

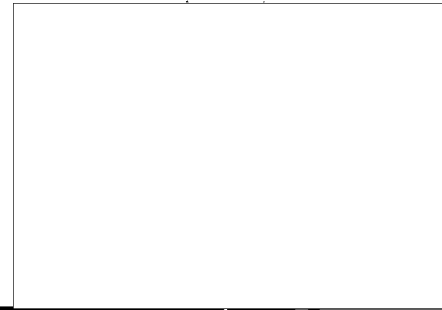
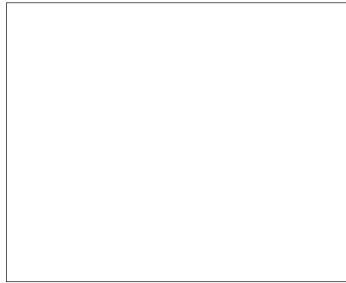


Directorate of Intelligence

25X1

~~Top Secret~~

25X1

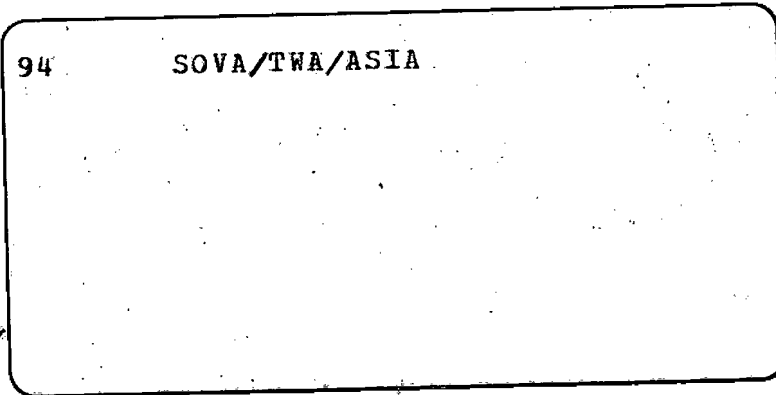


Afghanistan Situation Report



25X1

6 May 1986



94

SOVA/TWA/ASIA

~~Top Secret~~

NESA M 86-20067JX
SOVA M 86-20044JX

6 May 1986

25X1

Codv 094

Page Denied



25X1

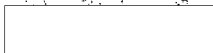
AFGHANISTAN SITUATION REPORT



25X1

CONTENTS

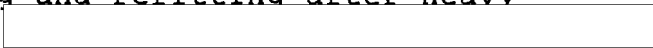
COMBAT ACTIVITY WINDS DOWN



1

25X1

Fighting was at a reduced level in Afghanistan last week, probably in part because Afghan units were resting and refitting after heavy spring fighting.



25X1



25X1

AFGHAN REFUGEES IN IRAN



1

25X1

The Iranian Government has been forced recently to request international aid to support the some 1.8 million Afghan refugees in Iran because of falling oil prices and the cost of the war with Iraq.



25X1

PRAISE AND PROMOTIONS FOR THE AFGHAN ARMY



3

25X1

The Afghan and Soviet media are giving public praise to the Afghan Army for its recent successes in Paktia Province.



25X1

IN BRIEF

3

PERSPECTIVE

NEW PARTY CHIEF IN AFGHANISTAN



6

25X1

Former intelligence chief Najibullah has been appointed to replace Babrak Karmal as head of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. His new role probably will not enhance the regime's public image or improve Kabul's ability to prosecute the war.

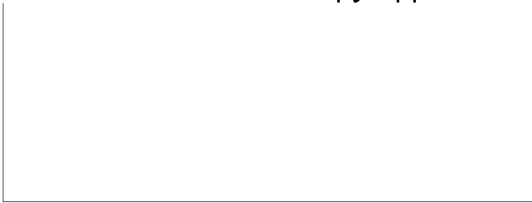


25X1



6 May 1986
NESAM 86-20067JX
SOVA M 86-20044JX

25X1



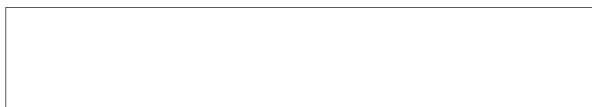
103 080026 101.00111 080118 0808Z

This document is prepared weekly by the Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis and the Office of Soviet Analysis.

