought in another country and there is an absence of a world press corps to cover the battles. Pakistan is remote and Peshawar is particularly remote; in this Islamic city a visitor rarely sees a woman.

Gran, a military commander with the Gailani group, was taking a few weeks off from the war. He said the Soviets have been fighting harder during the last year. "They are able to replace their casualties and get more troops. They have supplies. We're doing our best, but if they lose one tank, they can bring in two more. If we lose one gun, we may not be able to replace it within a year."

Although dedicated to the struggle, Gran is worried about time being on the side of the Soviets. The *mujahedeen* may be worn down, he cautioned, or the Pakistani opposition might come to power and cut off aid to the resistance. He dropped the bravado of most resistance fighters and said simply, "If you know there is hope, you have morale. If you start hitting your head against a wall and find it's hopeless, you start to lose morale."

Echoing Gailani, Gran said the *mujahedeen* urgently need anti-aircraft weapons, plus mine detectors, clothing and training. Increased Western aid, he said, would at the very least make the war expensive for the Soviets.

Gran practiced medicine in Kabul before the Soviet troops invaded. He continued his practice after 1979 but worked after-hours for the resistance—a dangerous pursuit. His house was once searched for weapons. He only avoided arrest in 1983 because of a tip from a sympathizer in the secret police and fled to Pakistan.

He said he could go to the West and practice medicine, a profession he loves, and marry his fiancée, a woman who lives in Atlanta. But, he explained, "I've decided to stay and fight. I worked hard to become a doctor. I quit because I wanted to gain freedom for my country—because I couldn't see the Soviets inside Afghanistan."

"If Russian soldiers started to walk in New York and kill your parents," he told me, "then you would start to fight for freedom. I've seen people tortured in prison—needles put between their nails and their skin. I've treated a person tortured by electric shock as well as a girl injected with something to cause pain in her joints. I've seen people who've lost their minds through torture."

Does religion motivate him more strongly than political ideology? It's a mixture of the two, he said: "Islam and nationalism are mixed. They are communists, so we fight them from a religious point of view. Moreover, they have invaded our country. It's freedom and religious beliefs. It's also a revenge for those who have been killed, for families who have suffered. They didn't have any right to take over our country."

In the Afghan Surgical Hospital at Peshawar lay wounded members of an extremist resistance group with ties to Iran. One whose arm had been amputated told me he wanted to return to Afghanistan. "Why should I not fight?" he asked. An injured 24-year-old put it this way: "I don't bother about my life. I want to offer my head." Speaking in Farsi, he called for better arms, saying it is impossible to shoot down Soviet planes with rifles. Several days later the United States reportedly decided that anti-aircraft Stinger missiles would be made available to the Afghan resistance.

Although such arms are welcome, the young fighter told me he saw no difference between the Soviet Union and the United States. He claimed the United States is supporting Muslim freedom fighters only because they are anti-Soviet and he accused America of victimizing Muslims in other parts of the globe: "In Palestine, it is the U.S. which is supporting the Jews to kill Muslims."

The Nasir Bagh Refugee Camp on the outskirts of Peshawar is where some of the 3 million Afghan refugees are housed. Afghan determination is being taught there to the young. About 30 children, ages six to eight, stood in a classroom. Their teacher said she was teaching them "that they came to Pakistan due to the atrocities of Soviet forces. The Soviets are irreligious—their enemy."

A young girl stood in front of the class and led the others in singing: "Give me my gun. I'm going to the jihad. Children of martyrs that have many hopes. Let's win our objectives by going into the field."

To meet Gailani and his allies is to encounter a kind of fanatical determination almost impossible to imagine by Western standards. For the last six years this resolve has enabled the poorly armed and ill-clad *mujahedeen* to take on the Soviet army with considerable success. How it will end is impossible to predict.

Burhannuddin Rabbani, an Afghan political leader, says the Afghans will fight to the last man. On the other hand, Syed Bahaouddin Majrooh, director of the Afghan Information Center and a knowledgeable observer of the war, warns that with the recent Soviet escalation in the field, "unless Western assistance is increased, the resistance is doomed to go down."

