

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 ACDA-12 OMB-01 HA-05
EB-08 TRSE-00 AID-05 /140 W
-----069861 030839Z /10

P R 030700Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9402
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USUN NEW YORK 803
CINCPAC

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 6276

FOR CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG (NAM), PINT, PEPR, PGOV, PINR, US, UR, IR, AF, PK, CU
SUBJECT: AFGHAN FOREIGN MINISTER AMIN'S SPEECH AT THE BELGRADE
NONALIGNED CONFERENCE REVEALS LEFTWARD TILT

1. SUMMARY: AFGHANISTAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER HAFIZULLAH AMIN
ALLOWED HIS GOVERNMENT'S FIG LEAF OF "GENUINE" NONALIGNMENT
TO SLIP WHILE ADDRESSING THE RECENT NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE
AT BELGRADE. IN THE DRA'S MOST COMPREHENSIVE FOREIGN POLICY
STATEMENT TO DATE, AMIN TOOK STANCES ON MANY INTER-
NATIONAL QUESTIONS WHICH WE SURMISE AS BEING INDISTINGUISHABLE

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FROM MOSCOW'S. THE ARTICLE IS WORTH CAREFUL STUDY FOR BOTH
ITS CONTENT AND IDEOLOGICAL FAVOR.
AMIN SUPPORTED THE SOVIET-CUBA N ROLE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA,
AND CALLED FOR THE ELIMINATION OF THE U.S. BASE AT
DIEGO GARCIA AND MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN SOUTH KOREA.
HE STRESSED THAT THE "REAL AND NATURAL FRIENDS OF
NONALIGNED COUNTRIES ARE THE SOCIALIST AND PEACELOVING

COUNTRIES"... AND CONDEMNED OUTSIDE "IMPERIALIST ATTEMPTS AND MANEUVERS" TO SPLIT THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED "KABUL TIMES" HAS PUBLISHED THE AUTHORIZED ENGLISH VERSION OF THE ADDRESS FOREIGN MINISTER AMIN MADE ON JULY 27 TO THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AT BELGRADE. JUDGING FROM AMIN'S SPEECH (THE FULL TEXT OF WHICH IS BEING TRANSMITTED UNDER COVER OF AN AIRGRAM), THE RHETORICAL FOREIGN POLICY POSTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN (DRA) IS HEAVILY SLANTED TOWARD THE POSITIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOCIALIST CAMP.

3. ALTHOUGH MUCH OF AMIN'S PRESENTATION REFLECTS EARLIER FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS OF PREREVOLUTIONARY AFGHAN REGIMES (E.G., AFGHANISTAN IS A LAND-LOCKED AND GEOGRAPHICALLY DISADVANTAGED STATE BECAUSE OF COLONIALIST MACHINATIONS -- AN ARGUMENT FOR WHICH THERE IS SOME HISTORICAL BASIS), SOME NEW THEMES IN HIS TEXT REFLECT KABUL'S INCREASING INCLINATION TO PROVIDE DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FOR CUBA'S EFFORTS TO SHIFT THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT TO A RADICAL COURSE. A REVEALING EXAMPLE IS PROVIDED BY AMIN'S DISCUSSION OF RECENT EVENTS IN NORTHEAST AFRICA: "WE ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THE SITUATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REFLECTS NEW ATTEMPTS BY THE IMPERIALIST FORCES FOR THE DOMINATION OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT... WE SUPPORT THE HEROIC
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STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF ETHIOPIA FOR THE DEFENSE OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. ANY INTERVENTION UNDER ANY PRETEXT IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ETHIOPIA IS ABHORRENT TO ALL PROGRESSIVE MANKIND." (COMMENT: THE FACT THAT THE SOMALIS AND ERITREANS ARE FELLOW MUSLIMS IS APPARENTLY OF NO CONSEQUENCE TO THE DRA REGIME, WHICH HAS STATED FREQUENTLY THAT IT "RESPECTS" ISLAM. END OF COMMENT).

4. TYPICAL OF THE SPEECH'S CONTENT WAS AMIN'S REFERENCES TO SOCIALIST VS. CAPITALIST ECONOMIC RELATIONS. HE SAID, QUOTE "...SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE CONSTANTLY EXTENDED THEIR SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO DEMOCRATIZE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND TO ENSURE THE RAPID ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR COUNTRIES. SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CANNOT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FOR THEY HAVE NEVER ATTEMPTED IN (SIC) EXPLOITATION BUT HAVE PROVED THEMSELVES ACTIVE PARTNERS OF PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT. THE CAUSE OF ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

FALL SQUARELY ON THE SHOULDERS OF THE COLONIALISM
AND IMPERIALISM WHICH FOR CENTURIES PLUNDERED AND
EXPLOITED THEIR NATURE AND MAERIAL RESOURCES. UNQUOTE.