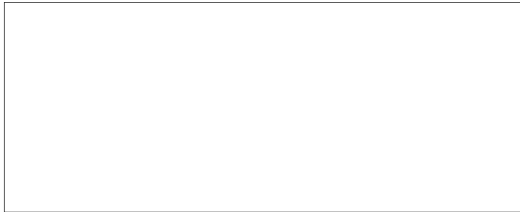


[Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

edf de non...
word ale...
ciding...
and...
1986



6 May 1986
NEA M 86-20067JX
SOVA M 86-20044JX



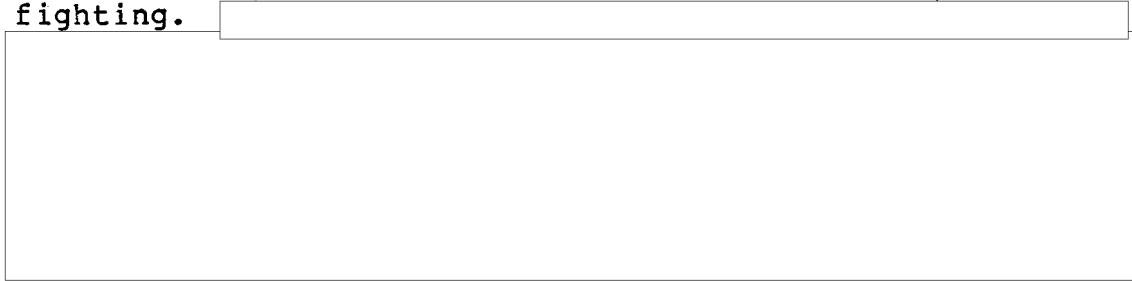
25X1

COMBAT ACTIVITY WINDS DOWN

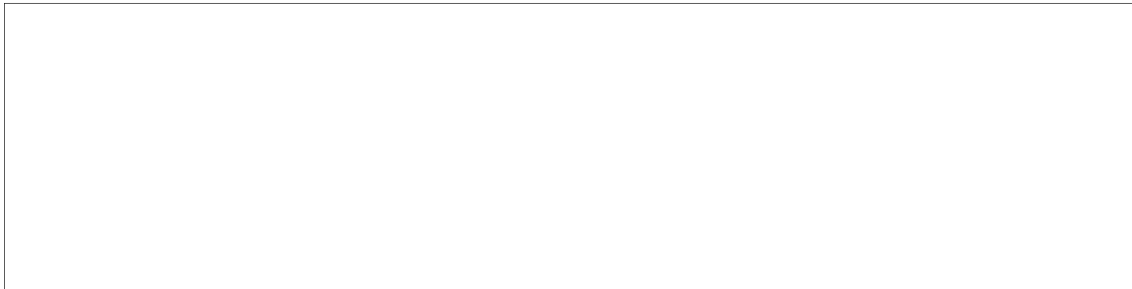


25X1

Combat activity throughout Afghanistan was at a reduced level last week, primarily because of the eighth anniversary celebrations of the Communist coup and units resting and refitting after intense early spring fighting.



25X1
25X1



25X1

AFGHAN REFUGEES IN IRAN



25X1

Over 1.8 million Afghan refugees--1.1 million since the 1979 Soviet invasion--have settled in Iran, according to recent official Iranian estimates. About 10 percent of the refugees are received in centers, while the majority have a more uncertain position as illegal aliens. The Iranian Government--which had previously refused international aid for the refugees--will receive \$11 million this year from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and has also sought aid from the World Food Program (WFP).