Hamad Gailani told me that Gran would soon return "inside." Did Gailani worry about Gran's safety? No, he replied; a *mujahedeen* who dies, dies for millions and lives on in the minds of the others. Yet Hamad himself confessed that he had cried for friends who had been killed: "We have hearts, you know." □

# OUTLOOK

Commentary and Opinion

F2 SUNDAY, MARCH 23, 1986

## Zia Says Moscow Is Ready to Talk

Pakistan's Leader Wants Negotiations Over Afghanistan, Not More Covert Aid

By Lally Weymouth

ISLAMABAD— President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan says that the Soviet Union is seriously interested in exploring a political settlement to the six-year-old war in Afghanistan. "We are in touch with them directly and indirectly, and from all counts, the signals we are receiving are that the Soviet Union wishes to withdraw," Zia said in an interview at his palace here last week.

The Pakistani leader explained Moscow's Afghanistan problem this way: "Inside Afghanistan, if you look at it from the Russian point of view, things are not going so well. I'm sure they can't afford to suffer as many casualties as they are suffering today. So, from that point of view, they also appear to be keen to resolve the issue of Afghanistan. I'm talking from my own personal knowledge, and from the exchange of views directly and indirectly that we have been receiving and conveying to Soviet authorities themselves."

President Zia's hopeful view of Soviet intentions marks a change in his previous line of opinion. Though his tone was cautious during the interview, he seemed to be signaling Washington that he thinks it's time for negotiations over Afghanistan, rather than an escalation of the covert war—as the U.S. officials are urging.

Many U.S. officials question Zia's optimistic assessment of the Soviet peace feelers. They argue that the Soviets, far from thinking of withdrawal, are digging in for a long war. And they predict that rather than a negotiated settlement, the most likely prospect in Afghanistan is a protracted military stalemate. One Pentagon analyst describes talk of Soviet withdrawal as "a lot of hogwash. They intend to stay."

Even some Pakistanis are skeptical of Zia's assessment. "Let's be very frank. The Russians didn't come in to withdraw," said Pakistan's conservative new prime minister, Mohammed Khan Junejo, in an interview here last week. He added: "I agree with the people who say the Soviets will not withdraw."

Zia views the Afghanistan conflict in strategic terms. He reached for a well-worn analogy to explain why he believes the Soviets originally invaded Afghanistan. Pointing to



PRESIDENT ZIA  
"... The insurgency is a tactic."

Pakistan, he said: "If they move here over the bodies of Pakistanis, they are at the mouth of the Gulf, and who ever controls the Straits of Hormuz controls the Gulf. In one move they have threatened to secure the Straits of Hormuz, encircle Iraq, and tell the Chinese, 'We are on your flank.' So strategically speaking, this is vital."

Yet Zia questioned the view held by some American officials that the U.S. should increase its aid to the Afghan resistance fighters, the mujaheddin, to force the Soviets to accept a political settlement.

"To expect that the greater the insurgency, the less the time the Soviets will spend in Afghanistan is wrong," he said. "You've got to find a political solution to the problem. The insurgency is a tactic. It will help find a political solution, but it will not bring about a solution. So, if anybody's thinking that the greater the heat of the insurgency, the easier the solution, he is wrong. The freedom fighters must continue their effort at the present level."

Zia didn't hide his concern that an escalation of Western aid to the resistance could bring attendant dangers for Pakistan. Pakistan now is home for more than 3 million Afghan refugees. Moreover, Pakistan pro-

vides a base for the resistance fighters—and a route for supplies and arms to enter into Afghanistan. Thus far, said Zia, Soviet incursions into Pakistan have been minor. But if further provoked, the Soviets could cause more trouble.

To date, Pakistan's president has played the political game with considerable skill, minimizing the East-West aspects of the Afghan struggle, while enabling the resistance to receive covert aid. The strongest evidence of his success is the most recent United Nations vote on Afghanistan, where 122 out of 159 members voted to condemn the Soviet invasion. He summed up the delicate Pakistani dilemma by saying, "The question is at what temperature does the kettle boil? If it's too high, the lid will fly off."

Zia outlined what kind of political solution would be acceptable to Pakistan. "The Soviet Union must withdraw," he said. "The refugees must return and it would be left to the people of Afghanistan to decide what kind of a government they want. We grant the Soviet Union that a superpower cannot tolerate a hostile neighbor." But Zia noted ironically that Afghanistan was pro-Soviet and hostile to Pakistan long before Soviet troops marched in.