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5. ALTHOUGH THE U.S. WAS NOT MENTIONED BY NAME,
AMIN DID NOT OVERLOOK US, CALLING FOR "THE IMMEDIATE
TERMINATION OF MILITARY BASES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN,
INCLUDING DIEGO GARCIA," AND "THE IMMEDIATE WITH-
DRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM KOREA, INCLUDING
THE DISMANTLING OF ALL MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN
SOUTH KOREA." HE DID NOT MENTION PUERTO RICO, HOWEVER.

6. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF A BUSINESS CALL ON AMIN
JULY 31, I ASKED WHAT HE MEANT BY THE FOLLOWING
PASSAGE IN HIS SPEECH: "WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE
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IMPERIALISTIC ATTEMPTS AND MANEUVERS AIMED AT CREATING DIVISIONS AND SPLITS WITHIN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. WE SHALL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO PROTECT THE UNITY OF THE MOVEMENT FROM ANY FORM OF INFLUENCE BY AGGRESSIVE MILITARY AND POLITICAL PACTS." AMIN REPLIED THAT "FOUR" COUNTRIES INSIDE THE NAM HAD BEEN ENGAGED IN A WRECKING OPERATION, INSPIRED BY OUTSIDE INFLUENCE. HE REFUSED TO IDENTIFY THE FOUR COUNTRIES OR THE OUTSIDE INFLUENCE, BUT LATER DESCRIBED THE LATTER AS BEING "PERHAPS GROUPS AND CIRCLES, RATHER THAN COUNTRIES." I REMINDED AMIN THAT ON JULY 20 I HAD SPECIFICALLY STATED THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT A PARTY TO ANY SUCH OPERATION (KABUL 5909), AND CONJECTURED THAT SUCH SPLITS USUALLY ARE THE RESULTS OF TENSIONS AND DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS WITHIN AN ORGANIZATION. AMIN INSISTED THAT OUTSIDE FORCES WERE AT FAULT, BUT REFUSED TO BE ANY MORE SPECIFIC.

7. I ALSO CALLED AMIN'S ATTENTION TO ANOTHER PASSAGE: "WE MUST BE VIGILANT OF THE CONSPIRACIES BY THE ENEMIES OF NON-ALIGNMENT FOR TRYING TO DESTROY COOPERATION BETWEEN NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AND THEIR REAL AND NATURAL FRIENDS, THE SOCIALIST AND PEACELOVING COUNTRIES." I FRANKLY ASKED HIM WHERE THAT LEFT THE U.S., WONDERING WHETHER OR NOT THE DRA REGARDED US AS FRIENDS TOO. AMIN APPEARED UNCOMFORTABLE AND MUMBLED AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF U.S.- AFGHAN FRIENDSHIP. (IF IS INTERESTING THAT THE TERM "NATURAL FRIENDS" WAS ECHOED IN BELGRADE'S 5605 WHICH REPORTED: "THE CUBANS UNABASHEDLY STATE THAT THEY RELY ON CONTINUING U.S. INTRASIGENCE, ESPECIALLY ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, TO HELP THEM SHIFT NAM IDEOLOGY TOWARD THAT OF THE 'NATURAL ALLIES'

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IN THE SOCIALIST CAMP.")

8. COMMENT: MUCH OF THIS SPEECH PROBABLY REFLECTS AMIN'S OWN LEFTIST IDEOLOGICAL LEANINGS. HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF AMIN'S STRONG POSITION IN THE AFGHAN REGIME, WE HAVE TO TAKE HIS BELGRADE PRESENTATION AS A CLEAR INDICATION OF THE RADICAL DIRECTION WHICH AFGHAN FOREIGN POLICY IS MOVING. AMIN'S SPEECH SUGGESTS THAT WE CAN EXPECT AFGHANISTAN TO SUPPORT SOVIET AND CUBAN FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA. FOR OUR PART, HOWEVER, WE INTEND

TO CONTINUE TO REMIND THE DRA THAT THEIR NONALIGNED
STANCE IS UNDER CONSTANT REVIEW BY OUR GOVERNMENT.

9. REQUEST: AS THE DEPT (INR) DID IN THE CASE
OF AMIN'S SPEECH IN NYC IN MAY, WE WOULD APPRECIATE
RECEIVING A CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF AMIN'S BELGRADE SPEECH
TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE VARIOUS FOREIGN POLICY STANCES
TAKEN BY THE DRA ARE, AS WE SUSPECT, VERY SIMILAR TO MOSCOW'S
POLICIES.
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