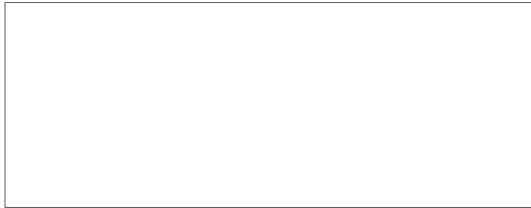


25X1

COMMENT: Deteriorating economic conditions in Iran--caused by falling oil prices and the cost of the Iran-Iraq war--have forced Tehran to overlook its fear of outside interference and seek international aid for the Afghan refugees. The refugees' position in Iran probably will become more difficult because of high



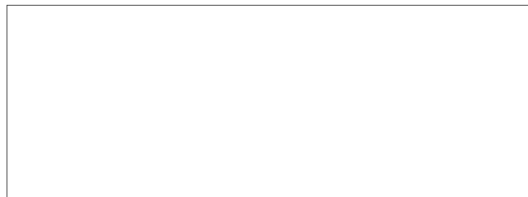
25X1



800452 (545424) 10-85



6 May 1986
 NESAM 86-20067JX
 SOVA M 86-20044JX



25X1

unemployment and growing shortages of consumer goods. Tehran probably wants to stop the flow of refugees into Iran but cannot, given the long open border.

25X1

PRAISE AND PROMOTIONS FOR THE AFGHAN ARMY

25X1

The Afghan and Soviet media are playing up recent Army successes in Paktia Province. In a speech given in Khowst, Defense Minister Major-General Nazar Muhammad praised the army for its destruction of the nearby insurgent camp in Zhawar Killi. Kabul-based soldiers who participated in the attack were greeted on their return by government officials including Prime Minister Keshtmand. The Soviets reported in Krasnaya Zvezda how Afghan Army units cleared the insurgents' supply base. In a related move, the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan recommended expediting promotions for eligible personnel in certain military specialties and for some who have participated in combat over the past year.

25X1

COMMENT: The extensive publicity and unusual promotions come at a time when the Soviet Union is pressing the Afghan Army to assume more combat responsibilities and are probably intended to boost army morale.

25X1

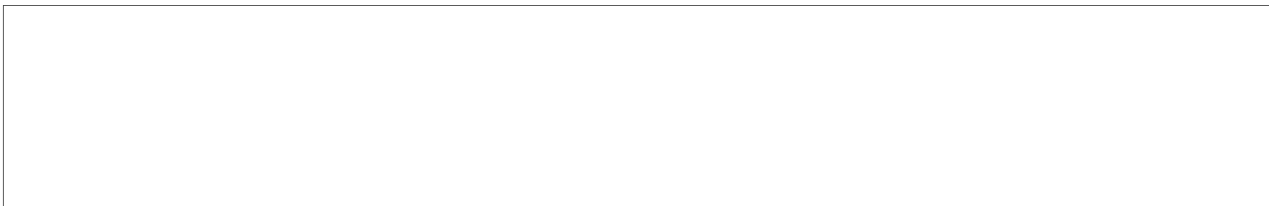
IN BRIEF

-- [Redacted] Soviet and Afghan forces are destroying houses, farms, and orchards to create a security belt around Qandahar. When completed, the belt will have some 37 squad-size outposts linked together with minefields. The belt will hamper insurgent attacks in Qandahar and make it more difficult for insurgents to enter and exit the city.

25X1

25X1

25X1



-- The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), which will meet in Moscow in mid-May, has planned an "Afghan solidarity day". [Redacted] the

25X1




6 May 1986
NESAM 86-20067JX
SOVA M 86-20044JX


25X1




25X1

delegation from Mali has been instructed by the Malian Government not to participate in those activities because of Malian neutrality on the Afghan issue. 

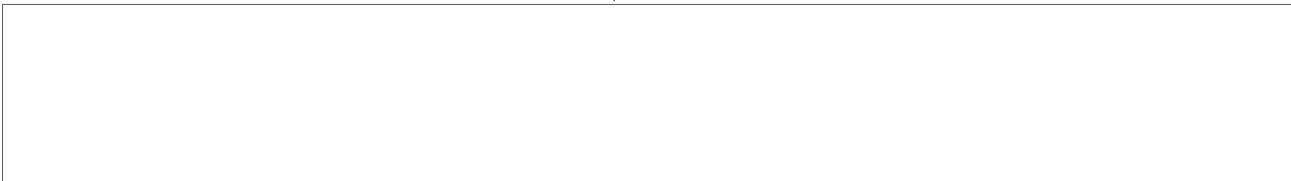
25X1

-- Iranian media, in a commentary on Najibullah's recent appointment as General-Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, labeled the new leader a "KGB pawn." The Iranians charged that Moscow's decision to remove his predecessor Babrak Karmal is an indication of a "fundamental instability" in the Soviet policy toward Afghanistan. 