Pakistanis are especially fearful of a two-front war: Afghanistan, a battleground for the last six years, is on one border, and India, Pakistan's traditional enemy, is on the other.

The India problem has eased slightly. Zia regards Rajiv Gandhi as a major improvement over his late mother, Indira. "We have found a great difference," he said. "We have already made good progress, and I hope it continues." But he cautioned that Rajiv isn't likely to alter India's close relations with the Soviet Union. "It's not possible," he said. "If you analyze the Indian position, you will see that their entire military is dependent on the resources of the Soviet Union.... Even if the leadership desires to change, it's impossible."

Zia continues to regard the United States as an ally, but he is pragmatic. "One must not expect too much, even from one's wife," he said. "Then you're not disappointed. If Pakistan starts expecting that the U.S. will bring American troops and fight both against India and the Russians, the Pakistanis are expecting too much. If the Pakistanis are expecting that the U.S. will open the gates of Fort Knox and throw all the gold for Pakistan, it's also expecting too

Lally Weymouth writes regularly about foreign affairs for *The Los Angeles Times Syndicate*.

much. We should expect from the U.S. only what we think is necessary and essential and then we will not be disappointed."

Zia is now preoccupied with events in his own country where, after nine years, martial law has been lifted and democracy is coming in stages. First, there has been an election of a national assembly, which has begun to function like a parliament. Zia has also appointed the new prime minister, Junejo, spreading executive power slightly while keeping for himself the posts of president and army chief of staff.

Analysts here and in Washington debate whether Zia can control the process of democratization he has begun. Despite widespread speculation that his recent power-sharing moves came under pressure from the U.S. Congress, Zia asserts that he came up with the plan himself. Others are now saying that Zia initially may have thought he could limit the powers of the assembly. Once the process was launched, they say, Zia found he couldn't stop it short of reimposing martial law—a trump card he still holds.

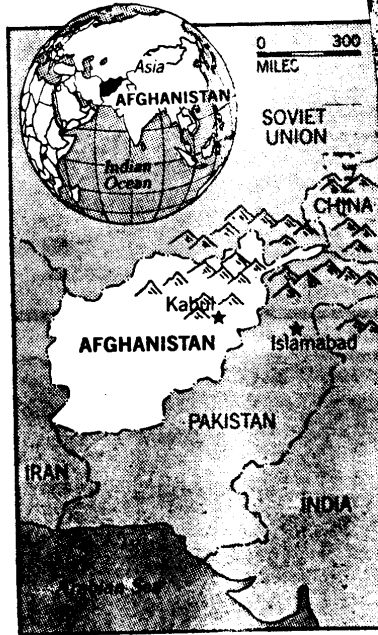
Today, much day-to-day government business has already shifted to the new prime minister. The fact that Junejo, rather than Zia, attended Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme's funeral was read here as a sign that he is accumulating more and more power. There are rumors that Zia will step down as army chief of staff by the end of the year, and become a civilian president. He insisted, however, that he isn't yet ready to do this.

Junejo offers a blunt explanation of the division of power between him and Zia. "Power has shifted," he said firmly last week. "Fewer lies with the chief executive of the country"—meaning Junejo. Asked how it was decided that he, rather than Zia, should go to the Palme funeral, Junejo explained: "I told him, 'I'm going.'"

Some American analysts worry that Pakistan may be heading toward a period of internal instability. Some skeptics even argue that Pakistan isn't a real country but—somewhat like Lebanon—a collection of sects that is united only by its army.

Without the army running things, these skeptics say, the Pashtoon, the people that dominate the Northwest Frontier Province, might be recruited into a separatist movement fueled by the Soviets. The same separatist feelings might also arouse the Baluch and the Sindis, two sects that have felt underrepresented in a nation dominated by the Punjabi.

But Pakistanis optimistic about the democratic process, such as Fakhar Imam, the speaker of the assembly, say that democracy is the only hope for Pakistan—the only way to defuse the battle that could erupt for the hearts and minds of the Pashtoon.



MAP BY CLARICE BORDO—THE WASHINGTON POST

Many questions remain for Pakistan during its current, bumpy transition to democracy. Power sharing may already have undercut Zia's tough policy toward the Afghanistan war, for example, despite Zia's claims to the contrary. When power lay solely in Zia's hands, it was easier to run a covert war. Now there is a prime minister who must respond to questions, and who must take into account the resentment felt by many Pakistanis at the presence of 3 million Afghan refugees, drawing resources from an already impoverished nation.

That's why Zia is scared of what U.S. officials believe is the likeliest outcome in Afghanistan—a bloody stalemate. His options are limited. He fears that escalating the covert war could bring Soviet bombers over the Pakistani city of Peshawar. He also knows that halting aid to the mujaheddine would leave the Red Army on his border, where it could threaten to dismember Pakistan. He talks hopefully of negotiations, but he's an experienced enough strategist to know that the Soviets aren't likely to withdraw voluntarily except under the most favorable terms.

And that's why Zia speaks of Afghanistan as everyone's problem. "I don't call this a regional problem, I call this a global problem," he said. "Because if you accept in Afghanistan that might is right, that a superpower can walk in and subjugate a country, then we are leaving very little for posterity and the free world will have nothing to offer."

Los Angeles Times

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# OPINION

## Zia Says Soviets Seek Afghanistan Pullout

By Lally Weymouth

ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN

**P**resident Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan, during a lengthy interview at his palace last week, said the Soviet Union appears to be seriously interested in exploring a political settlement to the six-year-old war in Afghanistan.

Zia, in office now for nearly nine years, also spoke about Pakistan's relations with India, about the Middle East and of the progress of democracy in his own nation.

Unlike some Washington analysts and officials, Zia believes the Soviets may want to pull out of the country they invaded in 1979; he bases this on more than educated guesses.

"We are in touch with them directly and indirectly," he said, "and from all accounts, the signals we are receiving are that the Soviet Union wishes to withdraw."

Referring to a recent speech in which Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev called Afghanistan "a bleeding wound," Zia said, "Let us believe what the Russians say. It can't be any worse than it is now."

Zia added, "Inside Afghanistan, if you look at it from the Russian point of view, things are not going so well. I'm sure they can't afford to suffer as many casualties as they are suffering today. So, from that point of view, they also appear to be keen to resolve the issue of Afghanistan."

Zia, reaching for a well-worn atlas to help explain why he believes the Soviets originally invaded Afghanistan, dismissed

Soviet claims that they were invited in by a friendly power.

"It was a fear of a neighboring country not being friendly," he said, "and also acquiring a very important strategic position. If they move here [he pointed on the map to Pakistan] over the bodies of Pakistanis, they are at the mouth of the gulf, and whoever controls the Strait of Hormuz, controls the gulf. In one move they have threatened to secure the Strait of Hormuz, encircle Iran and tell the Chinese, 'We are on your flank.' So strategically speaking, this is ideal."

In Washington there is continuing debate over whether it is necessary to increase aid to the mujahedeen, the Afghan resistance fighters. Those who favor an escalation of aid argue that it is necessary to inflict greater casualties on the Soviets to force a political settlement.

Zia disagrees. "To expect that the greater the insurgency, the less the time the Soviets will spend in Afghanistan, is wrong," he said. "You've got to find a political solution to the problem. The insurgency is a tactic. It will help find a political solution, but it will not bring about a solution. So, if anybody's thinking that the greater the heat of the insurgency, the easier the solution, he is wrong. The freedom fighters must continue their effort at the present level."

Zia did not hide his concern that an escalation of Western aid to the resistance could bring attendant dangers for Pakistan, which is now home for more than 3 million Afghan refugees. Moreover, Pakistan provides a base for the resistance fighters—and a route for supplies and

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# Zia: Soviets Looking for Afghanistan Exit

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to enter Afghanistan. Thus far, said Zia, Soviet incursions into Pakistan have been minimal. But if further provoked, the Soviets could cause trouble.

To date, Pakistan's president has played the political game with considerable skill, minimizing the East-West aspects of the Afghan struggle while enabling the resistance to receive covert aid. The strongest evidence of his success is the most recent United Nations vote, where 122 out of 159 members voted to condemn the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

"The question is at what temperature the kettle boil?" Zia said. "If it's too hot, the lid will fly off."

Zia outlined his idea of an acceptable settlement: "The Soviet Union must withdraw," he said.