25X1

-- Polish activists in Warsaw chanted "hands off Afghanistan" during pro-Solidarity Front demonstrations on 1 May. The protest was broken up by Polish security forces, and two British journalists were arrested. 

25X1



25X1

-- According to an Indian official in Addis Ababa, Ethiopian leader Mengistu last week expressed concern about the Soviet role in possibly ousting Babrak Karmal. The replacement of Karmal as Afghan Communist Party chief on 4 May probably will increase Mengistu's disquietude over Soviet intentions toward him. 

25X1



6 May 1986
NESA M 86-20067JX
SOVA M 86-20044JX

25X1

Page Denied

25X1

25X1

25X1

PERSPECTIVE**NEW PARTY CHIEF IN AFGHANISTAN**

25X1

Former intelligence chief Najibullah's appointment as head of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) to replace Babrak Karmal will not improve the regime's ability to prosecute the war and could aggravate factionalism. For now, Karmal remains as chairman of the Revolutionary Council--the regime's executive branch--and as a member of the PDPA Politburo. Najibullah's good relations with the Soviets while head of the intelligence service suggest he will be a compliant partner, although his background probably will reinforce the regime's image as a Soviet-controlled and narrowly based police state.

25X1

Unusual Activity in Kabul

Najibullah's appointment--publicly praised by Soviet leader Gorbachev--followed two days of substantially increased security measures and unusual military activity in Kabul. According to the US Embassy, Afghan troops--mostly unarmed--blocked off a large section of the capital around the presidential palace and key government buildings on 2 May. Soviet combat forces were observed at several points throughout the city on 3 May. Kabul airport was closed to civilians, and air activity over the city was unusually light.

25X1

Moscow probably had decided before Karmal's return to Kabul on 1 May that he should be replaced, but we do not know whether the Soviets intended this to occur immediately or whether events forced their hand. Moscow probably would have preferred to have avoided the public display of military power in Kabul associated with the changeover--and the appearance of instability in the regime that it conveyed--but may have felt compelled to make the switch because of a deterioration in Karmal's health, internal Afghan plotting, or a desire to have a leader more capable than Karmal of forcing unpopular policy choices upon a recalcitrant government and military establishment.

25X1

6 May 1986
 NESAM 86-20067JX
 SOVA M 86-20044JX

25X1

25X1

Up the Ladder

Najibullah's appointment in November 1985 as a Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) Central Committee gave him a much broader role in the regime and expanded his already considerable power. By overseeing the Ministries of Defense and Interior, as well as the Afghan intelligence service (KHAD), he was able to consolidate his control of all of the regime's security forces.

25X1

In addition, Najibullah's new position helped to give him broader experience in party affairs and increase his public visibility, already considerable for a secret police head. Moscow may have seen such expanded horizons as essential preparation for assuming the top post in the regime. Last year a Soviet diplomat in Kabul acknowledged the similarity between Najibullah's rise and Yuri Andropov's movement from KGB chief to party secretary to General Secretary.

25X1

The Man from KHAD

The new Secretary brings numerous professional, party, and personal assets to his position. As leader of KHAD since the Soviet invasion, Najibullah presided over the growth of the secret police into a powerful and feared organization, which has at times overshadowed the party itself. He also built a personal reputation for ruthlessness and relative competence.

25X1

Najibullah met daily with all of his major subordinates in order to maintain control. He worked to move trusted members of his Parchami wing of the PDPA into key positions and, when necessary, ignored the formal chain of command in order to bypass members of the rival Khalqi faction.

25X1

Najibullah adroitly balanced his own bid for domestic power with total acquiescence to Soviet control of his organization.

25X1

Najibullah has traveled frequently to the USSR for consultations. A fervent Communist, he has impressed those around him as fanatically pro-Soviet in

25X1

6 May 1986
 NESAM 86-20067JX
 SOVA M 86-20044JX

25X1

25X1

outlook. [redacted]

25X1

Parchamis and Other Strangers

Links to others in the PDPA hierarchy may have eased Najibullah's rise to power. As an early party activist--he was a student organizer for Karmal in the late 1960s--Najibullah has longstanding ties to most high-ranking members of the Parchami faction. His relations with Karmal, although not always smooth, were close. [redacted] Najibullah over the years as a friend, as well as a loyal political ally, of Karmal. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

Najibullah's links to other Parchami luminaries also go well back in the PDPA's turbulent history. Along with Nur Ahmad Nur, Anahita Ratebzad, Mahmud Baryalai, and Babrak Karmal, Najibullah was sent into ambassadorial exile by the Khalqis in 1978. He later traveled with Nur and Baryalai in Western Europe, recruiting supporters and plotting the overthrow of the Khalqis, [redacted] As the regime's chief emissary to Pashtun tribal leaders, Najibullah also worked closely with Solayman Laeq, the Minister of Nationalities and Tribal Affairs. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

His impressive personality should assist Najibullah in his new position. [redacted] determined, forceful, self-assured, and an excellent speaker. Najibullah is a hard worker who often sleeps in his office at night, [redacted] He also has displayed a flair for the dramatic: at a mass meeting of Defense Ministry employees in 1982, he read what he claimed was a letter from Gulbuddin Hekmatyar thanking dissident Khalqis for their assistance, [redacted]

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

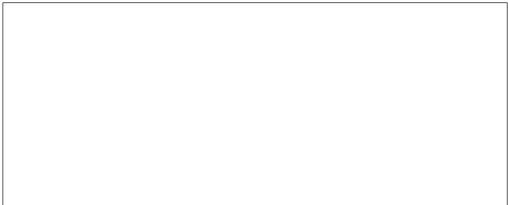
Problems Ahead?

Despite his many assets, Najibullah will have to overcome his reputation as violently anti-Khalqi to become the successful, effective leader the Soviets apparently want. [redacted] as of 1983, Najibullah became angry even at the mention of the Khalqi faction and refused to greet Khalqis at [redacted]

25X1

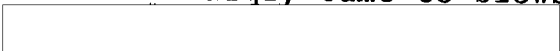
6 May 1986
 NESA M 86-20067JX
 SOVA M 86-20044JX

25X1



25X1

Politburo meetings. He and Khalqi leader Sayed Mohammad Gulabzoi pulled pistols on each other during a Revolutionary Council meeting in January 1983, and at a meeting of the same body in May 1984 he and Communications Minister Mohammad Aslam Watanjar, another Khalqi, came to blows,



25X1
25X1

In his efforts to mold the PDPA into a more effective governing body, Najibullah may also encounter resistance from the party's old guard. While the PDPA Politburo is hardly a Kremlin-style gerontocracy, seven of the 12 full and candidate members are a full decade older than the new Secretary and may resent his rapid advancement.



25X1

Outlook

The Soviets probably deemed Najibullah most capable of molding Afghan security forces and the PDPA into a more effective, cohesive unit. The Soviets probably hope such a new, improved regime would prove capable of shouldering a greater share of what they expect to be a long, grinding struggle--permitting, in effect, an "Afghanization" of the war.



25X1

The elevation of a former secret police head, in our view, will reinforce the regime's image as a Soviet-controlled and narrowly based police state, however. Najibullah's appointment is unlikely to draw back many of the Afghans who have fled the country over the past six years, and the Afghan resistance almost certainly views his accession to power as offering no improvement over Karmal.



25X1

Najibullah's accession will almost certainly complicate Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan and will not advance diplomatic efforts to reach a compromise solution to the war. Efforts to destabilize Pakistan can also be expected to continue with Najibullah's rise to power.



25X1
25X1

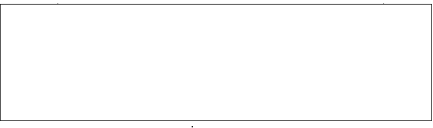


6 May 1986
NESAM 86-20067JX
SOVA M 86-20044JX

25X1

Top Secret

25X1



Top Secret