"The refugees must return and the rights be left to the people of Afghanistan. We grant the Soviet Union that a superpower cannot tolerate a hostile neighbor." But he noted ironically that Pakistan was pro-Soviet and hostile to Afghanistan long before Soviet troops entered.

Pakistanis are especially fearful of a two-front war: Afghanistan, a battlefield for the last six years, to the northwest, and India, Pakistan's traditional enemy, to the southeast.

But recently, Pakistani-Indian relations seemed to be improving, with the successful meeting in December in India between Zia and Rajiv Gandhi. Despite the fact that Gandhi recently postponed a visit to Pakistan—claiming that normalization was not proceeding at a satisfactory pace—Rajiv is a major improvement over his mother, Indira, according to Zia. "We have already made good progress. I hope it continues," he said.

As for India's close relations with the Soviet Union, Zia predicted there will be no change. "It's not possible," he said, "if



Pakistan's Zia ul-Haq

**'Let us believe what the Russians say. It can't be any worse than it is now.'**

you analyze the Indian position, you will see that their entire military is dependent on the resources of the Soviet Union. . . . Even if the leadership desires to change, it's impossible."

Zia continues to regard the United States as an ally, but he is pragmatic. "One must not expect too much, even from one's wife," he said. "Then you're

not disappointed. If Pakistan starts expecting that the U.S. will bring American troops and fight both against India and the Russians, the Pakistanis are expecting too much. If the Pakistanis are expecting that the U.S. will open the gates of Fort Knox and throw all the gold for Pakistan, it's also expecting too much. We should expect from the U.S. only what we think is necessary and essential and then we will not be disappointed."

The president discussed the fact that there seems to be much anti-American feeling in Pakistan. He said Pakistanis found it hard to accept that in certain areas, such as Israel, U.S. and Pakistani interests diverged, while in other areas they coincided.

For example, Pakistan would not consider following Egypt's lead and open relations with Israel. "We will be the last to recognize Israel," Zia said. "Even before Pakistan came into being, it always supported the cause of Palestine. The Palestinians must get a land of their own."

U.S. experts, concerned with the danger of nuclear proliferation, have charged that Pakistan is doing everything short of actually detonating a bomb—a device that has been labeled the "Islamic bomb." Zia repeated his oft-stated position on the subject: "Pakistan has no intentions, neither the desire, nor the equipment to build nuclear technology for military purposes." Asked about Pakistan's acquisition of krytons, used to trigger a nuclear device, Zia said they had other uses. Nuclear experts say this is not the case.

Zia is now preoccupied with events in his own country where, after nine years, martial law has been lifted and democracy is coming in stages. First, there has been an election of a national assembly, which has begun to function like a parliament. Zia has also appointed a prime minister, Mohammed Khan Junejo, leaving to himself the positions of president and army chief of staff.

Today much of the day-to-day govern-

ment business has already shifted to the new prime minister. The fact that Junejo, rather than Zia, attended Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme's funeral was read here as a sign that he is accumulating more and more power. There are rumors that Zia will step down as army chief of staff by the end of the year and become a civilian president. But he said he is not ready to do that yet.

Pakistan is not a homogeneous nation but one of sects, united by the army. Without the army running things, skeptics say, the Pushtun, the people that dominate in the northwest frontier, could perhaps be more attracted to a separatist movement fostered by the Soviets. The same might also one day prove to be true for both the Baluchi and the Sindhi, sects that have felt underrepresented in a nation run and dominated by Punjabis.

Meanwhile, those Pakistanis optimistic about the democratic process, such as Fakhar Imam, the Speaker of the assembly, say that democracy is the only hope for Pakistan—the only way to counter the battle that could perhaps erupt for the hearts and minds of the Pushtun.

These questions remain for Pakistan. Democracy is still in a transitional stage. When power lay solely in the hands of one man, Zia, it was easier to run a covert war. Now there is a prime minister who must respond to questions. He must take into account resentment felt by Pakistanis at the presence of 3 million Afghan refugees, draining resources from an already impoverished nation.

But these questions are not of concern only to Pakistan. Zia emphasized the importance of the Afghan situation: "It is the concern of the entire globe. I don't call this a regional problem, I call this a global problem. Because if you accept in Afghanistan that might is right, that a superpower can walk in and subjugate a country, then we are leaving very little for posterity and the Free World will have nothing to offer."